

**International Conference on Public Policy & Social Sciences 2023**

13-15 September 2023

Organized by the Faculty of Administrative Science & Policy Studies, Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM), Seremban Campus, Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia, and International University of Sarajevo (IUS), Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Malaysia Madani Policy Concept in Kelantan State**

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**Abstract**

Pan-Malaysia Islamic Party or PAS's ruling from 1990 until now has caused the existence of two different Islamic government systems with the Federal Government in this country's democratic system. This paper explores the fate of Kelantanese Malays in Malaysia Madani in terms of poverty, cost of living, affordable housing, soft prosperity, and the future of the young generation. The methodology of this study is to observe and analyse every situation through a qualitative approach. The result will impact understanding and reform that needs to be done to improve the socio-life of the people of Kelantan in today's Malaysia Madani.

Keywords: Malaysia Madani; Kelantan State; PAS Government

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21834/e-bpj.v9iSI22.5889>

**1.0 PAS Leadership Background**

During the 1955 General election (GE), UMNO in the Alliance Party won all contested constituencies in Kelantan (Smith, 1955). However, in the 1959 General Election, the dominance of the PAS began to build in Kelantan's government, which has continued for 18 years, considering the victory in the next General Elections (1964, 1969 and 1974).

The internal crisis of PAS - UMNO political consensus in the National Front of Kelantan led to the declaration of emergency in Kelantan (1977) and witnessed the dominance of the National Front in the General Election 1978. General Elections in 1982 and 1986 saw the role of Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah in Kelantan's UMNO. However, he later helped PAS to dominate Kelantan in the 1990 General Election under the Muslim Unity Movement (PAS - Spirit 46 Malay Party). Since then, PAS has remained in control of Kelantan in subsequent General Election series (1995, 2008, 2013), whether in collaboration with APU, Pakatan Rakyat, or independently

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(Shamsul Amri, 2013). Tuan Guru Nik Abdul Aziz's passing witnessed Pakatan Rakyat's dissolution and Pakatan Harapan's formation, represented by some PAS members who left and created a new party (Parti Amanah). Although Pakatan Harapan established a central government in General Election 14, the status quo of PAS in Kelantan is still substantial. Table 1 reflects the result of 14 Parliamentary seats in Kelantan.

Table 1. GE14 results for 14 Parliamentary seats in Kelantan

Parliament	Party:				Total Votes	Majority	The party wins
	BN	PAS	PAN/PH	Free			
Tumpat	29,541	47,041	10,003		87,987	17,500	PAS
Pasir Mas	15,005	28,080	5,093	5,373	54,783	13,075	PAS
Bachok	32,896	36,188	4,880		75,112	3,292	PAS
Pasir Puteh	30,947	32,307	5,819		69,073	1,360	PAS
Kuala Krai	20,991	28,903	5,173		55,928	7,912	PAS
Pengkalan Chepa	19,360	32,592	7,435		60,126	13,232	PAS
Rantau Panjang	18,431	24,581	5,361		49,198	6,150	PAS
Ketereh	25,467	20,841	6,799		53,888	4,626	BN
Machang	26,076	23,252	5,695		55,824	2,824	BN
Gua Musang	19,426	15,513	4,997		40,884	3,913	BN
Kota Bahru	16,256	28,291	22,422		67,658	5,869	PAS
Kubang Kerian	16,251	35,620	11,557		64,163	19,369	PAS
Tanah Merah	28,152	25,223	5733		59,108	2,929	BN
Jeli	21,665	15,018	2,078		39,161	6,647	BN

(Source: Malaysian Election Commission 2018)

Based on the table above and General Election 12 and General Election 13 records, interesting parliamentary constituencies to look at are Ketereh (GE12 PAS, GE13 BN, GE14 BN), Machang (GE12 PKR, GE13 BN, GE14 BN), Tanah Merah (GE12 BN, GE13 PAS, GE14 BN) and Pasir Puteh Parliament (GE12 BN, GE13 PAS, GE14). Other parliamentary constituencies such as Bachok, Tumpat, Pasir Mas, Pengkalan Chepa, Rantau Panjang, Kota Bharu, Kubang Kerian and Kuala Krai have a majority of voters who support PAS. In contrast, the majority of voters in Gua Musang and Jeli support BN/UMNO.

## 2.0 Malaysia Madani Concept in Kelantan State

Malaysia is a democratic country that practices a federalism system, and the government's primary role is in the people's socio-economic development so that it develops into a civil economy concept. The last 14th General Election created a Unity Government between Pakatan Harapan and Barisan Nasional. PAS has collaborated with the National Alliance, which is the opposition. This situation made the State of Kelantan, under PAS's governance, an opposition state after the last GE15. As a result, the existence of two systems of government cannot be separated when the Central Government adopts the concept of Civil Malaysia. At the same time, the Kelantan State Government continues the legacy of "Developing Together with Islam" by democratising the state administration.

In the context of Malaysia Madani, the pillars of well-being and Ihsan are the two main thrusts in improving the fortunes of Malays people in this country. Today, the uncertain economic development also gives all classes of life in this country. Not only is the B40 class affected, but the impact also has implications for the T20 class. This causes most people in today's country to be affected by socio-economic handicaps, especially in Kelantan.

Kelantan is the state that records the highest number of severely low-income families with income below the Poverty Line Income. This caused most people in the state of Kelantan to be affected by the increase in the cost of living, even though the demand and supply of goods were still the same. Although Kelantan is dependent on imported goods from Thailand, the geopolitical situation which has caused the increase in the price of raw materials was unavoidable. As a result, the concept of Malaysia Madani is supposed to correct the weakness problem to achieve the goal of the pillar of well-being and Ihsan. There is a study on previous issues on the Malaysia Madani concept in Kelantan based on particular situations such as the cost of living, affordable housing, poverty, and human development.

### 2.1 Dealing with the cost of living

The economic system practised by this country needs to be re-corrected in line with the geopolitical changes in the world. The hybrid economic system is essential to make civil and economic actions successful. It generally means active government and direct participation by the government in the economic life of the people. This requires the government's efforts to ensure that market forces can meet the goals of national development and social justice. This can be achieved by having a buffer system and effective product price ceiling system management without the influence of capitalist cartel elements that dominate a product market.

To ensure the ceiling price control system is successful, the government can intervene during the production of commercial goods and services through national regulatory policies. This involves a pricing system using a buffer system and enforcing regulations that control by encouraging or discouraging free market economic activities. The government is acting as a facilitator to ensure the provision of various types of goods according to the ceiling price that has been determined.

In the hybrid economic system approach, the Central Government regulates the provision of public goods. The policy of economic liberalisation that our country has used needs to be re-evaluated. As a producer of commercial goods and services, the main option

implemented by the Central Government is to allow the entry of the private sector into activities reserved for public ownership so that the public interest is not affected by the influence of the free market.

Although there are attempts to reduce the role of the government as a 'producer,' in line with that, there is regulation in some areas and the expansion of the government as a regulator. Regulatory control over the liberalisation of the country's economy is the best example of balance in the components of the hybrid economic model system.

A liberalised economic model that cares about investors and consumers when determining the price of goods often conflicts because investors want to create a monopoly market situation. Although at the macro level, the government has deregulated, it is usually argued that a lot of government regulatory relief is still needed to control the price of goods. As a result, it gives the full effect of deregulation by the government's function as a regulator.

## 2.2 Addressing the issue of poverty in Kelantan

Poverty is a situation of deprivation that occurs not on the will and willingness of every deprived and poor household. The identification of this poor household can be identified based on financial issues to buy basic needs, low level of education, inability to own property, unhealthy lifestyle, and no job guarantee to ensure a person's survival in the city or the countryside. All these conditions will cause households to be helpless to get out of the poverty cycle if there is no help and support from the authorities. If the issue of poverty were not being controlled and eradicated, it could undermine the socio-economic and political stability of a country.

In the context of poverty in Malaysia, poverty is explained through the perspective of finances or income. Hence, poverty is divided into two, namely absolute poverty and relative poverty. In Malaysia, poverty is often called absolute poverty because household income is compared to the Poverty Line Income (PGK). Unidimensional measurement is a type of measurement that uses the income method to identify poor individuals or households.

In contrast to unidimensional measurement, policymakers have yet to use poverty measurement using multidimensional methods as a basis to eradicate poverty. This multidimensional poverty measurement is more about measures to identify "who is poor" based on the lack of experience by households in each dimension, including quality of life. Through this multidimensional measurement of poverty, the identity or characteristics of poor people exist on two levels. The first stage identifies individual deprivation in each dimension, and the second involves defining poverty through all dimensions. Multidimensional poverty is a new measurement method that allows us to see the reality of poverty experienced by a household. The percentage of the total number of households in Malaysia, referred to as the incidence of poverty, changes according to the economic situation of the people, which is no longer the same as in the 1970s.

In summary, these three concepts, absolute, relative, and quality of life poverty, have different political and social implications based on different focus and measurement goals. Namely, the concept of absolute poverty is related to the idea of basic needs due to being below the income distribution line of the poverty line. In contrast, relative poverty refers to income distribution below RM 4000. This quality-of-life poverty approach is different from economic and social inequality in a society that uses the concept of relative poverty compared to absolute poverty. In Kelantan, it is not only the poverty of the quality of life that occurs, but there are still the B40 group who are trapped in the cycle of violence of poverty. This can be seen as the factor that causes the occurrence of social symptoms in this state is the origin of the group that is still in the cycle of violence and poverty that depends on the financial assistance of the government, which is *Rahmah Cash Aid* or BTR.

## 2.3 Affordable housing for the people in Kelantan

After gaining independence, the government created The People's Affordable Housing Policy to provide affordable housing. This policy also aims to outline the direction and build a foundation for the planning and development of the housing sector at the federal, state, and local government levels. This includes providing adequate, comfortable, quality, and affordable housing that will improve the well-being of the people. The federal government created affordable housing plans for people, which implemented the concept of federalism. Other than that, the state government also plays a crucial role in implementing aspects of development in the housing sector. For example, for the state of Kelantan, the Malaysia Plan gazette on 1st January 2009 stated that the growth of residential units almost collapsed for the state between 1991-2000. One of the main recommendations in this structural plan is to develop a total of 90,990 units of low-cost or affordable housing involving 5,686.78 acres of land throughout Kelantan. From an implementation perspective, the completion of the affordable housing sector also shows that the level of achievement is below par. In the Auditor General's Report in 2018 entitled Report of the Auditor General 2018 on Activity Management, Department Finance, Departments, Agencies and Kelantan State Government Company Management Series 1, which was presented at the Malaysian Parliament in July 2019 it is stated that only 3.2% of the price target affordable housing successfully built from 2014 to 2018. In addition, the low achievement with using financial allocation for affordable housing is estimated to be less than 20% of the total government allocation. Hence, this causes the affordable housing policy of the people not to meet the existing demand in the state of Kelantan.

## 2.4 Human Capital Development

Human Capital Development is the interaction of human development with a country's economic growth, which is related to the balance of a country's population settlement ecosystem. Through the development of technology, the function of human capital also changes, which has caused demands on human wants and needs that cannot be avoided. Various impacts on the demands of the needs and wants to have affected the ecosystem's balance

It starts with the need for water, which is the main pulse of human life, followed by food and the natural development of humans. The source of water supply comes from rivers, seas, ponds, and lakes, which are the primary needs. Water can be polluted by dumping waste materials from factories, oil spills from ships, garbage, and animal excrement. Finally, soil erosion due to logging and widespread

construction is also one of the causes that can pollute the water supply. Encroachment of reserves and virgin forests is where logging often occurs. As a result, ecosystem damage mainly involves rivers becoming shallower and river estuaries becoming sedimented with pollutants because of logging activities.

The environment, especially in the agricultural sector, is the country's leading food provider and the primary economic development industry. A variety of species of plants and animals have not yet been explored but have the potential to supply food to the growing population of Malaysia from 1990 (15 million) to 2022 (33 million), with the natural population growth rate decreasing from 23.7% (1990) to 0.8% (2022) with an average birth rate of 0.2% and an average death rate of 5.3% per 1000 people. The average family member in Malaysia is over 5.5 people, with each family on average in 1990, whether in urban or rural areas. However, each family has only 3.8 children in the City and Rural areas and 4.7 children in 2022. The service sector is expected to be the main contributor to GDP growth in 2023, which is projected to grow five per cent next year, followed by the construction sector (4.7 per cent), manufacturing (3.9 per cent), agriculture (2.3 per cent), and mining (1.1 per cent).

In these three sectors, the service sector, especially the industrial economy, which includes electricity, electronics, petroleum, gas, and others, is the main contributor to the environmental crisis. However, the construction sector that explores forestry areas for housing and townships also contributes to increasing the greenhouse effect or GHG.

### 3.0 Methodology

This paper emphasizes exploring and understanding phenomena in-depth by examining individuals' or groups' subjective meanings, interpretations, and experiences. It is characterised by its emphasis on context, interpretation, and the use of non-numerical data. Qualitative research is often used to explore complex and multifaceted topics that cannot be adequately captured through quantitative methods alone. It allows researchers to gain insights into human behavior's social, cultural, and psychological aspects and understand individuals' underlying reasons, motivations, and perspectives. Clearly defining the issues of the Malaysia Madani Policy concept will help to start exploring certain aspects through observation and analysis. For example, I need to understand the experiences of Malays in Kelantan regarding implementing the Madani Policy concept in Kelantan State. Also, we need to determine the specific aspects to investigate, such as the types of issues, the impact on individuals, or the socio-economic factors that contribute to the Madani Policy concept.

Moreover, choose appropriate data collection methods that allow for in-depth exploration and capture the experiences and perspectives of Kelantan Malays. Standard qualitative methods include interviews, focus groups, and observations. Consider using a combination of techniques to gather multiple perspectives and validate findings. By integrating diverse methods and ethical considerations, this paper aims to uncover the nuanced experiences of individuals facing the Madani policy concept and contribute valuable insights to the government.

### 4.0 Discussion and Findings

Today, Malaysia has the highest population of young people in the world. According to statistical data, the total number of youths is 14.95 million, between 18 and 30, out of 32.5 million people in this country, or 46% of the total population of this country. While the elderly aged 60 and over is 2.23 million people or 6.86% of the total population of this country.

The five states that recorded a rather drastic increase are Selangor, Johor, Penang, Sabah, and Sarawak, contributing to the national GDP by 56.01%. The increase in the number of Malays will undoubtedly bring an agenda of economic, employment, and educational opportunities that must be prioritised. This is because the country's political system is not tolerant of criticism and reprimands, which have found a level of political interest among the Malays, especially the Kelantanese Malays.

The decrease has impacted the voice of Malays, who believe that urban socio-issues should be brought up instead of rural socio-issues. Recently, there are 100 parliamentary constituencies out of 222 parliamentary constituencies in the country that have proved an increment of more than 15% of young Malays between the ages of 18 and 21. 63% of these young Malay voters live in cities compared to 3% in rural areas in the 100 Parliamentary constituencies. Only 61 parliamentary constituencies that can be said to be rural areas saw an increase in young Malays, and the rest showed a less significant increase in young people. This means that nowadays, most young Malays live in cities rather than rural areas.

Today's Malaysia Madani concept, which the government implemented, aims to restore political confidence and understanding to the Kelantanese Malays. Their role is vital in building the sustainable development of this country, especially the Malays from Kelantan, which are 30% of the Malay population. Relaxation in specific policies has given space and opportunity for Kelantanese Malays to be involved in economic development participation through the financial programs in the Madani policy concept. The opportunities offered to the Kelantanese Malays to hold essential positions to improve their daily living are most important as an effort to rejuvenate the image of Malays as a whole. The implications of this paper will confine certain aspects of the Malaysia Madani Policy Concept towards Kelantanese Malays, which will bring more research to explore it soon.

### 5.0 Conclusion

The result is that Kelantan is undeniably in a bad relationship with the Central Government. The Central Government has given much assistance during the occurrence of a significant flood in 2022. Even so, the socio-economic situation, especially the plight of the Kelantanese Malays, still needs to be improved because most of these groups are still in poverty. Even so, the time has come for a new

method in Malaysia Madani to rebuild a symbiotic relationship between the Central Government and the State Government for the socioeconomic development of the Malays in Kelantan.

### Paper Contribution to Related Field of Study

This paper will contribute to the insights of Kelantanese Malay by the PAS ruling state and the application of Malaysia Madani in Kelantan.

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