



Social Forces and Electoral Change in Sarawak: A Case Study of Five Social Forces

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Social Forces and Electoral Change in Sarawak: A Case Study of Five Social Forces

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DECLARATION

I Chua Wey Lin (14020154, Faculty of Social Sciences) hereby declare that the work entitled Social Forces and Electoral Change in Sarawak: A Case Study of Five Social Forces is my original work. I have not copied from any other student's work or from any other sources where due reference or acknowledgement is made explicitly in the text, nor has any part been written for me by another person. The thesis has not been accepted for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature of any other degree.

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ABSTRACT

Social forces in various parts of the world have played a significant role in instituting electoral change especially a change of government. However, change of government has not taken place in Malaysia despite the emergence of social movements engineered by social forces. Nonetheless, they were able to bring about significant electoral change in the 2008 and 2013 elections. The Barisan Nasional (BN) government lost a few states during this period but Sarawak remains a BN stronghold. Through Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory, a qualitative research was carried out to study the pattern of Sarawak social forces and its contestation towards the state in instituting for electoral change. Many Sarawak social forces that can be seen pushing for electoral change suffer from weak internal and external structures. Restricted by their weak structures, these social forces work only on their issues of concern and are very localised in terms of geographical concentration. Over-concentration on their own issues of concern and being too localised geographically results in no cooperation between Sarawak social forces to form one large mass movement advocating issues that can bring about significant electoral change or a change of government. Nevertheless, two social forces of ROSE and the BMF had played a role in instituting electoral change in the state. Freer and fairer election and an increase in number of seats gained by the opposition in Sarawak were credited to the role played by ROSE and the BMF. Therefore, social forces may not be successful in instituting for a change of government in the state but it has undeniably played a role in bringing about electoral change in Sarawak.

Keyword: Social forces, contestation, electoral change

Kuasa Sosial dan Perubahan Pilihan Raya di Sarawak: Satu Kajian Kes Lima Kuasa Sosial

ABSTRAK

Kuasa sosial di serata dunia telah memainkan peranan penting dalam proses perubahan pilihan raya terutamanya penukaran kerajaan. Walau bagaimanapun, proses penukaran kerajaan tidak pernah berlaku di Malaysia biarpun kemunculan pergerakan sosial yang dibimbing kuasa sosial semakin meningkat. Namun begitu, kuasa sosial ini telah membawa perubahan penting dalam keputusan pilihan raya 2008 dan 2013. Kerajaan BN kalah di beberapa negeri dalam tempoh yang sama tetapi Sarawak masih kekal sebagai kubu kuat BN. Penyelidikan kualitatif dengan Migdal (1994) State-In-Society teori telah dijalankan untuk mengkaji pola kuasa sosial Sarawak dan persaingan mereka dengan kerajaan dalam membawa perubahan pilihan raya di Sarawak. Kebanyakan kuasa sosial di Sarawak yang boleh dilihat membawa kepada perubahan pilihan raya menghadapi masalah struktur dalaman dan luaran yang lemah. Oleh demikian, aktiviti yang dijalankan oleh kuasa sosial ini hanya terhad kepada sesuatu kawasan geografi dan isu-isu berkepentingan sahaja. Disebabkan itu juga, tiada kerjasama antara kuasa sosial untuk membentuk satu gerakan besar dalam membangkitkan isu-isu kritikal yang boleh membawa kepada perubahan pilihan raya terutamanya penukaran kerajaan di Sarawak. Walau bagaimanapun kuasa sosial ROSE dan BMF telah memainkan peranan dalam perubahan pilihan raya di Sarawak. Pilihan raya yang bebas dan adil dan peningkatan dalam nombor kerusi yang dimenangi pihak pembangkang adalah di antara sumbangan kuasa sosial ROSE dan BMF. Oleh itu, Kuasa sosial mungkin tidak berjaya membawa penukaran kerajaan namun mereka telah memainkan peranan yang penting dalam proses penukaran pilihan raya di Sarawak.

Kata kunci: *Kuasa sosial, persaingan, perubahan pilihan raya*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIM	Abolish ISA Movement
Bersih	Coalition of Clean and Fair Elections
BMF	Bruno Manser Fonds
BN	Barisan Nasional
CCM	Companies Commission of Malaysia
DAP	Democratic Action Party
EC	Election Commission
Hindraf	Hindu Rights Action Force
JOAS	Jaringan Orang Asal Se-Malaysia
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PACABA	Polling Agent and Counting Agent
PBB	Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu
PBDS	Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak
PEMANTAU	Malaysian Citizens' Election Watch
PIMP	Pan Islamic Malayan Party
PKR	Parti Keadilan Rakyat
PPP	People's Progressive Party
ROS	Registrar Of Societies
ROSE	Rise Of Sarawak Effort
SMO	Social Movement Organizations
SNAP	Sarawak National Party
WAC	Women Agenda for Change
WCI	Woman Candidacy Initiative

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Upon achieving independence in 1957, Malaya (known as Malaysia in 1963) inherited a relatively democratic system from the British Colonial government (Ooi, 2009). Through universal suffrage, Malaysians were introduced to different political parties and competitive elections are held every five years (Phang, 2010). Other than that, democratic principles such as freedom of expression, freedom of association and freedom of assembly were also observed and practiced in the country (Khoo, 2005).

Elections were very competitive during the early days where practices of free and fair elections (Khoo, 2005) had allowed for fluid change of governments in a few states in the peninsula (Ramanathan & Adnan, 1988). Democratic practices were strongly maintained by the government during this period as the success of opposition parties in a few states were not strong enough to threaten the government's rule at the federal level until it came to a close defeat in the 1969 election (Khoo, 2005).

Democratic practices in Malaysia were drastically curtailed by the government in the aftermath of the 1969 election to contain those conflicts which may disrupt or threaten the government's stability (Khoo, 2005).

The introduction of coercive legislation such as the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971, Official Secrets Act 1972, and the 1970 amendment to the Sedition Act 1948 had denied fundamental liberties of ordinary citizens (Khoo, 2005). Apart from that, the co-optation of opposition parties into the ruling coalition, the use of the Internal Security Act 1960 to target student leaders, academicians, and activists during Mahathir's era (Khoo, 2005), and the executive domination over other branches of government – judiciary and

legislature as well as the vast ownership and control of media by the government (Loh, 2012) further clamped down on the democratic space in the country. Such practices had wholly eroded democracy in Malaysia (Tamam & Manimaran, 2009).

Observing the post 1969 political development, scholars such as Case (1996) and Gomez (2004) labelled Malaysia's political system as semi-democracy¹ and pseudo-democracy² respectively. Similarly, Crouch (1996) who also studied the decline of democratic practices after the 13th May racial riots concluded that Malaysia had regressed towards incremental authoritarianism³. Puthuchearry (2005) and Loh (2012) also maintained that Malaysia cannot just plainly claim its democratic credentials through the holding of regular elections if the ruling coalition continued to maintain power without any succession from an alternative government and when many fundamental liberties of democracy such as freedom of association and freedom of expression are ignored by the government. All these academics basically argue that despite practicing some form of democratic practices such as having regular elections, the government also resorts to authoritarian measures to remain in power.

The authoritarian rule of the Barisan Nasional (BN) government was however challenged by social forces during the 1998 *reformasi* movement. According to Abbott (2004) and Weiss (2006), various civil societies such as Woman Agenda for Change (WAC), Woman Candidacy Initiatives (WCI), Bersatu Untuk Demokrasi & Insaniah (BUDI), Malaysia Youth and Students Democratic Movement (DEMA) – of which I define as social forces in this thesis

¹ For more info, please see William Case (1996) semi-democracy in Case, W. (1996). *Elites and Regimes in Malaysia: Revisting a Consociational Democracy*. Monash, Australia: Monash Institute-publisher

² For more info, please see Edmund Terence Gomez (2004) Pseudo-democracy in Gomez, E. T. (2004). *State of Malaysia: Ethnicity, equity and reform*. United Kingdom: Routledge

³. For more info, please see Harold Crouch (1996) incremental authoritarianism in Crouch, H. A. (1996). *Government & Society in Malaysia*. United States: Cornell University Press

– formed an alliance with the opposition parties to push for political reform and more democratic space in the country.

Although the 1998 *reformasi* movement was unable to bring about change of government in the 1999 election, it was able to bring more political participation from the public to question the authoritarian rule of the BN government (Weiss, 2006). While the BN government was able to consolidate itself in the 2004 election, the call for political reform which had previously become temporarily muted after the 1999 election was able to reignite itself to push for political reform just before the 2008 general election (Saravanamuttu, 2008). Strong social forces movements in late 2007 were, according to Saravanamuttu (2008) an extension of the new form of politics created by the 1998 *reformasi* movement.

The active movement of social forces in late 2007 had, together with other factors such as (1) the opposition's ability to forge close cooperation under one single platform, (2) success of the opposition in tackling issues such as the rising cost of goods, serious corruption, and the discontent on human rights issues in Malaysia (3) aggressive campaigning strategies which can be seen through public rallies or *Ceramahs*, house-to-house campaign, and poster and flyer wars, and (4) the role of the internet and social media (Fernando, 2013) made elections more competitive in 2008 and 2013. Change of government in several states – five peninsula states in 2008 and three peninsula states in 2013 (Gomez & Kaur, 2014) and the loss of the two-thirds majority by the BN government in 2008 (Ufen, 2008) and its popular vote in the 2013 (Khoo, 2013) were observed in both elections.

Social forces such as Coalition of Clean and Fair Elections (Bersih), Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf), Abolish ISA Movement (AIM), and anti-Lynas movement that conducted several street protests and rallies had in some way created a form of public sphere

for Malaysians to express their political discontent to the ruling government (Subramaniam, 2011).

Therefore, the role played by social forces in the 2008 and 2013 as well as the 1999 elections affirmed also by Lai (2004), Weiss (2009), Subramanian (2011) and Aeria (2013) (to be discussed further in Chapter two) – without dismissing other factors that also contribute towards the change of government in certain states – had indeed showed and confirmed the amount of influence played by social forces in bringing about change in the country especially within the context of elections.

Although change of government in a few peninsula states as well as the loss of two-thirds majority of the BN government were observed in the recent elections, such changes were not significant enough to bring about a change of government at the federal level. This is due to the continued dominance of the BN government over the years in its fixed deposit states like Sarawak (Hazis, 2015). The interaction between state and social forces which brought about significant electoral change in a few peninsula states as discussed earlier raises the need to understand whether such interaction exists or otherwise in the context of Sarawak especially because it is a fixed deposit state of the BN government.

1.2 Problem Statement

As discussed in the earlier section, social forces has irrefutably played a role in advocating for more democratic space and in bringing about a change of government in some states in peninsula Malaysia.

Though checks and balances between different branches of government, equal access to media, free and fair elections, and frequent power rotation between major political coalitions as noted by Loh (2012) from Sonn Ho Chul, a leading professor in political science in Sogong University Soul are among the components needed for democracy, the last component which involve power rotation between major political coalitions is imperative for the advancement of democracy in a country because stable democratic order should allow for fluid rotation of power centred on the free choice of the electorates (Ewald, 2013).

A number of significant electoral changes especially those that bring about a change in state governments were seen throughout Malaysian electoral history. The 1959 election for example, saw how the Pan Islamic Malayan Party (PIMP) managed to take over the states of Kelantan and Terengganu from the ruling alliances while the 1969 election saw the ruling alliances lose Penang, Perak, and Selangor to the opposition Democratic Action Party (DAP), People's Progressive Party (PPP), and Gerakan (Ramanathan & Adnan, 1988).

The early post-independence period which saw a more open democratic space in the country had allowed both alliances and opposition to operate on a level playing field during their political campaigns (Tamam & Manimaran, 2009). This undeniably allowed for significant electoral changes in 1959 and 1969 elections (Tamam & Manimaran, 2009).

While there are limited studies pertaining to how social forces affected both elections during this period of time, available studies like Tan (1994) and Weiss (2006) that stressed how social forces are communal and associational in nature during early post-independent

period couple with the fact that racial and ethnicity issues played a role for opposition to win two states in 1959 and five states in 1969 respectively (Ramanathan & Adnan, 1988) strengthen the argument that ethnicity and communalism played a role in both elections. . The 1959 election saw how the opposition PIMP managed to win both Kelantan and Terengganu because ethnicity issues were used in both areas as both states are predominantly Malay and traditionally bound while the 1969 election campaign was wholly conducted in the mood of ethnic emotions, distrust and hostility as ethnic and racial policies were employed by both the alliances and the opposition to win votes from the people (Ramanathan & Adnan, 1988).

The 1969 racially based election that caused the 13th May racial riots paved way for the BN coalition to call for strict regulations and coercive legislation to curtail open democratic space in the country. This in some way brought about a rise in advocacy social forces that encouraged democracy and human rights in the country during the 1970s and mid-1980s (Weiss, 2006). However, these social forces were not in the limelight until late 1998 when the *reformasi* movement, according to Abbott (2004) and Weiss (2006) served as a trigger point that brought to life Malaysia's social forces which allowed for an alliances to be formed between conglomerations of social forces and the opposition parties to demand for political reform in the country.

While the 1998 *reformasi* movement saw a peak in the activism of social forces in Malaysia, the period after the 1999 election until late 2007 saw social forces cooling the discourse on democracy and reform to the usual low simmer (Weiss, 2006). This was very much due to the various efforts made by the BN coalition in instilling a feel good factor among many Malaysians via the handling of power to Abdullah Badawi and in nursing back the country's economic health (Weiss, 2006).

Although the 1998 *reformasi* movement was unable to bring about a major reform especially in the context of changing the government in the 1999 general election, it set the tone for the flourishing movement of Malaysian social forces in late 2007 when factors such as the weak leadership of the then Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi and mendacity and incompetence of his administration as well as the call for reform by Anwar Ibrahim who served as the de facto leader of the opposition party after being released from his jail term further enhanced the overall push for political reform (Saravanamuttu, 2008). This, together with other prevailing political factors as discussed in the earlier section triggered significant electoral change especially in changing the government of several states in the peninsula.

The opposition winning five states in the 2008 election and three states in the 2013 election (Gomez & Kaur, 2014) shows how social forces and other factors as mentioned in the earlier section of this thesis had contributed to significant electoral change in the country.

The significant electoral change in the peninsula was however unable to bring about a total change of government at the federal level. As discussed earlier, this had been due to the continued BN dominance in its fixed deposit states such as Sarawak (Hazis, 2015). While there are always power struggles within the political parties of the Sarawak BN, electoral change especially in the context of changing the state government has never transpired (Chin, 2004).

Constant power struggles such as the breaking up of the Sarawak National Party (SNAP) to form Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak (PBDS) and later the Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party (SPDP) did not shake the rule of Barisan Nasional in Sarawak headed by the then powerful Chief Minister, Abdul Taib Mahmud (Chin, 2004).

Despite an increase in the number of seats gained by the opposition in the 2006 and 2011 Sarawak state elections (Khoo, 2006), such changes were not significant enough to bring about a change in government equivalent to what happened in the peninsula.

Knowing through earlier discussion that social forces had a certain amount of influence in bringing about electoral change especially in regards to change of government in a number of states in the peninsula, the role played by social forces in Sarawak especially in the context of electoral change remain unknown as studies related to social forces in the push for electoral change have yet to be undertaken in Sarawak.

The change of government in a few peninsula states that are said to be caused by various factors as discussed in the earlier section together with the influence played by social forces in contesting the continuous rule of the state offer essential reasons for the analysis of social forces and electoral change to be carried out in the context of Sarawak. Uncertainties on whether there is any contestation posed by social forces towards the state for electoral change especially in regards to the change of government over the past few decades motivates the realisation of this thesis. By utilising Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory, this thesis analyses whether there is any contestation against the state in the context of bringing about electoral change posed by social forces in Sarawak and why if there is any contestation, unable to bring about significant electoral change like a change of government similar to those in the peninsula

1.3 Research Questions

1. What is the existing pattern of social forces in Sarawak?
 - Pattern in this matter refers to the classification of social forces according to their nature of activities and their areas of concentration.
2. Is there any contestation against the state in bringing about electoral change posed by Sarawak social forces?
3. Why if there is any contestation in bringing about electoral change posed by Sarawak social forces against the state unable to bring about significant electoral change like a change of government similar to those in the peninsula?

1.4 Research Objectives

1. To identify, describe and categorise registered and non-registered social forces according to their activities and their areas of concentration.
2. To identify social forces with activism that is critical to the state government in terms of bringing about electoral change in Sarawak.
 - Activism in this context refers to challenges posed by social forces through their activities with examples such as protests, rallies, and other open encounters with the state primarily those that can be seen challenging the state for electoral change.
3. To analyse the contestation of social forces against the state and relate it to electoral change in Sarawak.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Many different theories and models were introduced in the field of social sciences to study political change or in other words, the political development of a country. Different models and theories of political change constantly come about to offer different patterns and perspectives in the studies of political change to improve the setbacks and weaknesses of previous theories and models over the course of history.

The early theories of political change such as the Modernisation theory focuses heavily on the spectrum of economic development in understanding political change. Modernization theory asserts that there are five stages of growth in society coming from traditional society which is of agricultural based economy to that of having ample entrepreneurial activities characterized by a society of having pre-condition for taking off to that of rapid economic growth illustrated as the taking off period that drives towards maturity with economic development slowing to a consistent rate and reaching its peak when real income increases in the age of high mass consumption (Rostow, 1971). Such a theory calls for a systematic process to move underdeveloped countries to a more sophisticated level of development (Reyes, 2001). According to Tornquist (1999), this theory places too much emphasis on economy and it also identify changes to only occur in a forward direction. This ignores the fact that change can also happen in a backward direction and that certain classes may not show collective behaviour in their actions and ideas of change.

New theories posing disagreement to the idea that all states develop in the same way and in a forward direction as those noted by earlier theories of political development emerges to provide an alternative view of understanding political change. These new theories such as dependency theory argue that not all countries developed in the same pattern with one and another especially when they are economically dependent on developed countries and the later

exploiting such relationship for its own development (Frank, 1971). Knowing that undeveloped countries had been kept poor through unequal economic exchanges with the first world countries, dependency theories and their like argue that revolutionary changes are necessary for undeveloped countries to separate themselves from first world countries in order to change (Tornquist, 1999). However, such theories according to Tornquist (1999) do not do much in terms of defining change from those earlier theories. Its focuses on the economy were quite similar to those earlier theories and its revolutionary call for changes very much refers a forward change.

State centred and institutionalism theories on the other hand were developed with an idea that not all countries change and develop in a similar pace with their neighbouring countries that are categorised similarly within the group of third world countries and first world countries respectively. The Tocquevillian approach by Skocpol (1979) for example, emphasizes that the state are involved in shaping their respective countries' identities, development, social ties and even the momentum of its social actors (Skocpol, 1979). Such approach and theories according to Migdal (1994) and Aronowitz & Bratsis (2002) place too much emphasis on the ability of the state in a way that these theories believe that respective states although being categorised as third world or first world countries can actually make use of their own resources and the remaining system of their colonisers to bring about a different pace of change for their own country. Such over emphasis on the state according to Migdal (1994) and Tornquist (1999) neglects the role of other components of society in perpetuating or inhibiting change.

The later Post-Institutionalism theory such as Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory on the other hand focuses on the need to study both the state and social forces to fully understand political change. According to Tornquist (1999), Post-Institutionalism theories

noted that analysing the state in order to understand political change is insufficient because there is a need to understand the role played by other social actors i.e: society's role in bringing about political change. Such Post-Institutionalism theory is more comprehensive because it considers both the role played by the state and other social actors in the study of political change and stresses that change does not necessarily mean forward change as regression may also be seen as a form of change. Such Post-institutionalism theory also placed emphasis on the need to study the environment or in this matter, attributes such as internal and external structures of social forces in order to understand their development and role in bringing about political change in society.

Therefore, this thesis calls for the use of Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory of Post-Institutionalism theory to study thoroughly whether there is any contestation against the state in the context of challenging the rule of the state government posed by pro-democracy and human rights social forces and its effect on change of government in Sarawak.

Before elaborating further on Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory, there is a need to shift the discussion towards the concept of social forces to provide a comprehensive understanding of this concept and why it is heavily used in this thesis to define groups and organisations existing in society in accordance with Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory.

Social forces according to Migdal (1994) refer to forces in society that encompass formal and informal organisations, including those movements that were held together through common and strong motivating ideas. The theoretical definition of social forces by Migdal (1994) is:

“These forces encompass informal organization (such as Senegal's patron client networks, or friendship groups and old boy network in other societies) as well as formal organizations (such as businesses and churches). They can also be

social movements, including those held together by common, strongly motivating sets of ideas (even when organizational ties are absent)”

(Migdal, 1994, p. 20)

Social forces according to Migdal (1994) do not isolate the state into a separate entity from other social organisations such as civil society and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). This is because Migdal (1994) also classifies the state as one of the formal organisations in society. Therefore, there is no clear distinction between the state and other social organisations in society.

In terms of defining groups and organisations, social forces serve as a better alternative compared to other existing concepts and terms such as NGOs, interest and pressure groups, social movements and social movement organisations (SMO), and civil society. This is because the concept of social forces by Migdal (1994) is more comprehensive as it considers all other problems of definitions that exists in different terms and concepts. The comparison between social forces and other existing concepts illustrate clearly why social forces is preferred in this thesis to define groups and organisations existing in society.

The concept of NGOs or non-governmental organisations define an organisation as “an essentially non-profit, voluntary citizen’s group which is organized at local, national or international level, and is locally, nationally and internationally active” (Vedder, 2007, p. 2). Such a classification excludes profitable groups and those that were not registered under state law to be considered as non-governmental organisations. Social forces on the other hand consider all groups and organisational attributes that are ignored by the concept of non-governmental organisations.

Other concepts that are frequently used in defining groups and organisations existing in society are interest and pressure groups. Both interest and pressure groups share common

features in a way that interest groups according to Barrington (2010) are organisations in which members share common concerns over issues and seek to influence government policies with no intention to seek office. Pressure groups, as maintained by Sarmah (2007) are stronger organisations that can exert more pressure on the government as compared to interest groups. Anhier and Toepler (2009) noted that both concepts can be used interchangeably in describing groups and organisations that show similar nature of activities. Setbacks of both concepts involve their definition that only classifies groups and organisations involved in activities that influences government policies. This ignores those that may not exhibit such attributes especially those groups that were formed to be in line with government policies.

Social movement and social movement organisations are also among other concepts used to define groups and organisations in society. Social movement is defined as an “informal network of interaction among people based on shared beliefs, solidarity and a common sense of collective identity, who mobilize for conflictual issues for the purpose of collective action to promote social change” (Chen, 2009, p. 66). SMO on the other hand are complex organizations that tried to implement the objectives especially on the basis of countering status quo in the society set forth by social movement (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009). Similar to interest and pressure groups, such a definition also assume groups to have one common direction and goal. This ignores groups and organisations that are formed to maintain the status quo. Migdal’s (1994) concept of social forces is seen as more appropriate as it represents both groups that are categorised as social movements and also those that show opposite attributes.

Another concept that can be used to define groups and organisations in society is civil society. Civil society according to Michael Bratton (1989) involve “an arena where manifold social movement organizations from all classes attempt to constitute themselves in an

ensemble of arrangements, so that they can express themselves and advance their interest” (Bratton, 1989, p. 409). Although Bratton (1989) define civil society as such, it is commonly known to target only on those pro-democracy and human rights groups and organisations when defining groups and organisations in society.

Tadashi and Ashizawa (2001) elucidate further the commonly known definition of civil society by asserting that civil society tends to serve much as a requirement for meeting new challenges of governance and as a force of reform which forces national governments to accept a democratic system of governance. Chai-Anan Samudavanija (1999) also concurred with such a definition claiming that the ultimate aim of civil society is to serve as a “school of democracy” allowing for an environment of self-development and self-governance in society for issues such as good governance, sustainable development, gender issues, people’s empowerment and civic education to be addressed and approached easily.

However, Kaelble (2006) challenges such a definition by asserting that it is overloaded with civility and morality and that some groups existing in society may not exhibit such positive attributes. This is also concurred by Cochrane (2005) claiming that the concept of civil society is overloaded with the association of positive forces, emphasising “civil” rather than “society” as a whole. Certain groups may exhibit non-democratic ways and methods in its pursuit of promoting democracy.

Realising that civil society combines all groups and organisations existing in society into one conceptual definition, such a concept is therefore not suitable to be applied in this thesis as it would lead to what Cochrane (2005) and Kaelble (2006) would have claim as wrongful representation due to its overwhelming positive definition in defining all groups and organisations.

After examining the complications of other available concepts, it is clear that the concept of social forces is much preferred to be used in this thesis to describe all forms of groups and organisations existing in society. However, due to the important role played by NGOs and their coalitions in bringing about significant electoral change internationally and in the peninsula as noted in the earlier section and also later in chapter two, the operational definition of social forces used in this thesis therefore target specifically those formal and informal organisations that appear in the form of NGOs and coalitions contesting the rule of the state similarly discussed in other literatures.

Elaborating further in detail, formal organizations refer to organised groups of people that exist in a legal framework pursuing their group interests and agenda while informal organisations refer to groups of people that are bound together by common interests and concerns which frequently meet and carry out their activities without any formal structure (Hazis, 2012). In other words, formal organisations are those that are registered with the state or in Malaysia, particularly in the context of Sarawak, the Registrar of Societies Sarawak while informal organisations are groups advocating issues and carrying out activities related to the group's concern and interests without any legal recognition of their organisation's identity from the Registrar of Societies Sarawak (Hazis, 2012).

Formal organisations as stated in section 2 of the 1966 Societies Act on the other hand is defined as a registered society that “includes any club, company, partnership, or association of seven or more persons whatever its nature or object, whether temporary or permanent” (Societies Act 1966, amendment 2006, p. 9). A registered society or formal organisation under section 8 of the Societies Act 1966 is to receive a certificate of registration from the Registrar of the Registry of Society (ROS) as evidence of its registration (Societies Act 1966, amendment 2006, p. 15).

Through section 41 of the 1966 Societies Act, informal organisations are being termed as unlawful societies and they are “societies that had been declared unlawful by the Minister, those that are not registered through the ROS or those where their registration is cancelled according to the law” (Societies Act 1966, amendment 2006, pp. 46-47). While they can register themselves under the Companies Commission of Malaysia (CCM) and appear as a business entity, it however does not deem them fit to be registered organisations or societies under the Malaysian Societies Act 1966.

However, through the perspective of informal organisations, procedural problems such as the inability of meeting the demands and criteria set by the Registry of Societies (ROS) and the idea that an organisation should be able to operate freely without any legal restrictions in the country (Anbalagan, 2014) were among few of the reasons why certain organisations chose not to register themselves with the Registry of Societies (ROS). This thesis therefore argues that although informal organisations are termed as unlawful societies under the law, they still play an important role in bringing about change in society as accorded in Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory. Simple reasons hindering their registration status should not be an impediment for the inclusion of informal organisations to be analysed in this thesis.

On the other hand, although political parties also fall under the provision of the 1966 Societies Act, political parties are defined differently from a registered and unregistered society. A political party means “any society which by any of its objectives or rules,...makes provision for the society to participate, through its candidates, in election to the Dewan Rakyat or to the Dewan Undangan Negeri” (Societies Act 1966, amendment 2006, pp. 8-9). Since the Malaysia 1966 Societies Act does not categorise political parties to be in the registered and unregistered society, the operational definition of social forces in this thesis also excludes political parties into its categorizations in formal and informal organizations. This is because

the main focus here is to look at the contestation posed by groups and organisations that appeared in the form of NGOs and civil society in other literature and not those forces that actually contest the state for an office position. Therefore, the inclusion and analysis of political parties as social forces in this thesis will impair its overall findings and purposes.

Following the thorough discussion on the concept on the concept of social forces and why it is used in this thesis, we shall resume our discussion back to Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory in order to further understand how such a theory was applied in this thesis.

State-In-Society theory of Migdal (1994) interprets society to be constantly in an un-static formation where both state and society are struggling for social control where state and society does not rigidly maintain its position over one another. The struggle for social control between state and society exist in an arena where Migdal (1994) defined it as an arena of domination and opposition. The struggle between the state and society would usually result in progressive or regressive change.

Social control as maintained by Migdal (1988) refers to the ability of either the state or society to exert influence or on a higher degree, domination over issues in a particular context and arena. Therefore, a relationship of struggle and accommodation according to Migdal (1994) can be seen to be occupying the state and society in its struggle over social control.

To put it in a more simple and associative way for this thesis, I would say that the state and other formal and informal organisations of which I would term as social forces are always in a relationship of struggle and accommodation over social control especially in regards to their ideas on the operations of democracy and human rights in the state. Therefore, applying such a theory in this thesis especially in the context of Sarawak called for the analysis on the part of social forces mainly on how social forces pose contestation to the Sarawak state government in matters related to electoral change.

The ability of social forces to dominate in its relationship with the state on a particular issue and arena heavily depends on its internal and external organisational structures as well as its social and ideological basis. Internal structure of social forces noted by Migdal (1994) involved the strength and weaknesses in its operating structure, human resources and financial resources. External factors refer to its relationship with other existing social forces and its organisation's accessibilities. Social forces' mission constitutes how social forces are involved in the society and hence gave the meaning of 'social' while its vision which involved what social forces believes in constitute that of 'ideological' in Migdal (1994) social and ideological basis.

Apart from social forces having strong internal and external structure and achievable social and ideological basis, the abilities of social forces to form large coalition and mass movement to initiate change in the state together with its engagement with political parties as illustrated in many literatures noted in chapter two also serve as attributes to determine social forces abilities to dominate in its contestation to bring about electoral change in the state.

While power rotation between major political coalitions or a change of government serve as a direct determinants of electoral change and as maintained by Ewald (2013) imperative for the advancement of democracy, other indicators such as a freer and fairer election and an increase in awareness of the public to vote for the opposition seen through the increase of votes or seats gained by the opposition – explained further in literature review of chapter two were also taken as indicators in analyzing electoral change for this thesis.

Categorizing these indicators and attributes of social forces into variables therefore call for the change of government to be the most favourable indicators or dependent variables and all other indicators of electoral change such as freer and fairer election and an increase in awareness of the public to vote for the opposition seen through the increase of votes or seats

gained by the opposition as other indicators or dependent variables while the aforementioned attributes and structure of social forces to be classified as independent variables.

Therefore, the most favourable dependent variable particularly involving the change of government can only be achieved if independent variables are present in social forces and that other dependent variables can be achieved when there is a contestation posed by social forces in pushing for electoral change were the hypothesis made to answer the research questions of this thesis. Figure 1 best illustrate the mentioned hypothesis and the relationship between independent and dependent variable in this thesis.

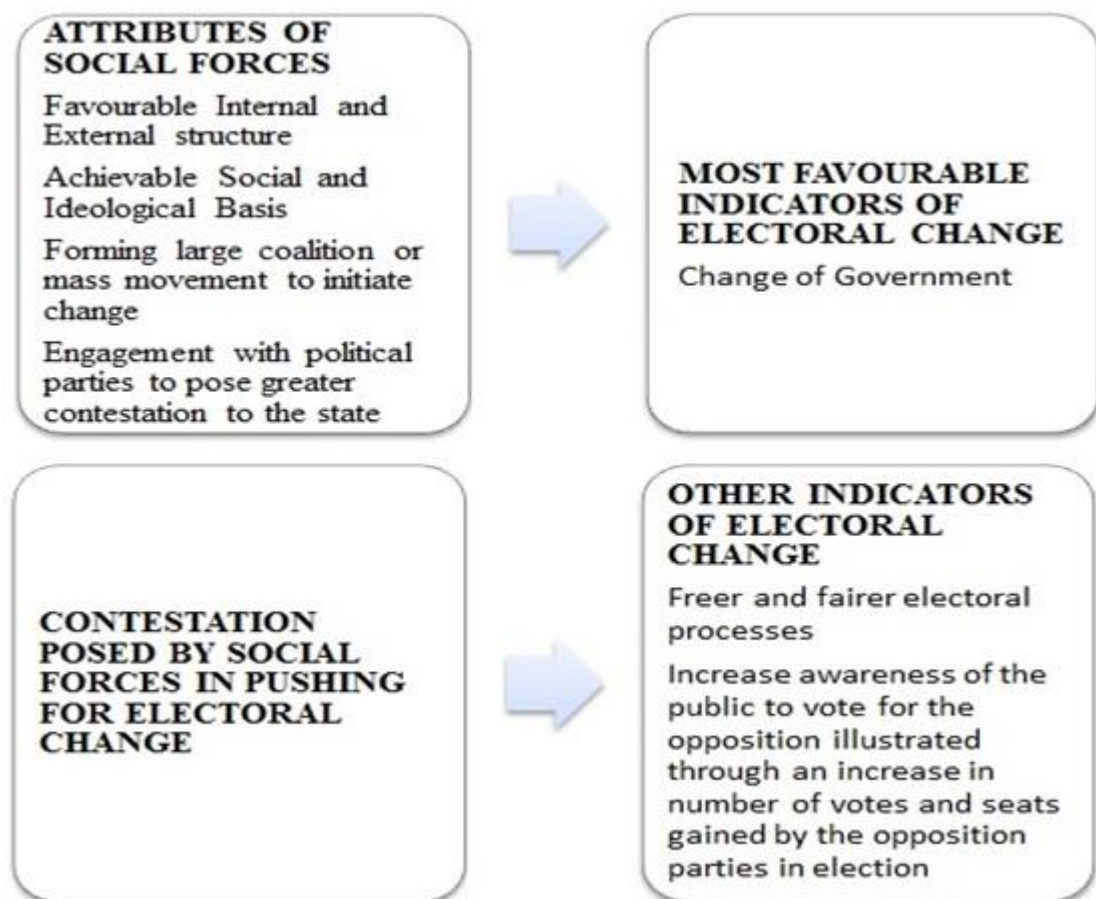


Figure 1: Framework on How Social Forces affects Electoral Change

1.6 Research Significance

This thesis looks to contribute to available literature related to the analysis of social forces in Sarawak. The available work that analyses Sarawak social forces is currently only limited to the works of Tan (1994), Cooke (2003), Hazis (2012), and Aeria (2013).

Apart from that, this work also anticipates to provide a general understanding of the existing pattern of social forces in Sarawak. The findings of this thesis also hopes to deliver thorough insights on the contestation posed by Sarawak social forces against the state mainly in regards to challenging the rule of the latter.

This thesis also endeavours to provide some room for future academic discourse related to the various concepts used in describing groups and organisations existing in society as well as those theories used in analysing political change.

1.7 Research Ethics

This thesis complied with the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS) Postgraduates Students Research Ethics Guidelines. All the eight (8) components within the guidelines were strictly followed throughout the period when the research for this thesis was conducted.

Participants involved in this thesis were told the background and objectives before gaining their informed consent to participate in the thesis. Information provided by interviewees were immediately destroyed and restricted from any publication in this thesis or in any other publications if participants decided to withdraw at any point during the writing of this thesis.

Confidentiality of the demographic data of research participants such as their names, age, gender, ethnicity, and locality were assured in this thesis. This data is either not shown completely in this thesis or remains non-identifiable by replacing them with suitable

pseudonyms. This helps to prevent any unintended negative consequences that may affect the participants of this thesis.

Names of organisations and groups interviewed and documented for this thesis were displayed in full for purposes of easier identification after receiving informed consent from the research participants. This was done to prevent confusion of information and any wrongful act of associating information provided in this thesis to different groups and organisations that they did not represent.

Research misconduct was highly precluded in this thesis. All information and evidence were obtain through legal and appropriate means without doing harm to the research participants and the thesis itself. Benefits of this thesis as explained in the research significance section were also strongly emphasised to the participants.

1.8 Research Method

This thesis which analyzed whether there is any contestation posed by social forces towards the state in endeavoring for electoral change in Sarawak and why if there is any, unable to results in a change of government similar to those in the peninsula called for the use of qualitative content analysis.

Qualitative analysis refers to “non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationship” (Babbie, 2010, p. 394). Justification of using qualitative analysis involves its ability to provide comprehensive and thorough analysis of information to achieve the objectives of this thesis.

The first and third objectives were attained through first analyzing and presenting information obtained through secondary information from relevant sources. Among the secondary information analyzed in this thesis involved (1) list of registered organisations obtained from the Registrar of Societies (ROS) of Sarawak⁴ and (2) electoral results of Sarawak state elections and parliamentary elections obtained from the Election Commission (EC)⁵ of Sarawak.

The list of registered organisations were presented in a way that samples for each categories of organisations were extracted from the total list of ROS to offer examples for each categories of organisations in the thesis. Election reports obtained from EC were on the other hand summarized in a way that it represent only the number of seats as a whole won in each election by BN, the opposition and the independent factions instead of the EC format

⁴ Registrar of Societies (ROS) is a department involved in handling political parties and non-governmental organisations (The Registry of Societies Malaysia, 2014)

⁵ Election Commission (EC) is a commission involved in handling all matters regarding elections in the country (Suruhanjaya Pilihan Raya Malaysia, 2011)

detailed the votes for each constituencies in every election. This had helped to relevantly sort data and present them in forms that were associated to the content of this thesis.

Secondly, the patterns of non-registered organisations or social forces were captured through the use of snowball sampling. Snowball sampling refers to a technique where “researchers collect data on the few members of the target population he or she can locate, and then ask those individuals to provide the information needed to locate other members of that population whom they happen to know” (Babbie, 2010, p. 193).

Snowball sampling was used in this thesis to locate primary information of unregistered social forces in the state. Phone calls were used to contact well known social forces found in internet and social media but not in the list of formal organisations obtained from ROS Sarawak namely Bruno Manser Fund (BMF), Rise Of Sarawak effort (ROSE) and SAVE Rivers Network. These social forces were contacted to first inform them about the context of study in this thesis and obtained their consent before snowballing for additional social forces existing in the state.

Apart from snowballing for other social forces, the earlier mentioned social forces were also contacted to enquire for basic information on their organisation’s activities. This primary information on the activities of unregistered social forces were then used to mapped them according to their respective categories similar to how ROS mapped formal organisations into their respective categories. The grouping of informal organisations to their respective categories was done through using the definition of what constitute certain categories of organisations as prescribed by the ROS of Sarawak as detailed in chapter three in this thesis.

Social forces with activities that can be seen contesting the state in the context of bringing about electoral change in Sarawak were contacted to obtain consent for surveying their organisations in order to achieve the second and third objectives of this thesis. Survey is a method where “researchers sent interviewers to ask the questions orally and record respondents’ answers...typically done in a face-to-face encounters and telephone interviewing” (Babbie, 2010, p. 274). A list of qualitative survey questions in open ended format was prepared for the purposes of prompting the overall flow of the survey (refer to appendices).

Justification for using open-ended survey questions in this context involved the need to do justice to the responses provided by members and staff of social forces. This is because confining answers of diverse multiplicity to fixed selections of choices in closed-ended questionnaires hampered the overall assessment and analysis of the interviewed social forces as it restricts and limits the overall consideration of respondents’ answers.

These social forces were contacted to be surveyed and analyzed for their organizations structures namely (1) the internal structure of human resources, financial resources and their operating structures, (2) the external structure on their interactions with other social forces, and the state and their (3) social and ideological basis namely its organisation’s mission and vision. A List of questions to gauge these structures was prepared in an open-ended format (See appendices). Apart from the survey, social forces were told that their organization’s report, pamphlets and leaflet as well as their activities especially their engagement with political parties, if any, reported in newspapers and books will also be used to compensate any incomplete data obtained from the survey.

There were a total of 11 social forces contacted for this purpose. These social forces were first contacted to ask if they would like to participate for the writing of this thesis. While there were only seven social forces that agreed to participate in this thesis, the information related to the other four social forces including its name (although detailed in the list of estimated informal organisations) were not spelled further and made identifiable in this chapter and other parts of this thesis for any further analysis and discussion. This was done in order to respect their declination and request for not being identified further in this thesis and to also adhere to the research ethics of this thesis.

While consent letter (refer to appendices) were distributed accordingly to seven of the social forces who agreed to participate in this thesis, only five social forces consented to be surveyed for this thesis. Five of these social forces are Jaringan orang Asal Se-Malaysia (JOAS), SAVE Rivers Network, Bruno Manser Fund (BMF), Rise Of Sarawak Effort (ROSE), and Bersih Sarawak.

A face to face survey was conducted with members of SAVE Rivers Network, Rise of Sarawak Effort (ROSE) and Bersih Sarawak while telephone survey was conducted with members of Jaringan orang Asal Se-Malaysia (JOAS) and Bruno Manser Fund (BMF). Telephone survey was conducted for Jaringan orang Asal Se-Malaysia (JOAS) and the Bruno Manser Fund (BMF) because they are located far away from Sarawak. Jaringan orang Asal Se-Malaysia (JOAS) are based in Sabah while the Bruno Manser Fund (BMF) are based in Basel, Switzerland.

All the primary information gained through the abovementioned survey were summarized and presented in a way that it detailed all the attributes of social forces without making any direct references to the interviewee of the survey. This was because all the interviewee refused for their names to be quoted for this thesis. Abiding to the request of the

interviewee, interview excerpts were therefore quoted with names of the surveyed social forces with examples of '(ROSE Interviewee, December, 13, 2015)' instead of the name of the interviewee.

Though there were interview excerpts in this thesis, those interview excerpts were not a direct transcriptions from audio recordings of the survey. This was because there are no available transcriptions of audio recording done for this thesis as all the interviewees refused for their conversation to be recorded. Interview excerpts were therefore presented in this thesis through notes that represent the views of the interviewee jotted down by researcher (see sample in appendices) during the survey. While all the surveyed social forces were hesitant to present wholly information related to their contestation with the state in bringing about electoral change, secondary information from other literatures, books, newspaper and online websites were used to compensate these gap of information for the writing of this thesis.

1.9 Research Limitations

This thesis faces several shortcomings that limits its overall presentation. Among the limitations faced in completing this thesis include (1) financial constraints, (2) geographical limitations, (3) privacy concerns of the interviewed social forces and (4) limited time restrictions.

Since two of the social forces namely Jaringan orang Asal Se-Malaysia (JOAS) and Bruno Manser Fund (BMF) as noted in the methodology section are located far away from Sarawak, geographical limitations especially in regards to reaching these social forces which are based internationally and in other states of Malaysia are among the obstacles that hinders the process of face-to-face interviews. These social forces which are internationally based and located in other states of Malaysia were surveyed through telephone interviews. While the

validity and reliability of information from face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews remains the same, I was however unable to observe the overall working environment of the interviewed social forces and gain their confidence and trust through face-to-face interactions for any future research.

While normally having to bear miscellaneous expenses pertinent for completing this thesis such as paperwork, purchasing election reports from the EC of Sarawak, books and journals for literature reviews and all forms of communication and interview sessions with social forces, additional expenses for long distance travel to interview social forces was very limited and was the reason why geographical limitations restricted my access on namely Jaringan orang Asal Se-Malaysia (JOAS) and Bruno Manser Fund (BMF).

While this thesis was given a period of two to four years for it to be completed, all research works such as the survey of social forces, information gathering as well as data analysis had to be conducted within a fixed time to comply with the deadline given for the submission of this thesis.

Apart from that, most of the interviewed social forces were very sensitive in matters relating to the privacy and confidentiality of the information provided by them for this thesis. While carrying out face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews, all the interviewees of the accessed social forces refused for their names to be recorded for this thesis. They also refused to be recorded audibly during the survey session. Although this may in one way or another hinder the overall exposure and analysis of information in this thesis, the request of the interviewee had to be respected in order to comply with the ethical guidelines listed and explained to the interviewee.

1.9.1 Organization of Chapters

After detailing the overall structures for carrying out the research for this thesis, there is a need to then look at the organization of chapters in this section to offer an insight on how the analyzed information were presented in this thesis. This thesis is written in a way that it is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 - Introduction - spelled out the research problems, the research questions, its objectives, the theoretical framework and its research design including its methodology and limitation in carrying out the research for this thesis. Chapter 2 – Literature Review –on the other hand presents past literatures and works related to how social forces play a role in electoral change.

The analysis of this thesis starts with Chapter 3 – State, Society and Social Forces for Democracy in Malaysia. Through the lense of Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory, this chapter studied the interaction of state represented by the BN government and society represented by social forces in pushing for democracy especially in the context of electoral change in the peninsula and in Sarawak. This chapter also analyzed the pattern of formal organisations in Sarawak. Continuing from Chapter 3, Chapter 4 – Social Forces and Electoral Change in Sarawak analyzed the pattern of informal organisations in the state before analyzing the attributes of the five accessed social forces that contest the state for electoral change. This chapter also studied and concluded the contestation in bringing about electoral change posed by five of the accessed social forces in Sarawak. The final chapter offers a summary of the thesis and its practical implications and its recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The number of studies related to how social forces bring about electoral change or a change of government through electoral processes is very limited.

This chapter focuses on the analysis of previous studies that examines how social forces tried to bring about a change of government in various parts of the world. Such a review however does not limit the analysis of past research and literature that uses other concepts in defining groups and organisations in society. This is because other authors and researchers might use different concepts to define what seems to be similar to those defined as social forces in this thesis. Hence reviewing these types of works help to provide a more comprehensive understanding on the topics and issues related to the construction of this thesis.

The work entitled *Reclaiming Democracy: Civil Society and Electoral Change in Central and Eastern Europe* by Forbig and Demes (2007) is a major piece that compiled various works from different authors emphasising on the importance of social forces in bringing significant electoral change in Central and Eastern Europe. The authors analysed how change of government can actually transpire through active contestation by civil society towards the state in countries like Slovakia, Croatia, Serbia, Georgia, and Ukraine.

In the midst of Slovakia suffering a backsliding democracy and isolationist policies under the rule of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, a consolidated platform of NGOs launched a civil campaign named ‘OK 98’ or in full ‘Obcianska Kampan 98’ while the opposition challenged the government in the 1998 parliamentary election. The opposition led by Mikulas Dzurinda through the help of the OK 98 campaign that called for the importance of elections as well as encouraging its citizens to vote during elections were able to bring about 84 percent voter turnout during polling day, directly contributing to the replacement of the former Meciar

government. Details about what constitutes a backsliding democracy, isolationist policies, results of the voter turnout as well as its previous turnout rate were not expounded on by the authors.

Croatia on the other hand, saw NGOs rally voters for democratic change through the GLAS 99 campaign under the nationalist and semi-authoritarian rule of the Croatian Democratic Union that dominated the country since independence in 1990. The GLAS 99 campaign was moulded on the Slovakia OK 98 campaign which in Croatian means both voice and vote. The campaign organised its activities mainly on advocating for free and fair elections, providing election-related information – mainly to show dissatisfaction and to criticise the incumbent government – as well as to motivate citizens to cast their votes together as a group had managed to bring about 75 percent voter turnout during polling day. This allowed the success of the opposition under Iвица Račan. Similar to Slovakia, details about how the campaign activities managed to bring about a high percentage of voter turnout were not further elaborated on by both authors.

Despite lacking details how both movements managed to bring about change of government in both countries, similarities in both campaigns were clearly seen in a way that NGOs in both countries came together to form one massive movement advocating for a common cause which included increasing awareness about free and fair elections, encouraging its citizens to vote in the election, and strongly criticising and showing dissatisfaction towards their incumbent government. Such a movement according to authors – although details why they led to such a conclusion are not known – brought about a high percentage of voter turnout during polling day and successfully brought about a change of government in both countries.

Similar to Slovakia and Croatia, civil society with the help of opposition in countries like Serbia, Georgia, and Ukraine also formed mass movements in pushing for a change of

government in their respective countries. Change of government in these countries however did not come as smoothly as with Slovakia and Croatia because they had to take their demands and issues to the streets due to the manipulation of the ballot by the incumbent parties.

The quasi-dictatorship rule of nationalist strongman Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia was strongly challenged by the newly formed United Democratic Opposition of Serbia under Vojislav Kostunica. During the 2000 Serbia election, broad civil society coalitions not named in the authors' work, helped the opposition to oust the incumbent through a campaign that provided voter information, calling citizens to vote during the polls as well as ensuring that there was free electoral monitoring during the election coming together with the youth resistance movements, also not named, that campaigned and demanded for democratic change against the Milosevic government. Knowing that there was no smooth transition of government in the 2000 election and that the ballot was manipulated in Milosevic's favour, the opposition and civil society took their demands to the street forcing Milosevic to resign and allowing the democratic opposition to rule under president Kostunica after winning a landslide victory in the parliamentary election two months later.

The authors only offer minimal information about the change of government and civil society in the 2003 Georgia election. While there is no discussion by the authors in relation to the activities conducted by civil society before and during the 2003 election, little is also known about the activities conducted by Georgia's civil society after the election. According to the authors, civil society and the opposition started a powerful street protest including interrupting the opening session of the new parliament after the outbreak of massive electoral fraud in the 2003 election. Termed as the Rose Revolution, the protest successfully brought about the resignation of the incumbent Eduard Shevardnadze and a new election which saw Mikheil Saakashvili of the democratic opposition becoming the new President of Georgia.

Civil society and youth groups in Ukraine, although not named in the authors' work also conducted various campaigns to encourage high voter turnout, provided information related to the election and demanded for political change during the 2004 presidential election between Viktor Yanukovych of the incumbent and Viktor Yushchenko of the United Democratic opposition. Specific details about the activities conducted by these civil society and youth groups in Ukraine were however not expounded on in the authors' work. With manipulation of the ballot allowing the incumbent to have a clear lead in the 2004 election, civil society and the opposition parties brought hundreds of thousands to the street. The protest labelled as the Orange Revolution forced the Supreme Court to eventually order a repeat of the election allowing the opposition Viktor Yushchenko to become the new President of Ukraine. Similar to how the authors explained the activities of civil society and youth groups in the 2004 election, details about the Orange Revolution and its actions were not specifically addressed and explained in detail.

Forbig and Demes (2007) summarises that the key for civil society to bring about a change of government is for them to galvanise themselves with the opposition parties to form a mass movement advocating for significant electoral change and to be very focused in their movement especially in demanding for a change of government in the country. Apart from explaining how civil society affect electoral change in those countries, the authors also provide the chronological list of events that led to electoral change in each of the countries studied.

Another small section within the literature entitled *Media and Democratic Transition in South Korea* written by Kwak (2012) studied how social forces affected electoral outcomes in Korea. The author in a small section of his work, provide brief patterns of civil society in Korea during the administration of the Kim Dae-Jung government. According to the author,

civil movements earned enormous popularity during the Kim Dae-Jung government that the number of civil organisations reached a total of 4,023 in 1999 and 6,000 in 2000 from just 3,500 in 1997. Additional details about the patterns of civil society such as their nature of work and areas of concentration in Korea were however not explained.

In 1999, civil society and citizens group formed The Citizens' Alliance for the 2000 General Elections (CAGE) to launch a nationwide campaign to question unfit National Assembly candidates during the National Assembly election in April 2000. CAGE released a list that contain numbers of unfit candidates involved in immoral behaviour, corruption, and their past record of affiliation with the military-led government of the earlier Kim Young-Sam administration.

Through the produced list of unfit candidates, CAGE called for a two-fold aim of 'no-vote' and 'no-nomination' for all the listed candidates. Details about what constitute the two-fold aim addressed by CAGE were not discussed in the author's work. While there was no intention to change the Kim Dae-Jung government, the motives of civil society and citizen groups in forming CAGE to reject unfit candidates in the National Assembly election proves the significant role played by civil society in a manner that it managed to influence the electoral outcome so that 59 out of the total 86 listed candidates by CAGE failed to be elected.

Although Kwak (2012) did not analyse the internal and external factors of civil society that allowed them to successfully influence the electoral outcome of the 2000 Korea National Assembly election, the author's work however reaffirmed the need for civil society to engage with each other to form a coalition formed for activities directly affecting electoral change in order to influence electoral outcome similar to the work of Forbig and Demes (2007) as noted earlier.

Another literature that brief how social forces come together to form large movement to bring about change involved the work of Nyman (2006) entitled *Democratising Indonesia: The Challenges of Civil Society in the Era of Reformasi*. The author's work briefly explains how different fragment of civil society came together and played a role in bringing down the Suharto's authoritarian regime.

Author noted that civil societies in Indonesia were very much fragmented in pre-*reformasi* period. They were very distinct from one another that interactions between them were very much dormant. Their very nature of being fragmented from one and another had according to Nyman (2006) prevented them from being co-opted by the Suharto regime. Particulars related to how fragmentation of Indonesian civil society had prevented co-optation by Suharto regime were however not detailed by the author.

It was during the 1998 *reformasi* period that these civil societies mainly involving those of students, woman and worker's group came together to bring down call Suharto's authoritarian regime. Mass rallies and street protest were called by these civil societies to push for the resignation of the overly long serving Suharto. Details about the mass rallies and protest conducted by civil societies and on which exact organizations constituting that of students, woman and worker's group were however not elaborated by the author.

Though Nyman (2006) does not detailed the work done by students, woman and worker's group in bringing down Suharto's authoritarian regime, its brief explanation on how different fragments of civil society come together to call for change further add into the need of taking into consideration the necessity for social forces to form large movement or coalition to initiate change in the state.

While the work of Nyman (2006) only briefly discuss how civil societies came together to form mass movement to oust the Suharto regime, the work by Sefsani and Ziegenhain (2015) entitled *Civil-society Support_A Decisive Factor in the Indonesian Presidential Elections in 2014* on the other hand provides clearer explanation how civil society organizations work together to bring about the win of Joko Widodo against General Prabowo Subianto in the 2014 presidential election.

Various civil society organizations such as Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi (SMID) and Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI) and the political party of Partai Rakyat Demokrasi (PRD) developed a coalition named Jokowi Untuk Indonesia Baru (JUIB) in declaring their support for Jokowi in the 2014 presidential election. The JUIB together with other civil society organizations of Aliansi Masyarakat untuk Indonesia Hebat (Almisbat), Duta Jokowi and Barisan Relawan Jokowi Presiden (Bara JP) supported Jokowi election campaign through two different strategies namely ‘land campaign’ and ‘air campaign’.

According to Sefsani and Ziegenhain (2015), the ‘land campaign’ conducted by these civil society organizations involved arranging public talks and discussions supporting Jokowi’s presidency, distributing Jokowi’s election materials from door to door and staging fast-breaking and Islamic prayers for Jokowi’s campaign during Islamic fasting month.

The ‘air campaign’ on the other hand involved civil society organizations running websites and social media to promote Joko Widodo program and spread his press release to the public. Although Sefsani and Ziegenhain (2015) did not specify how the campaign of Joko Widodo may be different from that of General Prabowo Subianto, the rejection of civil society organisations in supporting the latter and the dedication and engagement of civil society organisations in campaigning for Joko Widodo as noted by the author had significantly helped Joko Widodo in attaining his presidential office in the 2014 election.

Even though Sefsani and Ziegenhain (2015) did not analyse the internal and external structure as well as the social and ideological basis of each and every civil society organizations listed in their work, the coalition formed between civil society organisations and their engagement with political parties as noted in their literature had provide additional attributes in analysing the activities of social forces in bringing about electoral change in the state.

As earlier literature discusses how civil society through its activities and coalition were able to bring about change in their respective countries, the work entitled *The Cambodian people have Spoken: Has the Cambodia People's Party Heard?* by Kheang (2015) on the other hand only credit briefly the role of NGOs to be among few of the factors that brought about significant change in the 2013 Cambodian national election.

The ruling Cambodian People's Party (CPP) was predicted to win the 2013 election with a landslide victory given its contributions in propelling Cambodian economy through its textile, agricultural and tourism industries ever since it took office in 1979. However, the 2013 election saw the CPP won only 68 seats while its opposition, the Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP) denied the former its two-third majority by winning a total of 55 seats in the election.

Kheang (2015) noted that the loss of CPP from its 90 seats in its previous election to 68 seats in 2013 was credited to several reasons. Among the reasons involved (1) the increase in the number of young voters who were inclined to the opposition, (2) the unity of the opposition parties of Human Rights Party (HRP) and Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) into CNRP serving as a united front against the CPP, (3) the ability of the CNRP to connect local issues with the people in its campaign as compared to the CPP which only focuses on their memories

of their battle with the Khmer Rouge, and (4) the contributions of NGOs in creating political awareness of the rural people.

The author did not specify clearly how NGOs in creating political awareness of the rural people played a role in bringing about the loss of two-third majority of the CPP. The only explanation given by author involved NGOs working to build on community-based organizations to protect and promote local interest of the rural people and this had reduced the fear of the rural people towards the authorities.

While Kheang (2015) only explain in brief how NGOs played a role in the 2013 Cambodian national election, the author's work that stresses the contributions of NGOs in reducing the fear of the rural people towards the authorities by building community-based organizations and contributes to an increase in number of seats gained by the opposition nevertheless contributes to the amount of literatures that credits the contribution of social forces in affecting electoral change for this thesis.

Another literature that focuses on the effort of civil society in advocating for free and fair elections and trying to bring about significant electoral change involved the work of Feinberg et al. (2006) entitled *Civil Society and Democracy in Latin America*. A small section in the work addresses how civil society tried to promote free and fair elections prior to the 1994 general election in Mexico.

According to the authors, there was an increase in awareness of free and fair elections in the 1990s that in December 1993, NGOs with different backgrounds and aims came together to promote free and fair elections in the country. The reason why there was an increase in awareness towards free and fair elections in the 1990s was not detailed by the authors. These pro-democracy and human rights organisations such as the Mexican Academy of Human Rights, the Council for Democracy, the National Accord for Democracy, the

Higher Institute of Democratic Culture, and the Convergence of Civil Organizations for Democracy initiated projects related to promoting free and fair elections such as inquiring into the case of vote buying, polls observations, and the calls for electoral reform in Mexico.

Realizing that NGOs had made impact in creating awareness for a freer and fairer election, the incumbent Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) responded by negotiating with NGOs to bring about reform in electoral practices in Mexico. Such reform allowed for a freer and fairer election in Mexico prior to the 1994 general election. Particulars related to the negotiations were however not described by the authors. All these effort made by Mexican NGOs paved way for the National Action Party (PAN) to succeed the PRI government in the 2000 general election.

Based on the authors' work, it is therefore necessary to also consider first, the role of the state in responding towards the advocacy of social forces in order to wholly understand whether political change, especially in the context of changing the government of the state is possible or otherwise. This is because, state and society are constantly interacting with one another for social control as maintained by Migdal (1994) in his State-In-Society theory. Secondly, there is a need to also look into other indicators such as reform in the electoral processes and an increased awareness for freer and fairer election to wholly understand electoral change as these indicators as proven by Feinberg et al. (2006) had brought about a change of government in its later election.

The work entitled *Democracy Building and Civil Society in Post-Soviet Armenia* by Ishkanian (2008) on the other hand studied how civil society tried but failed to bring about a change of government in the 2003 presidential election in Armenia.

The author noted that during the 2003 presidential election, civil society organisations participated actively in advocating for free and fair elections in the country. Prior to the election, human rights group organised seminars and debates as well as encouraging civic participation training through mock elections held in schools to raise awareness about the importance of having free and fair elections in the country. Several NGO groups also conducted voter validity checks to ensure that all residents were duly registered and to prevent any phantom voting in the presidential election. These groups of NGOs also served as local observers, monitoring polling stations during the election.

When the incumbent Robert Kocharyan was leading the first round of the election, opposition parties led by Stepan Demirchyan and Aram Zaveni Sarkissian quickly organised a protest to challenge the electoral results. However, details of the protest were not discussed by the author. The opposition with its unpopular protest failed to woo more voters to their side for the second round of the election, allowing for the continuous rule of the incumbent when the overall electoral results were published. Different from earlier literature that showed how civil society successfully contributed to a change of government in their respective countries, civil society groups in Armenia according to the author's work did not participate in the opposition's protest nor did they form any massive movement that directly challenged the rule of the incumbent similar to civil society in Korea, Central and Eastern Europe.

The work entitled *Civil Society Engagement with Political Parties during Elections: Lessons from Ghana and Sierra Leone* by Kwakye et al. (2013) on the other hand study the various methods of how civil society organisations can engage with political parties in Ghana and Sierra Leone to bring about electoral change.

According to the authors, the most appropriate time for civil society organisations or in this context in Ghana and Sierra Leone to bring about political and electoral change is during elections when civil society engaged with political parties for various political works. Engagement as noted by the authors can be done through having roundtable meetings and seminars with political parties and at a higher degree, conducting street rallies and protests together. Accompanying this, civil society and political parties can together engage with the media to expand influence and news coverage about their activities.

As maintained by the authors, roundtable meetings and seminars are important because that is where civil society organisations can propose alternative policies to political parties. This will indirectly influence the manifesto of the political parties and how it is packaged to gain votes during elections.

The internal structure of an organisation according to the authors will determine how effective civil society organisations can work with political parties in bringing about electoral change in the country. These internal factors include the management of staff and its committee members, management structure, and also its financial capabilities. However, further elaborations on the components within the mentioned internal structure were not noted in the authors' work.

Although there is no analysis on how electoral outcomes in both Ghana and Sierra Leone were affected by the involvement of civil society, the work of Francis et al. (2013) provide some insights into methods that civil society organisations can use to successfully engage with political parties in demanding for electoral change. Apart from stressing on the internal structure of civil society organisations, the authors' work also stresses the importance for civil society to cooperate with each other and political parties in order to successfully bring

about electoral change in their respective countries similar to those as acclaimed by earlier literature.

Literature on how Malaysian social forces affect electoral change is concentrated on two elections, the 1999 and 2008 elections. This is because both election periods marked how social forces came together to bring about political change in Malaysia.

The work entitled *Protest and Possibilities: Civil Society and Coalitions for Political Change in Malaysia* by Weiss (2006) show how civil society came together during the 1998 *reformasi* movement in trying to bring about electoral change in the 1999 election.

According to Weiss (2006), the 1998 *reformasi* movement saw how civil society of different backgrounds and interests joined forces to demand for change in the country. The 1998 *reformasi* movement could be seen as one of the strongest civil society movements since independence. Issues such as the Anwar Saga, the imprisonment of opposition parliamentarian Lim Guan Eng for sedition and publication of false news, the bad conduct of UMNO politicians which revolved around the statutory rape case of the then Melaka Chief Minister Rahim Thamby Chik and the then Selangor Menteri Besar, Muhammad Muhammad Taib who was caught by immigration authorities with \$768,000 undeclared currency in Australia, the non-compensation to Chinese pig farmers by the government on the Japanese encephalitis case, the accusation of the manipulation of the Sabah state election by the opposition, as well as the propagation of thriving alternative media that allowed the airing of diverse viewpoints according to the author, served as a few of the stimuli that brought about the rise of civil society movements in 1998.

The *reformasi* movement saw political parties and disparate civil society organisations among which were advocacy-oriented NGOs, trade unions, professional associations, religious organisations, as well as students and academic activists coming together to form one major

platform demanding for political reform. The coming together of civil society organisations and political parties realised the formation of two major coalitions, the Malaysian People's Movement for Justice, Gerak and the Coalition for People's Democracy, Gagasan agitating for the 1998 *reformasi* movement. Both coalitions stressed on the issues of human rights and good governance in the country. However, details about the activities of these coalitions were not explained by the author.

Prior to the 1999 election, the focus of attention was shifted to the Barisan Alternative that was going for office against the incumbent, eventually causing Gagasan and Gerak to defunct. While some activists from Gerak and Gagasan joined the Barisan Alternative to compete for office, others including 40 more NGOs not named in the author's work formed the Malaysian Citizens' Election Watch (PEMANTAU) that focused on election monitoring and voters education. Although PEMANTAU was said to be nonpartisan, it was commonly known to be sympathetic to the cause of the Barisan Alternative.

The 1998 *reformasi* movement was however unable to bring about a change of government in the 1999 election. The Barisan Nasional coalition won 148 parliamentary seats and kept control of all states except for Kelantan and Terengganu.

According to Weiss (2006), the Barisan coalition was still able to maintain its rule in the 1999 election because the opposition parties were unable to provide a better alternative to persuade the people to vote for them in replacing the Barisan coalition. There were no concrete and persuasive promises made by the opposition parties compared to its counterpart and no specific remedies proposed to alleviate the practices of cronyism, corruption, and nepotism of the Barisan coalition. Issues on why civil society in the 1998 *reformasi* movement was unable to bring about a change of government together with the opposition in the 1999

election were not addressed by the author citing reasons of lacking public opinion and exit polls in this aspect of the research.

The efforts of PEMANTAU that focused only on election monitoring and voters education were not enough to excite the public to vote for issues above and beyond communalism and patronages as noted by the author. Research on civil society organisations especially their internal and external structures as well as their social and ideological basis during the 1998 *reformasi* movement and 1999 election of which is not noted in the author's work, could help to enrich the analysis of civil society as a whole.

Another work by Weiss (2009) entitled *Edging toward a New Politics in Malaysia: Civil Society at the Gate?* illustrate how civil society participated in the 2008 election and how political change in 2008 election was influenced by the involvement of civil society in Malaysia.

Weiss (2009) noted that although opposition parties have the urge to bring about political change in Malaysia, they were somehow beholden to issues related to their constituency. Different from political parties, civil society on the other hand do not confine their issues in a particular area and hence took the initiative of bringing political change in Malaysia to a higher level. The comment by human rights campaigner Yap Swee Seng explaining that "NGOs see elections as their chance to push the civil society agenda and make their voices heard" (Weiss, 2009, p. 749) best reveal how Malaysian civil society see elections as an opportunity for them to advance their interests and agenda.

Civil society through human rights lawyer and blogger Haris Ibrahim drafted the 'People's Declaration' and 'People's Voice' for opposition to address important issues such as democracy, judiciary independence, accountability, transparency, free press, equitable and sustainable development. These declarations were said to carry echoes of the 1999 Barisan

Alternative manifesto that the new 2008 declarations were based on the joint election manifesto prepared for the Barisan Alternative in 1999. Many of the issues laid out contemporaneously in the declarations were adopted strategically by the opposition parties.

Other activities conducted by civil society in relation to the 2008 election included staging demonstrations and protests by the Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf) and the Coalition for Clean and Fair Elections (Bersih) as well as competing for political offices with activists such as Elizabeth Wong, Sivarasa Rasiah, Sim Tze Tzin, and Tian Chua who all had been long time human rights activists, participating in the election. These activists were accompanied by P. Ramasamy who is a political scientist and labour activist and leader of Hindraf, M. Manoharan.

The author noted that the involvement of civil society in election-related issues especially with the participation of activists in the election competing for political offices caused the loss of expertise and experienced leadership in their organisations. This in long term according to Weiss (2009) causes civil society to risk gradual partisanship in their ideological basis especially when most of the activists are now serving in political offices.

Although Weiss (2009) did not analyse other internal and external factors that can affect the work of civil society, the gist and overall content of her work however clearly show how civil society were able to bring about change in Malaysia especially in the context of changing the government in several states in the peninsula. This is especially true in a way that the significant electoral change in the 2008 election was said to be stirred and contributed to by the involvement of civil society in events and issues related to the election.

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The work by Lai (2004) entitled *Participation of Women's Movement in Malaysia: The 1999 General Election* analyses specifically women's social forces in the *reformasi* movement and the 1999 general election. Lai (2004) analyses the social and ideological basis and some of the internal and external structures of the WAC and WCI which were heavily involved in the 1998 *reformasi* movement. According to the author, WAC was very involved in pushing

major issues related to gender equality and sustainable development, whereas WCI's agenda was very much about fielding women parliamentary candidates in the 1999 election.

The differences in the agenda of the two women forces led to two separate initiatives, each with different strategies and supporters to get their agenda through. In terms of internal and external factors of these women forces, the author noted that activists from both WCI and WAC were still working together despite having separate issues and agendas. Both forces however faced problems of resource deficiency and generation gaps in choosing different strategies to advance women's interests and rights.

Despite not showing how these groups of women social forces can affect electoral change, the author however pointed out the involvement of these women forces in the 1999 election. This is especially evident in their involvement in advancing for a departure in Malaysian traditional voting patterns which previously was through ethnic and party line to that of issue voting via voters education and door-to-door leaflet distributions. Despite unable to bring about a change of government in the 1999 election, the aggressive campaign for women issues in the 1999 election as well as the volunteerism of Zaiton Kassim, a former vice-president of All Women's Action Society (AWAM) and a well-known activist to run in the election show significantly how civil society such as WCI and WAC had an influence on the 1999 election.

The work of Lai (2004) noted the importance of taking into consideration the analysis of activities and efforts by civil society or in this thesis, termed as social forces in trying to influence the electoral outcome. This allows for a thorough analysis to be made on the level of activism of social forces and its efforts in trying to influence the electoral outcome.

The work by Subramaniam (2011) entitled *Assessing Political Dynamics in Contemporary Malaysia: Implication for Democratic Change* on the other hand indicates how social forces were able to push for significant electoral change in the 2008 general election.

According to Subramaniam (2011), the 2008 general election produced an extraordinary outcome because the Barisan coalition was unable to maintain its two-thirds majority in parliament and lost five states to opposition parties. This, according to the author was credited to the street protest held on the eve of the election in which civil society such as the Coalition of Clean and Fair Elections (Bersih) and the Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf) took their demands to the street. Although there were also other factors that contributed to significant electoral change in 2008 as maintained by Weiss (2009), Subramaniam (2011) however, only focused on the street protests aspect of civil society.

Street protests by civil society near the 2008 election brought significant changes because it broke the psychological barrier among Malaysians to bravely voice out publicly and created a form of 'public sphere' for them to show their political discontent to the ruling government. Significant electoral change in the 2008 election was therefore as maintained by the author, seen as one of the products of civil society's street protest.

Analysing the social and ideological basis of both Bersih and Hindraf, the author noted that Bersih was a coalition formed to call for reforms of the electoral system which were said to be favouring the ruling coalition. Hindraf on the other hand was formed to protest against the constant negligence of the demands of the Tamil-speaking Hindus by the Barisan government.

Although the author did not analyse the internal and external structures of civil society that could affect its level of activism, the significant role played by Malaysian civil society in pushing fellow Malaysian to bravely and publicly show their political discontent to the ruling

government which paved ways for significant electoral change in the 2008 general election noted by the author showed how civil society can actually affect Malaysian electoral outcome. This serves as a precedent for the claim that civil society or in this thesis termed as social forces is capable of bringing about electoral change in Malaysia.

The work of Tumin and Ndoma (2013) entitled *Virtual Civil Society: resurgence of social capital and the 2008 General Election in Malaysia* noted how internet and social media which served as communication mediums for opposition parties and civil society, contributed to significant electoral change in the 2008 election.

Both authors noted that social media and the internet played an important role in affecting the outcome of the 2008 general election. This is because civil society and opposition parties were actively utilising the internet and social media in expanding their influence and galvanising support.

Civil society and human rights activists such as Susan Loone, Malik Imtiaz Sarwar, Ronnie Liu and that of Raja Petra Kamaruddin who had been critical of Malaysia's state of politics were notably criticising Abdullah's policies in their websites and blogs. Apart from that, the internet and social media as maintained by both authors had been sporadically used to propagate their resentments against the government.

The importance of the internet and social media in the 2008 general election according to the authors, were affirmed by the fifth Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi himself. In the aftermath of the 2008 election, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi credited the significant electoral change which favoured the opposition coalition to their underestimation of the role played by the internet and social media.

Even though such works does not analyse any civil society and how they could affect the electoral outcome of the 2008 election, the focus on the use of internet and social media provide an additional criteria to determine the effectiveness of civil society in bringing about significant electoral change especially in getting their message across to the public.

Literature that studied the roles played by social forces in trying to bring about electoral change in Sarawak is very limited that even independent studies related to social forces in Sarawak only amount to four works written by Tan (1994), Cooke (2003), Hazis (2012) and Aeria (2013).

The work entitled *Communal Associations of the Indigenous Communities of Sarawak: A Study of Ethnicity and National Integration* by Tan (1994) documented 14 communal organisations in Sarawak.

Such documentation in Tan (1994) work provides intensive grounding for analysing the overall development of communal organisations in Sarawak. The author documented the necessary information of Sarawak communal organisation and some of its interaction with the state in terms of ethnic and community building. Ethnic and community building as maintained by the author involved activities related to the promotion and championing of ethnic rights and interests.

While documenting the 14 communal organisations in Sarawak, Tan (1994) did not however analyse how electoral outcomes were influenced by these organisations or whether they have any influence on the outcome of Sarawak elections or otherwise.

The work by Cooke (2003) entitled *Non-governmental organizations in Sarawak* gave a rough overview on the work of NGOs advocating for land, environment, and livelihood issues in Sarawak. This group of NGOs, not named in the author's work focuses heavily on

the rights of native Sarawakians to be involved in development and political processes of the state.

The author in her work noted that the levels of activism of this group of social forces were limited by their internal and external structures. They hence faced difficulties when trying to bring about political change in the state. This is especially true when issues and demands pursued by this group of social forces were constantly ignored by the state.

Recognising that internal and external structures of NGOs played a role in their low level of activism, the author provided some basic analysis on the internal and external structures of this group of social forces and listed their weaknesses that explained their low degree of activism.

The internal weaknesses or problems faced by this group of social forces advocating on land, environment, and livelihood issues are tight budgets and insufficient human resources. External problems that hamper the degree of activism of this group of social forces on the other hand involved various constraints imposed by the state regime. A few of the constraints pointed out by the author involve the passing of authoritative laws, the use of the police force and blatant marginalisation of their economy and finances.

Although the author did not analyse how this group of social forces affect electoral change in Sarawak, the author however did point out clearly how the activism of social forces in their focus niches of native areas were limited by various constraints in their internal and external structures. Hence, the weaknesses faced by this group of NGOs as pointed out by the author provides some insight on several of the obstacles faced by Sarawak social forces that should be taken into consideration when analysing pro-democracy and human rights social forces in this thesis. This is especially true when the weaknesses raised by the author are quite similar to those pointed out by Hazis (2012).

One section within the work entitled *Domination and Contestation: Muslim Bumiputera Politics in Sarawak* of Hazis (2012) studied social forces in Sarawak through State-In-Society theory of Migdal (1994).

The author in his work provides some basic mapping of Sarawak formal organisations where the number of formal organisations were divided into different sectors based on the nature of the organisation's activities and areas of concentration. However, most of the author's work focuses on the context of strongmen politics and state's ability to maintain power over a period of four decades in Sarawak.

According to the author, the activism of Sarawak social forces were dormant compared to the peninsula. This is because they were immensely entrapped in issues of religion and communal interests. Similar to the earlier analysis of Cooke (2003), Hazis (2012) also noted deficiency in manpower and financial constraints as a few of the weaknesses faced by Sarawak social forces in its various activism in the state.

After analysing the internal and external structures of Sarawak social forces, the author also specifically analyses the social and ideological basis of the Malay National Union (MNU), the Sarawak Dayak Association and its successors the Bidayuh National Association and the Sarawak Dayak National Union.

Analysis of these organisations were made because they share similar social and ideological basis to that of the earlier Malay National Union (MNU) and Sarawak Dayak Association which were involved in the anti-cession movement. Due to rising calls in the need for securing their ethnic and communal interests, a shift in paradigm role was seen in these organisations. The Malay National Union (MNU) shifted its role to promote Malay interests whereas the Sarawak Dayak Association split into two organisations with the Bidayuh

forming the Bidayuh National Association and the Iban communities forming the Sarawak Dayak National Union.

Although the author did not analyse how social forces can bring about a electoral change in Sarawak, the examples provided by the author on the mapping of Sarawak social forces and the analysis of patron-client relationship through Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory do provide an outlook on how research of social forces and its contestation for electoral change can be carried out through the application of Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory in the context of Sarawak.

While the work of Cooke (2003) and Hazis (2012) with the earlier analyzing the internal and external structure of NGOs advocating for land, environment, and livelihood issues in Sarawak and the later analysis of patron-client relationship through Migdal State-In-Society theory and its mapping of social forces can contributes to the writing of this thesis, there were no studies on other ethnic group of social forces such as the Chinese based groups that can actually be related or contributes to the writing of this thesis.

On the other hand, one section within the work entitled *Sarawak: One Election, Many Contests* by Aeria (2013) studied directly the role played by civil society in the recent 13th general election in Sarawak. According to Aeria (2013), civil society in Sarawak have long been very weak until the recent emergence of the middle class and professionals contributing to the growth of civil society through bringing social and political consciousness onto the scene. The author noted that older organisations in Sarawak were very subservient to authority. This is because they are deeply constrained by financial problems, feudal mentality and authoritative state law.

Aeria (2013) analysed the role played by three non-governmental organisations, SAVE Rivers, the Sarawak Dayak Iban Association (SADIA), and Barefoot Mercy in Sarawak's 13th

general election. According to Aeria (2013), these organisations engaged in various activities to help woo votes for the opposition Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR).

SAVE Rivers and the Sarawak Dayak Iban Association (SADIA) are indigenous organisations that are involved in championing various communal interests and rights. In terms of elections, SADIA chairman, Nicholas Mujah who is also a member of the opposition PKR was called to run in the Sri Aman constituency under the PKR platform while SAVE Rivers who had been working to oppose the construction of the hydroelectrical dam in Baram, worked closely with the opposition during election time to further oppose the construction.

Barefoot Mercy on the other hand is more of a welfare and social organisation that help to improve the life of rural communities. The opposition PKR benefited in publicity through launching various community projects implemented by Barefoot Mercy.

Pointing out that the activities conducted by these NGOs were unable to aid in the election of any PKR candidate, the author however maintained that their emergence and efforts in working beside the opposition was very significant because it serves as important markers in the overall advancement of NGOs in Sarawak.

Although the author analyses the social and ideological basis of the three organisations as well as their role in the recent election, the author however did not analyse the organisation's internal and external structures. Internal and external structures of social forces according to Migdal (1994) play an important role in determining their effectiveness in bringing about political change or in this case, electoral change in the state.

Despite not analysing the organisations' internal and external structures, Aeria's (2013) work is however still significant for the writing of this thesis. The author's work is among the available literature that stresses the role contributed by social forces in bringing about change in the country particularly when it comes to elections in Sarawak. Apart from

that, Aeria (2013) analysis of the role played by certain Sarawak social forces in the 2013 election also provide examples for the writing of this thesis such as relating the role and efforts played by pro-democracy and human rights social forces in their contestation for a change of government in the state.

Therefore, the amount of literature studied in this thesis, although limited in number had in one way or another, although not all proved to be successful, advance further the claim that social forces do play a role in contesting against the state for electoral change.

Three interesting facts to note after analyzing all the literature in this chapter involved first, the ability of social forces to bring about electoral change if they rally together to form a coalition or mass movement aiming for political reform in the country as noted in the work of Nyman (2006), Forbig and Demes (2007), and Kwak (2012). Secondly, there is a need for social forces to engage with the opposition parties to bring forth a greater contestation to the state as asserted by Kwakye et al. (2013) as well as Sefsani and Ziegenhain (2015). Finally, electoral change can also appear in the form of changes in electoral processes such as moving towards a freer and fairer election as noted by Feinberg et al. (2006) and an increase in awareness of the public to be unafraid of the authorities and in bravely showing their political discontent to the ruling government projected through an increase in number of votes or seats gained by the opposition as asserted by Subramaniam (2011) and Kheang (2015).

Similarly noted in the theoretical section of this thesis, changes in terms of electoral processes such as a freer and fairer election and the increase in awareness of the public to vote for the opposition seen through an increase in opposition votes were all taken as indicators of electoral change in this thesis while attempt of social forces in forming coalition and mass movement as well as their engagement with political parties were taken as attributes of their

ability in initiating change apart from the usual internal and external structure and social and ideological basis of social forces as noted in Migdal State-In-Society theory.

Knowing that existing literatures lacks the analysis of internal and external structure as well as applying Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory to study the role played by social forces in affecting electoral change, this thesis therefore set itself to fill such gap missed by existing literatures. This thesis also departs itself from all existing Sarawak literature that study social forces and change.

The work of Hazis (2012) for examples only uses Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory to study patron-client relationship and strongman rule in Sarawak while this thesis focuses on examining the structure of social forces and relate them to their activism in bringing about electoral change in Sarawak. This thesis also differ from the work of Cooke (2003) and Aeria (2013) in a way that the earlier did not relate social forces activism to electoral change while the later does not study specifically the attributes of social forces in bringing about change in the state.

Therefore, the analysis on the attributes of social forces in bringing about electoral change such as its internal and external structure, its social and ideological basis, its ability to form mass movement and its engagement with political parties as well as those groups of social forces in which this thesis are targeting in its operational definition were among the spectrum that differentiates this thesis from other literature that studied social forces and change in Sarawak.

CHAPTER 3

STATE, SOCIETY AND SOCIAL FORCES FOR DEMOCRACY IN MALAYSIA

Through the application of Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory, this chapter shall discuss how the state, represented by the BN government and society, represented by social forces bring about political change especially in the context of democracy in Malaysia. In addition to that, this chapter hopes to provide an overview of Malaysia's political setting and the state of its democracy.

There is a need to shift the focus into accessing what constitute democracy in this chapter before accessing how social forces and the state contest each other for democracy in Malaysia. According to Birch (2001), there are two approaches in defining democracy namely the empirical approaches and the idealist approaches. The earlier empirical approaches called for democracy to be defined via its practical implications imposed by the state or in other words defining democracy through looking at how the state are applying its principles throughout its rule while the later idealist approach involve defining democracy through its principles supposedly enshrined in its constitution (Birch, 2001).

While semi-democracy of Case (1996) and pseudo-democracy of Gomez (2004) is one way how democracy is defined through empirical approaches, the operational definition of democracy in this chapter however follows the idealist approach of Birch (2001). This is because Democracy in this chapter is looked through the lenses of Migdal State-In-Society theory as an arena where state and social forces are contesting to exert its influence upon rather than looking at how democracy is solely practiced by the state. Therefore, democracy in this chapter follows those democratic principles such as freedom of speech, freedom of expression and association, freedom of religion, equality and the conduct of election

embedded in Malaysia constitution in order to look at how state and social forces exert its influence on these principles.

While this thesis focused more on the aspect of electoral change in the context of democracy, those indicators of electoral change as illustrated in chapter one were also taken into considerations in the analysis of democracy in this chapter.

3.1 Malaysia's State Of Democracy: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

The 1957 Malaysia Constitution details how principles of democracy particularly freedom of speech and association as practiced by western nations were embedded in Malaysia's notions of democracy (Strauch, 1981). Among the democratic principles enshrined in the Federal Constitution are those listed in part II of Fundamental Liberties from Article 5 to Article 13 and part VIII of Elections from Article 113 to Article 120 (Federal Constitution, 2006).

Liberty of a person, freedom of speech, assembly and association, freedom of religion, freedom of movement and equality are among the fundamental liberties listed in part II of the Federal Constitution (Federal Constitution, 2006). While holding elections is primary to a democratic system, part VIII of the Federal Constitution details the simplified conduct of elections in the country (Federal Constitution, 2006).

Apart from preserving the principles of democracy in the Federal Constitution, Malaysia has also successfully maintained its Westminster style of parliamentary democracy through the election of six Prime Ministers in nearly 60 years albeit facing interruption of its democratic rule during the 1969 racial riots (Bakar, 2005).

Democratic space in Malaysia was very open before May 1969. Campaigning strategies such as public rallies, door-to-door visits, and access to the media were widely used by both the alliances or the now BN and the opposition parties during elections which is

evidence of the practices of free and fair elections in the country (Tamam & Manimaran, 2009).

Apart from that, the early Alliance Coalition style of administration especially that of Tunku Abdul Rahman which was relatively non-authoritarian, tolerant to non-communal initiatives and was able to mix well with various communities and protect their interests (Weiss, 2006) provided an environment suitable for the practices of democracy in the country.

Similarly, the independence of the Election Commission which was made up of three members not from any political parties and with its number increased to four after independence allowed for freer and fairer elections to be conducted in the country in a way that redelineation exercises and elections were not influenced by the ruling coalition (Lim, 2002). This allowed electoral change to be quite fluid in the country.

With open democratic practices in the country, the opposition was able to win the states of Kelantan and Terengganu in the 1959 election (Ramanathan & Adnan, 1988). The opposition then made further inroads by winning the states of Penang, Perak, and Kelantan as well as depriving the two-thirds majority of the alliances coalition in the 1969 election (Harding, 1996). Such triumph by the opposition parties caused the ruling alliances government to be cautious about open democratic practices:

“until May 1969, democracy was accepted without murmur – in that it was extolled by the modern-minded leaders of UMNO – because its operation in practice did not hinder UMNO from enjoying and exercising a preponderance of political power” (Goh, 1971, p. 40)

The excerpt of Goh's 1971 work describing how democratic space, whether loose or strict are actually dependent on how the then alliances or the now BN particularly the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) perceive its abilities in exercising and enjoying its political power explain clearly how democratic space was curtailed after the 1969 racial riots.

The 1969 racial riots were said to be mainly stirred by the Malay communities on sentiments of their political rights being deprived by non-Malays especially the Chinese communities in Tunku's administration (Saad, 2012). Malay communities especially the Malay "young Turks" came together under Mahathir Mohamad to oust the then Tunku Abdul Rahman and his administration following the major win opposition parties in the 1969 election (Saad, 2012). This brought about the declaration of state of emergency by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong (Weiss, 2006). The alliances fearing a further loss in their political power took this opportunity to strengthen its rule by introducing and amending authoritarian legislation which on one hand openly prohibited debates on ethnically sensitive issues and on the other, suppressed the practices of democratic principles in the country (Weiss, 2006).

Among the changes in legislation introduced and implemented by the then alliances or the know BN government that degraded Malaysia's state of democracy and human rights included the use of 1960 Internal Security Act (ISA) to detain and arrest democracy and human rights activists, the introduction of the 1971 Universities and University Colleges Act (UUCA) to restrict the participation of academics and students in politics, the introduction of the 1984 Printing Presses and Publication Act (PPPA) limiting press and media freedom and the 1972 Official Secrets Act (OSA) that restricts and suppresses the flow of information in the country (Khoo, 2013).

The introduction of oppressive laws and measures taken by the alliances government after the 1969 racial riots to curb and oppress democratic principles such as the freedom of speech, expression and association had in one way brought massive political change in a direction away from the respect of democracy in Malaysia.

The necessity of using coercive legislation to tighten democratic space in the country was backed by Ghazali bin Shafie, the then Minister of Information from BN government claiming that curtailment in certain practices of democracy such as freedom of speech were necessary for the restructuring of society in line with the implementation of the New Economic Policy introduced after the 1969 racial riots (Strauch, 1981).

Apart from oppressive laws, authoritarian measures were also used to tighten democratic principles in Malaysia (Liu, 2014). The Operasi Lalang 1987 during Mahathir's administration illustrates best the use of authoritarian measures and tyrannical legislation in limiting democratic principles in the state (Liu, 2014).

Operasi Lalang was an operation called in October 1987 to arrest 106 political leaders and civil society activities through the 1960 Internal Security Act (ISA) for demonstrating against the government for appointing non-qualified Chinese teachers to Chinese schools and the use of Malay as the medium of instruction in certain courses in Chinese and Tamil studies at the University of Malaya (Liu, 2014). Besides that, Operasi Lalang 1987 also saw the suspension of three newspaper companies namely The Star, Watan, and Sin Chiew Jit Poh, signifying the control and regulation of the media by the BN government (Khoo, 1995).

Besides the suspension of three newspapers in Operasi Lalang, the freedom of press and media in Malaysia were also curtailed in a way that most media companies were strictly controlled and majorly owned by the BN government and its affiliates (Ling, 2003). An example of how the media's freedom was curtailed involved the implementation of the 1984

Printing Presses and Publication Act (PPPA) which required every newspaper and magazine to apply for a yearly publication permit from the Home Minister (Ling, 2003). This indirectly empowered the Minister with absolute discretion to either accept, reject, suspend or revoke any permit application from the press (Ling, 2003).

Electronic media also suffered a similar fate with the press in that it is either tightly controlled by the government or majorly owned by government linked companies. This is especially true with Radio Television Malaysia (RTM) channels like TV1 and TV2 which are owned by the government (Hilley, 2001), while TV3, another media channel launched in 1984 was awarded its contract to Sistem Televisyen Malaysia Bhd (STMB), a company closely linked to the UMNO and another channel, the commercial station Nat-Seven (NTV7) is owned by Effendi Norwawi, Vice President of Sarawak Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB) (Hilley, 2001). Apart from that, the government also has ownership in the printed media like the News Straits Times Press (NSTP). Furthermore, Utusan Melayu is owned by an UMNO investment arm, Fleet Holdings and Renong Bhd while the English daily, The Star, is held by Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) investment arm, Huaren Holdings (Hilley, 2001).

Various measures under the influence of the BN government such as reducing the minimum campaigning period from 21 days to 14 days in 1971 and to a further seven days in 1986 and banning open-air public rallies which was seen as the most effective and cheapest method of campaigning in 1978 by the Election Commission (Lim, 2002) further degraded the practices of democracy in Malaysia especially when the arena for competitive elections is restricted.

The judiciary system also suffered backward change under the rule of the BN government. Well before the judiciary crisis in 1988, the judiciary system of Malaysia served impartially and independently without the interference of other government bodies. Fadzel (2005) asserts that:

“Before 1988, the Malaysian judiciary was well respected within the British Commonwealth for its integrity. From 1957 until mid-1980s, the Malaysian judiciary built for itself a reputation of being independent and impartial...no accusation of judicial improprieties, corruption, bias or judicial misconduct during this period” (Fadzel, 2005, p. 12).

The 1988 judiciary crisis which was caused by the conflict between the then Lord President Tun Mohd Salleh Abas and the then Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad severely damaged the independence of judiciary system (Bari, 2003). The crisis took place when the letter wrote by Lord President Mohd Salleh Abas to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong regarding the intervention of judiciary system by Mahathir Mohamad were countered when the latter appointed a tribunal to suspend and replace him with the Acting Lord President Abdul Hamid Omar (Bari, 2003). Another similar tribunal was also convened to investigate charges on five other judges who were also suspended during the crisis (Bari, 2003).

Through the 1988 judiciary crisis, a legislation amendment was made to call for the power of the judiciary to be conferred by the parliament through statutes rather than being embedded in the constitution (Cheah, 2002). Such action degrades the condition of Malaysia’s judiciary system in a way that its independence is now vulnerable and hence made subservient to parliament (Hilley, 2001).

All these coercive laws, intervention of government bodies, strict control of media, and authoritative measures used to clamp down on democratic principles in the country by the BN government had brought about various issues and problems within Malaysian politics and society as discussed in Chapter two.

Since then, the state of democracy and human rights in Malaysia under the rule of the BN government received much criticism from various scholars. Semi-democracy, pseudo-democracy, and incremental authoritarianism (addressed in Chapter one) are few of the frequently used terms to define Malaysia's state of democracy by leading scholars.

While the BN government pulled Malaysia's state of democracy to an extreme authoritative end, society through NGOs and civil society of which I termed as social forces in this thesis had tried to bring forth a more open democratic space in the 1998 *reformasi* movement, opposing the direction brought by the BN government after the 1969 racial riots.

As described in chapter two, the 1998 *reformasi* movement which aimed to bring more democratic space in the country and a change of government in the 1999 election had brought together social forces and the opposition coalition to form one major platform demanding for political change in the country (Weiss, 2006), moving away from the old non-democratic rule of the BN government.

Notable social forces that made their voices heard during the 1999 *reformasi* movement included the WAC, Citizens Health Initiative, Seventeen-point Election Appeals, People are the Bosses, Malaysian Students Council, and PEMANTAU (Khoo, 2013). Street protests and campaigns were conducted concurrently with one another by social forces and opposition parties in the *reformasi* movement (Weiss, 2006).

Although the 1998 *reformasi* movement which aimed to bring a change of government in the 1999 election was unable to produce favourable electoral outcome that realised their objective, it did however still manage to set forth a shift in Malaysian political culture in a way that it called upon fellow Malaysians to vote and think differently about politics where they should set aside the prevailing structure of political incentives and goals to internalise and accept new political priorities and norms (Weiss, 2006).

The 1998 *reformasi* movement with its various episodes of street protests, candlelight vigils, proclamations and campaigns saw freedom of expression slowly regaining its feet in Malaysian democratic practices (Weiss, 2006). Through the 1998 *reformasi* movement, the discourse of democracy, human rights, good governance, and equality – along with the rebuttal of communalism as maintained by Weiss (2006) had spread beyond the middle class, western-educated, and non-Malay activists to a much wider base.

When a change of government was unsuccessful in the 1999 election, the period after the 1999 election until late 2007 saw social forces and society as a whole cool the discourse on democracy and reform to the usual low simmer (Weiss, 2006). The BN government in this period nursed back Malaysian political and economic health while social forces had problems establishing a balance between their organisation's activities and those oriented towards formal politics in a way that it had become a test of legitimacy for them to gather support for their goals and programmes (Weiss, 2006).

However, the weak leadership of the Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, the then prime minister and the incompetence of his administration as well as the call for reforms by Anwar Ibrahim who served as the de facto leader of the opposition party after his release from sentence (Saravanamuttu, 2008) had brought back the vibrant movement of the 1998 *reformasi* movement in late 2007.

Political change, especially in the context of changing the government in several states in the peninsula in the 2008 and 2013 elections were made possible through a more open democratic space in the country fought by strong activism of social forces in late 2007.

The Bersih, Hindraf, Abolish ISA Movement (AIM) and Anti-Lynas Movement were among the social forces that made a notable presence in late 2007. All of them demanded the government to recognise their interests and agendas and this had in some way or another pushed for a more open democratic space in the country (Subramaniam, 2011).

Efforts of social forces in staging large scale demonstrations and protests coupled with the drafting of a list of people-related issues and participation of social forces activists in the election for electoral offices as noted in Chapter two enhanced further the role of social forces activism near the 2008 election (Weiss, 2009).

While social forces activities near 2008 election remain sympathetic to the opposition parties, other factors such as the success in tackling issues of corruption, rising cost of goods, the discontent on human rights, and all issues related to people's concerns by the opposition and its ability in forging close cooperation under one single platform with aggressive campaigning strategies as well as the role played by the internet and social media (Fernando, 2013) had allowed the opposition to bring about a change of government in several states in the peninsula.

While the governing coalition has a long record for dominating the election, the opposition had made an astounding breakthrough in the electoral outcome of the 2008 election (Ufen, 2008). Although BN gained a total of 51 percent of the votes in 2008, it however lost its two-thirds majority at the federal level (Ufen, 2008). The victory of the BN government was due to its dominance in three states, Johor, Sabah and Sarawak (Ufen, 2008). The opposition's victory in five of the 13 states namely Kedah, Kelantan, Penang, Perak, and

Selangor (Ufen, 2008) in the 2008 election dramatically changed the condition of Malaysian politics.

The dramatic changes in Malaysian politics were seen through the responses of the BN government in reacting positively to the demands of social forces in wanting a more democratic space in the country. Announcing the repeal of various repressive acts such as the 1960 Internal Security Act (ISA) and the 1984 Printing Presses and Publication Act (PPPA) as well as reviewing the 1971 Universities and University College Act (UUCA) are among the evidence of positive responses by the BN government (Whiting, 2013). Accompanying this was the introduction of the Economic Transformation Programme (ETP), Government Transformation Programme (GTP) and other initiatives such as the building of 1Malaysia Clinic, 1Malaysia Store and incentives or hands out of *Bantuan Rakyat 1 Malaysia* BR1M and *Baucar Buku 1 Malaysia* (BB1M) aimed at improving the socio-economic condition of the country (Rakyat beginning to benefit, 2012).

Although the approaches used by the BN government in responding to the demands of the people – moving away from its previous authoritarian measures – were seen as a means of recapturing the vote loss in the 2008 election, its goal however did not materialize (Khoo, 2013). The BN coalition further degraded its two-thirds majority by obtaining only 47.4 percent of the popular vote as compared to 50.8 percent gained by the opposition in the 2013 election (Khoo, 2013).

The loss of two states – Perak and Kedah by the opposition in 2013 election did not cause the opposition to be insecure but rather placed BN in an unsafe position especially in regards to the legitimacy of its minority government (Khoo, 2013).

Faced by such a close defeat by the opposition, the BN government once again pulled Malaysia's state of democracy back to its semi-authoritarian state through the thwarting and hampering of the growth of social forces and democratic principles in the country.

Among the notable constraints placed by the government upon the advancement of democratic principles includes imposing legal frameworks such as the Societies Act, the Police Act and other laws that restrict freedom of speech and assembly and media control, limiting the exposure and discussions of democracy and human rights as well as the advocacy of social forces in Malaysia (Khoo, 2013).

The new 2012 Peaceful Assembly Act which require all public gatherings to first informed the police before organizing any gatherings and the new 2012 Security Offences (Special Measures) Act which allows the police to detain anyone up to 28 days without judicial review as well as the 2012 amendment of the 1950 Evidence Act holding editors and online news owners accountable to the information published online (Malaysia - Freedom House, 2015) are among the measures taken by the government to limit democratic principles in the country.

Therefore, the state of democracy in Malaysia especially in the peninsula through the lenses of Migdal State-In-Society (1994) theory can be seen to be a case of 'one step forward, two steps back' whereby when society, through social forces in its attempt to deepen Malaysia's state of democracy threaten the rule of the BN government, the latter will then pull Malaysia back to its semi-democracy or semi-authoritarianism state.

3.2 Sarawak: Patron-Client and Strongman Rule

Sarawak together with Sabah formed the Federation of Malaysia in 1963 has ever since Malaysia's formation, been popularly known as the stronghold state for BN (Hazis, 2012). While the earlier section saw how the states in the peninsula under the rule of the BN are constantly contesting with society represented by NGOs and civil society which I termed as social forces in this thesis, for control in various dimensions of democracy, Sarawak on the other hand saw Patron-Client⁶ relationship dominating its politics even before the formation of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963 (Hazis, 2012).

Studying the context of Patron-Client relationship in Sarawak, the Dayaks and Malays serve as clients for Malay aristocrats during the pre-colonial era while the post-independence period saw a shift in its paradigm that the strongmen politicians are now serving as patrons and the electorate regardless of ethnicity took on the role as clients, providing political support to their benefactors (Hazis, 2012). Through such Patron-Client relationship, Sarawak had allowed for the rule of strongmen politicians to dominate the state for nearly four decades (Hazis, 2012).

Looking at the larger federal-state relationship, the federal government under the rule of Bn had to co-opt strongmen politicians in the state in order to sustain its presence in Sarawak (Hazis, 2012). This is clearly evident when a political pact, although not in written agreement, was formed between Abdul Rahman Yakub, the then Chief Minister of Sarawak with the federal government when Stephen Kalong Ningkan, the earlier Chief Minister failed to bring order and stability to the state (Hazis, 2012).

⁶ Patron-Client relationship is a form of exchange relationship where patron (someone of higher socio-economic status) uses his own influence and resources to protect their clients (someone who is of lower status but showed support and assistance to the patron). For more info, please see Hazis, F. S. (2012). *Domination and Contestation: Muslim Bumiputera Politics in Sarawak*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

The political pact had allowed for a wider context of Patron-Client relationship to transpire in Sarawak in a way that Abdul Rahman Yakub had to play the role of a federal representative and be accustomed to the demands of the federal government such as safeguarding national interests, ensure continued domination of BN in elections and maintaining the state's political stability (Hazis, 2012). This indirectly results in Sarawak becoming clients of their federal patrons.

While active political change that moved democracy back and forth is seen in the peninsula, politics in Sarawak as maintained by Chin (2004) has been extremely uneventful. Apart from Patron-Client relationship, co-optation of the opposition parties was commonly seen during post-Malaysia formation to strengthen strongmen politics of BN in Sarawak (Hazis, 2012).

The 1970 election which saw the win of 24 seats by the opposition and one independent seat spurred by the contest among political parties causes strong opposition Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP) to be co-opted into the ruling alliances while the SNAP was only co-opted after the 1974 election when the BN sensed electoral threat from the party winning 18 seats in the 1974 state election (Hazis, 2011).

The co-optation of SUPP into BN angered several of its leaders that it brought in the national based Democratic Action Party (DAP) and formed its Sarawak branch in the state (Chin, 1997). Since then, DAP continues to challenge the ruling coalition in both state and parliamentary elections but to no avail. It was not until 1987 when infightings between two strongman politicians of Abdul Taib Mahmud and Abdul Rahman Yakub that allow DAP together with other opposition parties of Persatuan Rakyat Malaysia (PERMAS) led by Abdul Rahman Yakub and PBDS to win 20 out of total 48 seats in the 1987 state election (Hazis, 2011).

Faced by challenges from his predecessor and the opposition in the 1987 election, accommodative and authoritative measures were employed by Abdul Taib Mahmud to weaken any form of opposition in order to consolidate and strengthen his administration in the state (Hazis, 2012). Among the actions taken involved using legislative means to weaken the opposition, co-opting opposition assemblymen into the BN coalition, reshuffling and changing his Cabinet ministers portfolios, terminating the services of community chiefs who supported the opposition during the election, and disciplining government officers through dismissal to instill fear among civil servants who had helped the opposition during the election (Hazis, 2012).

While repressive actions used by Abdul Taib Mahmud in limiting any form of active opposition restricted practices of democracy in the state, Hazis (2012) who extensively studied Sarawak politics, maintained that all the measures taken by Abdul Taib Mahmud allowed a stronger Patron-Client relationship and strongman rule to be preserved in Sarawak. The termination of community chiefs and the co-optation of opposition members into Sarawak Barisan Nasional employed by Abdul Taib Mahmud were clear signs of enhancing the Patron-Client relationship and strongman politics in the state (Hazis, 2012).

As Sarawak can be seen pre-occupied with Patron-Client relationship, its social forces especially those of formal organizations on the other hand is pre-occupied with advancing communal and religious interest (Hazis, 2012). Since communal based organizations were among the earliest formed in Sarawak, it is hence understandable why many of the existing social forces “are still entrapped with their parochial struggle of championing communal and religious interest” (Hazis, 2012, p. 56) as clearly portrayed when studying the existing pattern of social forces in Sarawak.

It can be noted that the Malay organisation of the Malay National Union (MNU) was among the earliest communal organisation to exist in Sarawak in the 1930s while Dayak organisations such as the Bidayuh National Association, Sarawak Dayak National Union, and Sarawak Dayak Association were established later in the 1950s and 1960s (Hazis, 2012). Many of these communal-based organisations were formed to champion and promote communal interests in various fields such as religion, culture, education, language and economy (Hazis, 2012).

Since “ethnicity represents the most prominent and pervasive line of cleavage in Malaysian politics, economics and society” (Weiss, 2006, p. 12), Sarawak which has always been ethnically diverse also does not fall far behind. “According to the 1980 census, the population of Sarawak (1,233,103) by ethnicity was as follows: Iban (368,208), Chinese (359,884), Malays (247,972), Bidayuh (104,885), Melanau (69,578), other indigenous (66,731), Indians (3,293) and others (12,552)” (Tan, 1994, p. 2). The recent 2010 census data also show the ethnic diversity of Sarawak population (see Table 1).

Table 1: Sarawak Population According to Ethnicity for the Year 2010

Ethnicity	Population
Iban	713,421
Malay	568,113
Chinese	577,646
Bidayuh	198,473
Other Indigenous Groups	156,436
Melanau	123,410
Indian	7,411
Others	9,138
Non-Malaysian	117,092

(Sarawak Facts and Figures, 2011)

Based on the 2010 census, the Sarawak population is 2,471,140 and its breakdown is as follows: 713,421 Iban, 577,646 Chinese, 568,113 Malay, 198,473 Bidayuh, 156,436 other indigenous groups, 123,410 Melanau, 7,411 Indians, 9,138 others, and 117,092 non-Malaysian citizens (Sarawak Facts and Figures, 2011).

With a population that is ethnically diverse as Sarawak, it is hence understandable why the state is preoccupied with communal organisations. This is because they help to promote internal identity and a common sense of solidarity of different ethnic group in society (Tan, 1994). The existence of these communal organisations also reflects directly the ethnicized system of Malaysia's society, politics and economy (Weiss, 2006).

Accessing the pattern of formal organisations in Sarawak noted that there was a huge increase in the numbers of formal organisations in Sarawak from 59 communal organisations in early 1963 to 2,111 formal organisations in 2005 (Hazis, 2012) until reaching a total of 3,276 organisations in 2014. However many of the formal organizations are still engaged in advancing communal interest in the state.

Among the 3,276 formal organisations in Sarawak, welfare organisations made up the highest number with 847 formal organisations (25.8 percent), followed by 651 (19.8 percent) social organisations, 508 (15.5 percent) recreational organisations, 399 (12.2 percent) religious organisations, 284 (8.7 percent) commerce organisations, 252 (7.7 percent) cultural organisations, 41 (1.3 percent) safety measures organisations, 36 (1.1 percent) collective benefits organisations, 26 (0.8 percent) occupation-based organisations, 22 (0.7 percent) rights based organisations, and 210 (6.4 percent) other organisation (see Table 2).

Table 2: Sarawak's Formal Organisations based on Category and Locations

Category	Kuching	Samarahan	Sri Aman	Betong	Sibu	Sarikei	Kapit	Mukah	Bintulu	Miri	Limbang	Total	%
Welfare	336	38	31	11	138	44	20	21	54	125	29	847	25.8
Social	319	27	14	5	113	38	4	12	17	86	16	651	19.8
Religion	196	20	8	2	55	25	6	4	15	57	10	400	12.2
Recreational	255	23	13	6	100	14	9	8	20	44	16	508	15.5
Commerce	122	15	6	4	40	15	6	8	17	38	14	283	8.7
Culture	123	4	6	5	40	12	4	4	13	35	6	252	7.7
Safety Measures	8	4	2	2	3	2	3	3	3	7	4	41	1.3
Collective Benefits	23	2	3	0	2	3	1	1	0	1	0	36	1.1
Occupation	22	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	26	0.8
Rights	11	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	5	0	22	0.7
Others	58	4	5	1	33	7	3	3	26	61	9	210	6.4
Total	1,473	138	88	37	528	160	56	64	169	459	104	3,276	100

(Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014)

Formal organisations included in the list of the ROS are grouped based on the category of the organisations provided during their registration – or in other words grouping is based on how social forces identified what category they belong to upon registration (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). However, the ROS holds the rights to rearrange the grouping of registered organisations based on name, objectives, and membership (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014).

Based on Table 2, welfare organisations are the highest number of formal organisations in Sarawak with a total of 847 organisations existing across the state. Welfare organisations are social forces that are involved in welfare work, advocating mainly for members welfare, community welfare, and welfare issues of single mothers, children, and people with disabilities (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). Examples of welfare organisations are Soroptimist International Kuching, Sarawak Child Welfare Council, and Pertubuhan Kebajikan dan Kesihatan Warga Usia Emas Kuching (KUSEMAS).

The second highest number of formal organizations existing in the state as noted from Table 2 exists in the form of social organisations. Social organisations are social forces formed by schools alumni, descendants of clans and groups, and communities of certain villages and towns primarily for the purposes of having legal identities in society (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). Examples of social organisations are Ikatan Graduan Melayu Sarawak (IGMS), Kelab Generasi Kini Sarawak, and Sim Clan (Teochew) Association, Sarawak. Religious organisations which stand fourth in Table 2 on the other hand are social forces that are involved in religious activities (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). Examples of religious organisations are Persatuan Penganut Agama Buddha Amitabha Boddhi Kuching and Pertubuhan Al-Falaq Sarawak.

Recreational organisations amount to a total of 15.5 per cent of formal organisations in Sarawak. Recreational organisations are those social forces that are involved in various recreational activities such as hobbies and sports (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). Examples of recreational organisations are Persatuan Kotak Penangkap Ikan Kuching, Kelab Kereta Super Sarawak, and the Sarawak Photographic Society. The fifth largest formal organisations in Sarawak are the commerce organisations. These social forces are formed by workers from various fields ranging from small industries to service industries mainly for the purpose of protecting the rights of those involved in the field of commerce (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). Examples of these organisations are The Kuching Hair Dressers' Association, Sarawak Restaurant Association, and Kuching Division Taxi Association.

Culture organisations standing at sixth with 7.7 per cent in Table 2 are social forces involved in promoting culture and arts ranging from music, dances, paintings, and martial arts (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). Pertubuhan Teater Kias Kasturi Kuching, Persatuan Penyanyi Anak Sarawak, and Persatuan Pelukis Sarawak are among the examples of cultural organisations in Sarawak. Organisations involved in the work of safety measures that accounts only to 1.3 per cent in Table 2 are those formed to advocate safety in the state (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). They are mainly formed by ex-members of rescue services (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). Some of these organisations are Persatuan Bomba Sukarela Sematan and the Road Safety Awareness Association.

Collective benefits organisations which constitutes only about 1.1 percent as noted in Table 2 are those involved in the work for managing and handling the mutual benefits of its members and the deceased (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). Examples of such organisations are the Sarawak Thong Sim Siang Tng and Lotong Cemetery Society, Bintangor, Sarawak. Occupational organisations as noted from Table 2 are the second smallest

formal organisations in Sarawak. These organisations are formed for individuals that are involved in specific working fields (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). Examples of occupational organisations are the Sarawak Chinese Physicians' Association and the Sarawak Midwives Association.

Being the smallest group of formal organisations in the state, human rights based organisations are those formed to advocate on various rights such as consumer rights, and environmental rights (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). Examples include The Sarawak Nature Society and Persatuan Pengguna Bahagian Kuching, Sarawak (PERPEK). There are also organisations that do not belong to any categories and are grouped as “others”. These formal organisations are those that have yet to be grouped into their respective categories by the ROS and those with different nature of activities than the already available categories of organisations recorded in the list of formal organisations (Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014). Examples of such organisations are Kelab Kakitangan Jabatan Ketua Menteri Sarawak and Kelab Toastmasters Sibu.

Though there are 11 forms of formal organisations in Sarawak, many of them are still involved in advocating for communal interest and rights. Examples of welfare organisations that are involved in advocating for communal interest include Persatuan India Sarawak, Persatuan Kebajikan Masyarakat Cina, and Persatuan Peranakan Bugis Sarawak. On the other hand, social organisations of clans and descendants which focus on issue of clans and lineages and collective benefits organisations which are communal based that managed and handle the mutual benefits of their members are also involved in advocating communal interests and rights. Studying further the pattern of social forces in Sarawak, it can be noted that most of the Sarawak formal organisations are concentrated in major cities of Sarawak (see Figure 2 and Figure 3).

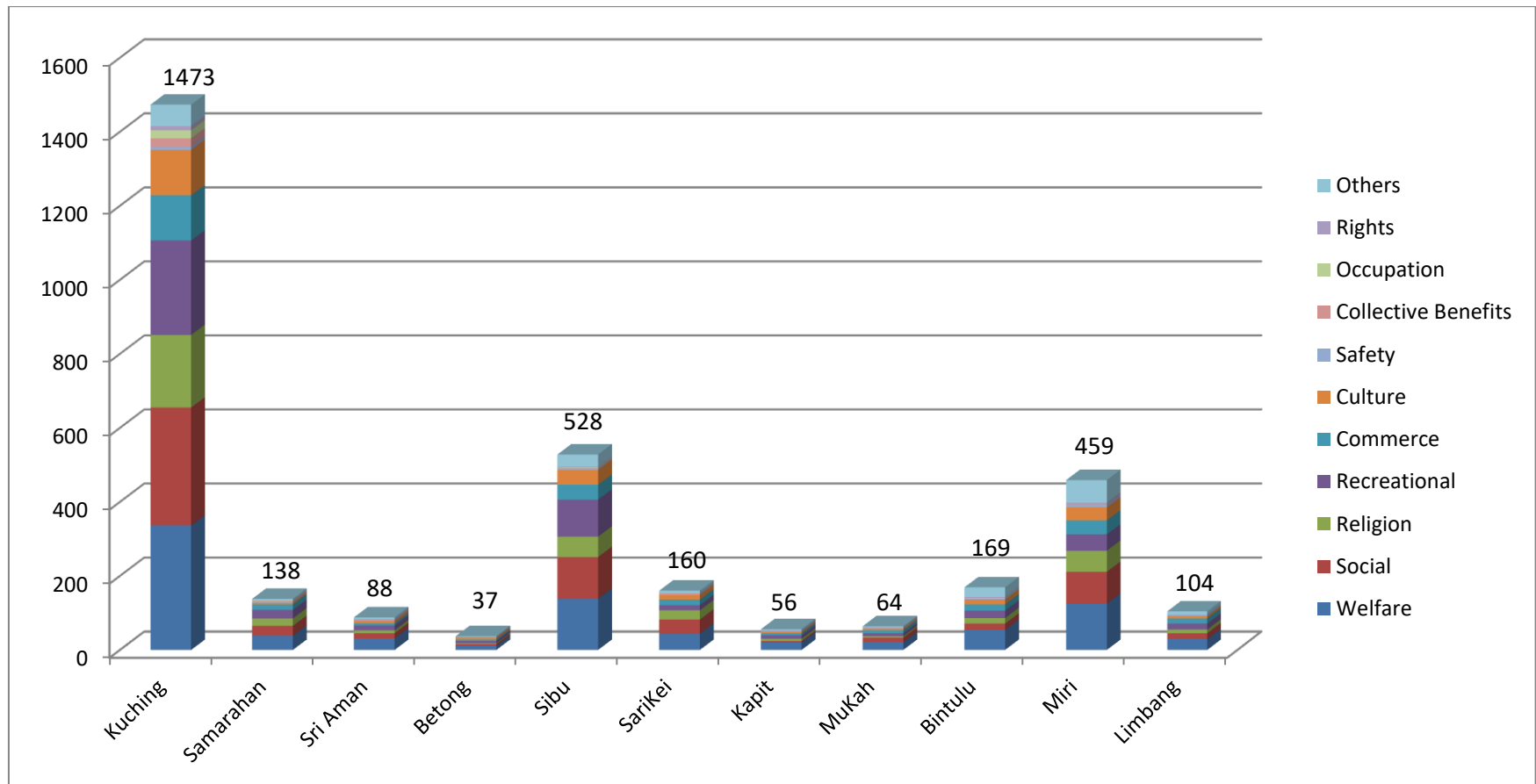


Figure 2: Bar Chart Showing the Concentration of Sarawak's Formal Organisations in Various Locations in the State

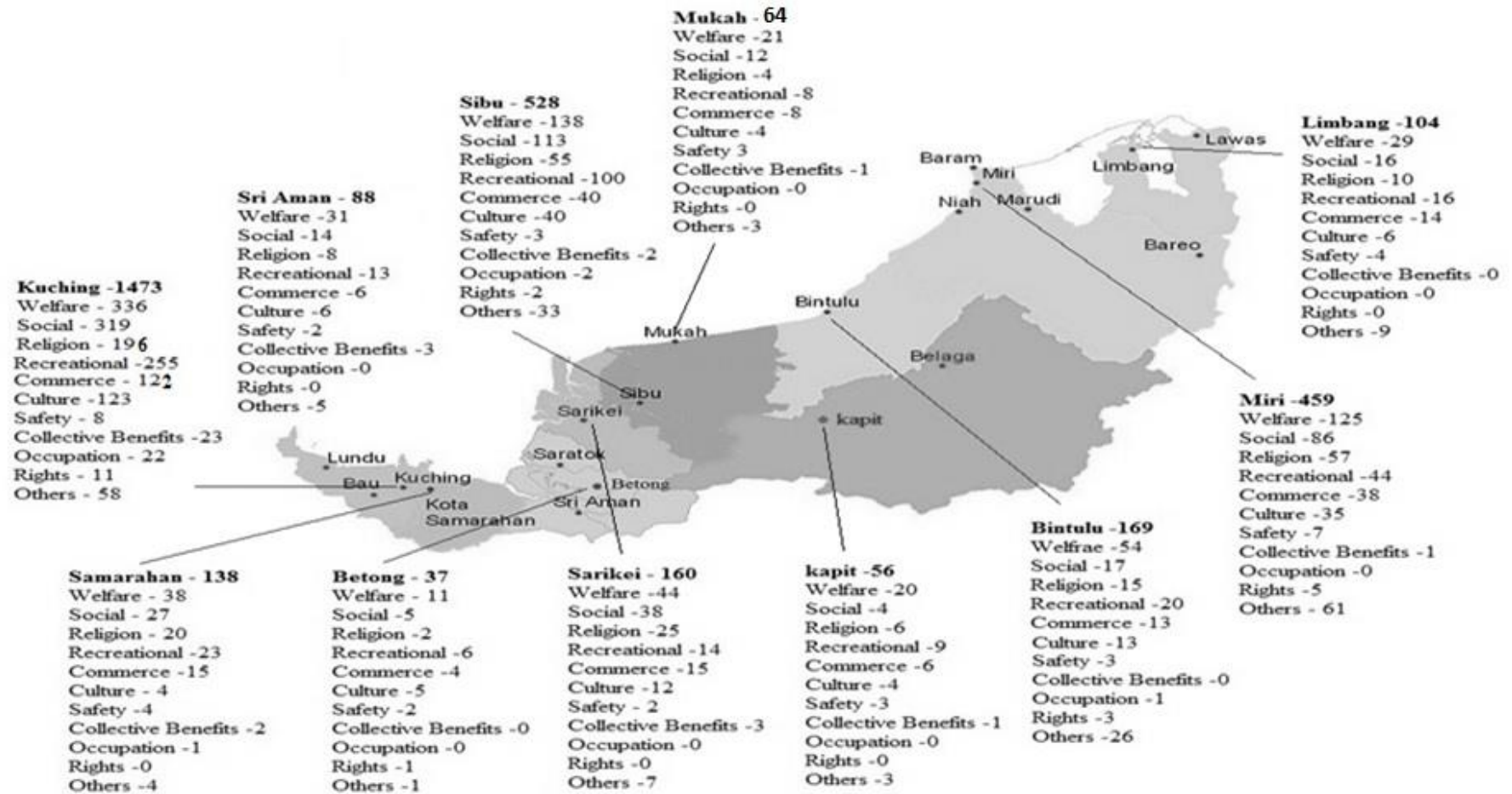


Figure 3: Sarawak's Formal Organisations in Various Geographical Locations

As noted in Figure 2 and Figure 3, almost half of the formal organisations in Sarawak are based in Kuching with 1,473 (44.9 percent) formal organisations followed by 528 (16.1 percent) in Sibü and 459 (14 percent) in Miri. This is because the majority of communal organisations which make up most of the formal organisations in the earlier days of Sarawak found that urban areas such as Kuching and Sibü offer better opportunities for developing their organisations especially for raising funds and establishing affiliations and connections with the government and influential politicians (Tan, 1994).

Apart from that, early “indigenous communal associations in Sarawak are formed by educated people who generally work in urban centers...familiar with the modern administration and bureaucracy, as well as the laws governing the formation of association” (Tan, 1994, p. 6). High concentrations of population in these three major urban centres as noted in the 2010 census data shown in Table 2 below made clearer the pattern of formal organisations concentration in a way that areas with higher concentrations of population have higher number of organisations. This is proven through the work of Louis Wirth (1938) who studied urbanisation and city life asserting that city life gave birth to new social developments such as voluntary associations, business groups, and new organisations.⁷

⁷ For more info, please see Louis Wirth (1938) Urbanization and City Life in Wirth, L. (1938). Urbanism as a Way of Life. *American Journal of Sociology* , 1-24.

Table 3: Sarawak's Population in Administrative Districts with Formal Organisations

Administrative District	Total Population	Male	Female
Kuching	617,887	313,442	304,445
Samarahan	87,923	43,532	44,391
Sri Aman	66,790	33,846	32,994
Betong	62,131	31,044	31,087
Sarikei	58,021	29,344	28,677
Sibu	247,995	127,192	120,803
Mukah	42,922	23,460	19,462
Bintulu	189,146	102,647	86,499
Kapit	56,053	27,695	28,358
Miri	300,543	160,377	140,166
Limbang	48,186	24,551	23,635

(Sarawak Facts and Figures, 2011)

Responding to the purpose of this chapter which aimed at studying how social forces and the state contest each other in the context of democracy hence call for an in-depth study on right based social forces to access if these rights based social forces do pose contestation to the state in the context of enhancing democratic principles in Sarawak or otherwise.

Formal organisations which were grouped under the rights based category by the ROS accounts for only 0.7 percent or a total of 22 organisations (refer to Table 4). Among the 22 rights based organisations, many of them are involved in advocating consumer rights, environmental rights, and communal interest rights.

Table 4: The Various Formal Rights Based Organisations in Sarawak

	Name of Organisations	Location	Categories
1	PERSATUAN ALAM SEMULAJADI SARAWAK (THE SARAWAK NATURE SOCIETY)	Kuching	Rights Based
2	PERSATUAN ASPIRASI RAKYAT SARAWAK (SARAWAK ASSOCIATION FOR PEOPLES' ASPIRATION) (SAPA)	Kuching	Rights Based

Table 4 continued

3	PERTUBUHAN KONSERVASI BIODIVERSITI SARAWAK (BIODIVERSITY CONSERVATION SOCIETY OF SARAWAK) (BCSS)	Kuching	Rights Based
4	PERSATUAN PENGAMAL KESELAMATAN DAN KESIHATAN PEKERJAAN DAN ALAM SEKITAR WILAYAH MALAYSIA TIMUR (SARAWAK) (SWKRG-SHE)	Kuching	Rights Based
5	PERSATUAN PENGGUNA BAHAGIAN KUCHING, SARAWAK (PERPEK)	Kuching	Rights Based
6	PERSATUAN PENGGUNA BIDAYUH SINGAI, BAU (BIDAYUH SINGAI CONSUMER ASSOCIATION, BAU) (BISCA)	Kuching	Rights Based
7	PERSATUAN PERIKATAN ALAM SEKITAR MALAYSIA	Kuching	Right Based
8	PERSATUAN PUSAT KOMUNITI KUCHING	Kuching	Rights Based
9	PERSATUAN PEMULIHARAAN PENYU MALAYSIA (MALAYSIA TURTLE CONSERVATION ASSOCIATION)	Kuching	Right Based
10	PERSATUAN WARISAN BUNG BRATAK, BAU	Kuching	Rights Based
11	KONGRES KEBANGSAAN DAYAK (DAYAK NATIONAL CONGRESS)	Kuching	Rights Based
12	PERSATUAN PELINDUNG PENGGUNA SARATOK (SARATOK CONSUMER PROTECTION ASSOCIATION)	Saratok	Rights Based
13	GABUNGAN PERTUBUHAN PEMELIHARAAN HAYAT SARAWAK (THE FEDERATION OF SARAWAK LIFE CARE SOCIETY)	Sibu	Rights Based
14	PERSATUAN PENGGUNA BAHAGIAN SIBU (CONSUMER'S ASSOCIATION OF SIBU DIVISION)	Sibu	Rights Based
15	PERSATUAN MEMELIHARA DAN MEMAJUKAN TANAH ADAT ASAL BINTULU (MENTAS BINTULU)	Bintulu	Rights Based
16	PERTUBUHAN HAK ASASI ORANG ASAL SARAWAK(SOCIETY FOR RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF SARAWAK)(SCRIPS)	Bintulu	Rights Based
17	PERTUBUHAN SAINS SEMULAJADI BINTULU,SARAWAK (NATURAL SCIENCE SOCIETY BINTULU, SARAWAK)	Bintulu	Rights Based

Table 4 continued

18	PERSATUAN PENGGUNA MIRI, SARAWAK (CONSUMERS' ASSOCIATION OF MIRI SARAWAK)	Miri	Rights Based
19	PERSATUAN PENYAYANG BINATANG TERBIAR MIRI (ZSM)	Miri	Rights Based
20	PERTUBUHAN BAHOUNG UBAN SIBUTI	Miri	Rights Based
21	PERTUBUHAN TAMAN ALAM PIASAU CAMP MIRI (PIASAU CAMP MIRI NATURE PARK SOCIETY) (PCMNPS)	Miri	Rights Based
22	PERTUBUHAN HAK ASASI SUMBER ASLI SARAWAK	Miri	Rights Based

(Registrar of Societies Sarawak, 2014)

According to Table 4, formal organisations involved in advocating for consumer rights are Persatuan Pengguna Bahagian Kuching Sarawak (PERPEK), Persatuan Pelindung Pengguna Saratok, Persatuan Pengguna Bidayuh Singai, Persatuan Pengguna Bahagian Sibu, and Persatuan Pengguna Miri. The Sarawak Nature Society, Biodiversity Conservation Society of Sarawak (BCSS), Pertubuhan Hak Asasi Sumber Asli Rakyat Sarawak, Persatuan Pengamal Keselamatan dan Kesihatan Pekerjaan dan Alam Sekitar Wilayah Malaysia Timur (Sarawak), Persatuan Perikatan Alam Sekitar, Persatuan Pusat Komuniti Kuching, Malaysia Turtle Conservation Association, Natural Science Society Bintulu, Persatuan Penyayang Binatang Terbiar Miri and Petubuhan Taman Alam Piasau Camp Miri are among those that promote environmental rights.

On the other hand, Kongress Kebangsaan Dayak, Persatuan Warisan Bung Bratak, and Society for Rights of Indigenous People of Sarawak (SCRIPS), Persatuan Memelihara dan Memajukan Tanah Adat Bintulu (Mentas Bintulu), and Pertubuhan Bahoung Uban Sibuti are among those that champion communal interests and rights.

The Federation of Sarawak Life Care Society as listed in the ROS list is one of the rights based formal organisations with a different nature of activity. This formal organisation focuses more on social and welfare programmes as compared to other organisations which focuses on promoting and championing rights in various fields. Activities such as blood donation campaigns, charity sales, outdoor activities with hospital patients, and organ donation campaigns were among a few of the programmes conducted by The Federation of Sarawak Life Care Society (The Federation of Life, 2015). Although this organisation is placed under the rights based category in the list of the ROS Sarawak, this organisation is best grouped under welfare organisations instead because most of the activities and programmes conducted are similar to those conducted by other welfare organisations.

The Sarawak Association for People's Aspiration (SAPA) is an organisation that is involved in championing and advocating for self-determination or in other words, secession of Sabah and Sarawak from the Federation of Malaysia (Sabah, Sarawak leaving M'sia, 2014). Among the activities conducted by this organisation involved campaigning to collect information related to the 1963 Malaysia Agreement which formed the Federation of Malaysia (Sarawak group seeking to, 2015) and sending a petition seeking for self-determination for both Sabah and Sarawak to the United Nations (Way, 2014). This organisation was later banned and declared as an unlawful society by the Home Minister Ahmad Zahid Hamidi because its activities were deemed to be harmful to the interests of Malaysian public order and security (Way, 2014).

Hence from all the formal organisations listed in the records of the ROS of Sarawak, there are no formal organisations with activities that can be seen challenging the state in the context of democracy or in trying to bring about change in its strongman rule and Patron-Client relationship.

Studying the contestation between formal organisations and the state in bringing about change in Sarawak politics through the lenses of Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory hence conclude that democracy in Sarawak has always been dominated by the Patron-Client relationship and strongman rule of the BN government. This is because there are no signs of opposition in trying to push for electoral change to bring a more democratic society away from the dominance of Patron-Client relationship and strongman rule in the state posed by any existing formal organisations.

While the operational definition of social forces as noted in chapter one includes both formal and informal organisations, the following chapter therefore analyzed the pattern of informal organisations and its contestation to the state, if any, in bringing about electoral change in Sarawak. This would hence through Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory offer a comprehensive understanding on the relationship of the state and social forces as a whole (formal and informal organisations) in the arena of democracy in Sarawak especially in the context of electoral change. Such analysis also helps to response to the hypothesis offered in chapter one provided if informal organisations being part of social forces poses contestation to the state in the abovementioned arena.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL FORCES AND ELECTORAL CHANGE IN SARAWAK

Knowing through chapter three that there is no contestation posed by formal organisations in bringing about electoral change in Sarawak, the first section of this chapter therefore analyzed the pattern of informal organisations in the state to access if there is any contestation in bringing about electoral change posed by such dimensions of social forces in Sarawak or otherwise.

4.1 The Dimensions of Informal Organisations in Sarawak

While facts of formal organizations can be easily accessed through the ROS of Sarawak as noted in chapter three, strenuous effort are required in the discovery of information related to informal organizations in the state. This is because their data are not made available in the list of ROS Sarawak and they cannot be traced physically through their operating offices in the state.

Due to unavoidable limitations as described in chapter one, this thesis only managed through snowball sampling as detailed in chapter one to capture a total of 24 informal organisations operating in the state. Hence, the exact number of informal organisations in Sarawak could not be accurately answered in this thesis as there could be more informal organisations existing in the state. Therefore, this segment of thesis seeks further expansion and analysis especially in the context of finding more informal organisations available in Sarawak in any upcoming research and studies of Sarawak social forces. Table 5 below detailed the list of informal organisations gathered for this thesis.

Table 5: List of Estimated Informal Organisations in Sarawak

	Name of Organisations	Categories	Based
1	JARINGAN ORANG ASAL-SE-MALAYSIA (JOAS)	Right Based	Sabah
2	SAVE RIVERS NETWORK	Right Based	Sarawak
3	BORNEO RESOURCE INSTITUTE, MALAYSIA (BRIMAS)	Right Based	Sarawak
4	SARAWAK NATIVE CUSTOMARY RIGHTS NETWORK (TAHABAS)	Right Based	Sarawak
5	SACCESS SARAWAK	Right Based	Sarawak
6	GERAKAN ANAK SARAWAK (GASAK)	Right Based	Sarawak
7	BARAM PROTECTION ACTION COMMITTEE (BPAC)	Right Based	Sarawak
8	KESATUAN <i>PEGUAM-PEGUAM ORANG ASAL SARAWAK</i> (SARAWAK INDIGENOUS LAWYERS ALLIANCE (SILA))	Occupation	Sarawak
9	BRUNO MANSER FOND (BMF)	Right Based	Switzerland
10	THE BORNEO PROJECT	Right Based	United States of America
11	ASIA INDIGENOUS PEOPLES PACT (AIPP)	Right Based	Thailand
12	INTERNATIONAL RIVERS	Right Based	United States of America
13	GLOBAL WITNESS	Right Based	United kingdom and United States of America
14	SARAWAK FOR SARAWAKIANS	Right Based	Sarawak
15	SARAWAK AUTONOMY MOVEMENT	Right Based	Sarawak
16	SARAWAK SOVEREIGNTY MOVEMENT	Right Based	Sarawak
17	SABAH SARAWAK KELUAR MALAYSIA (SSKM)	Right Based	Sarawak
18	LITEUP BORNEO	Welfare and Social	Sarawak
19	BAREFOOT MERCY	Welfare and Social	Sarawak
20	TEORI TIMUR	Recreational	Sarawak
21	SOLIDARITI ANAK MUDA MALAYSIA SARAWAK (SAMM- SARAWAK)	Recreational	Malaysia – Kuala Lumpur

Table 5 continued

22	GABUNGAN MAHASISWA ISLAM SE-MALAYSIA SARAWAK (GAMIS – SARAWAK)	Recreational and Religion	Malaysia – Kuala Lumpur
23	RISE OF SARAWAK EFFORT (ROSE)	Right Based	Sarawak
24	BERSIH SARAWAK	Right Based	Malaysia – Kuala Lumpur

Among the 24 informal organisations operating in Sarawak, 17 of them were formed in Sarawak while seven others were formed elsewhere. Five of them namely the BMF, The Borneo Project, Global Witness, Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP), and International Rivers are internationally registered organisations. JOAS was registered in Sabah while Bersih Sarawak is a branch organisation of its peninsula counterpart. Although these organisations hold registration statuses in other states and in other parts of the world, these organisations still operate as informal organisations in Sarawak. This is because they are not registered with the ROS of Sarawak.

The pattern of informal organisations in Sarawak particularly in the context of their activities is quite similar to that of formal organisations. Most of the existing informal organisations are involved in advocating and articulating communal interests while there are also those that are involved in secession and self-determination movement. There are also informal organisations that are involved in welfare and religious work in the state.

JOAS, SAVE Rivers Network, Borneo Resource Institute, Malaysia (BRIMAS), SACCESS Sarawak, Baram Action Protection Committee (BPAC), Sarawak Indigenous Lawyers Alliance (SILA), Sarawak Native Customary Land Rights Network (TAHABAS), Gerakan Anak Sarawak (GASAK), the BMF, The Borneo Project, AIPP, and International

Rivers are among the informal organisations that advance the issues of communal rights and interests, of the indigenous peoples of Sarawak.

On the other hand, informal organisations that are involved in claiming autonomy rights and self-determination similar with the formal organisations of Sarawak Association for People's Aspiration (SAPA) are Sarawak Autonomy Movement, Sarawak for Sarawakians, Sabah Sarawak Keluar Malaysia (SSKM), and Sarawak Sovereignty Movement. These groups of social forces call for Sabah and Sarawak right for self-determination mainly due to the sentiment of being treated unfairly by the federal government (Joseph, 2014).

Apart from that, there are also groups of informal organisations that are involved in welfare and social works. Liteup Borneo and Barefoot Mercy are two examples of informal organisations carrying out welfare and social projects in the state.

The informal organisations of Gabungan Mahasiswa Islam Se-Malaysia Sarawak (GAMIS-SARAWAK), although religious together with Teori Timur and Solidariti Anak Muda Malaysia Sarawak (SAMM- SARAWAK) are groups of informal organisations comprising of young activists involved in various recreational activities and events related to the youth.

Though many of the informal organisations are involved in advancing communal rights and interest, there are a number of informal organisations that through its activities challenge the state in terms of bringing about electoral change. Among the informal organisations that can be seen challenging the state in the context of electoral change involved those of ROSE, Bersih Sarawak, Global Witness, JOAS, SAVE Rivers Network, the BMF, and Global Witness.

Two of the informal organisations in Sarawak that tackles election-related issues which can also be seen directly pushing for electoral change in the state are Rise of Sarawak Effort (ROSE) and Bersih Sarawak. The communal centered organisations of JOAS, SAVE Rivers Network, The Borneo Project and the BMF on the other challenged the Sarawak BN government in several of its policies and decisions that consequently threatens the BN position in the state. The informal organisation of Global Witness on the other hand tackles issues related to the power abuse of Sarawak state government by exposing “the hidden links between demand for natural resources, corruption, armed conflict and environmental destruction” (global witness - about us, 2015).

Knowing that there is a need to access social forces attributes in order to study their contestation for change in the state as stressed by Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory, all the participating social forces in this thesis were therefore analyzed to access their attributes and their contestation towards the state in the context of electoral change.

As noted in chapter one, the structure of participating social forces namely its internal and external structure as well as its social and ideological basis is identified separately according to their respective organisations in this section of chapter four. Conclusions on the mentioned structure of social forces were then drawn in the end of this section by analyzing the participating social forces.

Jaringan Orang Asal SeMalaysia (JOAS)

The social force of Jaringan Orang Asal SeMalaysia is an umbrella network of indigenous organisations registered under the Business Names Ordinance of Sabah that champions issues related to the indigenous peoples of Malaysia. In terms of its social and

ideological basis, JOAS has various objectives, mission and vision drafted by its members in their first meeting in 1992 in Poring, Sabah before their registration in 2003.

The objectives of JOAS involved (1) committing to defend and promote the rights of indigenous peoples in Malaysia, (2) articulating issues that affect indigenous peoples and push for the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights in the country at all levels and (3) to serve as platform for indigenous peoples to be united in action and capacity to promote and defend their rights, identities, cultures, and territories. The mission of JOAS on the other hand involved establishing and supporting the existing network of indigenous peoples in every region of Malaysia (peninsula, Sabah and Sarawak).

JOAS works closely in line with its objectives, mission and vision and has never changed its social and ideological basis. Based on the nature of activities conducted by JOAS, its objectives, mission, and vision had already been achieved in the sense that most of its social and ideological basis are duties and tasks that need continuous execution instead of aspirations or goals that need to be gained or achieved.

JOAS has fixed office locations in several regions of Malaysia, namely in peninsula Malaysia and Sabah to discuss daily operations and activities. JOAS has a moderate internal structure. In terms of its human resources, JOAS started off with two staff and the organisation now has a total of six staff, two in peninsula Malaysia, two in Sabah, and two in Sarawak. JOAS does not recruit any members for its organisations. Although they only have six working staff, JOAS does have a committee board. Information related to the appointment of its committee board members is not made known to the public. The answer below was frequently used when JOAS interviewee was unable to offer answers to the questions posed by the researcher.

“Sorry, private and confidential, cannot be disclosed”

(JOAS Interviewee, JOAS Survey, November 17, 2015)

Coordination meetings which serve as part of JOAS decision making process are conducted frequently to discuss matters related to their programmes and activities. All the information related to its decision making rules made in the coordination meetings is recorded in its organisation’s meeting minutes. In terms of its regulatory procedures, every conducted programme and activities are recorded in a standard report for review and evaluation. Meetings are carried out three times a year.

In terms of its financial capabilities, JOAS is funded by the Rainforest Foundation of Norway (RFN) and its support comes in different forms mainly yearly sponsors, programmes and activities sponsors, as well as one-off grant sponsors. The Rainforest Foundation of Norway (RFN) still maintains its funding for JOAS. Information related to JOAS financial reports and spending is not made known to the public.

JOAS is mainly involved in three programmes namely (1) advocacy of indigenous rights including the development of indigenous youth and women, (2) networking with other indigenous social forces, and (3) endorsing reports related to issues of indigenous peoples. Among the activities advocating for indigenous rights involved representing the indigenous peoples to reject the construction of Kaiduan Dam in Sabah through calling for a proper dialogue session before the project is carried out (James, 2015) and collaborating with SAVE Rivers Network in organising demonstrations to reject the construction of mega dams under the Sarawak Corridor of Renewable Energy (SCORE) project of Sarawak government. (Sarawak Energy: NGOs have ulterior motives, 2014).

Apart from that, JOAS also helps indigenous women sell their crafts and products to the public through the Craft Development and Women Empowerment (CDWE) project (Rozario, 2011). Through such a programme, a volunteer-run stall under the name of Gerai OA (Orang Asal) selling nomadic crafts was set up in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (Gerai OA: Orang Asli/Social Enterprise, 2015). The Indigenous youth development programme under the Jaringan Belia Orang Asal SeMalaysia (JBOAS) on the other hand provides a platform for indigenous youth to raise their issues of concern to the public. Among the activities conducted through such a programme involved a two-day symposium held in 2012 calling for the need of indigenous peoples to be given rights to access mainstream media in order to preserve their indigenous languages, lands, and cultures (Bingkasan, 2012). The term ‘Orang Asal’ and Orang Asli’ used in this thesis share the same meaning that it is transliterate from its Malay term into English as ‘first people’ or ‘original people’ (Masron et al, 2013)

JOAS networking programme and its activities in publishing reports is closely associated with its cooperation with other external social forces. Among the social forces that form working relationships with JOAS are SAVE Rivers Network and SACCESS based in Sarawak, and other internationally based social forces such as the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP), International Rivers, and the BMF. Apart from that, JOAS is also one of the members within the Save Sabah Rivers Coalition (SSRC) based in Sabah.

JOAS through its networking with other social forces have conducted various activities in Sarawak. Among the activities conducted involved coordinating the visits of 30 worldwide indigenous leaders to the blockade sites of the Baram Dam in Kilometer 15, Miri Sarawak with the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) (Jalong, 2015), and endorsing reports published by SAVE Rivers Network together with other social forces such as the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP), International Rivers, and the BMF. Additionally, JOAS

together with other members within the Save Sabah Rivers Coalition (SSRC) is also involved in calling for public forums and dialogue sessions to oppose the Kaiduan Dam in Sabah.

By having a moderate internal structure, JOAS faces communication problems between its members when advocating for indigenous rights. Detailed information about the communication problems faced by members of JOAS was however not elaborated on by the JOAS interviewee for this thesis. The assistance received by JOAS from its external relationships with other social forces include logistic and sound systems for its advocacy programmes. Analysing whether the assistance provided by other social forces are helpful to solve the communication problems faced by JOAS remains unknown since further information was not provided by the interviewee. The excerpts below detailed how JOAS interviewee explains their communication problems and assistance provided by other social forces.

“We do have communication problems when going to the ground but no need to discuss here. Our members will know...Sorry I think its private and confidential. You know, cooperation with them is the assistance. They provide us with logistic & sound system help”

(JOAS Interviewee, JOAS Survey, November 17, 2015)

JOAS does not form any working relationship with the federal and state government of Sarawak. Therefore, JOAS does not receive any assistance from both levels of government. JOAS can be contacted through its website “Jaringan Orang Asal SeMalaysia”, and its Facebook page “Jaringan Orang Asal SeMalaysia (JOAS)”. Both its website and Facebook page serve as JOAS promotion channels that provide basic details about its mission and objectives and its advocacy works on indigenous rights as described earlier.

JOAS is therefore moderately stable in its internal structure in that it has a limited operating structure and mediocre human and financial resources. In terms of its external structure, JOAS is strong because it manages to gain assistance from other social forces when carrying out its programmes and activities. JOAS objectives, mission, and vision is framed in a way that it serves more as tasks and duties that require continuous operation rather than something that need to be achieved and attained. This seems to allow the organisation to attain its social and ideological basis.

Save Sarawak Rivers Network (SAVE Rivers)

Save Sarawak Rivers Network (SAVE Rivers) which was officially formed in 2013 is another informal organisation that champions the interests of indigenous peoples. SAVE Rivers however focuses more on indigenous peoples that are affected by the dam projects of the Sarawak government. Knowing that there is an urgent need for coordinated efforts between civil society and indigenous communities to campaign against the construction of mega dams in Sarawak, SAVE Rivers was formed to coordinate such a campaign (Tawie, 2012).

In terms of its social and ideological basis, the vision of SAVE Rivers is to ensure that the rights of the indigenous peoples of Sarawak are respected and it has a mission to stop all planned mega dams in the state. On the other hand, SAVE Rivers aims to (1) educate communities directly affected by the planned dams and the general public to galvanise support against the dams and put pressure on the authorities to scrap the plans, (2) strengthening the communication and network between affected civil society organizations, individuals, and communities that are concerned with the dams, (3) information sharing and dissemination to

expose the destructive nature and adverse effects of mega dams, and (4) support events and activities that oppose the construction of mega-dams in Sarawak.

SAVE Rivers has never changed its social and ideological basis ever since its formation in 2013. SAVE Rivers had achieved its social and ideological basis when the Sarawak state government headed by Adenan Satem suspended the controversial Baram Hydroelectric Power Dam project after knowing that it was not welcomed by the affected communities (Sarawak suspends Baram Dam, 2015). The answer by SAVE Rivers interviewee when asked whether SAVE Rivers had achieved its mission and vision as detailed in the excerpts below shows how conclusion on SAVE Rivers achieving its social and ideological basis was derived

“Can say yes especially when Adenan stop Baram Dam...can see online”

(SAVE Rivers Interviewee, SAVE Rivers Survey, November 22, 2015)

In terms of its internal organisation structure, SAVE Rivers does have an operating office because it is registered as a business organisation under the CCM in 2013. Although SAVE Rivers lacks full-time staff and its volunteers only operate on a part-time basis, they do have a committee board that comprises of 13 members, a secretariat that operates by another social force entity named BRIMAS and a youth committee for its youth volunteers. Members within the committee board were elected in 2013 during the “Baram Night Dinner 2013”. There is no reelection of the committee board since then. With only part-time volunteers, SAVE Rivers frequently faces problems of having insufficient human resources especially in terms of technical expertise when conducting activities and programmes. Details related to their total number of members and procedures of member’s recruitment was not disclosed by the SAVE Rivers representative interviewed for this thesis.

SAVE Rivers has a moderate operating structure. Although there is no decision making rules to be followed in its organisations, all decisions are made through thorough discussions between its committee members. The final decision on any matters related to the organisations lies with the committee board. For example, volunteers can plan activities and events but they all have to go through the committee board in order to implement them.

In addition to that, there is also no specific regulatory procedure in its organisation to evaluate and review their activities and programmes. Reports on specific programmes were only made when funders of certain activities and programme wanted a review.

Committee boards and volunteers of SAVE Rivers usually meet to discuss programmes and activities when there is a need to do so. There is no Annual General Meeting (AGM), yearly or monthly meetings. SAVE Rivers gets its financial support through donations from individuals and International organisations. Specific details about the donors were however not disclosed in this thesis. Donations from individuals and international organisations to SAVE Rivers are mostly in the form of programmes and activities sponsors. These sponsors are not meant to sustain the organisation but more to finance the activities and programmes conducted by them. SAVE Rivers faces financial difficulties in sustaining its organisation's operations but not in organising its programmes and activities. Fundraising dinners, t-shirts and stickers sales are frequently conducted by SAVE Rivers in order to sustain its internal operations.

Among the activities and programmes conducted by SAVE Rivers involved organising peaceful demonstrations on dam sites such as the blockade in KM 15 Long Kesseh, Baram erected in October 2013 together with the indigenous communities that were against the Baram Hydroelectric Power Dam (Baram blockade: 100 days, 2014). Aside from that, SAVE Rivers also held a protest in the Borneo Convention Centre Kuching (BCKK) to reject the

building of the hydroelectric dam during the International Hydropower Association's (IHA) congress in 2013 (Lilia, 2013). The protest managed to attract indigenous peoples from Bengoh, Murum, and Bakun to jointly reject the construction of dams by the Sarawak government (Lilia, 2013). The protest lasted for more than an hour until the executive director and delegates of the IHA came out to hear the demands of the protesters (Lilia, 2013).

Other than that, SAVE Rivers together with JOAS and the BMF also published online reports related to the government and dam building companies' violation of indigenous rights. The online reports entitled *No Consent to Proceed: Indigenous People's Rights Violations at the proposed Baram Dam in Sarawak* details the violation of the indigenous people's rights on information, free, prior, and informed consent, and self-determination by both the government and dam building companies. (Sarawak: New report details, 2014).

Besides that, SAVE Rivers also organised workshops to educate rural communities about their rights and issues related to the dam project. The workshop *Empowering the Community to Assert their Rights* in Long San, Baram are among the notable workshops conducted by SAVE Rivers. Aiming to educate the communities affected by the dam projects, the workshop touched on topics related to policies of customary land development and issues of good governance in the state (Baram natives willing to, 2014). While encouraging its participants to voice out their demands and concerns against the dam projects, the workshop managed to get its participants to sign a protest letter against the dams to be forwarded to the relevant authorities (Baram natives willing to, 2014).

Through the internet and social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and its website SAVE Rivers also disseminates information related to the abuses of indigenous rights and the harmful effect of mega dams construction in the state.

In terms of its external structure, SAVE Rivers formed working relationships with International Rivers, JOAS, the BMF, SUARAM, and the AIPP. These social forces usually help to endorse the articles and reports published online by SAVE Rivers. The online reports entitled *No Consent to Proceed: Indigenous People's Rights Violations at the proposed Baram Dam in Sarawak* mentioned earlier were among the reports endorsed by these social forces.

Apart from that, they also helped SAVE Rivers host the Indigenous People's Conference in 2014 primarily to reject mega dams construction in Sarawak. While helping to organise and participate in the conference, these social forces together with SAVE Rivers also released a joint press statement to reject the development of mega dams in Sarawak (Scoop Independent, 2014) Through working together with these social forces, SAVE Rivers gained assistance in the form of technical expertise especially when conducting programmes and activities. The excerpt below best illustrates what forms of technical expertise offered by other social forces to SAVE Rivers network.

“Technical expertise like technical advise how to conduct a blockage and conference, more in advise not physical help”

(SAVE Rivers Interviewee, SAVE Rivers Survey, November 22, 2015)

While advocating for the state government to halt its projects of constructing mega dams in Sarawak, SAVE Rivers does not form any working relationships with the state government and their federal associates. SAVE Rivers also does not receive any assistance from both levels of government. SAVE Rivers can be accessed through its website “saveriversnet.blogspot”, its Facebook page “SAVE Rivers”, and its Twitter account “riverssarawak”. Its website, Facebook page and Twitter account contains a great deal of information related to its latest programmes and activities.

Although SAVE Rivers internally has a moderate operating structure as well as human and financial resources, it still manages to conduct many events and activities related to its organisation's social and ideological basis. Technical advises received by SAVE Rivers from other social forces through its strong external structure especially in organising events and activities has helped SAVE Rivers to be well known internationally.

“CM Adenan responded to halt baram dam constructions...we also win civil society award because we cooperate well with other ngos”

(SAVE Rivers Interviewee, SAVE Rivers Survey, November 22, 2015)

While the halting of Baram dam had been discussed earlier, the award entitled Malaysian nationwide accolade for civil society organisations in 2015 won by SAVE Rivers for encouraging communal organisations to be more open and be more proactive in their public affairs especially in campaigning against the construction of mega dams in the state (Mangor, 2015) and its cooperation with other social forces as briefly explained by the interviewee were another accomplishment of SAVE Rivers when asked to elaborate on their key achievement ever since their formation.

Apart from that, SAVE Rivers also has a strong social and ideological basis that most of its activities are targeted to achieve its organisation's objectives. The halting of Baram Hydroelectric Dam Project as discussed earlier were seen as SAVE Rivers key accomplishment in achieving its organisation's mission which is to stop all planned mega dams in Sarawak.

Bruno Manser Fund (BMF)

The international Bruno Manser Fund (BMF) formed in 1991 in Basel, Switzerland is also another organisation that is involved in championing the interests and rights of the indigenous peoples in Sarawak especially the Penan.

In order to understand the social and ideological basis of BMF, there is a need to relate a brief history of the BMF founder, Bruno Manser. Bruno Manser who was born in Basel Switzerland in 1954 had from 1984 to 1990 stayed with the Penan of Sarawak to learn about their culture and survival that was under threat by deforestation by local logging companies (Suter, 2015). Several protests enacted against the Sarawak government and its logging activities with the clear involvement of Bruno Manser forced him to flee Sarawak and return to Switzerland to form the BMF in 1991 when he was declared ‘the enemy of the state’ by the Sarawak government (Suter, 2000). Details about the protests were not made public by available sources.

After forming BMF, Bruno Manser returned to Sarawak several times to conduct protests against the timber industries that were allegedly linked to Sarawak’s Chief Minister (Suter, 2015). However, Bruno Manser disappeared in Bario during his visit to Sarawak in 2000 (Suter, 2000). Without any evidence of his whereabouts, rumours were rife about his disappearance. He was presumed to be either involved in an accident, arrested, or murdered due to his involvement in protesting against the logging activities in the state (Suter, 2000). While Bruno Manser has been declared missing and presumed dead by the civil court in Basel, his organisation, the BMF formed through his inspiration took over his role in helping the Penan and tackling issues of corruption surrounding the Sarawak government’s involvement with the state’s timber trade (Ng, 2013).

The BMF focuses its strategic objectives on the (1) conservation of the rainforests and biodiversity, (2) advocating for the respect of all human rights, especially those of Sarawak indigenous peoples, (3) supporting the Penan by providing them with assistance in the fields of education, health, and infrastructure, (4) global political campaign for transparency in the timber trade and for combating corruption, and (5) raising awareness in regards to tropical forest destruction and the rights of indigenous peoples.

Meanwhile, the BMF vision especially in the context of Sarawak is to ensure that (1) human rights are respected, especially indigenous rights to land, and the livelihood of indigenous peoples are protected, (2) tropical rainforests and their biodiversity are preserved, (3) indigenous peoples can participate in society on equal grounds, (4) natural resources are governed based on transparency and the rule of law, (5) indigenous peoples can access alternative development options and alternative incomes which are in accordance with a sustainable usage of resources and preservation of indigenous cultures, and (6) ensure that there is effective mechanisms to prevent corruption and fight money laundering occurring in the financial sector.

Based on all the listed objectives and vision, it can be noted that the BMF focuses its social and ideological basis mainly on championing the communal rights and interests of the Penan as well as various issues related to rainforest destruction. The excerpt below from the survey with BMF interviewee detailed the slight change of its mission and vision when asked by the researcher.

“Yes cause rainforest destructions can only be stop if its money trail is investigated. We focus more on corruption after knowing this”

(BMF Interviewee, BMF Survey, November 24, 2015)

Realising that they cannot stop rainforest destruction without investigating the money trails of illegal logging, the BMF slightly changed its organisation's vision and mission so that there is a stronger focus on corruption in the natural resources centre. Although the BMF has yet to reach its vision and objectives, the organisation works closely in line with its objectives and vision.

The BMF has sufficient human resources, operating structure, and financial resources. Although the BMF has a strong internal structure, it does not have a fixed office location or operating centre in Sarawak because it operates as an informal organisation in the state. The BMF does however have an operating office in Basel, Switzerland.

In terms of human resources, the BMF started with only one paid staff and several volunteers. They now have a total of eight permanent staff working on a part-time basis, one or two interns and civil servants as temporary staff, and an estimated 4,000 members. The BMF recruit members through their website where anyone can easily complete an online registration form and pay the membership fees to become a member. The excerpt below clarifies how information of the estimated 4000 members were derived and concluded in this writing.

“We estimated about 4000 members in our organisations, They are recruited through our websites. Public can easily register online to be a member”

(BMF Interviewee, BMF Survey, November 24, 2015)

Its office members on the other hand comprises of Lukas Straumann as the executive director, Eva Ruch as the administrator, Annina Aeberli who is involved in campaigns, Johanna Michel in research and campaigns, Simon Kaelin that heads the Sarawak projects, and Erwin Zbinden as the head of the documentation centre.

The BMF also has a committee board comprising of Dominik Bucheli as the chairman, Jessica Hendry as the vice-chairman and Stephan Bugget who is involved in finance tasks while other committee members comprises of Asti Roesle, Eva Spehn, Lucas Linder, and Lutz Deibler. These committee board members were elected by BMF members who attended the Annual General Meeting (AGM). The board then holds the responsibility of hiring the directors while the directors and its team hires staff for the organisation.

Though there are no decision making rules in their organisations constitution, the BMF have very clear idea how decisions are to be made in their organisations. The committee board are the one deciding on strategy and finances related to their activities while those in the team of respective activities decides on their responsibilities when carrying out any events and activities. All the organized activities and events were recorded in the documentation center. There we however no post-mortems carried out to analyzed the conducted events and activities. Meetings were called every four times a year while Annual General Meeting (AGM) was carried out once a year.

The BMF financially sustains itself through fees paid by its members and donations from various foundations and individuals. BMF funding has increased steadily over the years and hence it is financially stable although information pertaining to its organisation's operating costs is kept private for this thesis. Due to issue of privacy and confidentiality, the BMF also does not make public the information about their donors. A financial report is produced annually by the BMF in German and French but it is only available in hard copy for its members. The excerpts below detailed better the privacy concern of the BMF interviewee when asked its financial structure.

“Private and Confidential...report is produced every year in French and German but only available for members in hardcopy”

(BMF Interviewee, BMF Survey, November 24, 2015)

With a sturdy internal structure, the BMF is engaged in various activities and programmes that work towards achieving the organisation’s objectives and vision. Among the activities and programmes conducted by the BMF that champions communal interests and rights of the Penan involved fighting for the recognition of the Penan Peace Park in upper Baram, Sarawak through establishing support exchanges between the Penan with national and international environmental organisations, delivering mapping knowledge of GPS (Global Positioning System) to the Penan of upper Baram for them to produce their own territorial landmaps, providing support and assistance through local lawyers to file land rights cases before the court, as well as empowering the Penan through community projects such as the Penan Preschool, Medical Projects, and Infrastructure Projects all targeted in areas of upper Baram, Sarawak.

The community empowering projects help to promote the value of self-autonomy and self-determination of the Penan (Empowerment, 2015). Through such a programme, the BMF deliver organisation and networking knowledge to Penan representatives as well as educating and training them to know about human, land and indigenous rights (Empowerment, 2015). Besides that, the BMF also offers professional advice and accompaniment for victims of sexual offences to protect and support Penan women (Empowerment, 2015).

Other community empowerment projects include the Penan Preschool which has the following objectives (1) maintenance and furtherance of traditional Penan knowledge, (2) preparing school children for state primary school and (3) enhancing children’s development; an individual had built schools in two Penan villages in upper Baram to accommodate a total

of 30 Penan students in both villages (Preschools for the Penan, 2015). The medical projects on the other hand comprises of two parts namely offering routine medical and dental screening through visits of local doctors to villages in upper Baram three to four times a year and providing information about general health preventive measures in local languages to the Penan (Medical project, 2015).

The BMF also managed to build one suspension foot bridge to assist the Penan and also attempted to improve their sanitary conditions and supply of drinking water through the same infrastructure project in upper Baram, Sarawak (Infrastructure projects, 2015). All these activities benefiting the Penan bestow the BMF with good connections among the grassroots communities, which is one of the organisation's strengths while working in Sarawak.

Knowing that there is a need to look at the money trail of rainforest destruction, the BMF in 2011 started an online campaign against the alleged corrupt activities of the Sarawak government in its timber sector and its mega hydroelectrical dam projects. The BMF through the online campaign on their website "www.stop-timber-corruption.org" detailed the alleged corruption and destruction surrounding the illegal logging activities in Sarawak and its connection with the then Chief Minister, Abdul Taib Mahmud (Corruption in the tropical, 2015). Accompanying the online campaign, the BMF coordinated in their worldwide protests in Ottawa, San Francisco, Berne, London, Seattle, Sydney, Huonville (Tasmania), and Adelaide (Straumann, 2014).

Besides that, the BMF also published a book entitled *Money Logging: On the Trail of the Asia Timber Mafia* in 2014 and various reports entitled *Corruption Management Sarawak* in 2015, *Complicit in Corruption: Taib Mahmud's Norwegian Power Man* in 2013, and *The Taib Timber Mafia* in 2012, all detailing the alleged corruption surrounding the former Chief

Minister, Abdul Taib Mahmud and the illegal logging activities in the state (Documentation, 2015).

All the programmes and activities conducted by BMF recorded in the forms of documents, photographs, and videos are stored in its documentation centre. Although the BMF conducts many activities and programmes, the organisation however faces a few setbacks in planning these activities. Among the problems faced by the BMF involve difficulties in finding good material for its infrastructure projects and weaknesses in their various partners in writing proper accounting of their programme expenditure. The problem faced by the BMF is better detailed in the below excerpts

“Very hard for us to find good building material for our infrastructure projects and partner for many different projects also did poor accounting and reporting on projects...hard for us to know the total spending for projects”

(BMF Interviewee, BMF Survey, November 24, 2015)

In terms of its external structure, the BMF does form working relationships with many social forces from across the globe, Malaysia and in Sarawak. Among the international social forces that cooperate with the BMF include the Borneo Project and International Rivers while Jaringan Orang Asal SeMalaysia (JOAS) and SAVE Rivers are Malaysian and Sarawak social forces that work together with the BMF.

The BMF had together with the Borneo Project organised an international protest to stop the timber corruption in Sarawak. The protest in 2011 calling for the American Federal Bureau of Investigation to freeze all the family assets of Abdul Taib Mahmud in front of the FBI’s Seattle division headquarters building which was alleged to be also owned by the then Chief Minister of Sarawak saw both organisations working together to handle the execution of the protest (FBI pressured to stop, 2011).

As mentioned earlier, endorsing report published by SAVE Rivers is among the activities conducted together with International Rivers and Jaringan Orang Asal SeMalaysia (JOAS). Besides from endorsing report and working together to organise the protest, the BMF does not receive any assistance from these social forces to sustain the operation of their organisation.

With the BMF targeting the abuses of power and corruption issues surrounding the Sarawak state government, connection with the Sarawak state government was eventually stalled. No working relationship is formed between the BMF and the Malaysian government as well as the state government of Sarawak. Therefore, the BMF does not receive any form of assistance from both levels of government. The BMF can be accessed through its website “bruno manser fonds”, its Facebook page “Bruno Manser Fonds” and its Twitter account “@bmfonds”. All relevant information related to the BMF and its organisation are available on the website.

As a whole, the BMF is internally and externally strong that it has a solid operating structure and does not lack any human and financial resources. The BMF also has solid working relationships with other international social forces and those in Malaysia and Sarawak. Its social and ideological basis is also very specific emphasising on improving the lives of Sarawak’s Penan communities. The BMF only slightly changed its social and ideological basis upon realising that there is a need to look at the money trails involved in rainforest destruction in order to achieve its vision and objectives. However, the BMF which is internationally according to the interviewee faces problems in bringing issues on the encroachment of indigenous rights to the ground level. The interviewee noted that:-

“Since we are internationally based, very hard for us to bring issue like indigenous rights suppression to the ground. Government project us as enemies of the state”

(BMF Interviewee, BMF Survey, November 24, 2015)

As noted through the excerpt above, authoritarian measures posed by the state and federal governments which will be discussed in the following section were also among the limitations faced by social forces working outside the country and the state.

The other two social forces that consented to participate in this thesis operate in a completely different sphere to the earlier three social forces. The earlier social forces, although also tackled issues that can bring about electoral change work closely on issues related to communal and ethnic interests while the other two social forces; the ROSE and Bersih Sarawak focus directly on bringing about electoral change by advocating freer and fairer elections in Sarawak.

Rise of Sarawak Effort (ROSE)

Rise of Sarawak Effort (ROSE) formed after the 2013 general election is an informal organisation that focuses on various issues and activities related to elections in Sarawak. The idea behind its formation as noted in through the excerpts below sprang up near the 2013 general election when groups of Polling and Counting Agents (PACABA) decided to take up the role to address election-related issues in the state.

“We came to organize ourselves after doing PACABA – Polling and Counting Agents near 2013 General Election. We are members of PACABA for election”

(ROSE Interviewee, ROSE Survey, December 19, 2015)

In terms of social and ideological basis, the objective or vision of ROSE is to build a society where its citizens and voters particularly Sarawakians are engaged in the democratic process and participate in nation-building. The missions of ROSE on the other hand involve (1) raising awareness and empowering Sarawakians voters about their rights in a democracy, (2) transforming rural communities, and (3) working towards free and fair elections in the state.

ROSE has not changed its mission, vision, and objectives ever since its formation. Although ROSE has yet to reach its stated objectives, the organisation works closely in line with its mission and vision. Most of the activities organised by ROSE target specifically its objectives as well as its mission and vision.

ROSE faces shortcomings in its internal structure that it lacks human resources, operating structure, and financial resources. ROSE does not have a fixed office location or operation centre because it operates as an informal organisation. However, members of ROSE are currently in the process of discussion as to which legal entity they should register themselves under, either through the Registry of Societies (ROS) or as a business entity through the Companies Commission Malaysia (CCM). Despite not having a physical space, members of ROSE still frequently meet either in coffee shops or houses of core group members to discuss their plans and activities.

In terms of human resources, ROSE started its operation with only six to seven members. Its core members now are only about 10 individuals. There are no employed staff in the organisation and all members are volunteers. Apart from that, there is also no committee board in the organisation. ROSE only has a loose working committee that plans and spearheads the organisation's activities. ROSE also has difficulties in getting volunteers to commit their time and expertise for its activities on a regular basis and this according to the

interviewee as noted below, can only be overcome if they can have more volunteers, full-time staff and interns.

“Human & financial resources. We have difficulties finding committed volunteers that can offer expertise and time for our activities on regular basis.

If we have all these, it would be better”

(ROSE Interviewee, ROSE Survey, December 19, 2015)

Besides human resources, the organisation also lacks an operating structure which means there is no clear decision making rules and regulatory procedures. Members are selected into the loose working committee based on their interest and commitment to the activities. They are then endorsed by other core group members. There are no meetings or any regulatory procedures to access the capabilities and experience of the selected committee members. Decisions of the organisation are made primarily based on a consultative basis among its core group members and working committee. Other than that, there are no specific decision making rules or any organisational constitution that can be followed when making decisions or conducting any activities and programmes.

ROSE also does not have any regulatory procedures to access, review and evaluate its programmes and activities. The necessity of running a meeting is purely based on arising needs of the organisation. There is no specific Annual General Meeting (AGM), yearly nor monthly meetings in the organisation. Albeit there are a lot of insufficiencies in its operating structure, ROSE is in the midst of drafting its strategic structure in order to register themselves through state law.

ROSE is also financially weak. The organisation is only financially sustainable through the generous contributions from friends and supporters. They do not have any annual financial statements as they do not have any fixed financial funders and sponsors.

Despite facing various limitations, ROSE is still actively engaged in voter's registration activities in and around Kuching as well as training PACABA for elections. Apart from that, ROSE also plan to conduct financial literacy training to empower and transform rural communities and provide civic education training for youths and rural communities through "Projek Rumah Baru" that delivers the idea of good governance and decision making to rural communities.

In terms of its external structure, ROSE networks with Bersih 2.0 and Tindak Malaysia both from peninsula Malaysia. Among the activities conducted together are (1) Training PACABA with Tindak Malaysia, (2) Raising funds through selling t-shirts and co-organising the Bersih 4.0 rally in Kuching Sarawak with the Bersih 2.0 branch, Bersih Sarawak, and (3) endorsing members and involved in the Delineation Action and Research Team (DART) activities which was established to help voters tackle issues of gerrymandering and excessive malapportionment of electoral constituencies together with Bersih 2.0.

However, all these activities operate on an ad hoc basis. Despite having close working relationships with other social forces, ROSE does not obtain any assistance from them to improve its internal structure except in the form of advice and consultation.

ROSE does not form any collaborations with the federal and state governments. Therefore they do not receive any assistance from both levels of government. In regards to the organisation's accessibility, ROSE can be accessed through its website "sarawakrose.org" and its Facebook page "ROSE – Rise of Sarawak Effort". The website contains relevant information about the organisation, promoting ROSE to society and for attracting new volunteers. Apart from that, information about the activities conducted by ROSE can also be reached through the Facebook page – "Bersih 4 Sarawak" operated by the social forces of Bersih Sarawak, SibU.

Therefore, ROSE is internally weak in a way that it lacks an operating structure and faces problems in its human and financial resources. Despite these problems ROSE still manages to conduct several activities on its own and with other social forces. ROSE also has a strong social and ideological basis as many of its conducted activities aims to achieve its objectives as well as its mission and vision. In terms of its external structure, ROSE works closely with other social forces but does not receive any assistance except in the form of advice and consultation from those social forces.

Bersih Sarawak

Bersih Sarawak is a branch of informal organisations formed from its national body of Coalition of Clean and Fair Elections (Bersih 2.0) in the peninsula. Different from its national coalition that aims to “push for a thorough reform of the electoral process in Malaysia” (Bersih 2.0 - about, 2011) through its eight demand points involving (1) cleaning up the electoral roll, (2) reforming the postal ballot, (3) emphasising the use of indelible ink, (4) stipulating for a minimum of 21 days campaigning period, (5) demanding for free and fair access to the media, (6) strengthening public institutions, (7) stopping corruption, and (8) eradicating dirty politics (Bersih 2.0 - about, 2011) Bersih Sarawak has a different social and ideological basis.

Bersih Sarawak formed in 2011 after the Bersih 2.0 rally in the peninsula has a much broader mission, vision, and objectives. The objectives of Bersih Sarawak is to promote civil awareness and political reforms for people’s equality while its mission and vision involves addressing the need of having a civic minded society and socially responsible people for promoting fairness and equality in society. Addressed in such a broad manner, Bersih Sarawak found difficulties in achieving its social and ideological basis because there are no specific

measures mentioned to tackle issues maintained in its mission, vision and objectives. Below is the answer from interviewee when asked whether Bersih Sarawak had achieved its mission and vision or otherwise.

“We face difficulties doing so. It’s a very broad things you know...for a society to be like this”

(Bersih Interviewee, Bersih Survey, December 4, 2015)

While being registered as a company under the CCM, Bersih Sarawak managed to find an office for its operations in Sibu. However, only one individual is operating the whole of Bersih Sarawak in Sibu. There is no recruitment of members and staff undertaken by Bersih Sarawak in Sibu since its inception. Therefore, in terms of human resources, Bersih Sarawak in Sibu is very weak because it is still only managed by one individual.

Although there are no additional members and staff in the organisation, Bersih Sarawak in Sibu however does have a committee board which operates on an ad hoc basis. Examples of its ad hoc committee board can be seen in the recently concluded Bersih 4.0 rally held in Kuching. Members within the committee board came from different organisations. Few of the notable members within the committee board of the Bersih 4.0 rally are public members namely Karen Shepherd, Ahmad Awang Ali, Peter John Jaban as well as the Sarawak Dayak Iban Association (SADIA) Chairman, Nicholas Mujah (Hului, 2015).

Despite its weak human resources, Bersih Sarawak has a clear operating structure. They have clear decision making rules and regulatory procedures to review and monitor their activities and programmes inherited from the national coalition in the peninsula. Though there is a need in this thesis to access further its decision making rules and regulatory procedures in order to access its operating structure, Bersih interviewee however decline to offer any additional information regarding its decision making rules and regulatory procedure. The

excerpt below how the interviewee decline to give any additional information in regards to its regulatory procedure and decision making rules.

“Yes from Bersih 2.0 in peninsula. Details about it I don’t think is necessary to discuss here. Its privy to our organisations”

(Bersih Interviewee, Bersih Survey, December 4, 2015)

Although Bersih Sarawak has a clear operating structure inherited from its national coalition, its frequency of meetings however depends solely on the demands of its members. There is no Annual General Meeting (AGM), yearly nor monthly meetings in the organisation. Through analysis of its human resources, it is doubtful that Bersih Sarawak in Sibu conducts any meetings at all since it does not have any volunteers and staff. Perhaps meetings are only called for ad-hoc activities such as the Bersih 4.0 rally.

Bersih Sarawak is also financially weak in a way that it is not supported by any fixed financial funders and sponsors. There is also no annual financial statement for the organisation as detailed from the interviewee although it appears as a business entity under the CCM.

With limited human and financial resources, it is hence understandable why Bersih Sarawak based in Sibu never conducts any activities and programmes on its own. There are also no recorded activities and programmes that are in line with the organisation’s objectives, mission, and vision. The recently held Bersih 4.0 rally in Kuching was also conducted through its collaboration with other external social forces. The organising committee for the Bersih 4.0 rally also comprised of individuals from the public and other social forces. Therefore, it is unfit to deem the Bersih 4.0 rally in Kuching as one of the activities organised solely by Bersih Sarawak.

In terms of its external structure, Bersih Sarawak which is a branch of its national coalition does form networks with Himpunan Hijau, and Save Malaysia Stop Lynas movement. Despite forming networks with these movements, Bersih Sarawak never organises any activities together with them. Its national coalition of Bersih 2.0 however did organise rallies together with Himpunan Hijau in the peninsula in 2012 calling for the government to stop the Lynas project in Kuantan (Chooi, 2012).

The Bersih 4.0 rally in Kuching was the only activity conducted by Bersih Sarawak with ROSE as the co-organiser, SADIA Nicholas Mujah and other public members such as Karen Shepherd, Ahmad Awang Ali, and Peter John Jaban as the organising committee (Hului, 2015). Therefore, the Bersih 4.0 rally was organised by other social forces rather than Bersih Sarawak that the latter only took up the role of promoting the event through its Facebook page “Bersih 4 Sarawak”.

Apart from being the co-organiser and organising committee of the Bersih 4.0 rally, Bersih Sarawak does not receive any assistance from other social forces not even in the form of advice and consultation. With its national coalition calling for free and fair elections as well as ceasing all corrupt and abuses practices of the government, Bersih Sarawak hence does not have any working relationship with both the state and federal governments nor does it receive any assistance from both levels of government.

Bersih Sarawak can be accessed through its Facebook page “Bersih 4 Sarawak”. Its Facebook page does not contain any information related to Bersih Sarawak but serve more as an informational page that promotes the Bersih 4.0 rally and election-related activities conducted by ROSE.

As a whole, Bersih Sarawak is internally and externally weak. Despite having a solid operating structure inherited from its national coalition, the organisation lacks human and financial resources. Bersih Sarawak does not receive any assistance from its relationships with other social forces and the organisation can only be reached through snowball sampling from closely related social forces contacted for this thesis.

Its social and ideological basis is also very broad causing Bersih Sarawak to face difficulties in changing the norms and mindset of society in accordance with its objectives, mission, and vision. However, the organisation did create some awareness of social responsibilities through its Bersih 4.0 rally in Kuching conducted together with other social forces that it managed to attract over 3,000 participants to call for free and fair elections as well as a clean government in the country (Veno & Lim, 2015).

Synthesizing all the attributes of the accessed social forces, it can be noted that all the social forces have varying degree of social and ideological basis ranging from very specific objectives, mission and vision to those that are very broad but most of the organisations have weak internal structures except for the BMF. These organisations mainly face problems with their human and financial resources. With weak internal structures, the scale and numbers of activities conducted by these social forces are very limited.

All the surveyed social forces in this thesis also have frail external structures. Although many of the surveyed social forces do form working relationships with one another, their activities still revolves around their own categories of activities.

While this section only focused on analyzing the attributes of the interviewed social forces such as their internal and external structure, as well as their social and ideological basis, the next section detailed all the contestation posed by social forces in bringing about electoral change including its initiatives, if any in forming large coalition or mass movement and

cooperating with political parties to push for electoral change in the state. Answering the second and third research questions of this thesis, the following section hopes to illustrate clearer the contestation posed by social forces in bringing about electoral change and why such contestations were unable to bring about significant electoral change like changing the government of the state similar to those in the peninsula.

4.2 Electoral Change? Contestation of Sarawak Social Forces Against The State

After analyzing the structure (Internal & external structure as well as social and ideological bases) of the surveyed social forces, there is a need to then analyse the initiatives (forming large coalition or mass movement and cooperating with political parties) if any, and the contestation posed by Sarawak social forces towards the state in bringing about electoral change in Sarawak.

As noted in earlier section that detailed the pattern of formal and informal organisations in Sarawak, most of Sarawak social forces remain largely communal in nature championing indigenous rights and interests. The strong presence of indigenous rights issues such as the encroachment of native customary land (NCR) owned by the indigenous peoples in Sarawak is very common since indigenous peoples comprises of almost half of Sarawak's population while NCR land such as *pemakai menoa* – land held by village communities, *temuda* – farmland for cultivation, and *pulau* – primary forest land for ensuring the supply of natural resources are important for the survival of native communities (Phoa, 2009).

Despite challenging the state more in the arena of communal interests and indigenous rights, several of these social forces particularly those of informal organisations also tackle issues that are seen pushing for electoral change in the state. Among the issues involved the alleged corruption surrounding the Sarawak state governor Pehin Sri Abdul Taib Mahmud in

his late career serving as Sarawak's Chief Minister and the cases of power abuse in the Sarawak Corridor of Renewable Energy (SCORE) project as well as issues of illegal logging activities linked to Taib Mahmud. These issues tackled by social forces helped galvanized votes against the Sarawak BN and hence contribute to electoral change especially in number of votes gained by the opposition in Sarawak.

Before going into detail on how these indigenous rights championing social forces poses a challenge in terms of bringing about a change of government in the state, there is a need to first explore the contestation posed by two social forces of Rise of Sarawak Effort (ROSE) and Bersih Sarawak that challenges the state in the arena of election-related issues. The issues tackled by both these social forces such as good governance, free and fair elections, and individual rights in a democratic country are directly linked to the widespread allegations of election-related irregularities practiced by the Barisan Nasional government in the state (BN won Sarawak with, 2011).

Knowing from the earlier section that ROSE conducts activities like voter registration drives and PACABA training for elections, activities directly linked to the advocacy of free and fair elections in the state were also occasionally carried out by ROSE. Among the activities that advocates for free and fair elections involved organising a forum entitled "Beyond Klikativism" that promote free and fair elections, increasing citizens awareness of their rights in a functioning democracy and challenges the state EC in its allegedly unfair electoral redelineation proposal. Below is the excerpt of answer provided by ROSE interviewee when asked if they conduct any activities that can push for electoral change in the state.

“PACA, voter registration, our forum Beyond Klikativism promoting free and fair elections and increase awareness on rights in democracy and also challenged the EC delineation proposal...guess that’s about it...can see more at internet”

(ROSE Interviewee, ROSE Survey, December 19, 2015)

The voters registration drive conducted by ROSE is an activity that helps to register new and unregistered voters in the state. Based on Article 119 of the Federal Constitution, “Every citizen who has attained the age of twenty-one years, and is a resident in a constituency or if not so resident, is an absent voter, who has registered in the electoral roll as an elector in the constituency is entitled to vote in any election for the House of representatives or the Legislative Assembly” (Federal Constitution, 2006, pp. 141-142).

From Article 119 of the Federal Constitution, not all citizens who attained the age of 21 years are registered voters if they do not register themselves in the electoral roll. Therefore, not all citizens are entitled to the right to vote if they did not register. Due to this voter self-registration initiative introduced by the government in the Federal Constitution, many Sarawakians are denied their voting rights. This is evident in the general election held in 2013 when the EC reported that there was a total of 404,996 unregistered voters in the state (Chiam, 2012).

While the EC calls all unregistered voters to register at the nearest post office and through political parties or their office located at Bangunan Sultan Iskandar in Kuching (Chiam, 2012), ROSE took up the effort of going around the Kuching and Serian area to provide voter registration services to the people.

Although high number of voters may not necessarily bring about a change of government in the state – since votes can go either way to the incumbent or the opposition, it however allows for a more equal and actual representation of voters for each constituencies especially when it comes with advocacy by social forces in encouraging them to vote during election seen in the case of Croatia and Slovakia as detailed in chapter two. Therefore, the effort in registering voters by ROSE, although no advocacy in encouraging voters to vote had bring about freer and fairer election in Sarawak that it allow for more people to exercise their voting rights and a more equal and actual representation of the total number of voters and casted votes present in any particular election.

Since factors such as election-related irregularities and money politics hinder the practices of free and fair elections in Sarawak (BN won Sarawak with, 2011), ROSE with the help of Tindak Malaysia organised several PACABA training in the state. PACABA scrutinises elections to ensure voting and counting processes is properly conducted in accordance with the law (Jayakumar, 2012). In its recent training in 2015, ROSE managed to attract 22 attentive participants from Kuching, Bau, and Betong (Kho, 2015).

The activities conducted through PACABA training involved delivering knowledge on the responsibilities of counting agents (CA) and role playing to guide participants on an overview of what may happen at a polling station during elections (Teo, 2015). The work of PACABA had contributed to electoral change in the state especially in the context of bringing about a freer and fairer election in the state. This is because PACABA task as election monitors are to ensure election is conducted free and fairly during polling day.

The public forum named Beyond Klikativism as noted earlier calls Sarawak urbanites to step out and participate in social forces activities to reject extremism and racism as well as to demand for free and fair elections in the state (Cheang, 2015). Speakers of the forum

highlighted the needs of having active social forces to push for change in Malaysia (Cheang, 2015). This according to the speaker can be seen through the 2008 election where social forces had awakened the momentum and movement of change in the country (Cheang, 2015). ROSE through this public forum also urged social forces and media to work together to help the country achieve the democratic advancement needed for the benefit of all Malaysians (Cheang, 2015). Such initiative taken by ROSE to encourage social forces movement in Sarawak was among the attempt that endeavours for electoral change in the state.

The recent increase in the number of Sarawak constituencies proposed by the EC and the recent Sarawak redelineation exercise reflects a malapportioned electoral system that hinder the practices of free and fair elections in the state (Federal Court failed to, 2015), 2015). The proposal from the EC saw an unequal redelineation that constituencies with small numbers of voters such as Telang Usan (N77 - 6,691 voters) and Murum (N66 - 7,648 voters) were redrawn while those with large number of voters such as Pending (N10 - 30,881 voters) and Pelawan (N54 - 31,388 voters) saw no changes in its boundaries and amount of electorates (Liu, 2015a). Since then, the state EC faced pressure from political parties and social forces urging for an explanation particularly to the voters and the general public on how they arrived at such a redelineation proposal (Liu, 2015a).

With the help from Tindak Malaysia and Bersih 2.0 - Delineation Action and Research Team (DART) from the peninsula, ROSE proposed an alternative equalised Sarawak map containing 82 state seats and 31 parliamentary seats to counter the unequal constituencies proposed by the state EC (Liu, 2015a). Apart from that, ROSE also assisted Batu Lintang assemblyman See Chee How from the opposition party of PKR and Ulu Baram voter Pauls Baya in challenging such proposal in the court (Ling, 2015). Such challenges posed by ROSE had brought the issue on the need of having a freer and fairer election especially in regards to

equal delineation process to limelight when ROSE managed to mobilise 114 voters from the parliamentary constituency of P196 Stampin to submit their objection towards the redelineation exercise (Liu, 2015b).

ROSE's effort in objecting the state redelineation proposal was futile when the Federal Court dismissed the application by Ulu Baram voter Pauls Baya and Batu Lintang assemblyman See Chee How to challenge the redelineation exercise in Sarawak (Ling, 2015).

The effort done by ROSE through its voter registration, PACABA training, organizing public forum as well as challenging the state in its redelineation process had undeniably bring about freer and fairer election in the state. Therefore, ROSE has undeniably bring about electoral change in the state especially in the context of freer and fairer election which also serve as one of the indicators of electoral change as noted in chapter one.

The recently held Bersih 4.0 rally in Kuching, Sarawak co-organised by ROSE, Bersih Sarawak and other organisations is one clear contestation posed by Sarawak social forces towards the state and their federal BN coalition in its conduct of corruption, abuses of power and election.

Although Bersih Sarawak was formed after the 2011 Bersih rally in the peninsula, there was no contestation and activities carried out by Bersih Sarawak until the recent 4.0 Bersih Rally in 2015. With Bersih Sarawak suffering from weak internal and external structures as discussed in the earlier section, it is hence understandable why it did not carry out any programmes and activities in the state until the recent Bersih rally in Kuching, Sarawak. The Bersih 4.0 rally held on 29th and 30th August 2015 in Song Kheng Hai field however was not a successful one as several interruptions caused the whole event to be cancelled on the eve of 30th August 2015.

While there is no coordination and cooperation between Sarawak social forces - apart from ROSE who work together with PKR in challenging the state in its redelineation proposal - and the opposition parties, most of Sarawak social forces see opposition parties as a threat to their programmes and activities. One clear example is the cancellation of the Bersih 4.0 rally by the organiser when political parties interrupted the event.

Interruptions by political parties during the event which involve allegations of PKR removing the sound system at 6pm after the afternoon speeches and DAP organising its own public speeches concurrently on the night of the event (Abrupt end to rally, 2015) as well as the issues of the opposition and public bringing sensitive and slanderous placards and children to the rally (Abrupt end to rally, 2015) caused the organiser to end the event prematurely.

The premature end of the Bersih 4.0 rally in Kuching clearly shows the failure of Sarawak social forces and political parties in acknowledging the fact that they can actually woo more supporters akin like those in the Eastern and central Europe and those in the 1998 *reformasi* movement if they work together in harmony for the same cause. Since the counterpart rally in the peninsula called for free and fair elections and an end of the practices of corruption and abuses of power nationwide and in the state, there is nothing wrong in political parties targeting their speeches towards contesting the state in its various way of governance.

However, members of social forces involved in co-organising the event somehow tended to isolate the agenda of its Sarawak rally from their peninsula counterpart in a way that its chief organizer, Nicholas Mujah openly declare that its rally is not in support of the opposition parties (Kuching Bersih Agrees to, 2015) and therefore the reason why political motivated speeches and movements were seen as interruptions to the whole event.

Both challenges posed by ROSE and Bersih Sarawak towards the state for electoral change were limited only to certain geographical areas in Sarawak. This is clearly evident in ROSE who conducts its activities mainly in Kuching city and nearby areas such as Serian, Bau and Betong. Besides that, Bersih Sarawak that is based in Sibu together with other social forces also co-organised its Bersih 4.0 rally in Kuching. This tends to concentrate all the activities and advocacy for electoral change especially in the context of free and fair elections in Sarawak to one specific Kuching area.

While ROSE is only working with the opposition assemblyman to challenge the redelineation exercise of the EC, there were not many other activities that saw cooperation between the opposition parties and electoral reform social forces in the state. The opposition party rallying alongside the Bersih 4.0 rally was also not welcomed by the organising social forces. Therefore, cooperation between Sarawak social forces advocating electoral reform and the opposition parties is very minimal and there is also no large movement formed between them to imitate change in the state apart from the prematurely ended Bersih 4.0 rally.

The other three social forces of JOAS, SAVE Rivers, and BMF on the other hand are mostly seen as challenging the state in the arena of communal and indigenous rights and interests. Although championing the rights of the indigenous peoples, some of the activities conducted by these social forces such as those that challenge government projects that are detrimental to the livelihood of the indigenous peoples can also be seen as aiming towards electoral change in the state. This is especially true when an online report published by these social forces as well as the protests against the Sarawak dam projects as noted in the earlier section exposes the various encroachment of indigenous rights and abuses of power by the Sarawak state government. This indeed brings questions over the governance of the Sarawak BN into the limelight.

Apart from the peaceful demonstrations organised by SAVE Rivers in KM 15 Long Kesseh, Baram co-joined by indigenous leaders brought by JOAS from other parts of the world and those during the International Hydropower Association's (IHA) congress as discussed in the earlier section, JOAS and SAVE Rivers together with SUARAM and International Rivers also conducted an online petition to reject the construction of dams in Sarawak (Stop the destruction of, 2015).

The petition entitled *Stop the destruction of Sarawak's Rivers* is an online petition to call the Sarawak government to halt the construction of 12 mega dams that could endanger the environment and forces the displacement of native communities of Sarawak (Stop the destruction of, 2015). The petition which aimed to target the Prime Minister of Malaysia Najib Razak, the then Chief Minister of Sarawak Abdul Taib Mahmud, the CEO of Sarawak Energy Berhad Torstein Dale Sjøtveit, and Executive Director of International Hydropower Association Richard Taylor, all allegedly involved in the dams projects managed to attract 2,123 supporters to sign the petition. Apart from writing to the prime movers of the dam project, the petition also accused the families of Abdul Taib Mahmud of purportedly gaining benefits from the proposed mega dams projects through using the electricity generated projects to expand their own industries (Stop the destruction of, 2015).

Since there is no single reply from the respondents to the online petition, its impact is very difficult to gauge. Therefore, plausible deduction on the impact of this petition must not exclude all other social forces activities that aimed at halting the construction of mega dams in Sarawak since they also share similar objectives with the online petition.

While JOAS is mainly involved in advocating against the construction of Kaiduan Dam in Sabah, SAVE Rivers brought the protests of mega dams in Sarawak to the grassroots level. However, the over emphasis of SAVE Rivers activities in the upper Baram region of

Sarawak with only one protest held in the Borneo Convention Centre Kuching (BCKK) makes it difficult for the effect of their activism to reach other regions of the state. A similar issue is also noted in ROSE and Bersih Sarawak that only focuses their activity in Kuching and other nearby areas as described earlier.

Huge geographical distances and poor connections among Sarawak social forces had restricted these social forces from interacting with one another. Because of such restrictions, there is no clear interaction between different spheres of social forces such as those advocating for electoral reform and those communal championing social forces to form a mass movement to challenge the continuous rule of the state in Sarawak. The excerpts below detailed the challenges of geographical distances faced by social forces when bringing issues throughout the state

“Our work based in Baram area only. We cannot bring dam issue all over Sarawak. We need other NGOs help to do so but they all around Sarawak in different area. Hard to contact them”

(SAVE Rivers Interviewee, SAVE Rivers Survey, November 22, 2015)

While there is no clear collaboration between different categories of social forces in Sarawak to form mass movement to initiate electoral change in the state, the international organization of the BMF in pushing for electoral change, bring issues detrimental to state governance into limelight in the international arena.

The sudden disappearance of Bruno Manser, the founder of the BMF in Sarawak is allegedly linked to the state government and it remains an issue of hot debate in the state as discussed in the earlier section. The BMF has since then conducted many activities that can threaten the position of the state government and possibly endeavouring towards a change of government. The online campaigns and several online reports and books published by the

BMF as discussed in the earlier section had brought the alleged corruption issues surrounding the then Chief Minister, Abdul Taib Mahmud and the illegal logging activities in the state to international attention.

Not only that, in 2011 the BMF wrote letters containing concrete evidence of business and personal ties between the family of Abdul Taib Mahmud in various countries to the governments of Australia, Canada, United Kingdom, Germany, Jersey, the United States of America (Straumann, 2014). Such action was taken by the BMF primarily to call for the respective governments to instigate investigations against such issues and freeze Taib's assets in their territories.

Accompanying that, the BMF also coordinated worldwide protests against similar issues in Ottawa, San Francisco, Berne, London, Seattle, Sydney, Huonville (Tasmania), and Adelaide (Straumann, 2014). Although these activities conducted by the BMF in other parts of the world may not have been able to have a direct impact on voters in rural areas especially those affected by the alleged illegal logging activities linked to the then Chief Minister, it however benefited the opposition in a way that the alleged corruption of the then Chief Minister raised by Bruno Manser himself and his organisation as well as other economic problems affecting the state such as the rocketing house prices and fuel price hikes had allowed the opposition to tackle the ruling coalition by using the lacklustre economy and corruption issues affecting the state in their campaign slogans and manifesto.

“The opposition took up issue brought by us and they did well in telling the people the condition in Sarawak. Did well in election too”

(BMF Interviewee, BMF Survey, November 24, 2015)

Issues of the alleged corruption brought by BMF taken by the opposition and the economic turmoil affecting the state were well received in most urban areas of Sarawak, and the opposition successfully made inroads in the 2006 election (Khoo, 2006) and in many subsequent elections in urban areas such as in Kuching, Sibuan and Miri.

With many of the BMF activities focusing on malicious issues related to Taib and his associates, it is hence undeniable that the BMF does pose a challenge in bringing about electoral change especially its indicators of increasing the number of seats gained by the opposition in Sarawak during the time when Abdul Taib Mahmud held the Chief Minister role. While the activities of the BMF in tackling the alleged corruption issues surrounding Abdul Taib Mahmud may easily be accessible to Sarawak urbanites along with other economic problems affecting the state in order to change their voting preferences, this hardly happens in rural areas. This is because the BMF which works internationally faced problems in bringing issues involving the encroachment of indigenous rights critical to the Sarawak BN government to the ground. There is a need to reiterate the answer provided by the BMF interviewee below as similarly noted in the earlier section of this chapter to analyze further the difficulties faced by international organisations especially the BMF in its operation in the state.

“Since we are internationally based, very hard for us to bring issue like indigenous rights suppression to the ground. Government project us as enemies of the state”

(BMF Interviewee, BMF Survey, November 24, 2015)

The attack on the BMF by the ruling coalition headed by Abdul Taib Mahmud clearly indicates how the government reject efforts by the BMF and other international organisations in the state. Abdul Taib Mahmud attacked internationally based social forces by accusing

them of trying to re-colonise Sarawak by interfering and participating in state affairs during his May 2013 State Legislative Assembly speech (Straumann, 2014). Abdul Taib Mahmud further asserted that while tackling issues of the plight of indigenous peoples and state governance, these social forces come with a hidden agenda of trying to bring about political instability by halting the development momentum of the state (Straumann, 2014).

Apart from that, the politics of development and disempowerment by the ruling coalition as noted by Khoo (2006) also causes rural communities to be very dependent on the government for goods and services. Therefore, any wrong choices of voting by rural communities may lead to selective withdrawal of services and projects by the government in their area (Khoo, 2006).

This is also accompanied by the government's repressive measures in denying people access to information provided by international organisations through their related international websites such as Sarawak Report that details the work of international social forces and the abuses of power and corruption by the government at both state and federal level (Sarawak Report whistleblowing website, 2015) as well as the banning of books which expose the alleged corruption and destruction caused by illegal logging activities in Sarawak (Fernandez, 2014).

Not only have that, the state government also curbed the activism of social forces in Sarawak through strict immigration control that blocks the entry of international social forces activists and those from the peninsula. The 4th Bersih leader Maria Chin Abdullah (4th Bersih leader denied, 2012) and Sarawak Report journalist Clare Brown (EX-British PM's Relative Clare, 2013) were among those who were denied entry into the state.

While it is noted earlier that ROSE brought about electoral change in the context of pushing for a freer and fairer election through its voter registration drive, PACABA training,

public forum and its challenges towards EC in its redelineation proposal, the contestation brought by social forces like BMF had brought about an increase in the number of seats gained by the opposition when the later took up the issue advocated by the BMF in its election campaign in 2006. In order to wholly access the impact of social forces towards the other indicators of electoral change especially in the context of changing the government or in increasing the number of votes gained by the opposition therefore called for an analysis of Sarawak electoral results over the years.

Table 6: The Results of the Sarawak State Elections from 1970 to 2016

Political parties	1970	1974	1979	1983	1987	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016
Total state seats	48	48	48	48	48	56	62	62	71	71	82
Barisan Nasional (BN)	26	30	45	44	28	49	57	60	62	55	72
Opposition	24	18	0	4	20	7	3	1	8	15	10
Independent	1	0	3	4	0	0	2	1	1	1	0

Table 7: The Results of the Sarawak Parliamentary Elections from 1970 to 2013

Political Parties	1970	1974	1978	1982	1986	1990	1995	1999	2004	2008	2013
Total state seats for Parliament	24	24	24	24	24	27	27	28	28	31	31
Barisan Nasional (BN)	9	15	23	19	21	17	26	28	27	30	25
Opposition	14	9	1	2	1	6	1	0	1	1	6
Independent	1	0	0	3	2	4	0	0	0	0	0

Based on the two tables earlier, it can be noted that there has never been a change of government in Sarawak. However, there were times where the ruling coalition faced strong challenges from the opposition parties notably in the 1970 and 1987 elections.

The 1970 election was predominantly marked by the ethnic factor with the Dayak supporting SNAP and PESAKA, the Chinese supporting SUPP and the Malays and Melanau supporting the Bumiputera party (Leigh, 1974). This is especially true when early social forces as asserted by Tan (1994) and Hazis (2012) were communal in nature, championing only ethnic interests and rights. Since early social forces as maintained by Aeria (2013) were subservient to the government and those social forces tackling issues critical to the government were only formed recently as noted in the earlier section, therefore, there was no contestation posed by social forces towards the state that can actually challenge the rule of Barisan Nasional government in Sarawak in the 1970 election.

The post-1970 election period saw the ruling coalition fare well until the 1983 election. The ruling coalition was able to consolidate its power through co-opting the opposition parties of SNAP and SUPP in the following election (Hazis, 2011). The merger of PESAKA and the Bumiputera party led by the ruling coalition to form PBB as well as the political pact formed on the federal level with the then Chief Minister Abdul Rahman Yakub as discussed in Chapter three allowed him to maintain his power and further strengthen the overall force of the ruling coalition (Hazis, 2012).

The 1987 election that saw the opposition winning 20 out of the total 48 seats was very much due to the political tension brought by the opposition and the struggle between political strongmen Abdul Rahman Yakub and Abdul Taib Mahmud as described in Chapter three than any actual role played by Sarawak social forces. This is because social forces that tried to push for electoral change or issues that are critical to the state government are only formed near

2006 and 2013 and therefore they has yet to establish themselves in Sarawak during the 1987 election.

Since then, authoritatrian measures such as co-opting opposition assemblymen, reshuffling and changing the portfolios of Cabinet ministers, dismissal and terminating government officers and services of community chiefs who supported the opposition as mentioned in Chapter three were employed by Abdul Taib Mahmud to secure his administration of the state (Hazis, 2012). Apart from that, the widespread idea of the politics of disempowerment and the fear of deprivation employed by the Sarawak BN in rural areas as maintained by Khoo (2006) had also effectively allowed it to maintain its dominance in Sarawak.

The vibrant activism of the 1998 *reformasi* movement that saw conglomerations of social forces and opposition parties forming an alliance to demand political change in the peninsula did not take effect in Sarawak. Similar with the electoral results in the peninsula, the 1999 parliamentary election and the following 2001 Sarawak state election saw no major breakthrough made by any of the opposition parties. While the peninsula social forces through 1998 *reformasi* movement as detailed by Weiss (2006) in Chapter three had allowed the discourses of democracy, equality and good governance to take root in the peninsula, its effect were however not very visible in Sarawak. This is because there was no mass movement formed in Sarawak by social forces and opposition parties similar to the peninsula's *reformasi* movement. Many social forces tackling issues detrimental to the government as illustrated in the earlier section, were only visible near the 2013 general election with only the BMF actively tackling corruption issues of the government in 2006.

While Sarawak was still very much under the authoritarian rule of Abdul Taib Mahmud, it was in the 2006 election when issues related to his corruption were brought by

social forces such as the BMF and other economic issues and problems affecting the state as discussed earlier that allowed the opposition to make some inroads in the state.

The opposition DAP with its manifesto carrying the theme “Enough is Enough” and “Sarawak Deserves Better” highlighting economic issues in the state such as land lease issues, price hikes as well as the corruption surrounding Abdul Taib Mahmud highlighted by the BMF (Welsh, 2006) allowed DAP to win the highest number of seats among the opposition in the 2006 election. Nevertheless, PKR and SNAP who joined forces to form the Sarawak United Front in the 2006 election gave the idea of an alternative governance with less corruption amidst the brewing corruption issues surrounding the BN government highlighted by the BMF coupled with their focus on the removal of fuel subsidies and native customary land rights issues had allowed each of them to win one seat in the 2006 election (Welsh, 2006).

The performance of Sarawak BN dipped further when it lost seven seats to the opposition bloc in the following state election. This allowed the opposition to gain a total of 15 seats in the 2011 state election. A political tsunami which removed the rule of the BN in a few peninsula states coupled with various regional issues such as poor management of the economy, poor governance, unchecked wealth of powerful well-connected individuals (Khee, 2012) and the controversial issues of cronyism and nepotism surrounding the overly long tenure of the Chief Minister of Sarawak (Hazis, 2011) tackled by the BMF projected in the call for a change in the opposition’s manifesto has said to double the seats won by the opposition in the 2011 election.

However, the late Adenan Satem who took the role as Chief Minister in 2014 had made many moves to please the people through his pro-people policies and decisions. This

secured the Sarawak BN with a landslide victory winning 72 out of 82 seats in the 2016 state election.

Issues of people's concern and those advocated by Sarawak social forces were addressed by the newly appointed Chief Minister through various initiatives such as suspending the controversial Baram Hydroelectric Dam project (Ruekeith, 2015), ceasing collection of tolls at bridges in Kuching and Sibu (Kong & Lim, 2016), announcing to recognise the Unified Examination Certificate (UEC) of Chinese independent schools (Ten, 2015) and championing Sarawak autonomy through asking for more devolution of power from the federal government (Banji, 2016).

While credit may go to the ruling coalition in its many pro-people policies and decisions, the multi-corner fights between opposition parties resulting in the failure of forming a strong and single opposition against the ruling coalition (Welsh, 2016) and social forces being too focused on their specific field of activities that there is no cooperation between them to initiate mass movement for electoral change as well as the absence of cooperation with the opposition parties in the state as seen in the Bersih 4.0 rally also contributes to the ill performance of the opposition parties in the 2016 state election.

Though there is no large coalition and mass movement formed between different categories of social forces in Sarawak to initiate significant electoral change that can bring about a change of government similar to those in the peninsula, two of the accessed social forces of BMF and ROSE had brought about electoral change in the form of increasing the number of seats gained by the opposition parties and a freer and fairer conduct of election in the state.

The social forces of the BMF through advocating issues critical to the state government as noted earlier had undeniably played a role in bringing about electoral change especially in the context of increasing the number of seats gained by the opposition parties. This were especially true when one of the factors that brought about an increase in the number of seats gained by the opposition in the 2006 and 2011 election were credited to how oppositions addressed issues critical to the state government highlighted by the BMF (Hazis, 2011). The social forces of ROSE formed after the 2013 election had also pushed for electoral change through its advocacy for freer and fairer election in the state as noted in the earlier section of this chapter. Through this, ROSE managed to train 140 individuals as PACABA for election since its training in July 2015 to monitor and ensure elections are to be conducted free and fair in the state (A 'Rose' for the coming, 2016).

While efforts had been made by the BMF and ROSE to push for electoral change in the state, the other social forces accessed in this thesis however work on their own fields of interest that no significant indicators of electoral change can be linked to the activities conducted by these social forces.

Seen through the lense of Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory, it can be noted that social forces in the forms of informal organisations especially that of the BMF and ROSE as noted earlier had pose contestation in trying to pull Sarawak state of democracy away from being preoccupied by Patron-Client relationship and strongman rule. However, the pro-people policies and decisions from the new strongman politicians of the late Adenan Satem as well as the Patron-Client relationship with voters being client to the BN government over the years had allow the BN to once again triumph in the election (Hazis, 2016) preoccupying Sarawak with strongman politicians and Patron-Client relationship.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis sought to examine the existing pattern of social forces in Sarawak; the contestation they posed to the state; and their impact in terms of bringing about electoral change. Many literatures as noted in chapter two had showed how social forces had a certain amount of influence in bringing about electoral change in various countries and several states in the peninsula. Therefore, it is evident that Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory that stresses both the role played by social forces and the state is applicable when studying electoral change.

Change of government is very visible in countries where social forces had for a long time worked its way in advocating and endeavouring for electoral change. Through the help of mass movements formed by social forces, various European countries as noted in the literature review managed to help the opposition bring about significant electoral change especially in the context of bringing about a change of government in their respective countries.

Similarly, a few states in peninsula Malaysia that fell to the opposition in the 2008 and 2013 election were also attributed to the role played by mass movement formed between various social forces such as Bersih and Hindraf that took their demands and interests to the streets.

Other electoral change that appears in the form of freer and fairer conduct of election as well as an increase in the number of votes or seats gained by the opposition seen in countries like Mexico by Feinberg et al (2006), South Korea by Kwak (2012), Indonesia by Sefyani and Ziegenhain (2015) and Cambodia by Kheang (2015) also saw social forces forming mass movement and cooperating with opposition parties to initiate electoral change in their respective countries.

While the cooperation between social forces to form mass movement and its engagement with political parties as noted in earlier literature is imperative for a transpiring electoral change, Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory on the other hand stressed the need to access social forces structure (internal and external structure and social and ideological basis) in order to understand how they can operate in contesting the state in any available arena.

The vibrant movement of social forces that mobilises the public to show their political discontent to the ruling government in the peninsula did not develop out of nothing. A series of social forces movements in late 2007 contributing towards a change of government in five peninsula states were said to be the extension of the political expression created by the *reformasi* movement in 1998 (Saravanamuttu, 2008). While the peninsula's social forces started taking up issues that can push for electoral change and those that challenged the government near the 1998 *reformasi* movement, it was only near 2006 and after the 2011 and 2013 elections that the operation of Sarawak social forces advocating for issues related to electoral change slowly surfaced in the state.

Identifying the pattern of social forces in Sarawak saw many formal and informal organisations championing communal interest and rights in the state. There are no contestations at all posed by formal organisations in Sarawak against the state especially in the context of bringing about electoral change. While formal and informal organisations remain entrapped in championing communal interest and rights, five informal organisations accessed in this thesis posed contestation to the state through its activities that tackled issues detrimental to the state government.

Accessing five of the informal organisations noted that four of the analyzed social forces namely Bersih Sarawak, ROSE, SAVE Rivers Network and JOAS faced problems in their internal structure. Deficiencies in human and financial resources as well as their weak

operating structure limit their frequency in conducting activities that can push for electoral change in the state. Though the BMF has strong internal structure, their weak external structure similarly suffered by the other four social forces had limit their ability to form coalition among each other to push for greater electoral change in the state. Apart from that, large geographical distances separating these social forces also contribute to their non-cooperation in forming mass movement to push for electoral change in Sarawak.

Analyzing another attributes of social forces particularly its engagement with political parties saw the local Sarawak social forces of ROSE managed to work with the opposition parties of PKR in challenging the proposed redelineation exercise of the EC. The other Sarawak and Malaysia based social forces on the other hand failed to recognize the need to cooperate with opposition parties in instituting for electoral change such as the change of government similar to those that transpired in the peninsula. This is clearly evident in the recently held Bersih 4.0 rally as discussed earlier where social forces who were involved in the rally had declare publicly that it is not in support of the opposition parties and the whole event was ended prematurely when opposition started their politically motivated speeches and activities. The internationally based social forces on the other hand limited by authoritative measures of the state faced difficulties in bringing their issues to the ground level.

Sarawak social forces despite having weak internal and external structure as well as not cooperating with each other and the opposition parties to form mass movement in the state had however brought about electoral change in the state. Two of the social forces of ROSE and the BMF were among the most successful social forces that actually brought about electoral change in Sarawak. ROSE as noted in the earlier chapter had pushed for freer and fairer election in the state through their various activities while issued tackled by BMF especially

those detrimental to the state BN had allowed the opposition to increase their number of seats gained in the 2006 and 2011 election.

As a whole, the hypothesis made for this thesis where the most favourable dependent variables (change of government) can only be achieved when attributes of social forces (favourable internal and external structure, achievable social and ideological basis, forming large coalition or mass movement to initiate change, and engagement with political parties in pushing for electoral change) are present and that the other dependent variables (freer and fairer election and an increase awareness of the public to vote for the opposition illustrated through an increase in number of votes and seats gained by the opposition parties) can be achieved when there is contestation posed by social forces in pushing for electoral change are therefore affirmed and proved accurate in a way that favourable electoral change is not transpiring in Sarawak because many of the accessed social forces does not show the necessary attributes needed while other indicators of electoral change is visible due to the contestation brought particularly by ROSE and the BMF in its push for electoral change in the state.

5.1 Theoretical and Policy Implications

The conclusion made in this thesis which is in supportive of the proposed hypothesis as detailed earlier are among the theoretical implications made available by this thesis. This is especially true when the attributes of social forces such as its internal and external factors as well as its social and ideological basis as pointed out by Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory together with other attributes such as social forces ability to form large coalition among each other as well as its engagement with political parties to initiate change as noted in other literatures in chapter two had proven to be an effective attributes in determining the success

and failure of social forces in affecting change. Besides that, the relationship of struggle and accommodation between the state and social forces that would eventually results in either progressive or regressive change as noted by Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory had also been proven accurate and serve as one of the theoretical implication of this thesis. This can be seen especially when social forces of ROSE and the BMF had successfully brought about progressive change in other indicators of electoral change as noted in this thesis such as freer and fairer electoral processes and an increase in number of seats gained by the oppositions over the years. Given the theoretical implication of this thesis, it is hoped that Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory be applied in any future research related to state-society relation.

In terms of its policy implications, this thesis which came to conclude from the pattern shown by Sarawak social forces that informal organisations do played a role in advancing change in Sarawak call for a more lenient applications of rules and policies affecting the operation of these social forces in the state. Social forces regardless of their status of registration with the ROS of Sarawak should be allowed to operate peacefully without any interruptions from the state as their voices also represent the society. With a much lenient rules and policies, informal organisations will have lesser limitations in advancing the voices of the people and society they represent. The voices and demand from informal organisations if tackled appropriately will allow society to progress as a whole. Since informal organisations also played a role in the society, they should not be made as unlawful societies under the law.

5.2 Suggestions

While this thesis only analyzed five social forces that can be seen challenging the state in terms of bringing about electoral change in Sarawak, it is therefore hoped that a more comprehensive research that includes all forms of social forces such as those which are

ethnically based particularly the Chinese based social forces which is lacking in Sarawak social forces literature as well as those social forces which are issued based are to be carried out in the future in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of state and social forces relation in Sarawak. Though this thesis methodologically through its open-ended questionnaires detailed all the necessary attributes of social forces essential for analyzing social forces and electoral change, its overall presentation may however be hindered due to the privacy concern of the accessed social forces when answering the open-ended questionnaires. Therefore, this thesis seek to further advance the method for analyzing social forces in future research and studies to wholly represent the attributes of social forces without being hindered by any hesitation and privacy concern of the accessed social forces.

Besides that, it is also hoped that the hypothesis presented in this thesis can be utilized in analyzing social forces and electoral change in any future studies and research. Though initially this thesis only consider change of government as the only indicator of electoral change, other literatures that stressed how social forces had brought about freer and fairer election and how they had increase the number of votes or seats gained by the oppositions had allow for a more wholesome concept of electoral change to be gauged in this thesis when accessing the contestation posed by social forces in such arena. This thesis also recommends the use of Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory in analyzing state-society relation and all forms of change brought by social forces in any future research because it looks at both the role of state and society in understanding change and it also analyzed the attributes needed by social forces in advancing and perpetuating change. Finally, it is a humble request that all the imperfections and shortcomings in this thesis be treated as areas for improvement for any future studies instead of weaknesses that hinder the overall presentation and analysis of this thesis that aimed to study social forces and electoral change in Sarawak.

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APPENDICES

Framework for Open-Ended Questionnaires – Interview Survey

Guidelines for the interview survey via open-ended questionnaires were drafted to interview social forces advocating democracy and human rights. The guidelines were prepared through analysing and compiling criteria and components used in various literature and reports that accessed and analysed organisations that were related to the examination of social forces in this research.

Migdal (1994)⁸ State-In-Society theory divided the assessment of social forces into three categories (1) Internal Structure such as strength and weaknesses in its operating structure, human resources and financial resources, (2) External Environment such as competition with other social forces, existence of new organisations and groups, and the introduction of new patterns in the arena, and (3) Social and Ideological Basis such as agenda, goals, and ideologies.

The non-profit human development organisation of Family Health International (Fhi360)⁹ in their report on measuring NGO capacity development through organisational assessment provides four interrelated categories that contain important criteria needed to access an organisation. The four listed categories are (1) Administrative and Support

⁸ Three criteria needed to access social forces namely (a) Internal environment, (b) External environment, and (c) Social and ideological basis was noted by Migdal (1994) when elaborating on the details of the State-In-Society theory. Further information on Migdal (1994) criteria for accessing social forces in State-In-Society theory is available in Migdal, J. S. (1994). *The State in Society: an approach to struggles for domination*. In J. S. Migdal, A. Kohli, & V. Shue, *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World* (pp. 7-36). United States of America: Cambridge University Press.

⁹ Fhi360 together with NGOConnet.NET listed four important criteria in the assessment of NGOs to help them identify their areas for improvement and developing action plans. Further reading on Fhi360 report on measuring NGO capacity development through organisational assessment is available at _____ (2011). *Measuring NGO Capacity Development through Organizational Assessments*. United States of America: Fhi360.

Functions such as the administration and management of human and financial resources, (2) Technical and Programme Functions such as programme monitoring and evaluation, (3) Structure and Culture such as its vision and mission, internal governance system and external relations, and (4) Resources such as financial resources and human resources (Measuring NGO Capacity Development through Organizational Assessments, 2011).

The various criteria within the categories noted by Fhi360 can be restructured and arranged into the components categorised by Migdal (1994) in the assessment of social forces. This was because various criteria within the categories of Fhi360 were similar to the component categorised by Migdal (1994). The earlier, Migdal (1994) categorisations were in fact much clearer and comprehensive compared to that of Fhi360. For example, the classification of Administrative and Support Functions, Technical and Programme Functions, and Resources of Fhi360 tackled only the internal environment of social forces ignoring how the external environment can affect the capacities of social forces whereas within the category of Structure and Culture of Fhi360 contained various criteria that can be specifically divided into external environment and social and ideological basis based on Migdal (1994) categorisations. Apart from that, the use of Migdal (1994) categorisation in this research also allows for an easier linking of information to be made since the State-In-Society theory of Migdal (1994) was used as a theoretical framework in this research writing.

Tan (1994)¹⁰ which documented 14 communal associations in Sarawak concluded that funding, leadership and member's support played a role in determining the success of an

¹⁰ Tan (1994) documented 14 communal associations in Sarawak and concluded that funding, leadership and member's support play a role in determining the success of an organisation. Further reading on Tan (1994) criteria in determining the success of an organisation is available in Tan, C.-B. (1994). *Communal Associations of the Indigenous Communities of Sarawak: A Study of Ethnicity and National Integration*. Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Advance Studies, Universiti of Malaya.

organisation. These criteria as noted by Tan (1994) were similar to the categorisation listed by Migdal (1994) in his State-In-Society theory despite not using such a theory in the analysis of Sarawak communal associations.

Jose (2011)¹¹ in her collaboration with Civil Society Resource Institute (CSRI) mapped and studied civil society in the Philippines through Strength, Weakness, Opportunity, and Threat (SWOT) analysis. A few of the criteria used in the assessment involved (1) Internal governance system such as formal planning mechanism, leaders and board of elected members, (2) Self-regulatory initiatives such as monitoring system, (3) Members and staff such as increase in recruitment or turnover, (4) Organisation's networking such as forming coalitions networks and associations, (5) Financial resources such as source of funds, (6) System for measuring outcomes and impact such as systematic measurements and auditing, and also (7) Interplay with the government and business bodies such as cooperation or competition (Jose, 2011). These criteria used by Jose (2011) can also be classified into the components noted by Migdal (1994) as most of the criteria were similar to the internal environment of social forces as noted by Migdal (1994). The only criteria that can be grouped into the external environment of Migdal (1994) classification is that of the interplay with the government and business bodies.

¹¹ Jose (2011) through her collaboration with Civil Society Resource Institute (CSRI) mapped civil society in the Philippines and analyses them through several criteria listed in its SWOT analysis to offer a thorough understanding of Philippines civil society. Further reading on Jose (2011) criteria in SWOT used for the analysis of civil society in the Philippines is available in Jose, L. N. (2011). *Civil Society Organizations in the Philippines, A Mapping and Strategic Assessment*. Philippines: Civil Society Resource Institute (CSRI).

The International HIV/AIDS Alliance¹² through its effort in accessing organisations involved in HIV/AIDS work provided a capacity toolkit that can be easily used to analyse any groups and organisations existing in society. The template of capacity toolkit or the so-called profile checklist contains all the necessary elements needed to access and analyse groups and organisations in society. Among the noted elements are (1) Legal status of the organisations, (2) Location of the organisation's offices, (3) Strategy and structure such as its mission, vision, objectives, organisational structure, members of the committee board, and line of responsibility, (4) Human resources such as numbers of full and part-time staff and volunteers, (5) Financial resources such as approximate annual income and turnover, and major donors, (6) Support such as organisational support from outside sources, (7) Project activities such as activities and projects conducted by organisations, (8) Key achievements such as the organisation's success and highlights, and (9) Main challenges such as problems and issues faced by the organisations (NGO Capacity Analysis, 2014).

Such elements noted in the profile checklist of the International HIV/AIDS Alliance provides a precise measuring tool in studying and accessing an organisation especially in regards to the components of social forces categorised by Migdal (1994). The elements within the profile checklist were seen as an exemplification of the ingredients within the larger grouping of the components of social forces noted by Migdal (1994). Elements such as legal status of the organisation, location of offices, human and financial resources, and criteria such as organisational structure, members of the committee board, and line of responsibility within the elements of strategy and structure were seen as the essentials within the internal

¹² International HIV/AIDS Alliance provides a capacity toolkit to analyse organisations involved in HIV/AIDS work. Components within the capacity toolkit can be used to analyse and study group and organisations existing in society. Further reading on the International HIV/AIDS Alliance capacity toolkit is available at _____ (2014). *NGO Capacity Analysis*. United kingdom: International HIV/AIDS Alliance.

environment of Migdal (1994). On the other hand, elements such as support, project activities, and key achievements were related to the external environment whereas criteria such as mission, vision, and objectives within the elements of strategy and structure were more related to the component of social and ideological basis of Migdal's (1994) assessment of social forces.

Hence, the tool of analysis containing specific questions analysing pro-democracy and human rights social forces especially those that also advocate on issues that can be seen endeavouring for electoral change in the state were prepared in this research through combining elements within various organisational measuring tools and components of social forces categorised by Migdal (1994). Such a questionnaire offers sufficient and thorough assessment of social forces especially within the context of this research.

Open Ended Questionnaires

Social Forces and Electoral Change in Sarawak

Master Research (Open-Ended Questionnaires) Guidelines

The information obtained from this interview is solely for the purpose of the Masters Research writing under the advice of Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS). Information obtained from this interview will not be used in any other publication not related to the Master Research.

Name of Organisation Interviewed:

(will not be disclosed in the Master Research writing without the permission of the Interviewee)

This questionnaire guide is divided into four (4) sections to study and access social forces based on Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory.

The information needed to access social forces as noted in this guide may not be obtained solely from the interview survey. Additional or detailed information obtained from the organisation's reports, pamphlets and leaflets will be used to compensate for any incomplete information gained during the interview survey. This procedure is necessary to prevent any loss of information that interviewee might forget during the interview session.

**** Researchers are to inform the interviewee about the procedure of using information from organisation's reports, pamphlets and leaflets to compensate for any incomplete data obtained from interview survey before starting the interview session.**

Questions	Aim of the Addressed Questions
Section A	
1. Is your organisation registered under the Registrar of Societies Sarawak? – If not, is it registered under any other bodies such as Companies of Commission of Malaysia (CCM)? 2. Does your organisation have any fixed geographical offices or operating station? – If not, then where does your organisation meet frequently to discuss your activities, events, and planning?	Questions 1 and 2 aim to address the legal status and geographical location of the interviewed social forces
Section B	
3. What is the objective of your organisation? 4. Does your organisation have any missions and vision? Double confirm with interviewee even though the information is available from organisational sources such as reports, pamphlets and leaflets. 5. What is your organisation's mission and vision? 6. Does your organisation work under these missions and vision? 7. Has your organisation achieved its mission and vision? 8. Are there any changes in your organisation's missions and vision? – If answer is yes, why? 9. How many members or staff are there in your organisation? Are they permanent or temporary staff? 10. How many members and staff does your organisation have when it started operating? 11. How many members and staff does your organisation have now? Can you provide a copy of the list of members and staff of your organisations? 12. Does your organisation have any committee board members/staff? – If answer is yes, what is the line of responsibilities of each of the committee board members/staff? 13. How does the committee board members/staff rise to their position? – based on meetings, elections, appointment and level of experience.	Questions 3 until 8 aim to address the social and ideological basis of the interviewed social forces. Questions 9 until 11 aim to address the status of human resources of the interviewed social forces. Questions 12 until 17 aim to address the operating structure of the interviewed social forces. Questions 18 until 24 aim to address the financial status of the interviewed social forces.

14. Does your organisation have any set of decision making rules that need to be followed in making decisions or in conducting any programme or activities? 15. Does your organisation document such decision making rules? In hardcopy or softcopy? 16. Does your organisation have any regulatory procedures? Such as documenting all conducted activities, programmes and events?—hardcopy/softcopy – and conduct postmortem meetings to review and evaluate your organisation’s events and activities? 17. How many times does your organisation conduct meetings in a year? 18. How much is your organisation’s annual approximate income? 19. How much is your organisation’s annual approximate spending? 20. Does your organisation have a copy of the annual financial statement? Can it be found in your organisation’s report? 21. Is your organisation supported and sponsored by funders? What is the funder status? (International Organisations, Corporate bodies, Governmental bodies, political parties) - If answer is yes proceed to question 22, and if answer is no, proceed to question 24. 22. What forms of sponsorship and support is offered by your funders? (Yearly sponsors, Monthly sponsors, Periodical sponsors, Activities and Programme sponsors, One-off grant sponsors) 23. What is the status of your organisation funding over the years? – Increases, Decreases, Stopped, Maintained 24. If not supported by funding, what has been done to sustain the financial status of your organisation?	
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Section C	
25. What are the activities/events conducted by your organisation? (If activities/events listed by the interviewed organisation is not clear or related to the work of electoral change, proceed to question 28) 26. How frequent are these activities/events conducted in a year? 27. Do you face any difficulties when conducting these activities/events? If yes, what are these difficulties? 28. Does your organisation conduct any activities/events that can push for electoral change in the state (Sarawak)?	Questions 25 until 28 aim to address the activism of the interviewed social forces
Section D	
29. Does your organisation form any networks or coalition with other organisations especially in the fields that you are advocating? – If yes, what are the names of those organisations? 30. Does your organisation conduct any activities together with those organisations? – If answer is yes, proceed to question 31 and if answer is no, proceed to question 34 31. What are the types of activities conducted? 32. How frequent are these activities conducted? 33. Does your organisation receive any assistance or help from a network or coalition? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of assistance received? 34. Does your organisation form any networks with the state? (federal government and state government) 35. Does your organisation conduct any activities together with the state? – If answer is yes, proceed to question 36 and if answer is no, proceed to question 39 36. What are the activities conducted? 37. How frequent are these activities conducted? 38. Does your organisation receive any assistance or help from the state? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of assistance received?	Questions 29 until 38 aim to address the relationship of the interviewed social forces with the state. Questions 39 until 42 aim to address the accessibility of the interview social forces

39. Does your organisation have a presence on the internet? – If answer is yes, what is the form of the presence? Website? Facebook, Twitter? 40. Do you have URL addresses of the mentioned internet presence? 41. If there is no internet presence, how do people usually contact your organisation? 42. Does your organisation conduct any promotional activities to promote your organisation? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of activities conducted?	
Section E	
43. What are the key achievements of your organisation? 44. What are the main challenges faced by your organisation? 45. What would be the strengths of your organisation? 46. What would be the weaknesses of your organisation?	Questions 43 until 46 aim to address the viewpoint of interviewee towards his/her social forces.

Letters to Gather Information Related to Research Work

Pusat Pengajian Siswazah
Centre for Graduate Studies



www.unimas.my

UNIMAS/NC-30/04-18 Jld 11 (36)

06 October 2015

Rise of Sarawak Effort (ROSE)

Tel: 016-8604998

Dear Sir,

**Application to Gather Information Related to Research Work
for Master, University Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS)**

Name : Chua Wey Lin
Passport Number : 901019136011
Student Number : 14020154

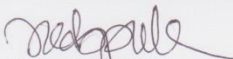
We are pleased to inform you that Mr Chua Wey Lin is a full-time Master student at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University Malaysia Sarawak. He has registered his candidacy on 25 February 2014 and is expected to complete his study by 24 February 2016. Currently he is doing his research for his master. The title of his project is:

"Social Forces and Electoral Change in Sarawak"

Given these circumstances, we solicit respectfully your cooperation and assistance for **Mr Chua Wey Lin** for conducting his impending data collection work at your esteemed institution. All information and data would be used for research purpose only. If you have any queries, please you may contact his academic advisor, Assoc Prof Dr Andrew Charles Bernard Aeria (Email: aeria@unimas.my) contact telephone number at +6082 582739.

Thank you for your kind cooperation and contribution.

Yours sincerely,


Khamisah bt Ete
Assistant Registrar



94300 Kota Samarahan, Sarawak, MALAYSIA | Tel + 60 82 582 280/ +60 82 581 000 | Fax + 60 82 582 454

UNIMAS/NC-30/04-18 Jld 11 (3a)

06 October 2015

Bersih Sarawak
Sibu, Sarawak

Tel: 019-8593449

Dear Sir,

**Application to Gather Information Related to Research Work
for Master, University Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS)**

Name : Chua Wey Lin
Passport Number : 901019136011
Student Number : 14020154

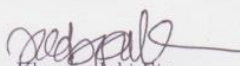
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Thank you for your kind cooperation and contribution.

Yours sincerely,


Khamisah bt Ete
Assistant Registrar



UNIMAS/NC-30/04-18 Jld 11 (33)

06 October 2015

Jaringan Orang Asal SeMalaysia (JOAS)
C/O P.O.Box 112, 98000 Miri
Sarawak

Tel: 088-726413
E-mail: joasmalaysia@gmail.com

Dear Sir,

**Application to Gather Information Related to Research Work
for Master, University Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS)**

Name : Chua Wey Lin
Passport Number : 901019136011
Student Number : 14020154

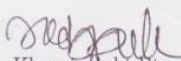
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Thank you for your kind cooperation and contribution.

Yours sincerely,


Khamisah bt Ete
Assistant Registrar



UNIMAS/NC-30/04-18 Jld 11 (34)

06 October 2015

SAVE Rivers Network
Lot 1046, 2nd floor, Shang Gardn
Jalan Bulan SAbit, 98000 Miri
Sarawak

Tel: 085-423044

Dear Sir,

**Application to Gather Information Related to Research Work
for Master, University Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS)**

Name : Chua Wey Lin
Passport Number : 901019136011
Student Number : 14020154

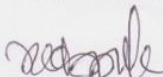
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Thank you for your kind cooperation and contribution.

Yours sincerely,


Khamisah bt Ete
Assistant Registrar



UNIMAS/NC-30/04-18 Jld 11 (35)

06 October 2015

Bruno-Manser-Fonds
Socinstrasse 37
CH-4051 Basel

Tel: +41 612619474

Dear Sir,

**Application to Gather Information Related to Research Work
for Master, University Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS)**

Name : Chua Wey Lin
Passport Number : 901019136011
Student Number : 14020154

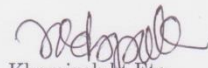
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Given these circumstances, we solicit respectfully your cooperation and assistance for **Mr Chua Wey Lin** for conducting his impending data collection work at your esteemed institution. All information and data would be used for research purpose only. If you have any queries, please you may contact his academic advisor, Assoc Prof Dr Andrew Charles Bernard Aeria (Email: aeria@unimas.my) contact telephone number at +6082 582739.

Thank you for your kind cooperation and contribution.

Yours sincerely,



Khamisah bt Ete
Assistant Registrar



UNIMAS/NC-30/04-18 Jld 11 (30)

06 October 2015

Global Witness
Lloyds Chambers
1 Portsoken Street
London, E1 8BT
United Kingdom

Phone: +44 (0)207 4925820

Dear Sir,

**Application to Gather Information Related to Research Work
for Master, University Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS)**

Name : Chua Wey Lin
Passport Number : 901019136011
Student Number : 14020154

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Assistant Registrar



UNIMAS/NC-30/04-18 Jld 11 (3/)

06 October 2015

The Borneo Project
436 14th St. Suite 1216
Oakland, CA 94612

Fax: 1.510.251.9810

E-mail: info@borneoproject.org

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Name : Chua Wey Lin
Passport Number : 901019136011
Student Number : 14020154

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Yours sincerely,


Khamisah bt Ete
Assistant Registrar



JOAS Surveyed Questionnaires

Social Forces and Electoral Change in Sarawak

Master Research (Open-Ended Questionnaires) Guidelines

The information obtained from this interview is solely for the purpose of Master Research writing under the advice of Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS). Information obtained from this interview will not be used in any other publication not related to the Master Research purposes as mentioned.

Name of Organization Interview:-

JOAS (Jombayen Army House Malaysia)

17th NOV
2015

(will not be disclosed in Master Research writing without the permission of Interviewee)

This questionnaires guideline is divided into four (4) sections to study the needed to access social forces based on Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory.

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** Researcher are to inform the interviewee about the procedure of using information from organization's reports, pamphlets and leaflet to compensate any incomplete data obtained from interview survey before starting the interview session.

Section A

1. Is your organizations registered under Registry of Societies (ROS) of Sarawak? – If not, is it registered under other bodies such as Companies of Commission of Malaysia (SSM)?

- umbrella network of indigenous orgs
- registered business names ordinance, sarawak

2. Does your organization have any fixed geographical offices or operating station? – If not, then where do your organization meet frequently to discuss about your organization's activities, events, and planning?

Yes in central Malaysia region - peninsular & sabah & sarawak

↓
no office
yet.

Section B

a few:-

- (1) commit to defend & promote rights of indigenous ppl.
- (2) express an issue affecting IP & push for recognizing their rights in Malaysia.
- (3) place firm to unite IP in action & power to promote & defend rights, territory, identity & culture

3. What is the objective of your organization?

4. Does your organization have any mission and vision?

Double confirm with interviewee even though the information is available from organizational sources such as reports, pamphlets and leaflet.

Yes (Mission)

5. What is your organization mission and vision?

establish & support awareness network of
Mission - indigenous ppl in every region of Malaysia

6. Does your organization work under these mission and vision?

Yes work closely

7. Have your organization achieve its mission and vision?

Yes

8. Are there any changes in your organization mission and vision? - If answer is yes, why?

NO. never changes

9. How many members or staffs are there in your organization? Are they permanent or temporary staff?

6 staff - 2 peninsular
2 Sabah
2 Sarawak

10. How many member and staff does your organization have when it started operation?

2 staff only when started

11. How many member and staff does your organization have now? Can you provide a copy of the list of members and staff of your organizations?

6 staff - same earlier. "Sorry unable to provide list you mentioned".

12. Does your organization have any committee board of members/staff? – If answer is yes, what is the line of responsibilities of each of the board of members/staff?

Yes we have board of committee. Sorry cannot tell what they do.

13. How the committee board of members/staff rises to their position? – based on meeting, election, appointment, level of experiences

Sorry P&C. cannot be disclosed.

14. Does your organization have any set of decision making rules that need to be followed in making any decision or in conducting any program or activities?

We conduct coordination meetings & programs and activities and how to make decision is discuss in the meeting.

15. Does your organization document such decision making rules? - hardcopy/softcopy

Yes. we keep record on meeting minutes.

16. Does your organization have any regulatory procedure? Such as documenting all conducted activities, programs and event? - hardcopy/softcopy – and conduct postmortem meeting to review and evaluate your organization's events and activities?

Yes in standard report for evaluate & review

17. How many times your organizations conduct a meeting in a year?

3 times a year

18. How much is your organization's annual approximate income?

P&C

19. How much is your organization's annual approximate spending?

P&C

20. Does your organization have a copy of the annual financial statement? Can it be found in your organization's report?

P&C "Why are you asking these?"
I don't think related to what we do here.

21. Is your organizations supported and sponsored by funders? What is the funder status?
(International Organizations, Corporate bodies, Governmental bodies, political parties)

- If answer is yes proceed to question 22, and if answer is no, proceed to question 24.

yes - Raintakerst foundation Norway

22. What forms of sponsor and support is offered by your funders?

(Yearly sponsors, Monthly sponsors, Periodical sponsors, Activities and Program sponsors, One-off grant sponsors)

many - year, program & one off

23. What is the status of your organization funding over the years? - Increases, Decreases, Stopped, Maintain

"Sorry I can't tell these info" but can say still maintain

24. If not supported by funding, what has been done to sustain the financial status of your organization?

P & C

- (1) push for indigenous rights youth & women development
- (2) network with other NGOs
- (3) endorse reports

Section C

25. What are the activities/events conducted by your organization?

(If activities/event listed by the interviewed organization is not clear or related to the work of electoral change, proceed to question 28)

- we represent ppl to reject suban deliduan dam - PIC go see internet
- reject sarawak state dam
- help sell crafts made by woman - CAWE - pls refer to internet
- SBS as for youths
- publish reports

26. How frequent are these activities/events conducted in a year?

NOT ongoing event -

27. Do you face any difficulties when conducting these activities/events? If yes, what are these difficulties?

we do ^{have} communications problems when going to the ground
but no need to discuss here - our members will know

28. Does your organization conduct any activities/events that can push for electoral change in the state (Sarawak)?

- not quite understanding meaning of electoral change.
- go against state policies & actions? - work with Sabah river to do blockade at Baram

Section D

(b) Accessing External Environment of Social Forces

29. Does your organization formed any network or coalition with other organization especially in the fields that you are advocating? - If yes, what is the name of network or coalition formed?

- Yes - Sabah river, SAKERS, aipp, Bmt, international river
- we are member of SSRG - Sabah river coalition in Sabah.

30. Does your organization conduct any activities under this network or coalition? - If answer is yes, proceed to question 31 and if answer is no, proceed to question 34

- Yes - blockade with aipp in Baram
- enforce report - Sabah river
- with other org - aipp, Bmt, international river.

31. What are the types of activities conducted?

32. How frequent are these activities being conducted?

- only 1 as one-off

33. Does your organization receive any assistance or help from such network or coalition?

- If answer is yes, what are the forms of assistance received?

- only from its p & c, you know, there is the assistance.
- they provide us with logistic

34. Does your organization form any network with the state? (Federal government and state government)

- NO.

& some system help.

35. Does your organization conduct any activities together with the state?

- If answer is yes, proceed to question 36 and if answer is no, proceed to question 39

36. What are the activities conducted?

—

37. How frequent are these activities being conducted?

—

38. Does your organization receive any assistance or help from the state? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of assistance received?

—

39. Does your organization have any internet presence? – If answer is yes, what is the form of presence? Website? Facebook, Twitter,

yes - web? - Jomogen Orong Asai seiyagay, 2
fb, - name (Jomogen)

40. Do you have URL addresses of the mentioned internet presence?

You just search online - available there

41. If no internet presence, how do people usually contact your organizations?

—

42. Does your organization conduct any promotional activities to promote your organization? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of activities conducted?

No.

Section E

43. What are the key achievements of your organizations?

I think we achieve our mission & vision

44. What are the main challenges faced by your organizations?

communication problems and other

45. What would be the strength of your organization?

we have other NGOs to help in our activities

46. What would be the weaknesses of your organization?

Staff & financial support not strong enough.

SAVE Rivers Network Surveyed Questionnaires

Social Forces and Electoral Change in Sarawak

Master Research (Open-Ended Questionnaires) Guidelines

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Name of Organization Interview:-

SAVE RIVERS 22nd/11/2015

(will not be disclosed in Master Research writing without the permission of Interviewee)

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** Researcher are to inform the interviewee about the procedure of using information from organization's reports, pamphlets and leaflet to compensate any incomplete data obtained from interview survey before starting the interview session.

Section A

1. Is your organizations registered under Registry of Societies (ROS) of Sarawak? – If not, is it registered under other bodies such as Companies of Commission of Malaysia (SSM)?

formed in 2012
registered with SSM

2. Does your organization have any fixed geographical offices or operating station? – If not, then where do your organization meet frequently to discuss about your organization's activities, events, and planning?

Yes.

Section B

support all program
that oppose dams
in Sarawak.

3. What is the objective of your organization?
Yes. Educate communities affected by dams - group them to reject dam, make strong the network & communication with NGOs, PPI & communities on the dam, share & distribute info on danger of dams.
4. Does your organization have any mission and vision?
Double confirm with interviewee even though the information is available from organizational sources such as reports, pamphlets and leaflet.
Yes.
5. What is your organization mission and vision?
Ensure rights of indigenous PPI are respected & stop all plan dams in Sarawak.
6. Does your organization work under these mission and vision?
Yes.
7. Have your organization achieve its mission and vision?
Can say yes esp early when adenan stop baram dam - can see change.
8. Are there any changes in your organization mission and vision? - If answer is yes, why?
No.
9. How many members or staffs are there in your organization? Are they permanent or temporary staff?
We don't have many. Volunteers only operates as part-time.
10. How many member and staff does your organization have when it started operation?
Sorry not relevant to tell.
11. How many member and staff does your organization have now? Can you provide a copy of the list of members and staff of your organizations?
Sorry its confidential.

12. Does your organization have any committee board of members/staff? – If answer is yes, what is the line of responsibilities of each of the board of members/staff?

Yes - we have 13 of them, we have youth committee for youth members & secretariat is Bismarck.

13. How the committee board of members/staff rises to their position? – based on meeting, election, appointment, level of experiences

We elect them during our dinner - Boran night dinner 2013

14. Does your organization have any set of decision making rules that need to be followed in making any decision or in conducting any program or activities?

No, we discuss among committee members & committee have final say on what to do. Volunteers can plan activities but final say still with committee

15. Does your organization document such decision making rules? - hardcopy/softcopy

NO.

16. Does your organization have any regulatory procedure? Such as documenting all conducted activities, programs and event? - hardcopy/softcopy – and conduct postmortem meeting to review and evaluate your organization's events and activities?

NO we only document activities when funder need them.

17. How many times your organizations conduct a meeting in a year?

Not sure. we only meet when we need to.

18. How much is your organization's annual approximate income?

confidential

19. How much is your organization's annual approximate spending?

!!

20. Does your organization have a copy of the annual financial statement? Can it be found in your organization's report?

!!

21. Is your organizations supported and sponsored by funders? What is the funder status?
(International Organizations, Corporate bodies, Governmental bodies, political parties)

- If answer is yes proceed to question 22, and if answer is no, proceed to question 24.

donations from ppl & international org / name? - comm centering,

22. What forms of sponsor and support is offered by your funders?

(Yearly sponsors, Monthly sponsors, Periodical sponsors, Activities and Program sponsors, One-off grant sponsors)

program & activities / finance programs & activities

23. What is the status of your organization funding over the years? – Increases, Decreases, Stopped, Maintain

depen it, help to finance one off event only.

24. If not supported by funding, what has been done to sustain the financial status of your organization?

see structures, + shifts & fundraising dinners.

Section C

25. What are the activities/events conducted by your organization?

(If activities/event listed by the interviewed organization is not clear or related to the work of electoral change, proceed to question 28)

peaceful demonstration in Berlin, protest in Bonn to reject dam during congress IHA (see internet), publish reports with other NGOs like BPP & JASS, do workshops, distribute info on abuse of indigenous ppl on social media - also distribute info on how harmful dams can be.

26. How frequent are these activities/events conducted in a year?

one time event.

27. Do you face any difficulties when conducting these activities/events? If yes, what are these difficulties?

lack of ppl & finance equal technical expertise lacking

28. Does your organization conduct any activities/events that can push for electoral change in the state (Sarawak)?

"I believe similar to those activities that we do" - interviewee

Section D

(b) Accessing External Environment of Social Forces

29. Does your organization formed any network or coalition with other organization especially in the fields that you are advocating? - If yes, what is the name of network or coalition formed?

Yes. With Ixas, ~~Samudra~~ aipp, Bmf, international rivers. ^{Suaram}

30. Does your organization conduct any activities under this network or coalition? - If answer is yes, proceed to question 31 and if answer is no, proceed to question 34

Yes.
- endorse reports, host 2014 indigenous peoples conference
→ Peaceful demonstration at Long Kessen Baran

31. What are the types of activities conducted?

32. How frequent are these activities being conducted?

One time only

33. Does your organization receive any assistance or help from such network or coalition?

- If answer is yes, what are the forms of assistance received?

"Technical expertise like technical advise how to conduct a blockage and conference, more in advise not physical help"

34. Does your organization form any network with the state? (Federal government and state government)

NO

35. Does your organization conduct any activities together with the state?

- If answer is yes, proceed to question 36 and if answer is no, proceed to question 39

36. What are the activities conducted?

—

37. How frequent are these activities being conducted?

—

38. Does your organization receive any assistance or help from the state? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of assistance received?

—

39. Does your organization have any internet presence? – If answer is yes, what is the form of presence? Website? Facebook, Twitter,

yes

40. Do you have URL addresses of the mentioned internet presence?

save rivers net. blogspot

Abi - SAVIE RIVERS

twitter - save rivers saurashtra

41. If no internet presence, how do people usually contact your organizations?

—

42. Does your organization conduct any promotional activities to promote your organization? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of activities conducted?

—

Section E

achieve
mission
& vision

43. What are the key achievements of your organizations?

on aden an responded to health care & construction
we also with civil society & we cooperate well with other
orgs.

44. What are the main challenges faced by your organizations?

adrenan are based in baran area only. we cannot bring an issue
all over sorawan. we need other orgs help to do so but they all
around sorawan in diff area hard to contact them.

45. What would be the strength of your organization?

relationship with other orgs like JVAS, SUPP, international groups

46. What would be the weaknesses of your organization?

lack of ppl & money. get this to overcome challenges.

BMF Surveyed Questionnaires

Social Forces and Electoral Change in Sarawak

Master Research (Open-Ended Questionnaires) Guidelines

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Name of Organization Interview:-

Bmf

24th Nov 2015

(will not be disclosed in Master Research writing without the permission of Interviewee)

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** Researcher are to inform the interviewee about the procedure of using information from organization's reports, pamphlets and leaflet to compensate any incomplete data obtained from interview survey before starting the interview session.

Section A

1. Is your organizations registered under Registry of Societies (ROS) of Sarawak? – If not, is it registered under other bodies such as Companies of Commission of Malaysia (SSM)?

NK. started operating in sarawak in 2006

2. Does your organization have any fixed geographical offices or operating station? – If not, then where do your organization meet frequently to discuss about your organization's activities, events, and planning?

In Basel, Switzerland.

- (4) political campaign globally for transparency in timber trade & combat corruption
(5) raise awareness on tropical forest destruction & rights of indigenous ppl.

Section B

3. What is the objective of your organization?

- (1) conservation of rainforests & diversity
- (2) champion respect of human rights - indigenous ppl of Sarawak
- (3) support people by providing assistance in edu, health & infra

4. Does your organization have any mission and vision?

Double confirm with interviewee even though the information is available from organizational sources such as reports, pamphlets and leaflet.

Yes.

→ indigenous ppl can access alternative dev options & alternative income accord with sustainable use of resources & preserve indigenous culture
- ensure effective ways to prevent corruption & fight money laundering in financial sector.

5. What is your organization mission and vision?

- ensure human rights like indigenous rights is respected - protect their livelihood
- preserve rainforest & diversity
- equal opportunity for participation by indigenous ppl
- natural resource governance transparent through rule of law

6. Does your organization work under these mission and vision?

Yes

7. Have your organization achieve its mission and vision?

Not really as indigenous ppl still marginalised in SWK.

8. Are there any changes in your organization mission and vision? - If answer is yes, why?

Yes cause rainforest destruction can only be stop if its money trail is investigated. we focus more on corruption after knowing this.

9. How many members or staffs are there in your organization? Are they permanent or temporary staff?

8 permanent staff - part time

1-2 interns

civil servant as temporary staff

we estimate about 4000 members

in our org. they are recruited through website. public can easily register

aim to be a member

10. How many member and staff does your organization have when it started operation?

only have 1 paid staff & several volunteers.

11. How many member and staff does your organization have now? Can you provide a copy of the list of members and staff of your organizations?

office members

Lukas Straumann - executive director

Eva Ruch - admin

Amina Heberti - campaign

Johanna Micheli - research & campaigns

Simon Koenig - sarawak project - head

Erwin Ebner - head of documentation center.

Line of committee board member

Dominik Bucheli - chairman

Jessica Hendry - vice chairman

Stephan Buegger - finance tasks

Asti Roesle, Eva Spehn, Lucas Linder & Lutz Diebner

Other committee

12. Does your organization have any committee board of members/staff? - If answer is yes, what is the line of responsibilities of each of the board of members/staff?

yes. Board hire directors / directors hire staff
Team

13. How the committee board of members/staff rises to their position? - based on meeting, election, appointment, level of experiences

those committee members are elected by those who attend AGM.

14. Does your organization have any set of decision making rules that need to be followed in making any decision or in conducting any program or activities?

related to

Board of committee.

have decides on strategy & finances related to activities

people in team decides on their responsibilities on the activities

15. Does your organization document such decision making rules? - hardcopy/softcopy

No.

16. Does your organization have any regulatory procedure? Such as documenting all conducted activities, programs and event? - hardcopy/softcopy - and conduct postmortem meeting to review and evaluate your organization's events and activities?

we do record them in documentation center

- no postmortem on the activities.

17. How many times your organizations conduct a meeting in a year?

1 AGM every year

4 meetings a year

18. How much is your organization's annual approximate income?

p & c

19. How much is your organization's annual approximate spending?

p & c

20. Does your organization have a copy of the annual financial statement? Can it be found in your organization's report?

p & c report is produced every year in french & german
but only available for members in hard copy.

21. Is your organizations supported and sponsored by funders? What is the funder status?

(International Organizations, Corporate bodies, Governmental bodies, political parties)

- If answer is yes proceed to question 22, and if answer is no, proceed to question 24.

supported by members, individuals & functions from various foundations. We will not name them here.

22. What forms of sponsor and support is offered by your funders?

(Yearly sponsors, Monthly sponsors, Periodical sponsors, Activities and Program sponsors, One-off grant sponsors)

P & C

23. What is the status of your organization funding over the years? – Increases, Decreases, Stopped, Maintain

increase steadily over the years

24. If not supported by funding, what has been done to sustain the financial status of your organization?

— engineering plan through community projects like
penan preschool, medical project & infra project.

Section C

25. What are the activities/events conducted by your organization?

(If activities/event listed by the interviewed organization is not clear or related to the work of electoral change, proceed to question 28)

- fight to recognise Penan peace park establishing exchange with Penan & other national & international environment NGOs.
- deliver GPS mapping knowledge to Penan PPI in upper Sarawak - help them produce own territorial maps
- support Penan PPI to fight land cases in court

26. How frequent are these activities/events conducted in a year?

continuous until we achieve our mission & vision

27. Do you face any difficulties when conducting these activities/events? If yes, what are these difficulties?

very hard for us to find good building materials for our infra projects & partner for many life projects also do poor accounting & reporting in projects... have for us to know total spending for projects.

28. Does your organization conduct any activities/events that can push for electoral change in the state (Sarawak)?

- online campaign to tell corruption of Sarawak
- coordinate protest worldwide
- publish book & reports (see website)
- the opposition take up issue brought by us & they did well in telling the ppl the corruption in Sarawak - did well in election too

Section D

(b) Accessing External Environment of Social Forces

29. Does your organization formed any network or coalition with other organization especially in the fields that you are advocating? – If yes, what is the name of network or coalition formed?

yes - save rivers, banned project
sds, international rivers

30. Does your organization conduct any activities under this network or coalition? – If answer is yes, proceed to question 31 and if answer is no, proceed to question 34

yes

31. What are the types of activities conducted?

endure reports & organise protest internationally to stop
Sarawak with banned project

32. How frequent are these activities being conducted?

ongoing

33. Does your organization receive any assistance or help from such network or coalition?

– If answer is yes, what are the forms of assistance received?

no

34. Does your organization form any network with the state? (Federal government and state government)

NO. since we look at corruption & power abuses of the Sarawak government, how can we have any network with them?

35. Does your organization conduct any activities together with the state?

– If answer is yes, proceed to question 36 and if answer is no, proceed to question 39

—

36. What are the activities conducted?

—

37. How frequent are these activities being conducted?

—

38. Does your organization receive any assistance or help from the state? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of assistance received?

—

39. Does your organization have any internet presence? – If answer is yes, what is the form of presence? Website? Facebook, Twitter,

Yes

40. Do you have URL addresses of the mentioned internet presence?

website - bina manser funds (small letter)

Fb - Bina Manser Funds

Twitter - @binafunds

41. If no internet presence, how do people usually contact your organizations?

—

42. Does your organization conduct any promotional activities to promote your organization? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of activities conducted?

—

Section E

43. What are the key achievements of your organizations?

able to highlight human issue

44. What are the main challenges faced by your organizations?

Since we are internationally based, very hard for us to bring issues like indigenous rights suppression to the ground. Govt protect us as enemies to the state.

45. What would be the strength of your organization?

able to cooperate with other NGOs

46. What would be the weaknesses of your organization?

→ 11

ROSE Surveyed Questionnaires

Social Forces and Electoral Change in Sarawak

Master Research (Open-Ended Questionnaires) Guidelines

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Name of Organization Interview:-

ROSE 19 December 2015

(will not be disclosed in Master Research writing without the permission of Interviewee)

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** Researcher are to inform the interviewee about the procedure of using information from organization's reports, pamphlets and leaflet to compensate any incomplete data obtained from interview survey before starting the interview session.

Section A

1. Is your organizations registered under Registry of Societies (ROS) of Sarawak? – If not, is it registered under other bodies such as Companies of Commission of Malaysia (SSM)?

NO. Still thinking under which to register

we came to organise ourselves after doing PACABA - talking & counting agents near 2013 GE. we are members of PACABA for election.

2. Does your organization have any fixed geographical offices or operating station? – If not, then where do your organization meet frequently to discuss about your organization's activities, events, and planning?

NO but we meet at gathering & member house for activity discussions.

Section B

3. What is the objective of your organization?
- build society with citizens & voters are engaged with democracy
process & participate in building the nation
4. Does your organization have any mission and vision?
Double confirm with interviewee even though the information is available from organizational sources such as reports, pamphlets and leaflet.
Yes
5. What is your organization mission and vision?
Mission - raise awareness & empower surrounding voters on their rights
- transform rural community
- work towards free & fair election
6. Does your organization work under these mission and vision?
Yes
7. Have your organization achieve its mission and vision?
No.
8. Are there any changes in your organization mission and vision? - If answer is yes, why?
No.
9. How many members or staffs are there in your organization? Are they permanent or temporary staff?
No employed staff & all members are all volunteers.
10. How many member and staff does your organization have when it started operation?
we only have about 5 to 7 members
11. How many member and staff does your organization have now? Can you provide a copy of the list of members and staff of your organizations?
about 10 core members now

12. Does your organization have any committee board of members/staff? – If answer is yes, what is the line of responsibilities of each of the board of members/staff?

we have a house working committee

13. How the committee board of members/staff rises to their position? – based on meeting, election, appointment, level of experiences

they are selected based on their commitment & interest in certain activities then they are endorsed by other members.

14. Does your organization have any set of decision making rules that need to be followed in making any decision or in conducting any program or activities?

NO. decisions are based on consultation basis among core members & working committee.

15. Does your organization document such decision making rules? - hardcopy/softcopy

—

16. Does your organization have any regulatory procedure? Such as documenting all conducted activities, programs and event? - hardcopy/softcopy – and conduct postmortem meeting to review and evaluate your organization's events and activities?

—

17. How many times your organizations conduct a meeting in a year?

depends on when we need it

18. How much is your organization's annual approximate income?

saving its p&c

19. How much is your organization's annual approximate spending?

p & c

20. Does your organization have a copy of the annual financial statement? Can it be found in your organization's report?

p&c. we don't have folders so we don't have financial statement.

21. Is your organization supported and sponsored by funders? What is the funder status?
(International Organizations, Corporate bodies, Governmental bodies, political parties)
- If answer is yes proceed to question 22, and if answer is no, proceed to question 24.

generous contributions from friends & supporters

22. What forms of sponsor and support is offered by your funders?
(Yearly sponsors, Monthly sponsors, Periodical sponsors, Activities and Program sponsors, One-off grant sponsors)

23. What is the status of your organization funding over the years? – Increases, Decreases, Stopped, Maintain

24. If not supported by funding, what has been done to sustain the financial status of your organization?

Section C

25. What are the activities/events conducted by your organization?
(If activities/event listed by the interviewed organization is not clear or related to the work of electoral change, proceed to question 28)

- training people for elections with financial literacy
- financial literacy training empowering & transform rural ppl
- civic education training for youth via project through bar - teach rural ppl about good governance & decision making

26. How frequent are these activities/events conducted in a year?

ad hoc basis

27. Do you face any difficulties when conducting these activities/events? If yes, what are these difficulties?

human & financial resources. we have difficulties finding committed volunteers that can offer expertise & time for our activities on regular basis. If we have all these, it would be better.

28. Does your organization conduct any activities/events that can push for electoral change in the state (Sarawak)?

PACA, voter registration, our forum "Begin2 Kinetivism" primarily free & fair elections & increase awareness on rights in Sarawak and also challenged the EC delimitation proposal... guess that's about it. Can see more at Internet

Section D

(b) Accessing External Environment of Social Forces

29. Does your organization formed any network or coalition with other organization especially in the fields that you are advocating? – If yes, what is the name of network or coalition formed?

Yes. Bersih 2.0 & Tindakan Malaysia

30. Does your organization conduct any activities under this network or coalition? – If answer is yes, proceed to question 31 and if answer is no, proceed to question 34

Yes.

31. What are the types of activities conducted?

train PACA with Tindakan, fund raise for Bersih and rally with Bersih Sarawak, endorse member for anti-delimitation action & research team & fight issues on gerrymandering etc.

32. How frequent are these activities being conducted?

as b4c

33. Does your organization receive any assistance or help from such network or coalition? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of assistance received?

No but in term of advice & assistance Yes.

34. Does your organization form any network with the state? (Federal government and state government)

NO

35. Does your organization conduct any activities together with the state?

– If answer is yes, proceed to question 36 and if answer is no, proceed to question 39

—

36. What are the activities conducted?

—

37. How frequent are these activities being conducted?

—

38. Does your organization receive any assistance or help from the state? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of assistance received?

—

39. Does your organization have any internet presence? – If answer is yes, what is the form of presence? Website? Facebook, Twitter,

Yes.

40. Do you have URL addresses of the mentioned internet presence?

web - sarawakruse.org

Fb - RUSR - Riset at Sarawak Effort

41. If no internet presence, how do people usually contact your organizations?

—

42. Does your organization conduct any promotional activities to promote your organization? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of activities conducted?

—

Section E

43. What are the key achievements of your organizations?

managed conduct the forum "Bog and Kithiwin"

44. What are the main challenges faced by your organizations?

human & financial resources

45. What would be the strength of your organization?

we have strong mission & vision & work with other NGOs

46. What would be the weaknesses of your organization?

Bersih Sarawak Surveyed Questionnaires

Social Forces and Electoral Change in Sarawak

Master Research (Open-Ended Questionnaires) Guidelines

The information obtained from this interview is solely for the purpose of Master Research writing under the advice of Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS). Information obtained from this interview will not be used in any other publication not related to the Master Research purposes as mentioned.

Name of Organization Interview:-

Bersih Sarawak 4/12/15

(will not be disclosed in Master Research writing without the permission of Interviewee)

This questionnaires guideline is divided into four (4) sections to study the needed to access social forces based on Migdal (1994) State-In-Society theory.

The information needed to access social forces as noted in this guideline may not be obtained solely from interview survey. Additional or detailed information obtained from organization's reports, pamphlets and leaflet will be use to compensate any incomplete information gained during interview survey. This procedure is necessary to prevent any loss of information that interviewee might forgotten during the interview session.

** Researcher are to inform the interviewee about the procedure of using information from organization's reports, pamphlets and leaflet to compensate any incomplete data obtained from interview survey before starting the interview session.

Section A

1. Is your organizations registered under Registry of Societies (ROS) of Sarawak? – If not, is it registered under other bodies such as Companies of Commission of Malaysia (SSM)?

registered as company

2. Does your organization have any fixed geographical offices or operating station? – If not, then where do your organization meet frequently to discuss about your organization's activities, events, and planning?

yes 1 office in sbv

Section B

3. What is the objective of your organization?

Promote civil awareness & pol. reform for equality of ppl.

4. Does your organization have any mission and vision?

Double confirm with interviewee even though the information is available from organizational sources such as reports, pamphlets and leaflet.

Yes

5. What is your organization mission and vision?

address need of having civil minded & social responsible ppl
& society to promote fair & equality in society

6. Does your organization work under these mission and vision?

yes

7. Have your organization achieve its mission and vision?

we face difficulties doing so. Its a very broad things
you know for a society to be like this

8. Are there any changes in your organization mission and vision? - If answer is yes, why?

NO

9. How many members or staffs are there in your organization? Are they permanent or temporary staff?

one - I am the one -

10. How many member and staff does your organization have when it started operation?

Me alone only.

11. How many member and staff does your organization have now? Can you provide a copy of the list of members and staff of your organizations?

Me alone only - I don't recruit ppl public can join our rally
& volunteer when needed.

12. Does your organization have any committee board of members/staff? – If answer is yes, what is the line of responsibilities of each of the board of members/staff?

Yes but are ad hoc based. See our bersh v.o rally - we got committee coming all over from sarawak for help.

13. How the committee board of members/staff rises to their position? – based on meeting, election, appointment, level of experiences

ad hoc based

14. Does your organization have any set of decision making rules that need to be followed in making any decision or in conducting any program or activities?

Yes we have clear decision making rules from our bersh 2.0 in peninsular

15. Does your organization document such decision making rules? - hardcopy/softcopy

Same as p & c. No need to discuss here

16. Does your organization have any regulatory procedure? Such as documenting all conducted activities, programs and event? - hardcopy/softcopy – and conduct postmortem meeting to review and evaluate your organization's events and activities?

Yes from bersh 2.0 in peninsular. Details about it I don't think is necessary to discuss here - it's privy to our organizations

17. How many times your organizations conduct a meeting in a year?

Demand from members at the public & events

18. How much is your organization's annual approximate income?

Same as p & c. I don't simply tell about it

19. How much is your organization's annual approximate spending?

cc cc . /

20. Does your organization have a copy of the annual financial statement? Can it be found in your organization's report?

NO.

21. Is your organizations supported and sponsored by funders? What is the funder status?
(International Organizations, Corporate bodies, Governmental bodies, political parties)
- If answer is yes proceed to question 22, and if answer is no, proceed to question 24.

sunny AC p & c

22. What forms of sponsor and support is offered by your funders?
(Yearly sponsors, Monthly sponsors, Periodical sponsors, Activities and Program sponsors, One-off grant sponsors)

Let's not talk further on funded & fundings.

23. What is the status of your organization funding over the years? – Increases, Decreases, Stopped, Maintain

—

24. If not supported by funding, what has been done to sustain the financial status of your organization?

—

Section C

25. What are the activities/events conducted by your organization?
(If activities/event listed by the interviewed organization is not clear or related to the work of electoral change, proceed to question 28)

persin p.d rany. we promote the event through our fb page -

26. How frequent are these activities/events conducted in a year?

first even in sarawak

27. Do you face any difficulties when conducting these activities/events? If yes, what are these difficulties?

um NO

28. Does your organization conduct any activities/events that can push for electoral change in the state (Sarawak)?

Yes in 40 rally

Section D

(b) Accessing External Environment of Social Forces

29. Does your organization formed any network or coalition with other organization especially in the fields that you are advocating? – If yes, what is the name of network or coalition formed?

Yes with pentasda same Malaysia STAP Lynas & himfaham hijau

30. Does your organization conduct any activities under this network or coalition? – If answer is yes, proceed to question 31 and if answer is no, proceed to question 34

No

31. What are the types of activities conducted?

—

32. How frequent are these activities being conducted?

—

33. Does your organization receive any assistance or help from such network or coalition? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of assistance received?

No.

34. Does your organization form any network with the state? (Federal government and state government)

No.

35. Does your organization conduct any activities together with the state?

– If answer is yes, proceed to question 36 and if answer is no, proceed to question 39

—

36. What are the activities conducted?

37. How frequent are these activities being conducted?

38. Does your organization receive any assistance or help from the state? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of assistance received?

39. Does your organization have any internet presence? – If answer is yes, what is the form of presence? Website? Facebook, Twitter,

Yes

40. Do you have URL addresses of the mentioned internet presence?

Fb - Bersion 4 sarewate
= not found by number

41. If no internet presence, how do people usually contact your organizations?

42. Does your organization conduct any promotional activities to promote your organization? – If answer is yes, what are the forms of activities conducted?

Section E

43. What are the key achievements of your organizations?

Birth of rally, we create awareness on social responsibilities especially those who attend the rally.

44. What are the main challenges faced by your organizations?

human & financial

45. What would be the strength of your organization?

I don't see any - from interviewee

46. What would be the weaknesses of your organization?

human & financial

