

New Politics in Malaysia

Reproduced from *New Politics in Malaysia*, edited by Francis Loh Kok Wah and Johan Saravanamuttu (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Individual articles are available from < <http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg> >



The **Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS)** was established as an autonomous organization in 1968. It is a regional research centre for scholars and other specialists concerned with modern Southeast Asia, particularly the many-faceted issues and challenges of stability and security, economic development, and political and social change.

The Institute's research programmes are Regional Economic Studies (RES, including ASEAN and APEC), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS).

The Institute is governed by a twenty-two-member Board of Trustees comprising nominees from the Singapore Government, the National University of Singapore, the various Chambers of Commerce, and professional and civic organizations. An Executive Committee oversees day-to-day operations; it is chaired by the Director, the Institute's chief academic and administrative officer.

New Politics in Malaysia

edited by
FRANCIS LOH KOK WAH
JOHAN SARAVANAMUTTU



INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES, Singapore

Photographs used on the cover
Scenes of political events in Malaysia during 1997–99
Courtesy of Aliran Monthly

First published in Singapore in 2003 by
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace
Pasir Panjang
Singapore 119614

Internet e-mail: publish@iseas.edu.sg
World Wide Web: <http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>

All rights reserved.

No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise,
without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

© 2003 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore

*The responsibility for facts and opinions in this publication rests exclusively
with the editors and contributors and their interpretations do not necessarily reflect
the views or the policy of the Institute or its supporters.*

ISEAS Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

New politics in Malaysia / edited by Francis Loh Kok Wah and Johan Saravanamuttu.

1. Elections—Malaysia.
2. Malaysia. Parlimen. Dewan Rakyat—Elections, 1999.
3. Malaysia—Politics and government.
4. Voting research—Malaysia.
- I. Loh, Francis Kok Wah, 1951-
- II. Saravanamuttu, J. (Jayaratnam)

JQ1062 A95N53 2003 sls2002020279

ISBN 981-230-169-0

Typeset by International Typesetters Pte. Ltd.
Printed in Singapore by Seng Lee Press Pte. Ltd.

Contents

List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	ix
Acknowledgements	x
Contributors	xii
Abbreviations	xvi
1 The Eve of the 1999 General Election: From the NEP to <i>Reformasi</i> <i>Johan Saravanamuttu</i>	1
PART I	
2 The Delineation of Peninsular Electoral Constituencies: Amplifying Malay and UMNO Power <i>Lim Hong Hai</i>	25
3 The Role of Malaysia's Mainstream Press in the 1999 General Election <i>Mustafa K. Anuar</i>	53
4 The Contest for Malay Votes in 1999: UMNO's Most Historic Challenge? <i>Maznah Mohamad</i>	66
5 The Contest for Chinese Votes: Politics of Negotiation or Politics of Pressure? <i>Ng Tien Eng</i>	87

- 6 Embracing the Challenge of Representation: The Women's Movement and Electoral Politics in Malaysia 107
Tan Beng Hui and Cecilia Ng

PART II

- 7 The Multiple Roles of Rural Malay Women during the 1999 Election: The Case of FELDA J8 129
Rashila Ramli
- 8 Machang Bubuk: Changes in Voting Patterns, 1995–99 141
Toh Kin Woon
- 9 Developmentalism versus Reformism: The Contest for Bukit Bendera, 1999 158
Francis Loh Kok Wah
- 10 The Middle-Class Factor: Why the Barisan Alternatif Failed in Bayan Baru 178
Johan Saravanamuttu
- 11 Lessons from Sungai Siput 196
Jeyakumar Devaraj

PART III

- 12 The Melanau-Malay Schism Erupts Again: Sarawak at the Polls 213
James Chin
- 13 Electoral Politics in Sabah, 1999: Gerrymandering, “Phantoms”, and the 3Ms 228
Francis Loh Kok Wah
- 14 Towards a New Politics of Fragmentation and Contestation 253
Francis Loh Kok Wah
- Appendix A 283
- Appendix B 291
- Bibliography 297
- Index 309

List of Tables

2.1	The Apportionment of Parliamentary Seats among States in Peninsular Malaysia	40
2.2	Malay-Majority Parliamentary Constituencies and Delineation Advantage in Peninsular Malaysia, 1955–99	45
2.3	Malay-Majority Parliamentary Constituencies and Malay Delineation Advantage in the Federation of Malaysia, 1969–99	47
2.4	Malay-Majority State Constituencies (Seats) and Malay Delineation Advantage in the States of Peninsular Malaysia, 1974–94	48
4.1	UMNO's Performance in Malay-Majority Seats	73
5.1	Election Results in Twenty-Four Chinese-Majority Seats (Chinese >50 Per Cent of the Electorate), 1999	88
5.2	Election Results in Six Chinese-Majority Seats (Chinese >80 Per Cent of the Electorate), 1999	89
5.3	Election Results in Four Chinese-Majority Seats (Chinese >80 Per Cent of the Electorate), 1986–99	91
5.4	List of Chinese Education Projects and Issues Supported by the BN	103
8.1	Voters in the Polling Districts of Machang Bubuk State Constituency by Ethnicity, 1999	142
8.2	Election Results for the State Constituency of Machang Bubuk, 1990, 1995, and 1999	145
8.3	Machang Bubuk: Election Results by Polling District, 1995 and 1999	146

8.4	Machang Bubuk: Election Results in Two Predominantly Malay Polling Districts, 1995–99	148
8.5	Machang Bubuk: Election Results in Two Predominantly Chinese Polling Districts, 1995–99	148
8.6	Machang Bubuk: Election Results in the Polling District with the Highest Concentration of Indian Voters, 1995–99	148
9.1	Electoral Results for Bukit Bendera by Polling District and Ethnicity, 1999	160
9.2	Performance of Political Parties in Bukit Bendera Parliamentary Constituency and State Constituencies within It, 1986–99	164
9.3	Performance of Parties in Bukit Bendera by Selected Polling Districts and Ethnicity, 1995 and 1999	169
10.1	Profile of Respondents	182
10.2	Results of the Bayan Baru Poll	185
10.3	Registration of Bayan Baru Voters by Polling District	189
10.4	Results of Bayan Baru Contest by Polling District	190
11.1	Popular Vote for the Opposition Parties in Sungai Siput, 1990, 1995, and 1999	198
11.2	Comparison of Support for PAS and the DAP in Various Polling Stations, 1999	199
12.1	Results of the Malay Constituencies in the First Division	222
12.2	Selected Parliamentary Constituencies and Their State Equivalents	223
12.3	Results of Selected Malay State Constituencies in the 2001 Sarawak State Elections	224
13.1	Sabah State Election 1999: Performance of Parties	230
13.2	Sabah State Election 1999: Performance of Parties by Ethnic Group	231
13.3	Ethnic Composition of Sabah State Constituencies, 1994 and 1999	244
14.1	List of Parliamentary Seats Won by Less Than 5 Per Cent Majority, 1999	268
14.2	List of Parliamentary Seats Won by 5–10 Per Cent Majority, 1999	269

List of Figures

5.1	Popular Vote for the MCA/Gerakan by Percentage of Chinese in Constituency, 1999	90
5.2	Popular Vote for the DAP by Percentage of Chinese in Constituency, 1999	90
5.3	Average Popular Votes Cast in Four Chinese-Majority Seats (Chinese >80 Per Cent of the Electorate), 1986–99	92
9.1	Voting Trend of Chinese for the DAP in Bukit Bendera, 1999	166
9.2	Voting Trend of Malays for the BN in Bukit Bendera, 1999	167
9.3	Voting Trend of Indians for the BN in Bukit Bendera, 1999	167
14.1	Trend of the Popular Vote Polled by the BN in Constituencies with Varying Malay Composition, 1999	266
14.2	Trend of the Popular Vote Polled by the BN in Constituencies with Varying Malay Composition, 1995	266

Acknowledgements

Many parties have to be thanked for having contributed to this book. First, we would like to acknowledge our thanks and appreciation to those individuals who have helped us in one way or another from inception to final publication.

This volume had its origins in a workshop on the 1999 General Election held on 1–2 April 2000 at Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), Penang. To the participants of the workshop we would like to thank them for contributing to the richness of debate and discussion and the sharpest of ideas which undoubtedly have influenced the rewriting of the papers originally presented.

We owe thanks to several paper presenters at the workshop who for one reason or another did not make a final contribution. We would like to mention in particular Chan Chee Khoon, Khoo Boo Teik, Khoo Khay Jin, Halim Salleh, Tan Liok Ee, S.P. Subramaniam, and Zaharom Nain. Special thanks and appreciation go to the final contributors (whose names are already in the volume) for not only having been most forthcoming when deadlines demanded it but also for having shown forbearance with the editors often beyond the call of duty. It was a pleasure to work with friends and fellow academics like them. Our most special thanks and appreciation go to Ng Tien Eng, who is a contributor to the volume but at the same time worked tirelessly as research assistant and virtual on-site manager for the project.

We would also like to acknowledge our debt to several institutions. In particular, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with

Developing Countries (SAREC) and the Swedish Council for the Promotion of Higher Education (STINT) provided generous financial support to make possible the workshop held to discuss the initial set of papers as well as to conduct some of the actual research for the papers. The workshop was held under the auspices of the Research and Education for Peace Unit of the School of Social Sciences, USM, to whom we would also like to record our thanks.

Johan would also like to thank Professor Michael Donnelly in the Asian Institute at the Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto for being his host in 2001. It was from Toronto where most of his work on the book was delivered. Likewise, Francis records his thanks to Professor Merle Ricklefs for having facilitated his appointment as Senior Fellow at the Melbourne Institute of Asian Languages and Societies, University of Melbourne in early 2001. It is perhaps not at all ironic these days of globalized electronic communication that this book on Malaysia saw its penultimate form materialize through contact between the two editors from opposite ends of the world.

Finally, many thanks go to Triena Ong of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, who facilitated the process of publication with great efficiency and professionalism.

Francis Loh and Johan Saravanamuttu

Contributors

James U.H. Chin is Deputy Dean of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Papua New Guinea. He is the author of *The Chinese of South East Asia* (2000), “Kataks”, *Kadazan-Dusun Nationalism and Development: The 1999 Sabah State Election* (1999), *Chinese Politics in Sarawak: A Study of the Sarawak United People’s Party* (1997), and co-editor (with Ho Khai Leong) of *Mahathir’s Administration: Performance and Crisis in Governance* (2001). James worked as a journalist before pursuing an academic career.

Jeyakumar Devaraj, a medical physician, is a graduate of the University of Malaya. He worked in Penang, Kuching, and Kapit Sarawak before returning to Perak in 1986. He obtained his specialist qualifications in 1990. Since 1986 he has been active in Alaigal, a non-governmental organization doing community organizing work in Perak — at first among estate workers, later branching out to urban pioneers, retrenched factory workers, vegetable farmers, and other disadvantaged and marginalized social strata. In November 1999 he left government service to contest for the Sungai Siput parliamentary seat in the general election. Despite losing (he obtained 40 per cent of the votes cast), his party, the Parti Sosialis Malaysia has continued political work in Sungai Siput by setting up a Service Centre as well as assisting communities facing problems.

Lim Hong Hai is Associate Professor at the School of Social Science, Universiti Sains Malaysia. He teaches mainly in the School’s Master of

Public Administration programme. His interests include political institutions and processes, management theory and practices in the public sector, and the role ethics of civil servants in democratic government. He has written on several aspects of the Malaysian political process (including the electoral system) that have resulted in a dominant political executive, which he believes has had pervasive but not always salutary effects on governmental performance.

Francis Loh Kok Wah is Professor of Politics at the School of Social Science, Universiti Sains Malaysia. He obtained his Ph.D. from Cornell University in Politics and Southeast Asian Studies. His most recent publication, as co-editor, is *Democracy in Malaysia: Discourses and Practices* (2002). Loh is also secretary of Aliran, the Penang-based social reform non-governmental organization.

Maznah Mohamad is Associate Professor in Development Studies, Universiti Sains Malaysia. She has published widely on gender studies and Malaysian politics and recently edited *Muslim Women and Access to Justice* (2000) and co-edited *Risking Malaysia: Culture, Politics and Identity* (2001).

Mustafa K. Anuar is Associate Professor at Universiti Sains Malaysia where he teaches communication studies. His research interests are in journalism, popular culture, information and communications technology, media representation, democracy, and human rights. He has written extensively in international and local journals and magazines. In 2002 he was awarded the Nippon Foundation Fellowship for Asian Public Intellectuals to conduct research on alternative media in several Southeast Asian countries. He is also currently joint co-ordinator of Charter 2000-Aliran, a citizens' media initiative to fight for media reform in Malaysia.

Cecilia Ng Choon Sim is an independent researcher from Malaysia. She was previously an Associate Professor at Universiti Putra Malaysia and is currently Visiting Associate Professor at the Asian Institute of Technology (AIT), Bangkok, Thailand, where she is also an editor of

the AIT-based *Journal of Gender, Technology and Development*. She is active in the women's movement in Malaysia and is a founding member of the Women's Development Collective (WDC) and the All Women's Action Society (AWAM).

Ng Tien Eng received his B. Management (Hons.) and M. Soc Science degrees from Universiti Sains Malaysia where he is currently enrolled as a Ph.D. candidate in the Politics Department. He is the managing editor of a Chinese-language website called "The Free Media" <<http://www.thefreemedia.com>>.

Rashila Ramli is Associate Professor at the Political Science Programme, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, and Associate Fellow at the Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. She obtained her Ph.D. in Political Science from Northern Arizona University in 1995. Her research interests are in the field of gender and politics, political development, and international political economy.

Johan Saravanamuttu is Professor at Universiti Sains Malaysia, where he served as Dean of Social Sciences from 1994 to 1997. He has published widely on issues pertaining to Malaysia's foreign policy, political economy, ASEAN regionalism, and the middle class as a factor in politics. A recent article is "Globalization, Capital and Governance in a Newly Industrializing Plural Society: Malaysia during the 1990s", published in *Crises of Governance in Asia and Africa* (2001).

Tan Beng Hui is trained in political economy and economic history. She also holds an M.A. in Women and Development from the Institute of Social Studies, Den Haag, the Netherlands. She has been involved in the Malaysian women's movement since 1990 and is a member of two non-governmental organizations, Women's Development Collective (WDC) and All Women's Action Society (AWAM). She currently works with International Women's Rights Action Watch (IWRAP) Asia Pacific.

Toh Kin Woon is the Penang State Legislative Assemblyman for Machang Bubuk and also the Penang State Executive Councillor in charge of Education, Economic Planning and Human Resource Development. A member of the Central Committee, Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia, he holds a Ph.D. (in Economics), University of Malaya, and previously taught Economics in Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Abbreviations

ABIM	Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement)
ACCIM	Associated Chinese Chambers of Commerce and Industry
AWAM	All Women's Action Society
BA	Barisan Alternatif (Alternative Front)
BN	Barisan Nasional (National Front)
CDF	Constituency Development Funds
CMS	Chaya Mata Sarawak
Danaharta	Asset Management Corporation
DAP	Democratic Action Party
EON	Edaran Otomobil Nasional
EPF	Employees' Provident Fund
FCAHM	Federation of Chinese Assembly Halls in Malaysia
FCAM	Federation of Chinese Associations Malaysia
FELDA	Federal Land Development Authority
Gagasan	Coalition for People's Democracy
Gerak	Majlis Gerakan keADILan Nasional (Council of the National Justice Movement)
Gerakan	Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (Malaysian Peoples' Movement Party)
GPW	Women Settlers' Movement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISA	Internal Security Act

JIM	Jemaah Islah Malaysia (Islamic Reform Congregation of Malaysia)
JKKK	Jawatankuasa Kemajuan dan Keselamatan Kampung (Village Development and Security Committee)
KKIP	Kota Kinabalu Industrial Park
KTAR	Kolej Tunku Abdul Rahman (Tunku Abdul Rahman College)
MCA	Malaysian Chinese Association
MIC	Malaysian Indian Congress
MISC	Malaysian International Shipping Corp.
MP	Member of Parliament
NCWO	National Council of Women's Organisations
NECC II	Second National Economic Consultative Council
NEP	New Economic Policy
NPLs	non-performing loans
PAJAR	Parti Anak Jati Sarawak
PAS	Parti Islam SeMalaysia
PBB	Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu
PBDS	Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak
PBS	Parti Bersatu Sabah
PDS	Parti Demokratik Sabah
Permas	Persatuan Rakyat Malaysia Sarawak
PKMS	Persatuan Kebangsaan Melayu Sarawak
PKN	The National Justice Party or Parti keADILan Nasional
PKR	Unit Pemimpin Kemajuan Rakyat
PPRT	Program Pembangunan Rakyat Termiskin
PRM	Parti Rakyat Malaysia
Proton	Perusahaan Otomobil Nasional Bhd
PSM	Parti Sosialis Malaysia
PSRM	Parti Sosialis Rakyat Malaysia (People's Socialist Party of Malaysia)
PSWS	Persatuan Sahabat Wanita Selangor
SBN	Sarawak BN
SCAH	Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall

SDO	Settler Development Officer
Semangat '46	Spirit of '46
SIS	Sisters in Islam
SNAP	Sarawak National Party
SPR	Election Commission (Suruhanjaya Pilihanraya)
STAR	State Reform Party
SUPP	Sarawak United Peoples Party
<i>suqiu</i>	Seventeen-Point Election Appeals
Tabung Haji	Muslim Pilgrims' Fund
UMNO	United Malays National Organization
WAC	Women's Agenda for Change
WCI	Women's Candidacy Initiative
WDC	Women's Development Collective