

POLITICAL PARTY ACTIVISM OF THE MALAY
- MUSLIM POLITICAL PARTIES: UMNO AND
PAS GRASSROOTS PARTY ACTIVISTS
IN TERENGGANU

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TERENGGANU**

by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DAP	Democratic Action Party
H355 Rally	Himpunan Rang Undang –Undang 355
PAS	Parti Islam SeMalaysia
PDM	Pusat Daerah Mengundi
PMIP	Pan Malayan Islamic Party
UPU	Unit Peti Undi
UMNO	United Malay National Organization

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Appendix 1 Interview Guide

AKTIVISME POLITIK DALAM PARTI POLITIK MELAYU – ISLAM:

AKTIVIS AKAR UMBI UMNO DAN PAS DI TERENGGANU

ABSTRAK

Aktivis PAS dan UMNO di Terengganu diklasifikasikan sebagai sangat aktif, unik, dan berpolitik dalam kerangka ideologi parti. Secara perbandingan, PAS dan UMNO sangat beruntung kerana memiliki aktivis sebegini komited kerana parti – parti politik di seluruh dunia secara keseluruhannya menghadapi penurunan jumlah aktivis parti yang sangat drastik. Penglibatan aktivis parti dalam aktivisme kepartian di Terengganu telah membuka jalan kepada kajian ini. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk meneroka sejauh mana keaktifan mereka dalam politik kepartian, dan apakah insentif yang mereka terima hasil dari penglibatan mereka di dalam PAS dan UMNO. Kajian ini juga membandingkan insentif - insentif yang diterima oleh aktivis PAS dan aktivis UMNO. Secara rasionalnya, seseorang boleh menikmati pelbagai faedah dari polisi – polisi kerajaan tanpa perlu bersusah –payah terlibat dalam politik kepartian. Kajian ini menggunakan kaedah kualitatif, melalui pendekatan temubual bersemuka secara mendalam dengan dua puluh informan. Informan dipilih melalui kaedah persampelan bertujuan. Data telah dianalisa mengikut tema melalui teknik analisis kandungan. Kajian ini mendapati kesemua informan terlibat dengan sembilan jenis aktiviti – aktiviti politik beraras tinggi, sekaligus melangkaui enam jenis aktiviti – aktiviti politik beraras tinggi yang dikenalpasti oleh kajian – kajian terdahulu. Penglibatan dengan komuniti dan program –program kebajikan merupakan aktiviti politik yang paling kerap dilakukan. Gabungan Teori Pilihan Rasional, *Civic Voluntarism Model*, Teori Insentif Clark –Wilson, dan Model Insentif Umum telah menjadi kerangka kepada analisa kajian ini untuk meneroka persoalan insentif yang menyebabkan para

informan memilih menjadi aktivis parti. Kajian ini menemui lima insentif utama yang dikejar oleh informan iaitu ideologi parti, kehendak altruistik, nilai hiburan, nikmat mengungkapkan sokongan, dan ganjaran material. Kesemua insentif ini, kecuali kehendak altruistik, adalah ganjaran yang hanya dinikmati secara peribadi oleh informan sendiri. Dapatan ini menyanggahi pendapat Teori Pilihan Rasional yang mengatakan para aktivis parti tidak mendapat apa – apa faedah daripada khidmat mereka kepada parti. Dari sudut akademik, kajian ini membuktikan persepsi bahawa aktivis UMNO menerima ganjaran material, dan aktivis PAS melihat perjuangan mereka akan diganjar Syurga adalah benar. Dari sudut teori, kajian ini menambah dua lagi elemen yang mendorong seseorang untuk menjadi aktivis parti iaitu agama dan ganjaran Syurga. Secara praktikal, parti –parti politik mestilah memastikan aktivis –aktivis mereka menerima insentif – insentif yang dinyatakan. Apabila insentif – insentif tersebut dinafikan, parti politik akan kehilangan aset yang besar dan perlu bersedia untuk menjadi parti yang lemah.

POLITICAL PARTY ACTIVISM OF THE MALAY –MUSLIM POLITICAL PARTIES: UMNO AND PAS GRASSROOTS ACTIVISTS IN TERENGGANU

ABSTRACT

While the general trends of political parties around the world, by contrast, show significant declines in grassroots party activism, the grassroots political party activists of PAS and UMNO in Terengganu are characterized as highly political and ideologically extreme, participating in high – intensity political activities. This research explores the intensity of their activism in UMNO and PAS, and the incentives that have influenced them to become politically active since it is often taken for granted that people will only invest in political activism in exchange for some sort of benefits. This study also compares the differences of incentives that prevail among UMNO and PAS grassroots party activists. Being qualitative in nature, this study adopts the technique of in-depth interview, involving twenty – six PAS and UMNO party activists as informants. The selection of the informants was performed using the purposive sampling method. The interview data were thematically analyzed through the content analysis method. This study finds that the informants were involved in nine high-intensity political party activities; going beyond the six high-intensity political activities suggested in the literature. They generally encompassed similar types of political activities, by community and welfare programs being perennial. Combining the Rational Choice theory, the Civic Voluntarism model, the Clark-Wilson Incentives theory and the General Incentives model into a framework to understand incentives that motivate informants' political party activism, this study discovers the presence of five major incentives, namely ideology of the party, altruistic motives, entertainment values, expressive and material rewards. All

incentives, except the altruistic motives, are private benefits enjoyed by only those involved in party activism. This defies the argument that political party activists are irrational, having sacrificed their time, money, energy and skills for collective benefits. This study academically substantiates the common perception that UMNO informants enjoy material rewards by virtue of their party activism, while PAS informants regard their party activism as a path to heaven. By way of conclusion, this study extends the literature on political party activism by incorporating religion and heavenly rewards as incentives to political party activism. Practically, political parties should provide incentives to maintain the activism of its members. De-incentivizing them would weaken political parties.