

## INDEX

*Note:* Page numbers followed by “n” refer to endnotes.

### A

Abang Johari, 241, 365, 374–76, 381, 397n5  
Abdul Aziz Mohd Yusof, 69  
Abdul Hadi Awang, 206, 351, 353, 354  
Abdul Halim Yusof, 359  
Abdul Latiff Ahmad, 224  
Abdul Rahman Haji Uthman, 343  
Abdul Rahman Ya’kub, 367–68  
Abdul Rashid Abdul Rahman, 356, 357  
Abdul Razak Hussein, Tun, 7, 164, 251, 261, 344, 367, 447  
Abdullah Badawi, 7, 238, 239, 263, 281, 322, 348  
Abdullah Sani, 292  
Adenan Satem, 10, 241, 371–72, 374, 381, 397  
Adnan Yaakob, 448  
Afghanistan, 28  
Ahmad Baihaki Atiqullah, 359  
Ahmad Bashah Md Hanipah, 174  
Ahmad Fathan Mahmood, 360  
Ahmad Marzuk Shaary, 360  
Ahmad Nazib Johari, 381  
Ahmad Yakob, 351, 353, 360  
*Aku Janji Warisan*, 409  
Ali Biju, 390, 396  
“Allah ban”, 375  
Alliance-BN, 4, 5, 191  
Alor Gajah, 222

Alor Setar, 74, 159, 173  
Amanah. *See* Parti Amanah Negara  
Aminolhuda Hassan, 325  
Amirudin Shari, 306  
Ansell, Ben, 115  
Anthony Nogeh Gumbek, 382–83  
anti-Communist Emergency campaigns, 210  
anti-corruption, 140, 238, 326  
Anti-Fake News Bill, 9, 34, 319, 490  
anti-ICERD rally, 180  
anti-Muslim, 222  
Anuar Tan, 356  
Anwar Ibrahim, 6, 9, 60, 74, 222, 238, 247, 254, 348, 428, 486, 491  
Asian Financial Crisis, 6, 87, 238  
Asri Muda, 344  
Astaka, 73  
Asyraf Wajdi Dusuki, 352  
autoregressive distributed lag (ARDL) model, 109, 110  
Ayer Hitam, 246, 248, 331, 333  
Azalina Othman, 224, 323, 329  
Azmin Ali, 195, 280, 283, 290, 291, 295, 298, 454

### B

Bachok, 348, 355  
Bahasa Melayu, 167, 251, 252, 372, 375, 376

- Bakun Dam, 375, 381  
 Balakong, 296, 305  
 Balakrishna, Jay, 267  
 Bandar Kuching, 59, 379–81, 390  
 Bangi, 69, 296  
*Bangsa Johor*, 439–41  
 Bangsar, 74, 427, 429, 455  
 Bantuan Rakyat 1Malaysia (BR1M), 132, 292  
   FELDA families, 140  
   payments, 136  
   PH's state-level governments, 142  
   programmes, 136  
   in Selangor, 142  
 Barisan Alternatif, 6, 74  
 Barisan Nasional (BN),  
   in Alor Star, 74  
   affiliated parties, 225  
   anti-BN sentiment, 239  
   benefits of incumbency, 8–9  
   campaign, 415, 485  
   Chinese-based parties, 236, 240, 252–54  
   Chinese candidates, 241  
   Chinese rejection, 248  
   Chinese support, 238, 461, 465  
   consociational mode of campaigning, 6  
   development programmes, 482  
   development promises, 415  
   “developmentalism”, 238  
   electoral defeats, 481  
   elite defection, 127  
   Federal Land Development Authority  
     settlements, 164  
   Indian voters, 268  
   individual incumbency, 127  
   in Jeli, 358–59  
   in Johor, 312–19, 322–25, 439  
   Johor-specific dynamics, 313–18  
   in Kelantan, 342, 352, 354  
   Kota Bharu constituency, 355  
   Kuala Kedah and Pokok Sena, 74  
   Lembah Pantai, 74  
   majority in Sabah, 64  
   majority in Sarawak, 61  
   Malay support for, 446, 461, 463, 488  
   manifestos, 137–39  
   1974 elections, 344  
   parliamentary seats, 115, 116  
   police and military votes, 74  
   redelineation exercise, 49, 61, 285–90  
   in Sabah, 402, 403  
   in Sarawak, 238, 246, 364, 374–78  
   Sarawak BN. *See* Sarawak Barisan  
     Nasional (Sarawak BN)  
   structural advantages, 480–81  
   three-cornered contests, 284–85  
   2004 elections, 7  
   2018 elections, 113, 117, 129  
   UMNO-led BN government, 238  
   vote-buying, 448  
   vote share, 12, 74, 125, 126, 128  
   win rates for, 15  
 Barisan Rakyat Jati Sarawak (BARJASA),  
   367  
 Baru Bian, 390, 396  
 Batu Kitang, 372  
 Batu Pahat, 318, 441  
 Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), 251  
 Bentong, 246, 248, 251, 445, 448, 449  
 Bera, 216, 224  
*Berita Harian*, 36  
 Berjasa (Pan-Malaysian Islamic Front), 344  
*Bersama BN*, 409  
 Bersatu, 34, 43  
 Bersih 2.0, 61, 245  
 Bersih 4 rally, 240  
 Bidayuh-majority constituencies, 373  
 Big Data analytics, 458–60, 466, 468, 473, 484  
   call centre systems, 468–69  
   mathematical modelling, 469–70  
   survey question design, 468  
 Big Data campaigning, 472–73  
   grassroots campaigning, 473–74  
   microtargeting and democracy, 474–75  
 Bingkor, 435  
 Birch, Sarah, 26, 30, 42  
*Borang 14*, 449, 450n1  
 Bosi, Edwin, 433  
 Bukit Aman, 74, 425, 426  
 Bukit Pasir, 331  
*Buku Harapan* manifesto, 268, 485, 486  
 Bumburing, Wilfred, 407, 417n2  
 bumiputra  
   categorization, 27

- heads of states, 253
  - indigenous races, 365, 366
  - decline in support for BN, 129
  - New Economic Policy, 38, 141
  - non-Muslim bumiputra in Sarawak, 370, 376, 380, 386, 392
  - in Sabah, 403, 406
  - special interests, 298
- C**
- Cameron Highlands, 12, 143, 216, 224, 266, 267
    - by-election, 180, 206, 207
    - five-cornered fight, 226
  - campaign fund-raising, 473
  - Cantonese, 252
  - ceramahs*, 35, 145, 302, 328, 380–83, 390
    - social media dissemination, 294, 295, 485
  - Chan Kong Choy, 246
  - Cheras, 246, 252
  - Chin, James, 369
  - “China factor”, 252
  - Chinese education, 244, 246, 247
  - Chinese-majority constituency, 373
  - Chinese Malaysian political preferences, 263
  - Chinese non-governmental organizations, 238
  - Chinese supermajority, 296
  - Chinese votes, 460, 464
    - 2008 General Elections, 254
    - candidates, platforms and outcomes, 245–51
    - cultural values and (non)partisanship, 242–44
    - East Malaysia, 254
    - factor, 251
    - in Kuala Lumpur, 242
    - Malay-based party, 253
    - Merdeka Center, 254
    - mobilization, 251–53
    - modernization theory, 253
    - non-religious movement, 254
    - political debate and opinion, 244–45
    - social transformation and political realignment, 253
    - trends, 236–41
  - Chong Chieng Jen, 380, 390, 393
  - Chong Kah Kiat, 404
  - Chong Pit Fah, 433, 434
  - Chua Hock Kuan, 356
  - Chua Tee Yong, 333
  - CIMB Investment Bank Research, 458
  - civil society organizations, 9
  - Coalitions in Collision: Malaysia’s 13th General Elections* (2015), 18
  - colonization, 259, 365
  - consociational model, 5, 6, 222, 261, 272, 312, 336, 338n3, 368
  - constitutional amendment, 28, 50, 54, 59, 61
  - consumer price index (CPI), 89, 97, 98
  - corruption, 10, 42, 91, 92, 144–45, 196, 380, 428, 440, 466, 482–84
    - C4, 142
    - election issue, 91–92, 105, 117, 267
    - eradicating, 140
    - 1MDB, 132, 240
    - perceptions of, 147n8
    - ruling government, 106
    - rural communities, effect on, 170, 172, 177
  - cost of living, 10, 81, 85, 89, 97–99, 105, 117, 197, 200, 267, 269, 337, 466, 487, 489
  - CPI inflation trends, 99
  - Crouch, Harold, 210
  - crowdfunding, 474, 475
  - Crown Prince of Johor, 328
  - cybertroopers, 37, 180, 440
- D**
- Daim Zainuddin, 123, 145, 201, 205, 427
  - Damansara, 246
  - Danyal Balagopal Abdullah, 267
  - Darell Leiking, 407, 433
  - Dawos Mamit, James, 390
  - Dayak community, 369
  - Dayak faction, 367
  - Democratic Action Party (DAP), 73, 127, 143, 283, 291, 295, 351, 370–73, 404, 407, 432, 433, 435, 454, 485, 489
    - in Bakri, 157
    - in Bandar Kuching, 380, 390
    - in Bentong and Teluk Intan, 248

- cadre system, 243  
 campaign strategies, 405–6  
 candidate in Ketari, Pahang, 445  
*ceramahs*, 383  
 Chinese-based BN parties, 252  
 Chinese community, 240  
 Chinese majority seats, 390  
 Chinese voters, 244  
 ethnic Chinese-dominated, 204–5  
 Federal Land Development Authority  
   settlements, 164  
 in Johor, 312, 318  
 internal elections, 33–34  
 Ketua Wanita, 432  
 leaders, 246  
 Malay-majority seats, 328  
 in Mas Gading, 383, 390  
 means of mobilization, 252–53  
 membership, 243  
 meteoric rise, 240  
 micro-hydro and micro-solar projects, 140  
 opposition coalition, 6  
 Pakatan Harapan parties, 331  
 parliamentary seats, 123, 237, 285  
 in Pakatan Rakyat, 193–95, 318  
 in Penang, 39, 325  
 and PKR seats, 241  
 political ideology, 246  
 pre-election agreement, 195  
 Sabah's elections in 2008, 241  
 Sarawak autonomy, 247  
 Sarawak's political arena, 239  
 United Chinese Association Sibu, 252  
 in urban areas, 194  
 urban pro-DAP areas, 178  
 victory of, 238  
 voters' resentments, 247  
 women leaders in, 432  
 democratization  
   *de facto* and *de jure* political power, 114–15  
   economic voting models, 114  
 Development Bank of Sarawak (DBOS), 375  
 Dewan Negara, 26  
 Dewan Rakyat, 26  
 Dongzong, 242, 255n10  
 Downs, Anthony, 86  
 Dzulkefly Ahmad, 280
- E**  
 Eastern Sabah Security Command  
   (ESSCOM), 408  
 East Malaysia, 125, 128  
   Chinese politics, 235, 236  
   politics of Sabah and Sarawak, 254  
 East Malaysians, 6, 43, 376  
 economic factors on voter behaviour  
   country-specific variations, 87  
   in democratic countries, 87  
   local and national-level issues, 88  
   Malaysian voters, 87  
   political science theory, 86  
   prospective economic voting, 87  
   rational choice theory, 87  
   retrospective economic voting, 87  
   single and cross-country studies, 87  
 economic issues, complexity of  
   characterization, 102  
   employment, wages, inflation and cost of  
     living, 105  
   government, 103–4  
   government spending, 105–6  
   hot button, 102  
   International Monetary Fund, 102  
   local and national-level issues, 88  
   opportunity costs, 102  
   political parties, 102  
   time period, 102  
   trade-offs, 102  
 economic performance, Malaysia  
   GDP growth, 88  
   inflation, 89  
   macroeconomic indicators and election  
     outcomes, 89, 90  
   macroeconomic setting in 2018, 88, 89  
   national economic variables, 89–90  
   unemployment, 89  
 economic rescue, 486–87  
 economic voting, 133–36, 146  
 economic voting model  
   BN's vote share, 125, 127, 128  
   econometric estimation, 125  
   end of dominant party rule, 114  
   GDP growth, 125  
   GE-13 and GE-14, 125, 126  
   non-economic variables, 125

- parliamentary seats, 127
  - Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia, 127
  - political regimes, 114
  - voter support for BN, 127
  - Economist Intelligence Unit, 458
  - egotropic voting, 87, 91
  - Election Commission (EC), 481
    - authority, 6
    - classifying constituencies, 192
    - discretionary powers, 53
    - disqualifying candidates, 446–47
    - electoral boundaries, 30, 50
    - GE-14 campaigns in Johor, 319
    - gerrymandering, 286
    - irregularities in electoral rolls, 481
    - redelineation exercise, 49, 54, 57, 65, 73, 193
    - release of official results, 12
    - removing candidates' photos, 328
    - tasks, 30
    - violation of democratic principles, 64
  - election paradox
    - in 2018, 92–93
    - cost of living and GST, 97–99
    - economic concerns, 91
    - economic issues, 91, 93
    - employment, wage growth and income distribution, 94–97
    - financial scandals and social issues, 91
    - GDP growth in 2017, 92
    - growth performance at industries, 93–94
    - household indebtedness, 99–101
    - incumbent government, 93
    - national economic performance and election outcome, 91
    - pre-election opinion polls, 92
    - PR1MA Corporation, 93
  - electoral boundaries, 30, 50
  - Electoral Integrity Project (EIP), 26, 28, 52
  - electoral manipulations
    - electoral integrity, 29
    - institutional and legal framework, 30–35
    - in Malaysia, 29
    - malpractices, 29
    - PEI score, 28
    - polling day, 40–41
    - post-election, 41–42
    - social and political instability, 28
    - voters, 35–39
  - Electoral Quota (EQ), 65, 81n2
  - elite defections, 117–24
  - Employees' Provident Fund (EPF), 487
  - Entulu Belaun, Joseph, 390
  - "ethno-class" fractions, 146
  - Ewon Benedick, 415
- F**
- Facebook, 123, 167, 245, 253, 269, 337, 383, 428, 440, 470–71
  - Fadillah Yusof, 381–82
  - Fahmi Fadzil, 198
  - fake identification cards (ICs), 406
  - Federal Land Development Authority (FELDA)
    - benefits for settlers, 136, 139
    - BN-affiliated parties, 225
    - case of Cameron Highlands, 226
    - children, 171
    - community organization structure, 200–1 and estate workers, 159
    - FELDA 2.0 package, 174–75
    - first-generation settlers, 164
    - general election results, 230–31
    - implementation, 317
    - in northern Malaysia, 209
    - parliamentary constituencies, 209, 223, 228–29
    - parliamentary seats, 230–31
    - political coalitions and parties, 224, 227
    - PPBM's candidates, 326
    - second-generation settlers, 164–65
    - settler schemes, 222–23, 226
    - significance of, 210–15
    - support for BN, 447, 449, 481
    - UMNO and BN, 318
    - UMNO politicians, 224
    - urban constituencies, 192
    - voting results, 215–22
  - Federal Legislative Council, 53
  - Federal Territories, 198, 200, 210
  - FELDA Global Ventures, 145, 484, 441
  - fence-sitter voters, 462, 464, 466, 471
  - Fikhran Hamshi Mohamad Fatmi, 355

first-past-the-post (FPTP) system, 5, 26, 30, 31, 50, 53, 313, 481  
 focus group discussions (FGDs), 154, 159, 161  
   in Johor and Kedah, 195–97, 200  
   Malay-Muslim participants, 195  
   Malay voters, 192  
 foreign direct investments (FDI), 323, 439

## G

Gabungan Bersatu Sabah (GBS), 416  
 Gabungan Bertindak Malaysia (GBM), 245  
 Gabungan Parti Sarawak (GPS), 15, 365, 396–97, 488  
 Gabungan Sabah, 407, 408  
 Gagasan Sejahtera, 140, 291, 351, 361n6  
 Gelang Patah, 318, 338n5, 329  
 gender segregation in public places, 346  
 geographic information system (GIS), 19  
 Gerakan, 236, 238–240, 246, 296, 312, 318  
 gerrymandering, 32, 52, 59, 60, 70, 76, 285, 286, 288  
 Gini coefficient, 125, 128  
 Global Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, 28  
 Gobind Singh Deo, 251, 252, 267, 270  
 Goh Fah Sun, 434  
 Gombak, 193, 280, 298  
 goods and services tax (GST), 10, 81, 97, 117, 119, 168, 169, 176, 292, 406, 472, 482, 489  
 government-linked corporations (GLCs), 139, 140, 142  
 grassroots campaigning, 192, 473–74  
 gross domestic product (GDP), 88, 92, 99, 118, 459  
 Gua Musang, 215, 348  
 Guchil, 349  
 Guyot, Dorothy, 210

## H

Hadi Awang, 195, 206, 247, 351–54  
 Halimah Mohamed Sadique, 224, 329  
 Hamdan Sani, 381, 382  
*Harakah*, 192, 302  
 Harris Salleh, 417n1

Hasni Mohammad, 442  
 Hassan Karim, 326  
*Hebatkan Negaraku*, 409  
 Henrynus Amin, 407, 417n2  
 Hindu Rights Action Force (HINDRAF), 259, 262–63  
 Hishammuddin Hussein, 39, 323, 329, 330  
 Hong Leong Investment Bank Research, 458  
 Hou Kok Chung, 246  
 house prices, 99, 100, 482  
 household income trends, 100  
 HSBC Global Research, 458  
*huatuan* leadership, 242, 244  
*hudud* law, 195, 196–97, 240, 346, 350, 352, 372  
 Hulu Kelang, 291  
 Hulu Langat, 287  
 Hulu Terengganu, 216  
 Husam Musa, 354, 355, 359–61  
 Hussein Onn, 344

## I

Iban Christians, 366, 367  
 Iban-majority constituencies, 373  
 Ibrahim Ali, 39, 194  
 Ibrahim Suffian, 354  
 Ibu Pejabat Polis Daerah (IPD), 426  
 Ijok, 292  
 Ilham Centre, 458  
 Indian community in Malaysia  
   BN's manifesto, 268  
   marginalization, 259  
   political preferences, 263–64  
   political representation, 260–63  
   HINDRAF, 262  
   size, 272  
 Indian Progressive Front (IPF), 262  
 Indonesia, voters from, 33  
 inflation, 8, 85, 87, 97, 99, 105, 117, 482  
 Inisiatif Peduli Rakyat, 142, 290  
 Institute Darul Ehsan (IDE), 73, 293–94  
 Internal Security Act (ISA), 6, 34, 222, 263  
 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), 205, 443, 455  
 anti-ICERD rally, 180, 430

- International Monetary Fund, 102, 459  
 INVOKE Malaysia, 473, 475  
   Big Data analytics, 458–60, 464, 475  
   campaign messages, 464, 466, 467, 469–71, 474  
   GE-14 political predictions, 458, 459, 471  
   interactive voice response, 460  
   Kelantan, 472  
   microtargeting technique, 466–67, 474, 475  
   national surveys, 293  
   political survey, 460  
   prediction of PAS, 471–72  
   survey questions, 462  
   Terengganu, 472  
 Islam, 343, 376  
   as national religion, 170  
   in Johor, 317  
   in Kelantan, 343, 346–47  
   UMNO as defender of, 38, 179, 196, 376  
   under threat, 455  
 Islamic criminal code, 195  
   *see also hudud law*  
 Islamic Party of Malaysia. *See* Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS)  
 Islamic Pilgrimage Fund, 140, 197, 201  
   *see also* Lembaga Urusan Tabung Haji  
 Islamization, 239, 241, 247, 262, 346, 405  
 Istana Negeri, 414  
 Izani Hussin, 359
- J**  
 Jamal Md. Yunos, 143, 283  
 Jayakumar, Xavier, 267  
 Jeannot Sinel, 390  
 Jelebu, 216, 224  
 Jeli, 348, 358–59  
 Jempol, 216, 224, 466  
 Jeram, 305  
 Jerantut, 226  
 Jerlun, 221  
 Jesselton, 255n2  
 Jiaozong, 242, 255n10  
 Johor  
   *Bangsa Johor*, 439–41  
   Barisan Nasional in, 312–19, 322–25  
   Barisan Nasional's campaign in, 438–41  
   campaign challenges, 441–42  
   elections, 330–33, 338  
   focus group discussions, 195–97, 200  
   leadership structure, 337  
   Menteri Besar, 441  
   national and state issues, 440–41  
   Pakatan Harapan, 311  
   rural voters, 170–73  
   trends and evidence, 336–37  
   United Malays National Organization, 311  
   urbanization, 310  
   voter inequality, 65  
   voting history, 157  
 Johor Bahru, 264, 310, 323, 333, 338n6  
 Johor, GE-14 campaigns in  
   Anti-Fake News Bill, 319  
   Barisan Nasional, 322–25  
   economic issues, 322  
   Election Commission, 319  
   Pakatan Harapan, 325–28  
   Parti Islam SeMalaysia, 329–30  
   polls, 330  
 Johor Hi-5, 438–39  
 Johor Skills Training Fund, 438  
*jualan sentuhan rakyat* (people's sales), 200
- K**  
 Kadazan, 329, 434  
 Kadazandusun, 403, 405–6, 416  
 Kadazan-led multiracial political parties, 239  
 “Kajang Move” of 2014, 283  
 Kajidata Research, 458  
 Kampong Bahagia, 74  
 Kampung Bohol, 74  
 Kampung FELDA Bukit Cherakah, 293  
 Kampung Kerinchi, 427, 428  
 Kapar, 69, 281, 287, 296, 297  
 Karamunting, 435  
 Kasih Ibu Smart Selangor (KISS), 290  
 Kayong, Bill, 378  
 Kedah  
   communal tension, 194  
   FELDA seats, 215–16, 318  
   focus group discussions, 173–74, 195–97  
   in GE-14, 159

- gerrymandering, 60, 70,  
 parliamentary seats, 157, 159  
 PAS, 472  
 Pakatan Harapan, 471
- Kelantan**  
 campaigns in, 352–55  
 electoral history, 343–44  
 FELDA seats, 215  
*hudud* laws, 195, 345, 346, 351  
 Jeli, 348, 358–59  
 Kota Bharu, 348, 355–57  
 Kubang Kerian, 348, 359  
 Mahathir, lack of popularity, 127, 222  
 parliamentary seats, 345, 347, 349, 356  
 Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS), 10, 344–51  
 Pengkalan Chepa, 359–60  
 religious characteristics, 343  
 selected parliamentary constituencies in,  
 358  
 Shari'ah Criminal Code (II), 346  
 state assembly seats, 346, 347, 349, 357  
 tactical voting, 471–72  
 variation of voter population in, 55
- Kemaman, 193, 202
- Kesavan, 267
- Ketari**  
 activated protest, 446–47  
 Chinese vote in, 448  
 entrenched loyalty, 446–47  
 Pakatan Harapan, 446  
 UMNO, 446
- Ketua Wanita, 432
- Khaled Nordin, 163, 175, 176, 322–23, 330,  
 333
- Khalid Samad, 145, 291, 298
- Kho Teck Wan, 380, 381
- Kitingan, Jeffrey, 407, 412, 414, 417n2
- KL-Singapore High-Speed Rail, 323
- Klang Valley, 41, 244
- kleptocracy, 8, 144, 483, 487
- Kluang, 313, 318
- Kosmo*, 36
- Kota Bharu, 348, 355–57
- Kota Damansara, 285
- Kota Kinabalu, 241
- Kota Melaka, 69
- Kota Raja, 73, 296
- Kota Tinggi, 226, 329
- Kroll, risk consulting firm, 142
- Kuala Kangsar, 460
- Kuala Kedah, 74
- Kuala Kerai, 348
- Kuala Krau, 216, 226
- Kuala Lumpur, 59, 180, 318
- Kuala Lumpur and Selangor Chinese  
 Assembly Hall (KLSCAH), 244–45
- Kuala Lumpur Composite Index (KLCI), 247
- Kuala Selangor, 280, 303, 304
- Kubang Kerian, 348, 359
- Kulai, 318
- Kulasegaran, M., 267, 270
- Kumutha Rahman, 267
- Kunasekaran, 267
- L**
- Labis, 318, 333
- labour market conditions, 96
- Labuan, 59
- Lajim Ukin, 407, 417n2
- Laney, Doug, 460
- Lasimbang, Jenifer, 433
- Latheefa Koya, 490
- Latif Bandi, 326
- Layang-Layang, 442
- Ledang, 318
- Lembaga Urusan Tabung Haji  
 corruption scandal, 140, 201, 430, 431  
 establishment, 197
- Lembah Pantai, 425–31  
 gerrymandering, 75  
 relocation of early voters, 74
- Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-Transgender (LGBT),  
 166, 242, 255n8
- Liang Teck Meng, 333
- Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), 239, 407
- Liew Chin Tong, 243, 246, 248, 326
- Lim Guan Eng, 247, 251, 252, 328
- Lim Hong Hai, 30, 32, 38
- Lim Kit Siang, 195, 247, 251, 252, 269, 326,  
 329, 433
- Lim Lian Geok Cultural Development  
 Centre (LLG), 245
- Liow Tiong Lai, 246, 448
- Loke, Anthony, 246



Lubok Antu, 390

Luyang, 434

## M

Machiavelli, Nicolo, 452

Madius Tangau, 414, 415

Mahathir Mohamad

address to nation, 448

administration, 490

campaign, 486

as chairman, 9

Chinese support for, 238

conflict with PAS leadership, 361

cooperation with PH, 247

cooperation with PR, 240

Facebook Live, 448

Forest City mega project, 440

Indian voters, 269

in Kelantan, 127, 222, 354

leadership, 238, 486, 491

in Lembah Pantai, 427

majority in Parliament election, 348

“Mahathir factor”, 136, 247, 441, 486

Malay elite, 43

1MDB issue, 8

Pakatan Harapan, 269, 448

Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia, 319

PH coalition, 25, 429, 486

political crisis after AFC, 6

political manoeuvring, 446

powerful speeches, 328

retirement, 281

split within UMNO, 345

violating the act, 34

visits to parliamentary constituencies,  
125, 127

Mahfuz Omar, 60

Majlis Amanah Rakyat (MARA), 8, 140

Makkal Sakthi, 263

malapportionment

definition, 52

electoral manipulations, 30–32

FELDA constituencies, 210

in GE-13, 61, 481

implications, 60

institutionalizing, 57, 59

in Johor, 312

oversized constituencies, 6, 490

in Peninsular Malaysia, 68–70

in Sarawak, 61

in Selangor, 285

*Malay Dilemma, The*, 141

Malay/Melanau constituencies, 367, 373

Malay rights,

non-governmental organizations, 30, 194

preservation of, 93, 171, 317, 486

prioritization, 135

rural voters, 154–55, 164, 170

Malay-supermajority seats, 287, 295

“Malay tsunami”, 153, 180

Malayan Chinese Association, 20n2

Malayan Constitution of 1957, 53

Malayan Indian Congress, 20n2

Malaysia Agreement 1963 (MA 63), 57, 406,  
408, 416

Malaysia Baru, 443, 455

Malaysia Sejahtera, 269

Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission  
(MACC), 170, 354, 414, 430, 452, 490

Malaysian Bar Council, 9

Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA)

Belt and Road Initiative, endorsement,  
251

in BN coalition, 5, 27, 205

BN Chinese-based parties, 254

Chinese votes trends, 238–41

early days, 53

in Johor, 157, 167, 311–12, 318

leadership positions, 246

Mahathir Mohamad administration, 238

Malay support, 171

manifesto, 251

means of mobilization, 252–53

membership size, 243

parliamentary seats, 237

political discourse and mobilization, 236

pro-left parties, 236

in Sabah, 255n5, 407, 434

in Sarawak, 366

*The Star* newspaper, 36

Malaysian Communications and

Multimedia Commission (MCMC), 37

Malaysian Indian Blueprint (MIB), 268, 270,  
272

- Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC)  
 in BN coalition, 5, 27, 205, 261–62, 430  
 Cameron Highlands, 207n4, 266  
 early days, 53, 261  
 free grocery items, 269  
 Hulu Langat, 266  
 in GE-14, 258  
 incumbent coalition, 272  
 internal issues, 261  
 in Johor, 157, 312, 318  
 leadership of, 261–63  
 parliamentary and state assembly seats,  
 266, 295  
 in Sabah, 407  
 in Sarawak, 366  
 in Segamat, 270  
 in Selangor, 283  
 Tamil newspapers, 36
- Malaysian Indians  
 Barisan Nasional, 264  
 campaign and issues, 267–69  
 Hindu Rights Action Force, 259, 262–63  
 Pakatan Harapan, 69, 270  
 parliamentary seats in GE-14, 271  
 in Peninsular Malaysia, 265  
 political preferences, 263–64  
 political representation, 260–62  
 socio-economic marginalization, 259–60,  
 272
- Malaysian Insider*, 37
- Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement's, 222
- Malaysian United Indigenous Party, 140
- Manifesto Malaysia Sejahtera*, 20 *Tawaran  
 Utama*, 353
- Manikavasagam, 261
- Manogaran, M., 206, 267
- maqasid syariah* (moderate Islam) approach,  
 352
- March 8: Eclipsing May 13*, 18
- Mas Gading, 382–84, 398n16
- Masidi Manjun, 415
- Masing, James, 393
- Maszlee Malik, 130n6, 221
- Mat Sabu, 60, 195, 328, 339n24, 351, 487
- Maybank Investment Bank Research, 458
- Maznah Mohamad, 214
- Melaka, 153, 201, 216, 239, 264, 318, 342, 471  
 malapportionment, degree of, 2013 and  
 2018, 70
- “Mengejar Singa” strategy, 438
- Merdeka Center for Opinion Research  
 geospatial dataset, 214  
 Johor survey, 162  
 post-election survey, 431  
 pre-election survey, 11, 91, 92, 134, 136,  
 181n1, 185n51, 240, 254, 292, 293, 330,  
 354, 458, 484, 488
- Mersing, 226, 438
- microtargeting techniques, 466, 474–75
- Miri, 376, 378, 379, 390
- Mohamad Fatmi Che Salleh, 355
- Mohamad Khir Toyo, 281
- Mohamed Fareez Noor Amran, 360
- Mohana Muniandy, 270
- Mohd Arshad Abdul Mualap, 417n2
- Mohd Hashim, Tan Sri, 73
- Mohd Mazri Yahya, 329
- Mohd Nordin Awang, 359
- Mohd Othman Yusuf, 325
- Mohd Roslan Puteh, 349, 350
- money politics, 18, 37, 131, 132, 143, 144,  
 214, 239, 370, 414
- Mordi Bimol, 383, 398n16
- Mositun, Johnny, 415
- Muar, 318, 438
- Muhammad Adib Mohd Kassim, 455
- Muhyiddin Yassin, 8, 123, 195, 319, 326, 454
- Mukhriz Mahathir, 123, 155, 159, 173, 174,  
 221
- Musa Aman, 404, 405, 408, 412, 414–15,  
 417n2, 418n11
- Mustapa Mohamed, 348, 352, 353, 360
- Myanmar, 29
- N**
- Najib Razak  
 BR1M payments, 7, 136  
 collaboration with PAS, 352  
 election budget, 139  
 electoral victories, 25  
 with Indian community, 263–64, 268–69  
 investment in Kelantan, 353  
 with Johoreans, 323, 326  
 in Langkawi, 174

- Malaysian Indian Blueprint, 268  
 1MDB scandal, 132, 144, 178, 283, 379, 416, 452  
 post-election manoeuvring, 41  
 pre-election promises, 38, 448  
 public relations tactics, 430  
 rural voters' opinion, 175–76, 222  
 social media hero, 181  
 tainted reputation, 482–83  
 National Higher Education Fund Corporation (PTPTN), 169, 443, 452  
 National Registration Department, 447  
 Negeri Sembilan, 65, 216, 318  
 New Economic Policy (NEP), 38, 259, 261  
*New Straits Times*, 36  
 Nga Khor Ming, 246, 251, 252  
 Nik Abduh Nik Aziz, 353, 354  
 Nik Aziz Nik Mat, 222, 342, 345, 346, 348, 351, 354, 360, 361  
 Nik Nazmi Nik Ahmad, 198  
 Nik Omar Nik Aziz, 354, 360, 361  
 Ningkan, Stephen, 366, 367  
 Nizar Jamaluddin, 194  
 non-governmental organizations (NGO), 39, 238, 268, 432  
 non-Muslim bumiputra community, 59, 370, 376, 379–82, 384, 393, 410, 412  
 Nor Irwan Ahmad Nor, 381–82  
 Nur Jazlan, 323, 325, 333  
 Nurul Izzah Anwar, 74, 198, 425, 428  
 Nusajaya High-Tech Park, 323  
 Nyallau, William, 390
- O**
- Obama, Barack, 460, 473  
 Official Secrets Act (OSA), 8, 35  
 1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB), 7, 8, 37, 117, 132, 140, 144–45, 205, 240, 247, 326, 372, 379, 380, 451, 452  
 1Malaysia programmes, 136–41  
 One Person, One Vote, One Value (OPOVOV), 50, 76, 285  
 Ong Ka Ting, 246  
 Ong Kian Ming, 38, 246, 281, 282  
 Ong Tee Keat, 246  
 Oxford Economics, 458
- P**
- Pagoh, 325, 326  
 Pahang, 15, 65, 212, 226  
 Pakatan Harapan (PH)  
   campaign strategy, 378, 486–87, 491  
   Chinese voters, 79, 240, 243, 254  
   coalition, 15  
   component parties, 7–8  
   economic promises, 489  
   election promises, 378–79, 489–91  
   electoral assets, 9  
   FELDA settlers, 447, 449  
   first Cabinet, 490  
   Indian voters, 80, 258  
   INVOKE predictions, 471–72  
   in Johor, 325–28  
   in Kelantan, 361  
   late surge, 302, 311, 449, 480, 485  
   leadership of Mahathir Mohamad, 245  
   logo, 34, 294, 328  
   Malay-based parties, 456  
   Malay-majority seats, 76, 78  
   Malay voters, 38  
   manifesto, 137–39, 269  
   one-term government, 431  
   parliamentary seats, 127  
   post-GE-14, 41  
   in Sabah, 433,  
   in Sarawak, 248, 364, 365, 372, 378, 379  
   in Selangor, 290–94, 454  
   sentiments, 292–94  
   victories, 393, 443  
   vote share, 76  
   and Warisan, 408–9, 435  
 Pakatan Rakyat (PR)  
   coalition, 7  
   collapse of, 195  
   internal tussle, 240  
   first year of administration, 431  
   PAS' presence, 351, 445  
   PH's precursor, 9  
   Selangor voters, 281  
   2008 General Elections, 193, 254, 263  
   2013 General Elections, 12, 194, 481  
 Palanivel, 264, 266, 273n1  
 Pandithan, M.G., 262  
 Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PMIP), 54, 140

- Parit Yaani, 325, 333
- Parti Amanah Negara  
 competitor against UMNO and PAS, 127  
 cabinet positions, 43  
 in Johor, 179, 332  
 in Kelantan, 354, 361  
 Parit Yaani, 325, 333  
 PAS splinter party, 7, 123, 155, 195, 342  
 in PH coalition, 198, 319  
 in Sabah, 435  
 in Sarawak, 379, 393  
 in Selangor, 291, 295  
 urban Malay seats, 204
- Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak (PBDS), 368
- Parti Bersatu Rakyat Jelata Sabah  
 (BERJAYA), 417n1
- Parti Bersatu Rakyat Sabah (PBRBS), 406, 407
- Parti Bersatu Sabah (PBS), 59, 239, 241, 403, 407
- Parti Cinta Sabah (PCS), 407, 408, 417n2, 433
- Parti Harapan Rakyat Sabah (PHRS), 407, 417n2, 435
- Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS)  
 Alor Star, 74  
 Barisan Alternatif, 74  
 cost of living issues, 353  
 door-to-door visits, 360  
 economic administration, 360  
 electoral strategies, 348–51  
 emergence, 344–45  
 FELDA seats, 215–16, 218, 227  
 grassroots network, 360  
*Harakah*, 192, 302  
 Indian candidates, 267  
 INVOKE prediction, 471–72  
 in Johor, 167, 317, 329, 333  
 in Kedah, 167, 472  
 in Kelantan, 195, 343–61  
 Kota Bharu, 355  
 leadership, 351, 361  
 manifesto, 269, 294, 329, 451, 487  
 Malay voters, 60, 76, 178  
 membership, 243  
 membership in BN coalition, 344  
 Mukhtar, 351, 454  
 non-Muslim supporters, 267  
 1MDB, 452  
 organizational coherence, 351  
 Pakatan Rakyat (PR) coalition, 7, 127, 217, 351  
 parliamentary seats, 344, 346, 355  
 partnership with DAP, 351  
 partnership with UMNO, 204–6, 221, 222, 337, 352, 452, 455  
 Pengkalan Chepa, 359–60  
 Pokok Sena, 74  
 in Sabah, 407, 410, 412  
 in Sarawak, 379, 382  
 in Selangor, 280, 283, 290–1, 295, 298, 305, 451–57  
 third electoral force, 9, 337  
*ulama* faction, 345, 346  
 UMNO-PAS alliance, 204–6, 337, 352, 489
- Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR)  
 campaign strategies, 405–6  
 Chinese-majority seats, 391  
 Indian candidates, 267, 270  
 Indian voters, 263, 272  
 in Johor, 318, 325–26  
 in Kedah, 159  
 in Kelantan, 349–50  
 leadership, 9  
 logo, 11, 294  
 membership, 243  
 parliamentary seats, 43, 405  
 in Sabah, 405–6, 412, 433  
 in Sarawak, 241, 372–74, 379, 382, 390  
 in Selangor, 280, 305, 306  
 2013 GE, 194  
 2018 GE, 198  
 urban constituencies, 127
- Parti Kerjasama Anak Negeri (PKAN), 407, 433, 435
- Parti Kerjasama Sabah (PKS), 435
- Parti Negara Malaysia (PANAS), 367
- Parti Perpaduan Rakyat Sabah (PPRS), 407
- Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB), 367, 393, 396  
 candidates, 376  
 consociationalism, 368  
 manifesto, 375  
 seats allocation, 389

- Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (PPBM)  
 consociational politics, 222  
 deregistration, 11, 295  
 FELDA voters, 227  
 formation, 8, 123, 195, 319  
 in GE-14, 155  
 in Johor, 166, 325–28  
 in Kedah, 167, 173–74, 178  
 leaders, 123  
 “Parti Bunga”, 184n35  
 pre-election agreement, 204  
 in Sarawak, 396  
 UMNO-clone, 31, 43
- Parti Rakyat Sarawak (PRS), 368, 376, 396
- Parti Sosialis Malaysia, 285
- Parti Sosialis Rakyat Malaysia (PSRM), 212
- Parti Warisan Sabah. *See* Warisan
- Party Solidarity Tanah Airku (STAR), 407, 412, 417n2, 433
- Pasir Gudang, 318, 327, 333, 437–38
- Patto, Kasthurrani, 267
- Penang  
 DAP’s victory, 39, 174  
 floods, 142, 167  
 malapportionment, 68–69  
 public protests, 194, 206
- Pengerang, 226, 329, 438
- Pengerang Integrated Petroleum Complex, 323, 326
- Pengkalan Chepa, 348, 359–60
- People’s Action Party (PAP), 236
- Perak, 73, 193, 194, 201, 202, 236, 239, 313, 318
- Perlis, 65, 215  
 redelineation, 68
- Permodalan Nasional Berhad, 268
- Pertubuhan Pribumi Perkasa (Perkasa), 39, 194, 263
- Petra Jaya, 381–82
- Petroleum Development Act, 1974, 367
- Petroleum Sarawak Berhad (PETROS), 375, 381
- phantom voters, 33
- Pokok Sena, 74
- Politweet, 154, 193, 213, 330
- polling and counting agents (PACAs), 40
- Pontian, 331
- post-campaign analytics, 470
- Power Sharing in a Divided Nation*, 18
- Prakash Rao, 270
- Printing Presses and Publications Act (PPPA), 6, 36
- PR1MA Corporation, 93
- Progressive Democratic Party (PDP), 368, 389, 396
- Pua, Tony, 246
- Puchong, 69
- Pulai, 318, 333
- Puncak Borneo, 390
- Putrajaya, 18, 153, 192, 198, 200, 201, 430, 431
- R**
- Radio Televisyen Malaysia (RTM), 36
- Rafidah Aziz, 123, 201, 205
- Rafizi Ramli, 35, 354
- Raja Nong Chik, 198, 425–28
- Rani Osman, 292
- Rantau Panjang, 348
- Razaleigh Hamzah. *See* Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah
- redelineation exercise, 49, 50, 57, 480  
 administrative facilities in constituencies, 51  
 elimination of upper limit, 59  
 gerrymandering, 52, 59, 60, 70  
 history of, 53  
 Mahathir’s first tenure (1981–2003), 59–61  
 maintenance of local ties, 51  
 malapportionment, 57, 59, 60  
 number of electoral constituencies, 50  
 for Peninsular Malaysia and Sabah, 51  
 post-independence election, 54  
 principles of, 51, 53–54  
 rectify voter inequality, 65  
 for Sarawak, 51, 61, 63  
 seat creation and BN’s electoral performance, 62  
 shifting political preference, 70, 73, 74, 76, 81  
 state boundaries, 51
- Reformasi* movement, 6, 74, 245, 281, 328, 396

- Registrar of Societies (ROS), 6, 11, 33, 34, 273n1, 396
- Reid Commission, 53
- Richard Riot Jaem, 241, 393
- Rita Sarimah Insol, 390
- Rooney Rebit, 397n6
- Rosmah Mansor, 132, 176, 326, 328, 339n19, 380, 452–53, 483, 487
- rural Malay psyche
- access to information, 167–68
  - faith and fear, 166–67
  - political leaders, 163–64
  - power of women and their networks, 165–66
  - royalty, 162–63
  - toeing the family line, 164–65
- rural Malay voter, in GE-14
- anti-ICERD rally, 180
  - BN and UMNO, 153
  - DAP-controlled government, 180
  - discontent and disillusionment, 179–80
  - ethnography, 159–68
  - ethno-religious boxes, 180
  - Federal Land Development Authority, 178 and GE-13, 155, 156
  - issues, 168–75
  - in Johor and Kedah, 154, 155, 157–59
  - “Malay tsunami”, 153–54
  - Merdeka Center study, 178
  - Pakatan Harapan (PH) coalition, 153
  - Pakatan Rakyat coalition, 154
  - Parti Islam SeMalaysia, 155, 178–79
  - Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia, 155, 181
  - signs of dissatisfaction, 175–78
  - UMNO politicians, 179
- S**
- Sabah, 7, 10, 31, 125, 126, 141, 241, 365, 402, 481
- Chinese-based political parties, 236
  - devolution of revenue, 406
  - dissolution of Parliament, 407
  - ethnic group, 403
  - GE-14 results, 409–12
  - goods and services tax, 406
  - indigenous groups, 403
  - Islamization, 239
  - Kadazandusun, 403, 405–6, 416
  - Musa Aman, 404, 405, 412, 414
  - Muslim bumiputra seats, 410
  - non-Muslim bumiputra seats, 410
  - official campaigning, 408
  - parliamentary constituencies, 403
  - parliamentary seats, 14, 405, 410, 411
  - political context, 406, 416
  - redelineation exercises, 57, 59, 64, 76 and Sarawak, 250, 253, 254. *See also* Sarawak
  - state assembly seats, 405, 413
  - voters in rural areas, 416
- Sabah Alliance, 417n1
- Sabah Chinese Association, 236
- Sabah National Party, 236
- Sabah Progressive Party (SAPP), 407, 417n2, 433
- Sabak Bernam, 295, 298
- Saiful Adli, 359
- Salahuddin Ayub, 325, 328, 333, 359
- sales and services tax (SST), 97, 141, 486
- Sambanthan, V.T., 261
- Samy Vellu, 262, 263
- Sandhara Kumar, 267
- Saniswara Nethaji, 267
- Santhara Kumar, 270
- Santiago, Charles, 267
- Saratok, 390
- Sarawak, 7, 10, 125, 126, 141, 210, 310, 481
- “Allah ban”, 375
  - Bakun Dam, 375, 381
  - Bandar Kuching, 380–81
  - Bidayuh-majority constituencies, 373
  - BN and opposition seats in, 395
  - BN politicians, 246
  - bumiputra population, 366
  - Chinese community, 370
  - Chinese-majority constituency, 373
  - Chinese voters, 241
  - Christians in, 375
  - DAP’s state leaders’ staunch defence, 247
  - Development Bank of Sarawak, 375
  - developmentalism, 375
  - English and Malay as official language, 365
  - ethnic breakdown by parliamentary constituency, 377

- GE-14 campaigns in, 374–84  
 GE-13/GE-14 comparison of  
     parliamentary seats, 388  
 gerrymandering, 373  
 Iban Christians, 366  
 Iban majority constituencies, 373  
 independent candidates, 393, 394  
 Malay/Melanau constituencies, 373  
 Mas Gading, 382–84  
 Miri, 376, 378, 379, 390  
 multiculturalism, 375–76  
 multiethnic coalition, 366  
 Orang Ulu constituencies, 373  
 parliamentary constituencies, 366  
 parliamentary election results (GE-14),  
     384  
 parliamentary seats, 14, 389  
 parties and candidates (state elections  
     2016), 374  
 Petra Jaya, 381–82  
 petro cash dividends, 378  
 Petroleum Sarawak Berhad (PETROS),  
     375, 381  
 political arena, 239  
 political context, 366  
 population, 366  
 redelineation exercises, 57, 372–73  
 regional nationalism, 372  
 rural incomes, 378  
 and Sabah, 250, 253, 254  
 state elections, 371–74, 489  
 state rights and devolution of power, 375  
 2008 General Elections, 241  
 2018 General Elections, 364  
 unemployment, 378  
 urban population, 366  
 variation of redistricted parliamentary  
     seats (1968), 58  
 Sarawak Barisan Nasional (Sarawak BN),  
     364, 365, 367–70, 396  
     Chinese-majority seats, 389  
     co-opting headmen, 370  
     Dayak-majority seats, 389  
     economic development track record, 378  
     election campaign, 370, 374  
     fielding of candidates, 376–78  
     Gabungan Parti Sarawak, 396  
     GE-14 parliamentary election results, 384  
     majority, 393  
     Malay/Melanau majority seats, 389  
     mixed Christian and Muslim bumiputra  
         seats, 389  
     mixed Muslim bumiputra/non-Muslim  
         bumiputra seats, 387  
     Muslim bumiputra seats, 385, 389  
     non-Muslim bumiputra seats, 386, 389  
     opposition parties, 373  
     parliamentary elections, 1974–2013, 370  
     state elections, 1974–2016, 371  
     vote share, 373, 389  
 Sarawak National Action Party (SNAP), 367  
 Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP), 367,  
     376, 390, 396  
     in Bandar Kuching, 380–81  
     Chinese politics, 236  
     1970 General Elections, 238  
 Sarawanan, 264, 267, 270  
 seats, buying and selling, 141–43  
 Security Offences (Special Measures) Act  
     (SOSMA), 6, 34–35  
 Sedition Act, 6, 34, 39  
 See Chee How, 64  
 Segamat, 318, 333  
 segmenting voters, 466  
 Sekijang, 318  
 Selangau, 390  
 Selangor, 9, 202, 236, 239, 451–57  
     anti-UMNO Malay vote, 281  
     election data, 280  
     ethnic and youth patterns, 298–305  
     federal-level campaign, 294  
     in GE-13, 283, 284  
     in GE-14, 279–80, 305  
     General Election results, 1959–2018, 282  
     gerrymandering, 70  
     “Kajang Move” of 2014, 283  
     malapportionment, 69  
     Malay vote, 280–81  
     1MDB, 283  
     parliamentary seats, 299–301  
     pre-election agreement, 195  
     *Reformasi*, 281  
     social assistance programmes, 295  
     UMNO's schisms, 281

- variation of voter population in, 55  
 voters, 295–98  
 Semangat 46 (S46), 345, 346, 348  
 Sembrong, 224, 226, 329, 338n10  
 Semenyih, 206, 285, 305  
 Senggarang, 317  
 Sepang, 193, 202  
 Seri Serdang, 70  
 Seri Setia, 198, 305  
 Setiawangsa, 74, 198, 201  
 Shafie Apdal, 8, 10, 123, 143, 406–9, 412–16  
 Shah Alam, 281, 291, 298, 302  
 Shahrir Samad, 323, 329, 330, 333  
 Shahrizat Abdul Jalil, 74, 149n50  
 Shahrudin Salleh, 325  
 Shari'ah Criminal Code (II), 346  
 Siamese community, 174  
 Sibul, 246, 248, 252  
 Sim Kui Hian, 380, 390  
 Simpang Renggam, 221, 222, 333  
 Singapore, 57, 164, 171–73, 177, 236, 317, 331, 438  
     1962 Water Agreement, 443  
 Sivaraj, C., 264, 270, 273n5  
 Sivarasa, 270  
 social media campaign, 469–70  
 social media platforms, 462, 470–71, 475, 488, 490  
 Socioeconomic Development of the Indian Community Unit (SEDIC), 268  
 South Johor Fishermen's Association, 175  
 Southern Philippines, 33  
 Sri Gading, 331  
 State Legislative Assembly (SLA), 280, 305  
 State Liaison Committees, 451  
 Subramaniam, S., 262, 264, 267, 268, 270, 273n1, 323, 333  
 Sultan Ibrahim Iskandar, 157  
 Sultan Ismail Petra Airport, 353  
 Sultan of Johor, 175, 317, 323, 325, 328, 439  
 Sultan of Selangor, 290, 454  
 Sungai Besar, 305, 460  
 Sungai Buloh, 270, 287, 296, 297  
 Sungai Kandis, 70–73, 305  
 Sungai Kelantan Integrated River Basin Development Project, 353  
 Sungai Siput, 263, 267  
 Suresh Kumar, 267  
 Syariah Courts (Criminal Jurisdiction) Act (1965), 352  
 Syed Saddiq, 130n6, 325
- T**
- Tabung Haji. *See* Lembaga Urusan Tabung Haji  
 Taib Mahmud, 241, 367–70  
 Taiwan, 473  
 Takiyuddin Hassan, 355  
 Taman Seri Sentosa, 428  
*Tamil Malar*, 267  
 Tan Khai, 380  
 Tanjung Karang, 295, 298  
 Tanjung Piai, 318  
 Tapah, 267  
 Tawi Sli, 367  
 Tebing Tinggi, 73  
 Tebrau, 318  
 Teluk Intan, 246, 248  
 Tenggara, 226  
 Tengku Adnan Tengku Mansor, 200, 201  
 Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, 148n31, 222, 345, 346, 348, 360, 361n4  
 Teo, Michael, 376  
 Teo Nie Ching, 243, 246  
 Terengganu, 127, 178, 201, 204, 215, 216, 222, 471–72  
 Tiki Anak Lafe, 382, 383  
 timber licences, 367, 372  
 Titiwangsa, 198, 200, 201  
 Tok Kenali, 343  
 Tok Salehor, 352  
 Tuan Ibrahim, 359  
 Tumpat, 348  
 Tunku Abdul Rahman, 366, 367
- U**
- ulama* faction, 345, 346  
 #UndiRosak movement, 245  
 unemployment, 8, 85–87, 89–91, 95, 114, 115, 117, 121, 125, 128, 378, 482  
 Unified Examination Certificate (UEC), 241, 365  
 United Chinese Association Sibul, 252



- United Islamic Front (APU), 345, 346
- United Malays National Organization (UMNO)
- birthplace, 153, 156
  - in BN coalition, 5, 20n2, 27
  - branch offices, 403–4
  - clientelism, 42–43
  - cybertroopers, 180
  - defections, 127, 207n3
  - defender of Islam, 38, 179, 196, 376
  - delegitimize state governments, 194
  - early days, 53, 317
  - electoral manipulations, 29–42
  - FELDA constituencies, 164, 209, 212–15, 224, 318, 333
  - grassroots networks, 403–4, 491
  - hostility, 446
  - in Johor, 157, 179, 311
  - in Kelantan, 352–53
  - land grab, 293
  - malapportionment effects, 6, 480
  - Malay voters, 317, 446
  - Malay votes, 227
  - Malaysian Indian voters, 258
  - 1MDB, 144–45
  - parliamentary seats, 7, 344
  - and PAS, 352, 452–57
  - popularity, 15
  - presidents, 430
  - rural stronghold, 10, 15
  - in Sabah, 404–9
  - in Sarawak, 366, 369, 372, 375
  - Saudi donor, 144
  - schisms, 8, 123, 281
  - in Selangor, 427–30
  - shariah and *hudud* laws, 352
  - Ulama Congress, 343
  - urban constituencies, 200–6
  - vote share of, 125
  - voter manipulation, 35–39
- United Pasokmomogun Kadazandusun Organization (UPKO), 402, 407, 415, 416, 435
- United States of America, 473
- Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM), 182
- Uren, Patrick, 383
- USNO-SCA Alliance, 417n1
- Utusan Malaysia*, 36–37, 39
- V**
- Venice Commission of 2002, 52
- vote-buying, 141–43
- “Vote for Barisan Nasional” (*Undilah Barisan Nasional*), 439
- W**
- Wan Azizah Wan Ismail, 9, 195, 269, 328, 337
- Wang Gungwu, 246
- Wanita UMNO, 165, 170, 172, 173
- Warisan, 10, 15, 43, 402, 406–10, 412, 414, 416, 433, 435, 479, 485
- Watching the Watchdog*, 36
- “We Choose Blue” (*Kita Pilih Biru*), 439–40
- Wee Ka Siong, 246, 247, 248, 323, 333
- Westminsterial systems, 313
- William Mawan, 382, 390
- World Bank, 459
- Y**
- Yang di-Pertua Negeri, 408, 413–415
- Yang di-Pertuan Agong, 26, 408
- Yeo Bee Yin, 243
- Yeoh, Hannah, 243
- Yii, Kelvin, 380, 381
- Yong Peng, 247, 251, 252
- Yong Teck Lee, 407
- Yusof Ishak Institute Johor Survey in 2017, 162, 163
- Yusof Rawa, 345
- Z**
- Zahid Hamidi, 331, 430
- Zimbabwe, 28
- Zulhasnan Rafique, 198