

Index

- Abang Johari Tun Openg, 193
Abdul Aziz Mohd Yusof, 88
Abdul Ghani Othman, 45, 83, 263–7, 276
Abdul Rahman, Tunku, 69, 96, 201
Abdul Rashid Abdul Rahman, 88
Abdul Razak Hussein, 201
Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, 9, 23, 25, 28, 31, 162
Abu Bakar Sidek Mohd Zan, 16
Adenan Satem, 193–4, 283
Adil Johan, 19
Adnan Mansor, Tengku, 31–2
Afif Pasuni, 14
Ahmad Maslan, 92, 95, 98, 119
Ahmad Said, 16, 242
Ahmad Zamri Asa'ad Khuzaimi, 222–30, 232, 233
Ali Biju, 187–8
Ali Rustam, 286
Aliran, 19
Aliran Monthly, 22
Allah
use by non-Muslims, 186, 239, 243–4, 262, 290
Alliance, 6, 20–1, 39, 69, 88
elections
1955, 65
1959, 67, 87
1969, 6, 41–2, 61, 71
FELDA, 148
Alor Gajah constituency, 146
Alor Setar constituency, 78
ANAK, *see* Persatuan Anak-Anak
FELDA
Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah (APU), 72
Anwar Ibrahim
and Jeffrey Kitingan, 203
elections
2008, 279
2013, 269
Kajang by-election, 1–2, 288
offer of DPM post, 30–1
opposition leader, 93
PAS support, 236
sacking, 9, 21, 23, 40, 162
APU, *see* Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah
Awang Tengah Ali Hassan, 193
Ayer Itam constituency, 82
Azhar Idrus, 239, 240–1
Azmin Ali, 3, 288–9

- Indian vote, 72, 77, 251, 269, 280–1
- Johor, 249–50
- Kelantan, 71, 72, 236–7
- Malay vote, 57, 68, 72, 77–8, 267, 281
- manipulation of electoral system, 11
- Sabah, 205, 207–12, 215
- slogans, 205, 221
- Terengganu, 237
- Titiwangsa, 222, 224, 226–33
- Baru Bian, 188
- Batu constituency, 81
- Batu Pahat constituency, 15, 82
- Bayan Baru constituency, 81
- Bentong constituency, 83
- BERJASA, 71, 72, 88
- BERJAYA, *see* Bersatu Rakyat Jelata Sabah
- Bernama, 168, 171
- Bersatu Rakyat Jelata Sabah (BERJAYA), 73, 201, 202–3
- BERSIH, 163, 179, 238, 283–4
- Bingkor constituency, 210
- blogs, 224
- BN, *see* Barisan Nasional
- Boo Cheng Hau, 253, 262
- Borneo
 - Agenda, 13, 200, 203, 205, 206, 212–16
 - Alliance (BA), 204, 210, 213
 - tea parties (BTPs), 204, 220
- BR1M cash hand-outs, 231
- Brown, Graham, 8
- Bruneians, 201
- BTPs, *see* Borneo tea parties
- Bukit Gelugor by-election, 1, 2, 16
- Bukit Katil constituency, 82
- Bukit Permai constituency, 108–10
- Buku Jingga*, 244, 246
- Bumiputera-dominant seats, 76, 89
- by-elections, 1–2, 16, 238, 288–9
- Cahya Mata Sarawak (CMS), 184
- Cameron Highlands constituency, 83
- Case, W., 93
- Centre for Independent Journalism (CIJ), 164, 166
- centripetalism, 39
- CGC, 118
- Chan Hong Nam, George, 190
- Chin, James, 13, 56, 63, 93
- Chin Fah Kui, Peter, 190
- Chinese
 - dominant seats, 76
 - majority seats, 76
 - tsunami, 26, 28, 56, 58, 235, 268, 281–2
 - vote, 28, 47, 52, 56, 58, 70, 72, 73, 77, 78, 92, 235–6, 267, 268, 269, 280
- Chini constituency, 120–1
- Chong Chieng Jen, 187, 198
- Choong Pui Yee, 13
- Chua Jui Meng, 46, 251–5
- Chua Soi Lek, 31, 264, 269
- CIJ, *see* Centre for Independent Journalism
- CIMB Group, 118
- Coalition for Clean and Fair Elections, *see* BERSIH
- Cobbbold Commission, 200
- communal politics, 21, 26, 37
- consociational model, 20, 37–9, 282
- Constituency Delineation Commission for the Federation of Malaya, *see* Merthyr Commission
- Constitution, 4, 6, 66, 67, 69, 201
- Constitutional (Amendment) Act 1962, 5
- Constitutional (Amendment) Act (No. 2) of 1973, 6
- corruption, 13, 24, 94, 112, 177, 184–6, 226, 230, 231, 242, 243, 244, 245, 272, 280, 283
- Corry, W.C.S., 17
- cross-ethnic voting, 49–52
- DAP, *see* Democratic Action Party
- Democratic Action Party (DAP), 20, 88, 93
- and HINDRAF, 266
- and PAS, 238, 290

- BA member, 72
- by-elections, 1, 2
- Chinese vote, 28, 47, 52, 56, 58, 70, 72, 73, 235, 267, 268, 269
- elections
 - 2008, 73
 - 2013, 45, 46, 47, 49, 52, 56, 58, 80, 83, 145, 156, 235, 281
 - electoral constituencies reviews, 7, 8
 - Gagasan Rakyat member, 72
 - Indian vote, 49
 - Johor, 250, 267, 268, 270
 - Malay vote, 47, 52, 73
 - multiracial politics, 21
 - PR member, 21, 27, 89
 - Sabah, 207, 209, 211, 214, 215
- Devaraj, Michael Kumar, 146
- developmentalism, 182–3
- Dompok, Bernard, 215
- Dungun constituency, 145
- Dyana Sofya Mohd Daud, 2, 152, 157
- Dzulkifly Ahmad, 22, 52, 62, 289
- East Malaysian parliamentarians, 282–3
- East-West highway, 149
- Eastern Sabah Security Command (ESSCOM), 205, 207
- EC, *see* Election Commission
- Election Commission (EC), 4–6, 42, 52, 66, 87–8, 283–4
- Elections Act of 1958 amendment, 6
- electoral constituencies
 - by ethnic type and electoral size, 76, 79–83
 - delineation, 5, 6–8, 42, 65, 67–8, 74–5, 87–8
 - rural weightage, 52, 59, 64, 67–8, 70, 94
- electoral system, 3–9, 63–8, 93
 - irregularities, 283–5
 - manipulation by BN, 11
- Emergency Ordinance (EO); repeal, 24
- ESSCOM, *see* Eastern Sabah Security Command
- ethnic
 - based parties, 64, 68–73
 - party system, 11
 - politics, 281–2
 - voting, 46–9, 64, 123, 151–3, 156
- Facebook, 132, 175, 224, 227, 240, 256, 284
- Fadzil Noor, 237
- FAMA, 118
- Farrington, E.G., 17
- Federal Land Development Authority, *see* FELDA
- Federation Agreement 1948, 65, 87
- FELDA, 91–2, 95–7, 125–6, 145, 148–51
 - court cases, 102–3, 119–20
 - Johor, 251, 271
 - land schemes and UMNO, 11–12, 125–6, 148–54
 - number of voters, 92, 95
 - PAS members, 98
 - seats, 95, 104, 124, 132–45
 - Terengganu, 145, 148
 - voting behaviour, 97–9
- FELDA Global Ventures (FGV), 99–101, 111, 112, 118–19, 125, 149, 151, 153
- FELDA Investment Cooperative, *see* Koperasi Permodalan FELDA Malaysia
- first-past-the-post (FPTP) system, 3–4, 41–2, 63, 64–8
- Fong Pau Teck, 198
- freedom of the press, 24
- frontline states, 45
- fz.com, 161, 229
- Gabungan Wawasan Generasi FELDA (GWGF), 99
- Gagasan Rakyat, 72, 203
- Gelang Patah constituency, 14, 45, 83, 89, 250, 263–7
- general elections
 - 1955, 65, 69
 - 1959, 5, 66

- 1969, 41–2
- 1990, 72
- 1999, 7–8, 23, 28, 64, 68, 72
- 2004, 23, 28, 93, 162
- 2008, 3, 9, 40, 73, 93, 162, 199, 279–80
- 2013, 3, 9, 39–49, 57–9, 77–83, 93–4, 104, 164, 192, 199, 235, 280–1
- Gerakan**
 - barred from Sarawak, 183
 - BN member, 71
 - Chinese vote, 70, 269
 - elections
 - 2008, 28
 - 2013, 28, 33, 156, 281
 - Johor, 269
 - merger talks, 31
 - president, 2
- gerrymandering, 59, 63–4, 74, 84
- Global Witness, 184–5, 186
- Gombak constituency, 82, 89
- Gopeng constituency, 81
- Grik constituency, 81
- GSF, *see* Save FELDA Movement
- Gua Musang constituency, 146
- Gumbang, Paulus Palu, 185
- Guyot, Dorothy, 148
- Hadi Awang, 237, 240, 265, 276, 288, 290
- Harakah*, 172, 176
- Harris Salleh, 202, 213
- Harun Taib, 290
- Hasbi Habibollah, 188
- Heat, The*, 161
- Hindraf, *see* Hindu Rights Action Force
- Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf), 49, 179, 266
- Hishammuddin Hussein, 286–7
- Hizbul Muslimin, 71, 72
- Hoh Khai Mun, 145
- Hou Kok Chung, 255–9, 274
- Houghton, Tessa 12
- Huan Cheng Guan, 16
- hudud, 2, 236, 238, 262, 290, 291
- Hulu Langat constituency, 52, 89
- Hulu Selangor constituency, 82, 146
- Husam Musa, 44, 287, 289
- Hussein Onn, 202
- IGC**, *see* Inter-Governmental Committee
- Inanam constituency, 212
- indelible ink, 284
- Independence of Malaya Party (IMP), 69
- Indera Mahkota constituency, 82
- Indian Progressive Front, 72
- Indian vote
 - BN, 72, 77, 251, 269, 280–1
 - DAP, 49
 - PAS, 49, 73
 - PKR, 49
 - UMNO, 49
- Inter-Governmental Committee (IGC)**, 200, 203, 206
- Internal Security Act (ISA)**, 22, 24, 203
- internet, 162–3, 172–8, 186, 192, 229, 132, 175, 224, 227, 240, 256, 284
- ISA**, *see* Internal Security Act
- Isa Samad, 100, 286
- Iskandar economic region, 250, 259, 260, 263, 267, 272, 274
- Islamic**
 - issues, 242–6
 - state issue, 236, 238, 290
- Jabu anak Numpang, Alfred, 194
- JAIS**, *see* Selangor Religious Department
- Jamil Khir Baharom, 290
- Jasin constituency, 146
- Jelaing Mersat, 187
- Jena, B.B., 149
- Jengka constituency, 107–8
- Jerai constituency, 80
- Jerlun constituency, 80
- Johari Abdul Ghani, 222–33
- Johor**
 - Chinese land grants, 148
 - elections
 - 2008, 249

- 2013, 14, 45, 78, 82, 249
- FELDA seats, 145
- large electorates, 75
- MCA, 72, 145
- UMNO, 145
- voter numbers, 249
- voter profile, 45
- Johor Bahru constituency, 8, 82
- Julau constituency, 187
- Kadamaian constituency, 210
- Kadazandusun, 201, 210
 - voters, 13, 201, 203, 210, 211–13, 215, 216
- Kajang by-election, 1–2, 288–9
- Kalla, Jusuf, 30
- Kampung Baru Development Corporation, 225
- Kampung Baru issue, 224–5, 227
- Kapar constituency, 89
- Kapayan constituency, 212
- Keadilan*, 172
- Keadilan, *see* Parti Keadilan Rakyat, 27
- Kedah
 - elections
 - 2013, 44, 45, 46, 78, 80
 - electorate redistribution, 68
 - FELDA seats, 145–6
 - Kelana Jaya constituency, 81, 89
 - Kelantan
 - elections
 - 1959, 67
 - 1978, 71
 - 1982, 71
 - 1986, 71
 - 1999, 72
 - 2013, 14, 44, 236–7, 239
 - FELDA seats, 145, 146
 - Kemabong constituency, 210
 - Kepong constituency, 56
 - Kessler, Clive, 33
 - Ketereh constituency, 80
 - ketuanan Melayu*, 20, 39
 - Khairy Jamaluddin, 282
 - Khalid Ibrahim, 3, 288
 - Khor Yu Leng, 11, 125
 - KITA, *see* People's Welfare Party
 - Kitingan, Jeffrey, 203–4, 210
 - Kitingan, Joseph Pairin, 202–3, 212, 215
 - Kiulu constituency, 210, 211
 - Klang constituency, 52, 55–6, 81
 - Kluang constituency, 14, 83, 250, 255–9
 - Kok, Teresa, 49–50
 - Kongres Indian Muslim Malaysia, 72
 - Koperasi Permodalan FELDA Malaysia (KPF), 99, 100, 118
 - Kota Melaka constituency, 83
 - Kota Raja constituency, 89, 152, 153
 - Kota Raya constituency, 81
 - KPF, *see* Koperasi Permodalan FELDA Malaysia
 - Kuala Besut by-election, 1, 238
 - Kuala Lumpur
 - cross-ethnic voting, 49–52
 - elections
 - 1952 (municipal), 69
 - 2013, 45, 78, 80, 81, 82
 - federal territory, 6
 - PR, 49–51
 - UMNO, 49
 - Kuala Lumpur Kepong Bhd, 119
 - Kuala Nerus constituency, 145
 - Kuala Selangor constituency, 52, 146
 - Kuantan constituency, 82
 - Kubang Pasu constituency, 80
 - Kulai constituency, 83, 109, 145
 - Kulim constituency, 78
 - Kundasang constituency, 210, 211
 - Labis constituency, 83
 - Lahad Datu intrusion, 205–6
 - Lajim Ukin, 210
 - Lanang constituency, 187, 188
 - Langkawi constituency, 80
 - Larut constituency, 81
 - Lawyers' March for Justice, 179
 - Ledang constituency, 82
 - Lee Chin Cheh, 288

- Lee Hock Guan, 11
- Lembah Pantai constituency, 50–1, 284
- Lenggong constituency, 8, 81
- Liew Chin Tong, 45, 255–8
- Lijphart, Arend, 37–8
- Likas constituency, 212, 215
- Lim Chong Eu, 69
- Lim Hong Hai, 7
- Lim Kit Siang, 2, 7, 29, 45, 83, 263–7, 276
- Lim Su Kien, 198
- Limbang constituency, 187, 188, 198
- Liow Tiong Lai, 31, 83
- Lo’Lo’ binti Mohd Ghazali, 222
- Loh Kok Wah, Francis, 22–3, 55
- Lubok Antu constituency, 187
- MacGillivray, Donald, 17, 64
- Machang constituency, 80
- Mah Siew Keong, 2, 152
- Mahathir Mohamad
- and Harris Salleh, 202
 - and Jeffrey Kitingan, 203
 - and Joseph Pairin Kitingan, 202
 - and Lim Kit Siang, 265
 - and Muhyiddin Yassin, 286
 - and Nur Jazlan Mohamed, 261
 - and Taib Mahmud, 183
 - and Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, 71
- Islamisation, 245
- Malays divided, 27
- media control, 160, 161
- MSC, 162
- PM, 93, 202
- privatisation policy, 161
- retirement, 23, 28, 162
- Mahfuz Omar, 287
- Majlis Belia FELDA Malaysia (MBFM), 99
- MAJUIKAN, 118
- MAJUTERNAK, 118
- mal-apportionment of seats, 4, 7–8, 39, 42, 45, 63–4, 68, 74–6, 84, 91, 94
- Malacca
- elections
- 1959, 67
- 2013, 78, 82
- FELDA seats, 145, 146
- Malay
- divisions, 27
 - dominant seats, 68, 75, 76, 78
 - flash floods remark, 282
 - majority seats, 68, 74, 76, 78, 124, 126–32
 - vote
- BN, 68, 72, 77–8, 267, 281
 - DAP, 47, 52, 73
 - PKR, 154
 - PR, 57, 58
 - UMNO, 47, 64, 69, 70, 72, 92, 94, 98, 112, 236, 267, 270, 290
- Malay Mail*, 32
- Malaysia Agreement, 201, 203, 206
- Malaysiakini*, 161, 162, 171
- Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA)
- Alliance member, 20
 - barred from Sarawak, 183
 - Chinese vote, 58, 70, 72, 92, 235–6, 269
 - elections
- 1952 (municipal), 69
 - 1955, 65, 69
 - 1959, 66, 69
 - 2008, 28
 - 2013, 28, 33, 45, 49, 83, 145, 156, 235, 281
- electoral constituencies review, 7
- internal tension, 31
- Johor, 145, 148, 268
- merger talks, 31
- Malaysian Democratic Party, 88
- Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC)
- Alliance member, 20
 - elections
- 1955, 65
 - 2013, 33, 82, 83, 281
- Indian vote, 92
- Johor, 268–9
- Malaysian Insider*, 171, 229

- Malaysian Solidarity Consultative Committee (MSCC), 200
- manufactured majorities, 3–4, 8
- MARA, 118
- Marang constituency, 145
- MARDI, 118
- Mas Gading constituency, 187
- Masing, James, 185
- Mat Razi Mat Ali, 2
- Matunggong constituency, 210
- Mauzy, Diane K., 38
- Mawan, William, 185, 187
- May 13 ethnic rioting, 5–6, 20, 71
- Mazlan Aliman, 100, 108, 110, 111, 132
- Maznah Mohamad, 12
- MBFM, *see* Majlis Belia FELDA Malaysia
- MCA, *see* Malaysian Chinese Association
- McChesney R., 163, 175
- media
- and democracy, 162–4
 - coverage of GE13, 12, 159–60, 164–78
 - control, 159, 160–2
- Melalap constituency, 210, 211
- Merbok constituency, 78
- Merdeka Centre, 77–8, 89, 174, 213
- Merthyr, Lord, 4, 17
- Merthyr Commission, 4–5, 17, 65
- MIC, *see* Malaysian Indian Congress
- MIDF, 118
- Migdal, Joel S., 182
- Milne, R. Stephen, 38
- Miri constituency, 187, 188
- mixed seats, 68, 74, 76
- Mohamed Nabi Bux Mohd Nabi Abd Sathar, 16
- Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, 15
- Mohamed Rahmat, 259
- Mohamed Sabu, 287, 288, 295
- Mohd Arif Sabri, 145
- money politics, 11, 111–12, 231–2
- Moyog constituency, 210
- Muadzam Shah constituency, 120, 121
- Muar constituency, 82
- Muhyiddin Yassin, 32, 242, 286
- Mujahid Yusof Rawa, 22, 82
- Mukhriz Mahathir, 286–7, 290
- Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC), 162
- multiracial politics, 21–2
- Muran, Sylvester Entrti, 185
- Murugesan Sinandavar, 152
- Murut, 201
- Musa Aman, 205
- Musa Hitam, 202
- Mustafa Izzuddin, 14
- Mustapha Harun, 201, 213
- Nabawan constituency, 210, 211
- Najib Razak
- Cabinet posts, 192, 282, 283
 - call for resignation, 282
 - Chinese tsunami remark, 26, 28, 56, 235, 268, 281–2
 - constituency, 121
 - FELDA, 99, 100
 - Islamic matters, 290–1
 - offer of DPM post to Anwar, 30–1
 - 1Malaysia, 93, 223
 - pendamaian nasional*, 28–32
 - political ideals, 24
 - RCI, 207
 - Sabah campaign, 205
 - Sarawak campaign, 188
 - UMNO president, 286–7
- Nasrudin Hassan Tantawi, 25, 145
- National Association of FELDA Settlers Children, *see* Persatuan Anak-Anak FELDA
- national consultative council on unity, 29
- national reconciliation, *see* *pendamaian nasional*
- National Union of Bank Employees (NUBE), 254
- Native Customary Rights (NCR) land, 185, 188, 191
- Nazir Razak, 118
- Nazri Aziz, 31–2
- Negeri Sembilan elections

- 1959, 67
- 2013, 45, 46, 78, 82
- FELDA seats, 145
- large electorates, 75
- new
 - politics, 9, 20–6
 - voters, 55–6
- New Economic Policy (NEP), 6, 20
- New Era College, 255, 273
- Ngusie, Peter Nansian, 185
- Nibong Tebal constituency, 80
- Nik Abdul Nik Aziz, 289
- Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat, 239, 240, 246, 291
- Norani Othman, 63
- NUBE, *see* National Union of Bank Employees
- Nur Jazlan Mohamed, 259–63
- Nurul Izzah Anwar, 50–1, 284
- Nut Graph, The*, 229
- Official Secrets Act, 22
- old politics, 20, 33
- 1BN, 30
- 1Malaysia programme, 93, 223, 234
- Ong Kian Ming, 2, 68, 284
- Ongkili, Maximus, 215
- Operation Lalang, 161
- Orange Book, *see* *Buku Jingga*
- Padang Rengas constituency, 81
- Padang Serai constituency, 78
- Padang Terap constituency, 80, 105
- Paginatan constituency, 210, 211
- Pagoh constituency, 82
- Pahang
 - FELDA seats, 145
 - GE13, 78, 82
- Pakatan Rakyat (People's Alliance or PR),
 - 21, 27, 89, 93, 117, 238
 - and FELDA, 92, 102–3, 105–12
 - Buku Jingga*, 244, 246
 - centripetalism, 38
 - Chinese vote, 27, 52, 58, 267, 268
 - East Malaysia, 199–200
 - elections
 - 2008, 40–1, 123, 279–80
 - 2013, 3, 13–15, 19, 37, 40–1, 44–5, 46, 77, 80, 82, 83, 98, 105, 123–4, 132, 145, 146, 147, 156, 221, 235, 281, 285
 - FELDA schemes, 12
 - Johor, 249–50, 267, 268, 269
 - Kelantan, 237
 - Malay vote, 57, 58
 - mixed seats, 49, 52
 - party organs, 172
 - Sabah, 204, 206, 207–8, 211–13
 - Selangor Menteri Besar (MB) crisis, 3
 - slogans, 123, 164, 221
 - strongholds, 4, 10
 - Terengganu, 237–8
- Pakatan Rakyat Sarawak, 183–4, 186–7
- Paloh Timur, 251
- Palong constituency, 105–7
- Pan Borneo Highway, 205
- Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP), 148
- Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party, *see* PAS
- Pandan constituency, 81
- Parit Buntar constituency, 82
- Parit constituency, 81
- Parti Angkatan Keadilan Insan Malaysia, 88
- Parti Bangsa Dayak Sarawak (PBDS), 73
- Parti Bersatu Sabah (PBS), 72, 202–3, 210
- Parti Cinta Malaysia (PCM), 16
- Parti Islam Se-Malaysia, *see* PAS
- Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR), 1, 93, 117–18
 - and Jeffrey Kitingan, 203, 212
 - BA member, 72
 - Chinese vote, 78
 - elections
 - 1999, 72
 - 2013, 46, 80, 81, 132, 156, 236
 - founding, 21, 27
 - Indian vote, 49
 - Johor, 269

- Kajang by-election, 1–2
- Malay vote, 154
- mixed seats, 47
- PR member, 21, 89
- Sabah, 13, 203, 209–11, 212, 214–15
- Parti Perpaduan Ummah Malaysia (PASMA), 288
- Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB), 7, 33, 73, 183, 188, 189, 192, 193–5
- Party Rakyat Malaysia (PRM), 72
- PAS, 92–3, 117–18, 238–9
 - and DAP, 238, 290
 - and UMNO, 31
 - APU member, 72
 - BA member, 72
 - BN member, 20, 71
 - Chinese vote, 73
 - donations, 231–2
 - elections
 - 1959, 5, 67, 87
 - 1999, 7–8, 72
 - 2008, 73
 - 2013, 14, 45, 80, 82, 98, 132, 145, 152, 236, 281, 289
 - FELDA members, 98
 - formation, 27
 - hudud, 2, 236, 238, 259, 262, 290, 291
 - Indian vote, 49, 73
 - Johor, 268–9
 - Kelantan, 71–2, 236–7
 - leadership, 287–90
 - Malay vote, 47, 70, 72, 94, 154, 289
 - non-Muslim candidates, 239, 268
 - PR member, 21, 27, 89
 - Sarawak, 183–4, 188, 189
 - Terengganu, 237–8, 239–42
 - Titiwangsa, 222–4, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231–2
 - Pasir Gudang constituency, 83, 89
 - PASMA, *see* Parti Perpaduan Ummah Malaysia
 - PBB, *see* Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu
 - PBDS, *see* Parti Bangsa Dayak Sarawak
 - PBRS, 210
 - PBS, *see* Parti Bersatu Sabah
 - PCM, *see* Parti Cinta Malaysia
 - Peaceful Assembly Act, 161
 - Pekan constituency, 121
 - Penang
 - elections
 - 1959, 67
 - 2013, 44–5, 78, 80, 81
 - pendamaian nasional*, 28–32
 - Pendang constituency, 80, 105
 - Pengkalan Kubor by-election, 1, 2
 - People's Alliance, *see* Pakatan Rakyat
 - People's Front, *see* Gagasan Rakyat
 - People's Progressive Party (PPP), 67, 71, 148
 - People's Welfare Party (KITA), 282
 - Perak
 - elections
 - 1959, 67
 - 2013, 45, 46, 78, 80, 81, 82
 - FELDA seats, 145, 146
 - Perlis
 - elections
 - 2013, 44, 78, 80
 - FELDA seats, 145, 146
 - PERNAS, 118
 - Persatuan Anak-Anak FELDA (ANAK), 99, 100, 103, 110, 119
 - Petaling Jaya Selatan constituency, 52, 81
 - Petaling Jaya Utara constituency, 52
 - Pharolrazi Md Zawawi, 288
 - PMIP, *see* Pan-Malayan Islamic Party
 - Politweet, 52–3, 62, 104, 132
 - PR, *see* Pakatan Rakyat
 - Printing Ordinance 1948, 160
 - Printing Presses and Publications Act 1984 (PPPA), 160–1
 - protest rallies, 19, 179, 238, 283–4, 285–6
 - PRS, *see* Sarawak People's Party
 - Pua, Tony, 2
 - Puchong constituency, 81, 89
 - Pulai constituency, 14, 83, 89, 250, 259–63

- Puteri UMNO, 110
 Putrajaya constituency, 44, 49, 81, 88–9
 Puyok, Arnold, 13
- Radio Free Sarawak (RFS), 184
 Rae, Douglas, 4
 Rafizi Ramli, 288
 Rantau Panjang constituency, 146
 Rasah constituency, 83
 Rashila Ramli, 125
 Ratnam, K.J., 37
 Raub constituency, 83, 145
 Razak Hussein, 100
 Razaleigh Hamzah, Tengku, 27, 71, 72, 203, 283, 286
 RCI on immigrants in Sabah, 207, 220
 Reformasi movement, 9, 23, 26–7, 162
 Reid Commission, 4–5, 18, 66
 Newcastle Brown, Clare, 184
 RFS, *see* Radio Free Sarawak
 RISDA, 118
 Roslan, A.H., 118
 rural–urban migration, 70, 75, 93
- Sabah
 Borneo Agenda, 13, 200, 203, 205, 206, 212–16
 Bumiputera-majority constituencies, 7, 76
 Chinese-majority constituencies, 211
 elections
 2013, 13, 45, 46, 204–16
 history, 200–1
 mixed constituencies, 211–12
 Muslim Bumiputera-majority constituencies, 13, 89, 210
 non-Muslim Bumiputera, 201
 non-Muslim Bumiputera-majority constituencies, 89, 210
 people, 201
 20-point memorandum, 201, 203, 219–20
 Sabah People's United Front, *see* Bersatu Rakyat Jelata Sabah
- Sabah Progressive Party (SAPP), 13, 200, 203, 204, 206–8, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214–16, 281
 Sabah UMNO, 7, 73, 203, 210, 213–14
 Sabah United Party, *see* Parti Bersatu Sabah
 Sabak Bernam constituency, 81
 Saifuddin Abdullah, 22, 24–5, 31, 32, 145, 264
 Salahuddin Ayub, 46, 259–63, 287
 Salleh Said, 213
saluran system, 6
 Sambanthan, V.T., 149
 Samy Vellu, 146
 Santiago, Charles, 55
 SAPP, *see* Sabah Progressive Party
 Saratok constituency, 187, 188
 Saravanamuttu, Johan, 9
 Saravanan Murugan, 80
 Sarawak
 Bumiputera-dominant seats, 76, 89
 Dayak seats, 191–2
 elections
 2013, 13, 45, 46, 181, 186–96
 ethnic groups, 181
 Muslim-majority constituencies, 189
 nature of politics, 181–2
 people, 7
 political divisions, 181
 state elections, 181
 UMNO barred, 73, 183
 vote-buying, 183, 192
 Sarawak Barisan Nasional (SBN), 183, 186, 187, 188–9, 191–2
 Sarawak Democratic Action Party (DAP), 183–4, 187, 188, 189–90, 195, 198
 Sarawak National Party (SNAP), 73
 Sarawak Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR), 183–4, 188, 189, 192
 Sarawak People's Party (PRS), 183, 185, 188
 Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party (SPDP), 183, 185, 187–8, 283

- Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP), 31, 73, 183, 187, 188, 189–91, 195–6
 Sarawak Workers Party (SWP), 184
Sarawakreport.com, 184–5
 Sarikei constituency, 187, 188
 Save FELDA Movement (GSF), 99
 SBN, *see* Sarawak Barisan Nasional
 SEDCs, 118
 Sedition Act, 161
 Segamat constituency, 14, 83, 250, 251–5, 273
 Sekijang constituency, 82
 Selangau constituency, 187
 Selangor
 cross-ethnic voting, 49–52
 elections
 1959, 67
 2013, 45, 78, 81, 82
 FELDA seats, 145, 146
 large electorates, 75
 Menteri Besar crisis, 3, 288
 PR, 51
 voter profile, 45
 Selangor Religious Department (JAIS), 248
 Selayang constituency, 81, 89
 Semangat 46, 27, 71, 72
 Sembrong constituency, 82
 Seputeh constituency, 49–50
 Serdang constituency, 52, 81, 89
 Seremban constituency, 83, 89
 Serian constituency, 188
 Setiawangsa constituency, 49, 82
 Shafie Apdal, 287
 Shah Alam constituency, 52, 82
 Shahrizat Abdul Jalil, 280
 Shamsul AB, 22
 Sibu constituency, 187, 188
 Sidang Injil Borneo, 188, 198
 Sik constituency, 80
 Simpang Renggam constituency, 82
Sin Chew Jit Poh, 161
 Singh, Karpal, 1, 2
 Singh, Ramkarpal, 2
 Siti Mariah, 152
 Sivarasa, R., 102, 119
 Smith, T.E., 17
 SNAP, *see* Sarawak National Party
 Sng Chee Hua, 185
 Sng Wei Shien, Larry, 185
 Socialist Front, 67
 Sook constituency, 210
 SPDP, *see* Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party
 Sri Aman constituency, 187
 Sri Gading constituency, 82
 Stampin constituency, 187, 188
 STAR, *see* State Reform Party
Star, The, 161
 State Reform Party (STAR), 13, 88, 184, 200, 203, 204, 206, 207–16
 Stephens, Donald (Fuad), 200, 201–2
 Street, J., 165
 Subang constituency, 81, 89
 Subramaniam, S., 251–5, 266, 273
 Sultan of Selangor, 3, 288
 Sungai Limau by-election, 1
 Sungai Petani constituency, 78
 Sungai Siput constituency, 80, 146
 SUPP, *see* Sarawak United People's Party
 SWP, *see* Sarawak Workers Party
 Taib Mahmud, 13, 182, 183, 184–5, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191–6, 283
 Taiping constituency, 81
 Tambun constituency, 82
 Tambunan Declaration, 203
 Tamparuli constituency, 210
 Tan Seng Giaw, 56
 Tanah Merah constituency, 80, 105, 146
 Tanjung Aru constituency, 212
 Tanjung Karang constituency, 81
 Tanjung Piai constituency, 82
 Tapah constituency, 80
 Teh Kim Poo, 55
 television, 160
 Teluk Intan constituency, 80
 by-election, 1, 2, 152–3, 157

- Teluk Kemang constituency, 83
 Temerloh constituency, 82, 111, 145
 Teo Nie Ching, 145
 Teo Yu Keng, Michael, 188
 Teoh, Jason, 266
 Terbau constituency, 83
 Terengganu
 BN government, 1
 elections
 1959, 67
 1999, 72, 237
 2008, 237
 2013, 14, 44, 46, 78, 80, 237,
 239–42
 FELDA schemes, 148
 FELDA seats, 145
 Menteri Besar resignation, 1
 Tiki Lafe, 185
 Titiwangsa constituency, 14, 49, 82,
 221–33
 Tong Hong Pin, 256
 Tuan Ibrahim, 107
 Tufekci, Z., 175
 Twitter, 132, 175, 224
 two-coalition system, 3, 4, 40, 280, 281

 UDA, 118
 UMNO, 117
 Alliance member, 20
 and DAP, 88
 and opposition, 71
 and PAS, 31, 201, 245
 barred from Sarawak, 183, 193, 194
 by-elections, 2
 Chinese vote, 58
 consociational model, 38–9
 elections
 1952 (municipal), 69
 1955, 65, 69
 1959, 5, 67, 69
 1999, 23, 27, 64, 68, 72, 98
 2004, 23
 2013, 33–4, 46, 81, 82, 94–5, 104,
 123–4, 132, 145–6, 147, 148, 149,
 156, 192, 235, 236, 239, 240, 242,
 286
 electorate delineation, 67–8, 74, 84–5,
 88
 ethnic-based policies, 68, 84
 FELDA, 11–12, 92, 98–9, 104,
 110–13, 125–6, 148–54
 formation, 6, 20, 61, 71
 government, 20–1
 Indian vote, 49
 internal strife, 21
 Islamic issues, 242–6, 290
 Johor, 14, 145, 250, 268, 270
 Kelantan, 71–2, 239
 leadership, 287
 Malay vote, 47, 64, 69, 70, 72, 92, 94,
 98, 112, 236, 267, 270, 290
 manipulation of electoral system, 11
 money politics, 111
 rural support, 54
 Sabah, 7, 73, 203, 210, 213–14
 Sarawak, 73, 183
 strongholds, 4, 10, 42–3, 94
 Terengganu, 237, 240, 242
 Titiwangsa, 222, 225, 231
 transformation, 25, 31–2, 34
 Utusan Melayu takeover, 160
 United Borneo Front (UBF), 203–4, 212
 United Malays National Organisation, *see*
 UMNO
 United Pasok Momogun Kadazandusun
 Organisation (UPKO), 203
 United Sabah National Organisation, *see*
 USNO
 Universities and University Colleges Act
 amendment, 24
 University of Nottingham Malaysia
 Campus's Centre for the Study of
 Communications & Culture (CSCC), 164
 UPKO, *see* United Pasok Momogun
 Kadazandusun Organisation
 urban
 –rural divide in electoral behaviour,
 52–4

- voters, 70
USNO, 73, 201, 210
USNO Baru, 210, 214
Utusan Malaysia, 235
Utusan Melayu, 160
vote pooling, 70–3
Wan Ahmad Wan Omar, 88
Wan Azizah Ismail, 2, 288
Wan Mokhtar Ahmad, 237
Wanita UMNO, 110
Watan, 161
Watching the Watchdog media monitoring project, 159–60, 164–78
Welsh, Bridget, 68
Wong Chin Huat, 63, 93
Wong Ho Leng, 198
Wong Soon Koh, 190–1, 195
Yang Razali Kassim, 9
Yong Teck Lee, 203–4, 209, 212, 215
young voters, 55, 229–30
youth
GE13 campaign, 19, 229–30
YouTube, 185, 227, 228, 240, 284
Yunus, Rosey, 185
Yusof Nor, 132
Zaharom Nain, 12
Zahid Hamidi, 286
Zaid Ibrahim, 282
Zainuddin Maidin, 29
Zairul Faizi, 256