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STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY BY-ELECTIONS  
IN KELANTAN:  
ISSUES AND TRENDS, 1990-2005

BY

MOHD FIRDAUS BIN MD HAMSIN

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirement for the degree of Master of Human Sciences  
(Political Science)

Kulliyyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and  
Human Sciences  
International Islamic University  
Malaysia

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## **ABSTRACT**

Kelantan has witnessed close competition between BN and PAS that intensified after PAS gained the control of the Kelantan State Legislative Assembly since 1990. This intensity is further manifested in six by-elections contested by both parties. This research attempts to analyse the factors that shape or influence the outcomes of each by-election. The analysis was done by comparing the outcomes of the by-elections, with the outcomes of the previous general election held in the particular constituency. The research finds that electoral outcomes in all the by-elections have witnessed reduction in majorities. It also finds that the voter turnout influences the outcomes of the by-elections in Kelantan. The research also concludes that some winner of the by-elections in Kelantan recorded slim majority. The findings help expose the complexity of the politics in Kelantan especially from 1990 until 2005.

1990

. 2005 1990

## APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion, it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Human Sciences (Political Science).

.....  
Tunku Mohar Tunku Mokhtar  
Supervisor

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion, it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Human Sciences (Political Science).

.....  
Danial Yusof  
Examiner

This dissertation was submitted to the Department of Political Science and is accepted as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Human Sciences (Political Science).

.....  
Wahabuddin Ra'ees  
Head, Department of Political Science.

This dissertation was submitted to the Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences and is accepted as a partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Human Sciences (Political Science).

.....  
Hazizan Mohd Noon  
Dean, Kulliyah of Islamic revealed  
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## DECLARATION PAGE

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

Mohd Firdaus Md Hamsin

Signature.....

Date.....

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ISSUES AND TRENDS, 1990-2005**

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I dedicate this thesis to my family, who instil in me the passion for knowledge.  
I am also dedicating this thesis to my teachers and friends who are willing to share their ideas, passion, and support throughout the process of finishing this thesis.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

### INTRODUCTION

Kelantan is one of the states in the Federation of Malaysia, located in the east coast part of Peninsular Malaysia. The size of the state is 14, 922 square kilometres. The Malays largely populate the state.<sup>1</sup> The state capital of Kelantan is Kota Bharu. The state is ruled by a Sultan, on the advice of the state executive council led by the *Menteri Besar* (Chief Minister). The members of this council are appointed from among the members of the state legislative assembly, which were elected through elections. Currently, there are 45 members in the assembly.

The purpose of this study is to analyse the patterns and issues surrounding by-elections in Kelantan. What makes Kelantan unique from other states in the country is that *Barisan Nasional* (National Front, BN) has tried in vain, since 1990, to wrestle it back from *Parti Islam Se-Malaysia* (Islamic Party of Malaysia, PAS). As a country that practices federalism, the Malaysian government confers a certain degree of jurisdiction to its respective state governments.<sup>2</sup> Like the Members of Parliament (Dewan Rakyat), members of the State Legislatives Assemblies are also elected through general elections, held once every five years.

Critics argue that Malaysia adopts a partly free electoral system, in which elections are held to enhance the position of the ruling party, which for this country

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<sup>1</sup>As of 2000, 95% out of 1,313,014 populations were Malay, followed by Chinese, Indian, Siamese and some others. Retrieved from <http://www.kelantan.gov.my/> on 11<sup>th</sup> July 2007).

<sup>2</sup>Mohd Salleh Abas, *Prinsip perlembagaan dan pemerintahan di Malaysia (The principle of the constitution and administration in Malaysia)*, (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1997), 35-36.

is *Barisan Nasional*, known as *Perikatan* (Alliance) prior to 1969.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly though, this system does not prevent BN from sustaining defeat against their opposition. One example is BN's consistent failure to form a state government in Kelantan, despite having won the state from 1978 to 1990. It has, since then, been continuously defeated by the dominant PAS. For decades, Kelantan proves to be BN's weakest spot, its ever-present Achilles's heel.

Nevertheless, the electorate's voice in Kelantan is not clearly one-sided, especially during PAS's initial administration.<sup>4</sup> This predominantly Malay state has seen bitter rivalry between United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) and PAS, with the state's aristocrats aligning themselves to UMNO and religious figures forming PAS's backbone. Because of this competitive two-sided battle, Kelantan has seen close contests at its ballots throughout the state's electoral history. Although a by-election is significantly less important than a general election, every state seat in Kelantan is fought with a struggle of national proportions by both camps.<sup>5</sup> Kelantan is one of the only three Malaysian states, which has experienced an alternation of state government.<sup>6</sup> The reason for PAS-UMNO stiff competition is clear. PAS wants to retain its power over the state. UMNO wants to inch itself back into the fold, which will translate into a bigger mandate for *Barisan Nasional*.

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<sup>3</sup>Khoo Boo Teik, "Democracy and Authoritarianism in Malaysia since 1957: Class, Ethnicity, and Changing Capitalism" in Anek Laothamatas, eds., *Democratization in South East and East Asia*, (New York; St Martin Press.1997), 46-73.

<sup>4</sup>Between 1959 and 1978.

<sup>5</sup>Kessler, Clive, *Islam and politics in a Malay state Kelantan 1838-1969*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1978), 130-160.

<sup>6</sup>The other two is Terengganu and Sabah.

## **PROBLEM STATEMENT AND JUSTIFICATION**

Election is an integral part of a country's democratic process. Malaysia is no exception. The state of Kelantan provides an interesting political landscape because it is different compared to other states in Malaysia. Since 1959, Kelantan has witnessed a close competition between UMNO and PAS, in both general and by-elections for the seats in the State Legislative Assembly. This competition affected the social setting of Kelantanese itself. Unlike other states, this situation resulted to tense political confrontation between both supporters of PAS and UMNO in this state. Since the 1990 General Elections, PAS regained its authority in this state after losing it from 1978 until 1990. Since then, political observers of this country have closely monitored each election and by-election that had been held here. From 1990 until 2005, Kelantan had six by-elections for its state seats.<sup>7</sup> However, no in-depth research or analysis has been done on them. This research attempts to answer the following questions:

- What are the factors that shape or influence the outcomes of each by-election?
- What were the main issues raised in each by-election?
- What are the significant patterns that can be derived from those by-elections?
- Are the results of each by-election comparable to that of the general elections?

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<sup>7</sup> Sungai Pinang (24 August 1991), Limbongan (24 August 1991), Lundang (29 March 1994), Pulau Chondong (6 January 1997), Semerak (11 August 1997), and Pengkalan Pasir (6 December 2005).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

A number of works have been written about elections and by-elections in Malaysia. This section will start by briefly defining the term election, before reviewing the literature on Malaysian politics. Then it will proceed to review case studies on general elections and by-elections held in Malaysia. What follows is a focus on Kelantan political history, which includes the results of all general elections and by-elections held in the state.

Martin Harrop and William L. Miller identify election as a formal expression of preferences by the governed, which is aggregated as a collective decision about the preferred government.<sup>8</sup> The outcome of any competitive election is not predetermined and it would also influence the shape of the political composition in the future government. They argue that the study of elections would provide indicators regarding any social or political changes that occur within the system, considering election is a part of a democratic expression that gives most of the country's population the right to cast their votes.<sup>9</sup> Elections also transform violence and conflict into a symbolic battle at the ballots. In order to keep the battle symbolic, elections must then be held by observing the principles of liberty, justice, and majority rule.

Abdul Rashid Moten states that most Muslim countries do not practice free and fair elections.<sup>10</sup> Elections have been held as tools to legitimise or to maintain the majority support for the ruling government in these countries by limiting the participation of opposition parties. This is in tandem with a number of literature on

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<sup>8</sup> Harrop, Martin and William L. Miller, *Elections and voters: A comparative introduction*, (London: Macmillan, 1990)

<sup>9</sup> Yves Meny, *Government and politics in Western Europe: Britain, France, Italy, and West Germany*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990)

<sup>10</sup> Abdul Rashid Moten, *Political science: an Islamic perspective*, (London: Macmillan, 1996)



electoral system in Malaysia. Harold Crouch and Jomo K.S, for example, explain that the Malaysian electoral system is characterised by continuous and consistent competitive elections; and a wide range of voting rights are given to its citizens, although at the same time it provides some obstacles for the opposition parties.<sup>11</sup> Abdul Rashid Abdul Rahman explains several features that characterise the Malaysian electoral system.<sup>12</sup> Most importantly, the country adopts first-past-the-post system where candidates who obtain a simple majority are declared winners. These features characterise the outcome of each election that has been held in Malaysia since 1955. Although *Perikatan* (Alliance) managed to gain victory in elections held in 1959, 1964, and 1969, Crouch argues that there had been a gradual decrease in terms of popular votes gained by *Perikatan* during those elections.<sup>13</sup>

As a result, since 1969, the government has increased its control over the country's political process.<sup>14</sup> This control is crucial to ensure that the ruling coalition *Barisan Nasional* (BN) could maintain its dominance over the opposition. This includes control on the media and bureaucratic restrictions imposed on opposition parties. Such control, however, failed to protect *Barisan Nasional* from suffering several setbacks in elections held since then. The most significant setbacks occurred in the 1990 and 1999 General Elections. Khoo Kay Kim states that in 1990 and 1999, BN experienced serious challenges posed by the opposition, notably when it

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<sup>11</sup>Crouch, Harold "Authoritarian trends, the UMNO split, and the limits to state power" in S.Kahn, Joe and Francis Loh, eds., *Fragmented vision: Culture and politics in contemporary Malaysia*, (New South Wales: Allen Unwin, 1992), 21-41. Jomo K.S, "Election's Janus face: limitations and potential in Malaysia" in Taylor, R.H, ed., *The politics of elections in South East Asia* edited by R.H Taylor Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Centre Press. 1996), 90-113.

<sup>12</sup>Abdul Rashid Abdul Rahman, *The conduct of elections in Malaysia*, (Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing.1994)

<sup>13</sup>Crouch, Harold, "Malaysia: Neither authoritarian nor democratic" in Hewison, Kevin, Richard Robison, and Garry Rodan, eds., *South East Asia in the 1990s: Authoritarianism, democracy, and capitalism*, (New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, 1993), 114-135.

<sup>14</sup>Khoo Boo Teik, "Democracy and authoritarianism in Malaysia since 1957: Class, ethnicity, and changing capitalism" in Anek Laothamatas, eds., *Democratization in South East and East Asia*, (New York; St Martin Press.1997), 46-73.

lost control of the state assemblies of Kelantan and Sabah in the 1990 election. This was a result of a political turbulence that occurred before the general election, which resulted from the formation of UMNO's splinter group *Semangat 46*, led by Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, a member of Kelantan royal family.<sup>15</sup> In 1999, the ruling coalition was defeated in Terengganu and lost a large number of seats in both parliamentary and state levels due mostly to the Anwar Ibrahim issue, which sparked the formation of the *Reformasi* movement in 1998-1999. The outcomes of the 11<sup>th</sup> election held in 2004 were briefly analysed by Syed Serajul Islam.<sup>16</sup> In this election, UMNO managed to regain electoral support due to the clean image of Prime Minister Dato' Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi.

There are several studies relating to by-elections in Malaysia. Based on the Malaysian electoral regulations, a by-election must be held 60 days after a state assembly or parliamentary seat is declared vacant.<sup>17</sup> This vacancy could result from the death of an assemblyman, member disqualification, or resignation. However, according to Article 54 (1) of the Federal Constitution, a by-election is not required if a State Assembly mandate is within a period of less than two years before its dissolution.<sup>18</sup> S. Sothi Rachagan states that a by-election offers a referendum for the policy and action of government or incumbency.<sup>19</sup> Bridget Welsh argues that this is due to the high concentration of national election machinery into a specific

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<sup>15</sup>Khoo, Kay Kim, *Malaysian elections 1990-1999: A historical perspective*, (Singapore: Institutes of South East Asian Studies, 2000)

<sup>16</sup>Syed Serajul Islam, *The politics of Islamic Identity in South East Asia*, (Malaysia: Thomson Learning, 2004)

<sup>17</sup>Sheikh Mohd Noor Alam, *Federalisme di Malaysia (Federalism in Malaysia)*, (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1988) and Mohd Salleh Abas. *Pilihanraya Malaysia (Election in Malaysia)*, (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1987) and Abdul Rashid Abdul Rahman, *The conduct of elections in Malaysia*, (Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing, 1994)

<sup>18</sup> Abdul Rashid Abdul Rahman, *The conduct of elections in Malaysia*, (Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing, 1994), 10-11.

<sup>19</sup>Rachagan, S. Sothi, *Law and the electoral process*, (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1993)

geographical area.<sup>20</sup> However, she contends that, the outcome of by-election has usually been over-interpreted as having national impact.

Among the case studies on by-election in Malaysia, one has been made by Tan Chee Khoo who analyse several by-elections held for Sabah State seats in 1986.<sup>21</sup> His analysis is based on the voters' turnout in these by-elections, which he deemed very poor. He states that voter turnout was a decisive factor in shaping the outcomes of the elections. Another significant point is that the margins of victory in these by-elections were usually very small. Although his work concentrates on by-elections held at different places and time, it provides an interesting framework of analysis related to this topic. This aligns with the argument provided by Pippa Norris who states that voters are less likely to cast their votes in any state, provincial, or local election compared to national or general election.<sup>22</sup> The incentive to vote he argues would be higher if the election provides the determinant for future government.

Gordon P. Means, In-Won Hwang, and Bridget Welsh provide more case studies related to the topic.<sup>23</sup> Gordon P. Means analysed into five by-elections that occurred from March 1988 until May 1989.<sup>24</sup> These by-elections were significant since it occurred after the controversial UMNO elections in 1987, which resulted in its deregistration. The elections involved the new UMNO led by Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad, against the rival faction led by Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah; this faction

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<sup>20</sup>Welsh, Bridget, "Real change? Elections in the Reformasi era" in Gomez, Edmund Terrence, ed., *State of Malaysia ethnicity and reform*, (London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004) 130-155.

<sup>21</sup>Tan, Chee Khoo, *Sabah: A triumph for democracy*, (Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publication, 1986)

<sup>22</sup>Norris, Pippa, *Electoral engineering: Voting rules and political behavior*, (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

<sup>23</sup>Means, Gordon P, *Malaysian politics: The second generation*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) and Welsh, Bridget, "Real change? Elections in the Reformasi era" in Gomez, Edmund Terrence, ed., *State of Malaysia ethnicity and reform*, (London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 130-155.

<sup>24</sup>Means, Gordon P, *Malaysian politics: The second generation*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991)

was latter known as *Semangat 46*. The elections were considered significant, since they provide the test of popularity between both contesting parties. In the first by-election held for the Johor State Assembly seat of Tanjung Puteri, UMNO managed to garner 10,181 votes compared to 10,150 by Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah's team. This slim majority, Means argues, was a result of poor turnout during election day.

The most significant by-election was held in August 1988. This by-election was called after the resignation of Johor Baharu's Member of Parliament, Dato' Shahrir Samad. The outcome of this by-election was intriguing. Dato' Shahrir Samad received 23,581 votes compared to the candidate fielded by UMNO, Mas'ud Abdul Rahman (10,968 votes).<sup>25</sup> Both camps campaigned on different issues to attract voters. UMNO *Baru* was focusing more on the economic recovery plan that had been implemented by the ruling government, while Tengku Razaleigh's team was campaigning against the alleged authoritarian style of the then-Prime Minister, Tun Dr Mahathir. In an analysis made by In-Won Hwang, he found that this defeat was perceived by some as an indication that the leadership of Tun Dr Mahathir had lost its support and credentials among the masses.<sup>26</sup>

Other by-elections also provided interesting outcomes. In the Johor state seat of Parit Raja by-election, UMNO managed to gain 7,262 votes compared to 6,849 by the opposition. In the Ampang Jaya parliamentary by-election in January 1989, the opposition managed to reduce the majority gained by Barisan Nasional in the previous general election.<sup>27</sup> The by-election of Terengganu state seat of Teluk Pasu in May 1989 signified the first test for political cooperation between *Semangat 46* and PAS. This laid the foundation for the establishment of *Angkatan Perpaduan*

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<sup>25</sup>In the 1986 general election, the incumbent gained 19,346 votes

<sup>26</sup>In-Won Hwang, *The Malaysian state under Mahathir*, (Singapore: Institutes of South East Asia Studies, 2003)

<sup>27</sup>Barisan Nasional fielded candidates from MCA for Ampang Jaya Parliamentary by-election.

*Ummah*, a coalition of Malay opposition parties, led by PAS and *Semangat 46*. PAS managed to win the seat by a slim margin of 141 votes. The review above provides several interesting facts. Except for the by-election in Johor Bahru and Ampang Jaya, other by-elections were won by a slim majority. In the case of Ampang Jaya, the opposition was able to reduce the majority against the candidate for *Barisan Nasional*. The Ampang Jaya election was a turning point for Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah's faction to reformulate its strategies and approaches.<sup>28</sup> Since Ampang Jaya, *Semangat 46* had forged an alliance with PAS, later known as *Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah*, which contested in the 1990 General Elections.

Bridget Welsh provides case studies related to by-elections held in the aftermath of the reformasi movement in 1998-1999.<sup>29</sup> Through these case studies, several important points can be extracted. In the by-election for Sanggang state seat in Pahang, (1 April 2000), *Barisan Nasional* increased its majority. This was due to the influx of new voters that resulted in greater voter turnout. However, in the parliamentary by-election of Teluk Kemang (10 June 2000), the opposition reduced the majority previously gained by *Barisan Nasional* in the 1999 General Elections, from 27,122 to 24,500 votes. In the by-election for Kedah state seat of Lunas held on 29 November 2000, the opposition defeated *Barisan Nasional* by a narrow majority of 530 votes.<sup>30</sup> During the Likas parliamentary by-election held in July 2001, although there was a slight drop in voter turnout, *Barisan Nasional* still managed to achieve convincing majority.

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<sup>28</sup>Means, Gordon P, *Malaysian politics: The second generation*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

<sup>29</sup>Welsh, Bridget, "Real change? Elections in the Reformasi era" in Gomez, Edmund Terrence, ed., *State of Malaysia ethnicity and reform*, (London New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 130-155.

<sup>30</sup>In- Won Hwang, *The Malaysian state under Mahathir*, (Singapore: Institutes of South East Asia Studies, 2003)

For the by-elections of state seats of Indera Kayangan in Perlis (January 2002) and Ketari (March 2002) in Pahang, *Barisan Nasional* expanded its majority previously gained in the 1999 election.<sup>31</sup> In the by-election of parliamentary seat of Pendang and state seat of Anak Bukit in Kedah in July the same year, both UMNO and PAS only garnered slight advantage over their opponents.<sup>32</sup> From these results, several conclusions can be drawn. In some by-elections, the majority gained by the party, which held the seat, was either reduced or expanded, compared to the 1999 general elections. In certain cases, the victorious contestants only managed to gain a slight majority against their opponents such as in Lunas, Pendang, and Anak Bukit. In this by-election of Sanggang, the greater voter turnout has improved the majority for Barisan Nasional, although it did not happen in Likas.

Some scholars and political observers identify both the North and Northeastern part of Malaysia as a formidable political base for PAS.<sup>33</sup> In other words, PAS enjoys large support in areas largely populated by Malays. This includes the state of Kelantan, which has been a stronghold for PAS since it gained victory in the general elections held in 1959, 1964, and 1969. N.J Funston, Jomo K.S, Ahmad Shabery Cheek, and Syed Ahmad Hussein identify several leading factors that shaped this situation.<sup>34</sup> From 1959 until 1969, PAS, despite its Islamic orientation, argued largely on Malay issues that seek to protect the interests of the Malays.

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<sup>31</sup>Indera Kayangan from 1,974 to 2,742, while Ketari from 231 to 2,204.

<sup>32</sup>UMNO only gain 282 majorities in Pendang, while PAS gain 508 majorities in Anak Bukit.

<sup>33</sup>See for example in Crouch, Harold, "Malaysia: Do election make a difference" in Taylor, R.H, ed., *The politic of elections in South East Asia*, (Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Centers Press, 1996), 114-135, and Syed Ahmad Hussein, "Muslim politics and the discourse on democracy" in Loh, Francis and Khoo, Boo Teik, eds., *Democracy in Malaysia: Discourses and practices*, (Surrey: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 74-110.

<sup>34</sup>Funston, N.J, *Malays politic in Malaysia: A study of the United Malays National Organization and Party Islam*, (Petaling Jaya: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980), and K.S, Jomo and Ahmed Shabery Cheek, "Malaysia's Islamic movements" in Kahn, Joe S, and Loh, Francis, eds., *Fragmented vision: Culture and politics in contemporary Malaysia*, (New South Wales: Allen Unwin, 1992), 79-106. Crouch, Harold,

"Malaysia: Do elections make a different" in Taylor, R.H, ed., *The politics of elections in South East Asia*, (Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Centers Press. 1996), 114-135.

Therefore, the support it enjoyed in Kelantan and several other states in the Northeastern parts of the country was understandable. However, Kelantan is the only state that has been continuously governed by PAS.

Clive Kessler further argues that the defeat of UMNO in the 1959 general elections was the result of its failure to manifest all its political promises to the Kelantanese.<sup>35</sup> This situation worsened for UMNO with the rise of political sentiments among the rural people, which was a dominant social group during that time. They perceived that UMNO was not interested in serving the interests of the people. This was compounded with internal rivalry among UMNO leaders in Kelantan.<sup>36</sup> Rokiah Talib provides an in-depth study on the support enjoyed by PAS in Kelantan.<sup>37</sup> This is based on her survey of local people in the remote areas of Kelantan through the period of 1959 until 1974. She argues that most Kelantanese were inclined towards PAS due to strong racial attachment. Through a survey, it was found that PAS was the only Malay and Muslim party which deserved their support. On the other hand, UMNO was seen as not keen in fighting for the cause of Kelantanese. It was a party perceived as only interested in fulfilling its own interests.

In her survey, Rokiah finds that the Kelantanese believed that it was much easier for them to co-operate with PAS assemblymen compared to UMNO assemblymen. This conclusion is also supported by In-Won Hwang's research.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Kessler, Clive, *Islam and politics in a Malay state Kelantan 1838-1969*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1978)

<sup>36</sup>Kessler, Clive, "Muslim identity and political behaviour in Kelantan" in Roff, William R, ed., *Kelantan: Religion, society and politics in a Malay state*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 272-313.

<sup>37</sup>Rokiah Talib, *Politik dan isu ekonomi di Kelantan: Satu kajian sosio ekonomi, (Political and economic issues in Kelantan: A socio economic survey)*, (Petaling Jaya: Gateway Publishing House, 1994).

<sup>38</sup>In-Won Hwang, *The Malaysian state under Mahathir*, (Singapore: Institutes of South East Asia Studies, 2003)

This situation has been well manipulated by PAS, which strengthened it with religious propaganda to undermine the opposition's messages of development and wealth creation.<sup>39</sup> Clive Kessler found that in the 1959 general election, most PAS candidates in Kelantan were religious teachers or individuals with religious education background.<sup>40</sup> Nagata and Khoo Kay Kim highlight the significant role played by the 'ulamā' among the Malays in rural or remote areas.<sup>41</sup> However, Kessler states in his work that some religious teachers in Kelantan also supported UMNO.<sup>42</sup> This resulted in political tension within the society. The Kelantanese, according to Robert L. Winzeler and Rokiah Talib, took their political affiliations seriously to the extent of causing instability within the society.<sup>43</sup> UMNO supporters refused to co-operate or communicate with PAS. PAS supporters adopted the same tactic towards UMNO supporters. However, this situation happened during the first period of PAS administration, from 1959 until 1969. It would therefore be inaccurate to use it as indicators for the present political situation.

In the 1959 general election, PAS seized 28 out of 30 state seats. Despite various political pressures imposed on the state government, it continuously

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<sup>39</sup>In 1969 General Election, the Alliance or UMNO offered RM546 million as a reward should the Alliance achieve victory in Kelantan.

<sup>40</sup>Kessler, Clive, *Islam and politics in a Malay state Kelantan 1838-1969*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1978)

<sup>41</sup>Nagata, Judith, *The reflowering of Malaysian Islam: Modern religious radicals and their roots*, (Vancouver: University of Columbia Press, 1984), and Khoo, Khay Kim, *Malay society: Transformation and democratization*, (Subang Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 2001).

<sup>42</sup>Kessler, Clive, "Muslim identity and political behaviour in Kelantan" in Roff, William R, ed., *Kelantan: Religion, society and politics in a Malay state*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 272-313.

<sup>43</sup>Winzeler, Robert L, "The social organization of Islam in Kelantan" in Roff, William R, ed., *Kelantan: Religion, society and politics in Malay state*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 259-271. Kessler, Clive, *Islam and politics in a Malay state Kelantan 1838-1969*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1978), Rokiah Talib, *Politik dan isu ekonomi di Kelantan: Satu kajian sosio ekonomi*, (*Political and economic issues in Kelantan: A socio economic survey*), (Petaling Jaya: Gateway Publishing House, 1994).