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# ELECTORAL DYNAMICS In Sarawak

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# ELECTORAL DYNAMICS In Sarawak

# CONTESTING DEVELOPMENTALISM AND RIGHTS

Edited by Meredith L. Weiss and Arnold Puyok



Strategic Information and Research Development Centre Petaling Jaya, Malaysia



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### Acknowledgements

This volume presents the findings of one prong of a multi-year, multi-country, many-person effort to examine the role of political networks and patronage flows as part of electoral cycles in Southeast Asia. In connection with that project, we have thus far deployed large teams across Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines to conduct ethnographic field research on the conduct of elections: Malaysia's 13<sup>th</sup> general election in 2013, Indonesia's legislative election in 2014, the Philippines' general election in 2016, and now the Sarawak state election, also in 2016. (Plans to include the Thai general election of 2015 were disrupted by the coup and subsequent emergency rule.) Guided by a set of central research questions and concepts, the researchers, distributed among a reasonably representative set of electoral districts, track the conduct of the campaign there, as situated within local history, issues, and socioeconomic context. The approach allows subnational, national, and cross-national comparisons about the composition, function, penetration, and durability of political networks; the mix and relative prevalence of material, affective, and ideological factors shaping voting behaviour; and the balance among individual-level (particularistic), communitylevel (meso-particularistic), and non-contingent and non-exclusive (programmatic) policies elections are likely to produce.

This effort is very much a collective endeavour, reliant on a large number of individuals and institutions. Our primary debt in this case is to the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), including Dean Neilson Ilan Mersat. A team of researchers from UNIMAS (supplemented by one Sarawakian from Universiti Malaya) participated in the research; four from that group went on to contribute chapters to this volume, based on their findings. That team put tremendous effort into what is inherently challenging research and writing; the chapters here aim to present empirically rich and analytically trenchant, thought-provoking contributions to the study of politics in Sarawak and Malaysia generally. Credit is due also to the co-principal investigators of the overarching project, together with editor Weiss: Edward Aspinall (who participated also in the workshop to develop this volume), Allen Hicken, and Paul Hutchcroft. The support of all three has been invaluable.

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## **Glossary & Definitions**

1MDB	1Malaysia Development Berhad
ADMO	Alliance Direct Membership Organisation
Amanah	Parti Amanah Negara, National Trust Party
BN	Barisan Nasional, National Front
Bumiputera	Malays and non-Malay indigenous peoples of
	Malaysia
Ceramah	Political rallies, usually centred around stump-
	speeches
DAP	Democratic Action Party
EC	Election Commission (see SPR)
Gotong-royong	Cooperative community work effort
JASA	Jabatan Hal Ehwal Khas, Department of Special
	Affairs
JKKK	Jawatankuasa Kemajuan dan Keselamatan
	Kampung, Village Security and Development
	Committee
KEMAS	Jabatan Kemajuan Masyarakat, Community
	Development Department
NCR	Native customary rights (particularly to land)
PAS	Parti Islam seMalaysia, Pan-Malaysian Islamic
	Party
PBB	Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu, United
	Bumiputera Heritage Party
PBDSB	Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak Baru, New Sarawak
	Dayak People's Party
Pembangkang	Political opposition
PKR	Parti Keadilan Rakyat, People's Justice Party

PRS	Parti Rakyat Sarawak, Sarawak People's Party
S4S	Sarawak for Sarawakians
SABERKAS	Pertubuhan Belia Kebangsaan Bersatu Sarawak,
	Sarawak United National Youth Organisation
SIB	Sidang Injil Borneo, Borneo Evangelical Mission
SNAP	Sarawak National Action Party
SPDP	Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party
SPR	Suruhanjaya Pilihan Raya, Election Commission
	(see EC)
SSE	Sarawak state election
STAR	State Reform Party
SUPP	Sarawak United People's Party
TERAS	Parti Tenaga Rakyat Sarawak, Sarawak People's
	Energy Party
Turun padang	Going 'down to the ground' (walkabouts)
Ubah	Change
UEC	Unified Examination Certificate
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation
UPP	United People's Party

## About the Contributors

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