



**Faculty of Administrative Science & Policy Studies  
Universiti Teknologi MARA**

**Title:**

**POLITICAL METHODS AND STRATEGY <sup>OPIS</sup> BY SARAWAK BARISAN NASIONAL**

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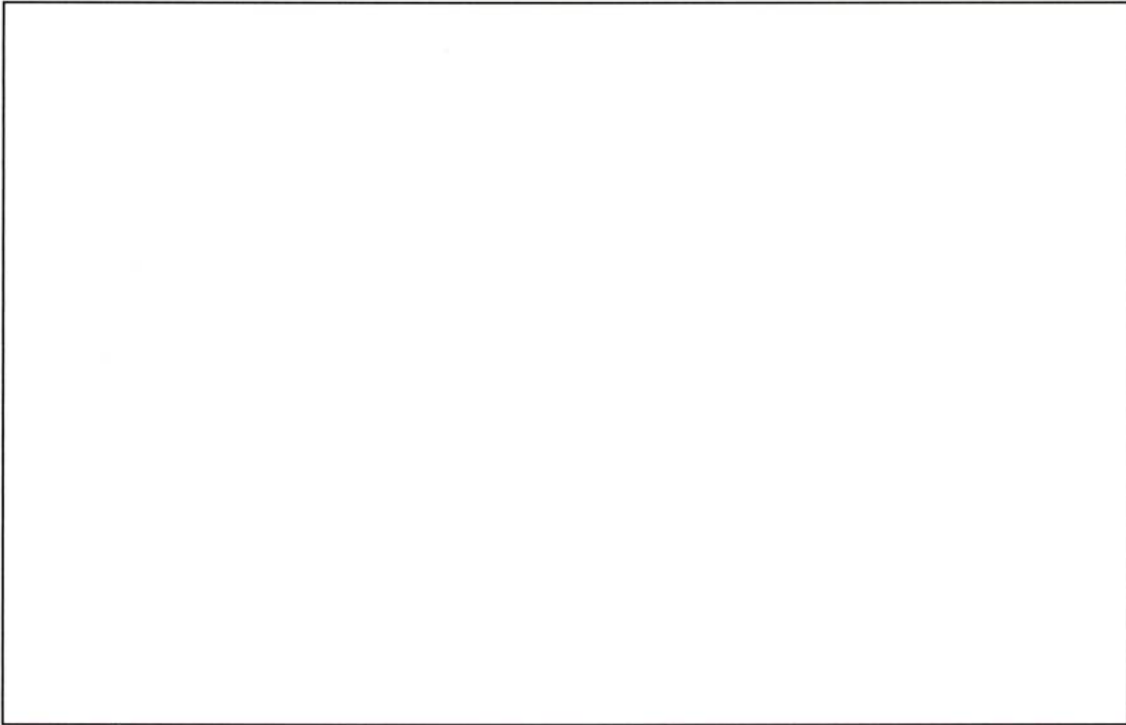
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**SEPTEMBER 2016**

Supervisor's Comments

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**CLEARANCE FOR SUBMISSION OF THE RESEARCH PROPOSAL BY THE SUPERVISOR**

Madam Nur Aida Binti Kipli

I have reviewed the final and complete research proposal and approve the submission of this report for evaluation.

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## ABSTRACT

This research examines the performances of Barisan Nasional (BN) party of Malaysia and its component parties (ie. PBB, SPDP, SUPP, PRS) in the 2016 Sarawak State Election. The 2016 Sarawak State Election was held May 2016 and it was a tense battle between the ruling BN and the opposition parties. Barisan Nasional (BN) has successfully a dominant party and maintain the position for than 50 years in Sarawak, making it the longest-serving elected government. However, the emergence of the new generation of youth and opposition's strategies has challenged the status quo. The study is based on the assumption that there is a linkage between BN's methods and strategies that enable BN sustain with the position. Therefore, the study investigates the methods and strategies used by Sarawak Barisan Nasional in maintaining their dominant position. This research will be conducting in rural area specifically in N27 Sebuyau Sarawak. This study uses quantitative and qualitative method of research to analyse of data. The data were collected from the distribution of questionnaires and interviews from 50 of respondents. The researcher uses Descriptive Analysis and Pearson's Correlation for quantitative method and interviews for the Qualitative analysis. The study argues that Barisan Nasional Sarawak will portray Barisan Nasional Peninsular which will decrease public confidence towards Barisan Nasional in general. It is also argue on how BN tackle the people and upbringing the voting rate through rural-urban difference. However, BN's methods and strategies are quiet sound and practical as it is dived to into four namely money which financial aids, machineries, media and campaign strategies. Therefore, the study have found that the main method used by BN is media specifically in using traditional media and candidates' background. Based on our interview most of the people recommend that BN should fulfilled the promises and be people-oriented in order for BN to sustain longer.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

First of all, we would like to express my undivided profound of gratitude to my Creator, Lord of the Universe, Praise Be to Allah S.W.T and His Beloved Prophet, Muhammad S.A.W.

We, therefore, would like to thank to our principle supervisor Madam Nur Aida Binti Kipli because of concerning her time, her patience, her motherly and friendship figure, continuous support and never gave up in guiding us to make this dissertation possible. Madam, you are never tired in entertaining our weaknesses eventhough we do know that sometimes our paper really causes you headache but still you keep guiding us till the end. Thank you very much Madam for everything you have done, you have opened our eyes in exploring in this research world, providing us with some relevant sources and also your willingness to co-author research articles with us. Your valuable academic services to our studies will not be forgotten.

We would also extremely indebted and grateful to our research lecturer Madam Jennifah Binti Nordin and Dr. Kuldip Singh for their invaluable advice, resourceful instructions, necessary corrections and supervision of this study.

Finally, we are forever indebted to our families who know nothing of the meaning of hardship in supporting our precious studies and understanding the importance of this work suffered our hectic hours. Last but not least, our special thanks, tribute and appreciation to all those their names do not appear here who have contributed to the successful completion of this study.

## DECLARATION

We hereby declare that the work contained in this research proposal is our own except those which have been duly identified and acknowledged. If we are later found to have committed plagiarism or other forms of academic dishonesty, action can be taken against us under the Academic Regulations of UiTM's.

Signed

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Malaysia is a constitutional monarchy which has a political system of parliamentary democracy. Political system in Malaysia operates based on National and State level. Malaysia consist of 13 states which are Johor, Kedah, Kelantan, Malacca, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Perlis, Penang, Selangor, Terengganu, Sabah and Sarawak and three Federal Territories includes Kuala Lumpur, Putrajaya and Labuan.

The election system in Malaysia operates based into two categories which are The People Assembly (Dewan Rakyat) where its bicameral legislature has 222 seats and the National Assembly (Dewan Negara) has 70 seats. The representatives at the People's Assembly are directly elected for a five-year term, and the National Assembly members are elected by state assemblies and some are appointed by the King. In People Assembly, the 13 states have directly elected local assemblies for a five-year term. Both national and state assembly elections are held simultaneously except in the state of Sarawak. In Sarawak, in between national and state assembly, there is a two year gap.

Sarawak is one of the largest state within the 13 states in Malaysia, which located in East Malaysia. It has own political setting and what makes Sarawak different from the other states is the way the state election are held as their national and state election's period are separately. The existing multi-racial society also makes Sarawak has a unique image of modern world of politics. The most recent state election, the "Eleventh" State election was held on May 7<sup>th</sup>, 2016. The elections were tensely contested by the Ruling National Coalition also being called as Barisan Nasional (BN), the People's Coalition which is Pakatan Rakyat (PR) and Independent Coalition Parties. Based on Ikhwan 2016, p.1, the allocation seats for Barisan Nasional in Sarawak in 11<sup>th</sup> State election composed of Sarawak United Bumiputera Heritage Party (PBB) 40

seats, Sarawak's People's Party (PRS) 11seats, Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP) 7 seats and Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party (SPDP) 3 seats. Meanwhile the opposition parties consist of Democratic Action Party (DAP) 7seats and People's Justice Party (PKR) 3seats. There is also have 11 seats allocated for BN Direct (BND).

Yet since the formation of Malaysia, around over the 50 years, BN government and its several components coalitions still maintained their dominating ruling power. The PR, despite making significant inroads into Malaysian political setting, could not see as a serious challenge such as issues of bribery or corruption to the ruling BN government in the state.

## **1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT**

The 11<sup>th</sup> State Election had witnessed to Barisan Nasional once again have its grasp upon the state of Sarawak. BN's political strategists would do well to downplay the big win in Sarawak especially in a good governance by Chief Minister Adenan Satem.

There are situation or issues related to our research which is the public confidence towards Barisan Nasional. There were relationship of Barisan Nasional election in Sarawak that reflect the result in Peninsular. This relationship contribute on how BN in Sarawak maintain their dominancy with the weaknesses of ruling coalition in Peninsular. According to Salem (2016,p.2), issues over the 1MDB's scandal by Prime Minister Najib Razak, interest payment default and tumbling oil, prices weakened the ringgit again, raising investor concerns over the Malaysian government having to assume 1MDB's debt burden. Based on the issues, so what BN's political strategies would do to downplay the big win in Sarawak.

Secondly, the problem related to the rural areas which having fewer voters per constituency. Within Sarawak there are a large differences in the size of the constituencies. As the young in Sarawak has been moved to urban which reflect the opposition winning by younger voters, BN winning were holds onto the older electorate (Welsh, B. (2016). The issue is now how BN maintained their dominance through urban-rural difference. Since urban area mostly swing their vote towards opposition, then how BN tackle the young folks and upbringing the voting rate.

Thus, this purpose of this study is to analyse the power of BN coalition to maintain their seats by examining the methods and strategy, machineries and manifestos used by the BN.

## **1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION**

The study attempts to answer the following questions:

- 1) What is the dominating method and strategies by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in the rural area?
- 2) What are the motivating factors that influence rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak state election?

## **1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

The objectives of the study are:

- 1) To analyse the dominating method and strategies by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in the rural area in Sarawak.
- 2) To discuss the motivating factors that influence the rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak state election.

## **1.4 SCOPE OF STUDY**

Scope of study is about the limitation of our research. There are three main components in scope of study which is Level, Territory and Time.

**Level** is referring to the people who involve in our study. Our level of study is BN coalition parties in Sarawak specifically for PBB, which is one of the component BN parties. We had choose PBB because the party had won the majority seats in the recent state election. We also focus on government officers and servant in N27 Kampung Sebuyau that reflect the supporters for BN. Thus, we want to discover what are the methods and strategies that used by PBB to maintained their support.

**Territory** means the location that we will discover in our research. In which, our target location is in N27 Kampung Sebuyau, Sarawak. It is a small part of area in Sarawak and still known as rural area in Sarawak. It borders Sri Aman and Simunjan. The reason we choose this rural area is to examine the effective methods and strategies that used by BN resulted to strong support and get votes from the people in Kampung Sebuyau.

**Time** is referring to the specific period of the issue or problem that we want to study. We had choose the recent state election the “Eleventh” State election that was held on May 7<sup>th</sup>.2016 as a reference result of the election. This is because the result of the recent state election show the performance of the BN coalition parties in Sarawak.

## 1.5 TERM AND CONCEPT

There are three main components of term and concept. It is refer to the political parties, the political methods and strategy, the political machineries and political dominant

**Political parties:** Political parties is refers to a groups of people who comes together to contest elections and hold power in the government. They agree on some policies and programs for the society which are to promote the collective good or to further their supporters’ interests.

**Political Method and strategy:** Political method is a part of studies the quantitative methods that is used to study politics. It combines statistics, mathematics and formal theory. Political strategy deals with politics from a strategic perspective. Basically it is the study of how politics are invented, and used their objectives

**Political Machineries:** Political machineries is a political of many organization that is authoritative leader or small group commands the support of a corporations of supporters and

**Political dominant:** Political dominant is a system where there is "a category of parties or political organizations that have successively won election victories.

## **1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY**

We will make our research more valuable to ensure that our education level has follow up with other developed country. The outstanding research will be a benchmark of national intellectual and give society. So it is our responsibility to ensure that our research is valuable and solve problems that related to our topic. Hence, this research provide an analysis of the methods and strategy used by BN coalition parties to maintain their votes. This study also important in that it can provide a better insight into the factors that influence voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in these election in Sarawak. All in all, it is important whether BN can still maintains its political dominance in Malaysia

## **1.7 CONCLUSION**

This research is focus on N27 Sebuyau. The contribution of this study are to analyse the dominating methods and strategies used by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in the rural area and to discuss the motivating factors that influence rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak state election. Hopefully this research can give guidelines to other researchers and scholars in their research field.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.0 INTRODUCTION

In Sarawak, state elections contested by numerous ethnic based political parties. Difference in West Malaysia where the ruling coalition component parties are all expressed by ethnic parties, in Sarawak the BN is an alliance of nominally multi-ethnic parties where each of the party is usually dominated by one ethnicity. Based on Guan 2016, p.2, the PBB is a Malay-Melanau dominated party with significant Iban and, to a lesser extent, Bidayuh membership, while PRS is Iban dominated with noticeable Bidayuh and Orang Ulu membership. The SPDP's membership comes from the Chinese, Iban and Democratic Action Party (DAP) Sarawak is Chinese dominated but with sizable Iban, Bidayuh and Orang Ulu membership, and Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) Sarawak's members are made up of Chinese and non-Muslim bumiputeras.

Sarawak held its first state election in 1963, shortly before its entry into the Federation. During the colonial period, Sarawak did not develop the practice of elections, as representatives in the legislative councils, which formed from the 1930s, were appointed. Sarawak's introduction to elections within Malaysia was unique, and has remained so, with the timing of elections following its own calendar, the date set by the state chief minister in consultation with the prime minister. Elections are required to be held every five years, with the elections usually called around the end of the fourth year. Since its independence in 1963, Sarawak has held a total of eleven state elections, (1970, 1974, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016) with the timing of the parliamentary and state elections following different trajectories and the BN securing a decisive victory in every election

## **2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW ON EVOLUTION OF SARAWAK POLITIC**

Ruling Coalition in Sarawak established in July 1962. Based on Chin 1997, p.73, the ruling coalition at that time known as the Sarawak United Front (SUF) was made up of four component parties, namely Barisan Rakyat Jati Sarawak (BARJASA), Sarawak Chinese Association (SCA), Sarawak National Party (SNAP) and Parti Pesaka Anak Sarawak (PESAKA). These parties comprised predominantly single ethnic groups where Muslim Bumiputera in BARJASA, the Chinese in SCA, while the Dayaks were in SNAP and PESAKA. SUF originally comprised BARJASA, SCA, SNAP, PESAKA and Parti Negara (PANAS). However, PANAS withdrew from the coalition just before the 1963 elections over differences with BARJASA (Chin 1997, p.75). After the election in 1963, the SUF won enough seats to form the first elected government led by SNAP. The federal leaders nominate Stephen Kalong Ningka. As a chief minister and Abdul Rahman Yaakub from BERJASA as a top position in cabinet. The SNAP leader became the first chief minister of Sarawak, Stephen Kalong Ningkan (1963-66). Barely a few years after its formation, the ruling coalition faced a major crisis which led to the ouster of Ningkan and the subsequent withdrawal of his party, SNAP, from the coalition.

After the ouster of Ningkan, starting the year 1966 until 1970, PESAKA leader, Tawi Sli replaced Ningkan as the new chief minister and the state cabinet dominated by BARJASA leaders. PANAS then joined the coalition back just before the removal of Ningkan. The other coalition of SUF at that time were SCA and PANAS. The domination of the Muslim Bumiputra leaders within the coalition was consolidated when the two Muslim Bumiputra parties, BARJASA and PANAS, merged to form the BUMIPUTRA party in 1966 (Leigh 1974, p.114). Under Tawi Sli administration, there were three component parties established namely PESAKA, BUMIPUTRA and SCA.

In the 1970 elections, the SUF managed to secure their seats which comprises (BUMIPUTRA 12 seats, PESAKA 8 seats, SCA 3 seats) to form the government as they are challenged for the seats with opposition parties comprising SNAP and SUPP. However, PESAKA's insistence on nominating its leader, Thomas Kana, as the new chief minister and the BUMIPUTRA party's refusal to be subservient to the former because of its greater electoral strength became the stumbling block to the formation of a SUF government (Leigh 1974, p.142).

Hence, the BUMIPUTRA party with the support of federal leaders forged a plan to co-opt SUPP into a new alliance, later known as Perikatan. In spite of PESAKA's unhappiness with the BUMIPUTRA party, the Dayak party decided to join Perikatan and accepted Muslim Bumiputra leadership. This move helped to consolidate the ruling Alliance (BUMIPUTRA, PESAKA, SUPP, SCA) which increased its strength in the state assembly from 23 to 35 seats (out of a total of 48 seats). The BUMIPUTRA party led the new coalition and its leader, Abdul Rahman Yakub was appointed Sarawak's third chief minister. SUPP became a senior member of the ruling coalition while the other two component parties, PESAKA and SCA, just made up the numbers. Not long after that, SCA was dissolved in compliance with SUPP's demand for its dissolution in the Perikatan agreement signed in 1970 (Leigh 1974, p.144). Another important development was the merger of BUMIPUTRA and PESAKA in 1973 to form Parti Pesaka Bumiputra Bersatu or PBB which greatly benefitted the former. Prior to the merger, both parties were competing to dominate Bumiputra voters but the merger allowed them to consolidate their strength. In the same year, the alliance was renamed the Barisan Nasional (National Front) which had co-opted several influential opposition parties in the Peninsula such as Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (Gerakan) and People's Progressive Party (PPP). In Sarawak, the BN comprised of two parties only, PBB and SUPP.

The third phase of change within the ruling coalition took place after the 1974 elections. Facing dissent within SUPP and sensing the need to find a new senior partner within the ruling coalition, chief minister Abdul Rahman Yakub decided to co-opt SNAP in order to further consolidate his position and also that of the ruling BN (Chin 1997, p.149). The expansion of Sarawak BN (PBB, SUPP, SNAP) proved to be the turning point in the ruling party's domination of Sarawak politics. From then on, opposition forces were severely weakened as seen in the BN's thumping victory in the 1979 elections which saw the party for the first time attained a two-thirds majority in the state assembly. However, schisms within Dayak politics once again changed the dynamics of Sarawak's ruling coalition when SNAP faced a leadership tussle that gave birth to another Dayak party, Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak (PBDS). This was the fourth phase of the ruling coalition's development. Despite strong protests from SNAP, Taib Mahmud



accepted PBDS's application to join BN, a move that severely weakened Dayak parties but further strengthened the position of PBB within the ruling coalition (Chin 1997, p.187). With the inclusion of PBDS, the new government was later known as the BN plus government.

Taib's move to accept PBDS into the BN fold soon backfired when the young party teamed up with a group of disgruntled PBB and SNAP leaders in an attempt to topple the powerful strongman-politician. The SNAP leadership, however, decided to remain within the governing coalition. PBDS, on the other hand, left Sarawak BN but remained a member of the BN alliance at national level. The party, along with the newly formed PERMAS established an opposition electoral pact known as Kumpulan Maju (Progressive Front). With the exit of PBDS, the BN was left with three parties, PBB, SUPP and SNAP, thus giving them the name BN3. This was the fifth phase of change within the ruling coalition. The much touted take-over of the state government by Kumpulan Maju fizzled out when the opposition only managed to win 20 out of 48 seats in the 1987 snap elections.

After the 1991 elections, PBDS returned to the ruling coalition when its leaders realized that the party's future could be in harm as long as it remained in the opposition bench. To convince BN leaders, and especially Taib Mahmud, that it had dropped its extreme brand of racial politics, PBDS amended its constitution to allow non-Dayaks to become members (Faisal 2008, p.218). With the return of PBDS, the Sarawak BN's membership was once again restored to four; PBB, SUPP, SNAP and PBDS. This political order did not last long when another Dayak leadership crisis brought significant changes to the composition of the ruling coalition. A schism within SNAP in 2002 paved the way for the establishment of another splinter party, Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party (SPDP) led by William Mawan Ikom. After its registration, SPDP subsequently applied to join Sarawak BN and its application was duly accepted by the ruling coalition. Since the new party was a SNAP breakaway party, it was allocated the same parliamentary and state seats contested by SNAP in previous elections. The membership of Sarawak BN changed again two years later when PBDS, faced a similar leadership crisis which saw another breakaway faction led by Dr James Jemut Masing forming the Parti Rakyat Sarawak (PRS). Taib used the same strategy to accommodate PRS by

offering it PBDS's seats. This is the current line-up of Sarawak BN component parties; PBB, SUPP, SPDP and PRS.

Based on the election result previously, Sarawak BN is currently dominated by PBB which has a superior representation in the state assembly and parliament. This Muslim Bumiputra dominated party achieved its prominent status within the state ruling coalition ever since Rahman Yakub took over the Chief Minister's seat in 1970. As the dominant party within the ruling coalition, PBB leaders especially the chief minister have used the party as a platform to exercise their power via the distribution of state rents, cabinet seats and senior civil service posts. PBB's main partner in the ruling coalition is SUPP. In the past, the Chinese dominated party has played the role of a king-maker in Sarawak politics. A case in point was the Ming Court Affair in 1987 where the party's support for Taib helped quell the opposition's plot to topple the chief minister. However, over the last decade, SUPP's influence in the ruling party has declined dramatically as Chinese voters have withdrawn their support for the party. A weakened SUPP faced a major crisis when the party lost eight seats in the 2006 elections, thus reducing the party's representation in the state assembly from nineteen in 2001 to eleven in 2006. If the party's popularity continues to slide in the coming state election, SUPP's representation in the state assembly could be further reduced and possibly become smaller than that of SPDP (eight assemblymen) and PRS (eight assemblymen). Naturally, the two Dayak parties would want to be the new main partner of PBB, leading to a fierce tussle that could once again change the dynamics of Sarawak's ruling coalition.

However, schisms within Dayak politics again changed the dynamics of Sarawak's ruling coalition in prior of 2014 after 13<sup>th</sup> general election. Dayak leadership crisis brought significant changes to the composition of the ruling coalition. A schism within SPDP in 2014 paved the way for the establishment of another splinter party, Sarawak People's Energy Party (TERAS) led by William Mawan Ikom. The Dayak ruling coalition Sarawak BN changed again not long after establishment of TERAS later when SUPP, faced a similar leadership crisis which saw another breakaway faction led by Wong Soon Koh forming the United People's Party (UPP). After its registration, TERAS and UPP subsequently applied to join Sarawak BN and have declared themselves as a BN friendly but its application not yet be announced until soon meet with eleventh state

election in 2016 which created disputes for the allocation of the seats. Adenan Satem who is the successor of Taib's managed to resolve the tension, he used his power as the new chief minister to appoint BN Direct (BND) candidates to resolved disputed seats for TERAS and UPP.

## **2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW ON SARAWAK STATE ELECTION (1969-2011)**

Sarawak is one of the states in Malaysia where the governing BN coalition wins an overwhelming victory, over 90% of the seats. Elections are required to be held every five years. Since its independence in 1963 until today, Sarawak has held a total of eleventh state elections, with the different timing of the parliamentary and state elections and the BN securing a decisive victory in every election.

In 1963, before its entry into the Federation, Sarawak during that time did not develop the practise of elections, as the representative were by appointed. The first appointed chief minister was Stephen Kalong Ningkan under SNAP. Starting the year 1966 until 1970, PESAKA leader, Tawi Sli became the second chief minister replaced Ningkan.

**The first state election** is in 1969/1970 election, was held from Saturday, 10 May 1969 and scheduled to be completed on Saturday, 7 June 1969. However, because of the riot occurred during 13 May incident and the declaration of emergency and the promulgation of Emergency on 15 May 1969, all the ongoing polls were suspended until 1970. It show 332,373 eligible voters after the first registration in Sarawak. The turn up rate of voters was 80.0%, which was considered high level of voting percent. A total of 221 candidates were contesting for 48 state seats in Sarawak. Sarawak Alliance was made up of BUMIPUTRA and SCA. Based on the election result in 1970, Sarawak Alliance won 15 out of 48 seats compared to other parties. As a result, SUPP later joined Sarawak Alliance to form a coalition government. This enable the coalition to secure a total of 27 out of 48 seats in the State Legislative Assembly.

**The second Sarawak state election** was held between Saturday, 24 August and Saturday, 14 September 1974 which lasted for 3 weeks. This was the first time the election was held before 5 years tenure has finished. Again, a total of 48 seats were contested in this election. This election saw 375,282 registered voters with 75.1% of the

voters cast their votes. All the 48 seats were contested by Sarawak BN. The coalition was consisting of PBB and SUPP. A total of 88 seats was contested by BN, 47 seats was contested by SNAP and 4 seats by BISAMAH. There were 12 independent candidates vying for the seats. Through the results, BN won 47 majority seats and the remaining seats were won by BISAMAH. This shows that on the year 1974, majority voters vote for BN.

**The third Sarawak state election** was held between 5<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>th</sup> July 1979. The election lasted for 8 days. There were also 48 seats contested on the Election Day. The expansion of Sarawak BN (PBB, SUPP, SNAP) proved to be the turning point in the ruling party's domination of Sarawak politics. It again shows seen BN's thumping victory in the 1979 elections which saw the party for the first time attained a two-thirds majority in the state assembly.

**The fourth Sarawak state election** was held between Wednesday, 28 December and Thursday, 29 December 1983 with a nomination date on Thursday, 8 December 1983. The two-day duration of the election was shorter than the eight-day election in 1979 state election because of improvements in transportation and communication systems. The election was held during the peak of monsoon season. This election saw 505,872 registered voter's eligible to vote, with 367,060 voters (72.56%) actually casting their votes. In this election, Sarawak BN fielded candidates for 32 seats, SNAP for 18 seats, PBDS for 14 seats, DAP for 7 seats, and BERSATU for 4 seats. There were 80 independents candidate however only 39 contesting for the seats. Sarawak BN, composed of PBB and SUPP, won 32 seats on the election day which show the highest rate won compared to others.

**The fifth Sarawak state election** was held between 15 April and 16 April 1987 with a nomination date set on Monday, 6 April 1987. This was a snap election following the Ming Court affair. There were 48 Sarawak state assembly seats were contested. In this election, Sarawak BN fielded candidates for all 48 seats, PBDS for 21 seats, PERMAS for 21 seats, DAP for 11 seats, and BERSATU for one seat. There were 16 independents contesting for the seats. A total of 118 candidates are vying for the seats, which was the lowest since 1979 election. Sarawak BN, composed of PBB, SUPP, and

SNAP, won 28 out of 48 seats on the election day, thus able to form a government with a simple majority. By that BN won with 55.25 percent popular votes.

**The sixth Sarawak state election** was held between Friday, 27 September and Saturday, 28 September 1991. This election functioned to elect 56 state representatives into the Sarawak State Assembly. This election saw 72.8% of the eligible voters to cast their votes. Sarawak BN fielded candidates for all 56 seats, followed by PBDS comprises 34 seats, DAP with 18 seats, PERMAS with 12 seats and NEGARA with 28 seats. There were 19 independents for the seats. A total of 167 candidates was successfully nominated on the nomination day. After the 1987 Ming Court Affair, PERMAS which was founded by Abdul Rahman Ya'kub (the uncle of Abdul Taib Mahmud) continued his final bid with PBDS in this election to topple the Taib led Sarawak BN. Before this, PERMAS and PBDS lost narrowly in 1987 state election. However, Sarawak BN won with a larger majority this time.

**The seventh Sarawak state election** was conducted from 7 to 8 September with nomination date on 27 August There were 62 seats available but only 43 were contested on the Election Day. This election saw 814,347 registered voters with 65.95% voters turned up to cast their votes. Sarawak BN which was consisting of SUPP, SNAP, PBB, and PBDS fielded candidates for all 62 seats, followed DAP fielding 6 candidates, while there were 60 independents jostling for 38 state seats in Sarawak. A total of 128 candidates was successfully nominated on the nomination day. Based on the 1996 election results, there were 19 seats won uncontested by Sarawak BN on the nomination day. On the polling day, Sarawak BN won 38 out of 43 seats contested, thus made up to a total of 57 seats. DAP had made the first breakthrough by winning 3 seats as compared to previous state elections where the party returned empty handed. The remaining two seats were won by independents.

**The eighth Sarawak state election** was held on Thursday, 27 September 2001 with nomination date on Tuesday, 18 September 2001. The state assembly was supposed to be expired on 18 November 2001 but it was dissolved by the governor of Sarawak 2 months earlier on 3 September 2001. The election saw 815,932 citizens eligible to vote but only 67.01% of the total voters or 546,285 voters had turned up to vote in this

election. There were 171 candidates pursuing for 62 state seats in Sarawak. Sarawak BN (National Front) won 60 out of 62 seats while the remaining two seats were won by DAP and independent respectively. The election result held in 2001, the ruling BN won 60 out of 62 seats in the eighth state assembly. The DAP won one, while another went to an independent candidate. It show BN only lost one seat. Thus, Sarawak's state elections are traditionally seen as even stronger mandates for the BN.

**The ninth Sarawak state election** was held on Saturday, 20 May 2006 with nomination day on Tuesday, 9 May 2006. The election functioned to elect 71 representatives to the Sarawak State Assembly. On nomination day, BN won two seats without contest. This election saw 892,537 voters eligible to cast their ballots. BN fielded candidates for all 71 seats. A total of 28 seats was contested by SNAP, followed by PKR with 25 seats, DAP with 12 seats, and PAS with 1 seat. There were 21 independents contesting for seats. Based on the results, Out of 71 seats, BN once again maintain its victory in the contests between various parties.

**The tenth Sarawak state election** was held on Saturday, 16 April 2011 after nomination for candidates on Wednesday, 6 April 2011. The election was elect 71 representatives to the Sarawak State Assembly. A total of 18,363 eligible by postal voters will be voting this time around in the Sarawak state election. The election resulted in BN retaining its two-thirds majority, again won the number of seats to form the state government. Although analysts predicted that Barisan Nasional's fight to keep their two-thirds majority in the assembly would be close, they emerged with a relatively comfortable result, finishing the night with 55 seats, which 47 needed for a two-thirds majority. The opposition PR consist of PKR and DAP made gains, but fell short of its goal to deny a two-thirds majority for BN. This show a victory as an indication that BN's support in Sarawak was still strong and noted that PR had failed to make major inroads into the state.

### 2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW ON 11<sup>TH</sup> STATE ELECTION (2016)

Sarawak held its **eleventh state election** on May 7<sup>th</sup> 2016. During the nomination process, held from 9am to 10 am, a total of 230 nominations were received but two were rejected while two other candidates won uncontested<sup>1</sup>. Barisan Nasional's Datuk Amar Awang Tengah Ali Hassan, PBB senior vice president and Dr Abdul Rahman Ismail from the same party retained the Bukit Sari and Bukit Kota seats respectively for their third term<sup>2</sup>. In where, about the youngest candidate in the 11<sup>th</sup> Sarawak State Election is DAP's Leslie Ting Xiang Zhi, 25 who is contesting the Stakan seat while the oldest candidate is BN's Datuk Seri Wong Soon Koh, 73 who is contesting the Bawang Assan seat. He also said that male candidates accounted for 204 nominations while 22 female candidates would be contesting for seats. Whereas, the Election Commission (EC) had allocated RM135.6 million for the election that is expected to see 1.13 million voters casting their votes on May 7. The EC has also selected 62 selected observers from non-governmental organizations in the country to monitor the election.

There are 3 party participate in 11<sup>th</sup> Sarawak Election which referring to BN, PR and Independence. Barisan Nasional's coalition party in Sarawak are PBB, SUPP, SPDP, PRS. Pakatan Rakyat's coalition party are DAP, PKR, PCM, PAS while Independence is the only party standing alone in the 11<sup>th</sup> Sarawak Election.

As we know that, BN is still strong to fight the administration on State Government for the 11<sup>th</sup> time with having the two-third majority in election 2016. This achievement is based on win-over 55 seat from 71 seat in 'Dewan Undangan Negeri' (State Assembly Hall) withhold PBB win over 35 seat from 35 candidates so it means all the candidates won the seats, as SUPP win over 6 seat from 19 candidates, PRS win over 8 seat from 9 candidates and the rest 6 seat win by SPDP from 8 candidates.

PBB's president position is hold by Tan Sri Adenan Satem. PBB is the state Barisan Nasional main key holds nearly half, or 35 former 71 seat Sarawak state assembly. In both the 2006 and 2011 elections, the party made a clean sweep of all the seats it contested. SUPP's president is refer to Datuk Dr. Sim Kui Hian. SUPP is Sarawak's oldest political party, which formed in 1959, it was battered in the last state elections.

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<sup>1</sup> SUNDAILY NEWS, 2016.

<sup>2</sup> SUNDAILY NEWS, 2016.

Adding to its woes, a split led to the birth of the United People's Party, which took with it four assemblymen, leaving SUPP with just two. SPDP's president is refer to Datuk Seri Tiong King Sing. SPDP won six seats in 2011 but now has none. Five assembly left to join the breakaway Teras, and another quit to join the Sarawak Workers Party. PRS's president is refer to Tan Sri Dr James Masing. PRS was set up in 2003 in the wake of de-registration of PDBS. It currently holds eight state seats.<sup>3</sup> However, the PR won 15 seats. In which, DAP has win 12 seats from 16 candidates and the PKR has win 3 seats from 49 candidates. While Independence just win 1 seat only from 41 candidates.

As we can see on the scenario of Sarawak election, in overall the election was on Barisan Nasional's side where having a two-third majority from the voters. The coalition party was the best method and strategy for maintaining and continuing the result, so that the party will stay in position as a dominant party in Sarawak.

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<sup>3</sup> The star news, 2016



## 2.4 N27 SEBUYAU

N27 Sebuyau is one of Sarawak's small rural constituencies. On 11<sup>th</sup> Sarawak State Election, the party that is contested are PBB, PAS and AMANAH. Table below show the result of the election.

*Table 2.4.1: Result of PRN Dun Sarawak 2016 At N27 Sebuyau*

CANDIDATE	RESULT
YB DATUK HAJI JULAIHI HAJI NARAWI (BN-PBB)	4531 (50.1%)
WAN ABDILLAH WAN AHMAD (PAS)	1789 (19.8%)
ANDREW JAIN (AMANAH)	164 (1.8%)
Spoilt vote	136 (1.5%)
Did not vote	2421 (26.8%)
Malay/Melanau (63.7%), Chinese (3.4%), Iban (32.3%) and Others (0.6%)	

*Sources taken from The Star News on 18<sup>th</sup> Oct 2016*

In overall, Julaihi bin Haji Narawi represent PBB party coalition of Barisan Nasional who won the seat in N27 Sebuyau. Tuan Haji Wan Abdillah bin Wan Hamid is one of representative of PAS. He has been an Executive Directors of BLD Plantation since May 2003. He was before connected to 4 board members in one different organization across one different industries. Tuan haji Wan Abdillah has appointed as Director of BLD in 1990 and since 1996, he has been actively involved in corporate policies and day to day operations of BLD group. He was Government Officer for about 19 years until 1994, last attached as Broadcasting Journalist with Radio Televisyen Malaysia (RTM). He holds dictatorship in several public limited companies and a member of the Institute of Approved Company Secretaries since June 1997. Tuan Haji Wan Abdillah attended a diplomacy in Accountancy course at Universiti Teknologi Mara (UITM) in 1973 and pursue his study at University Malaya (UM).

Andrew Anak Jain is one of representative of Amanah. He still newbies in political so there is a few information of him. He is born on 21<sup>st</sup> May 1969. He lives at Simunjan and his education level is SPM.

There are 9,041 who recognized as the voters at N27 Sebuyau. As a result, YB Datuk Hj Julaihi Hj Narawi (BN-PBB) has won 4531 votes from 9,041 voters which present 50.1%. Meanwhile, Wan Abdillah Wan Ahmad (PAS) has won 1789 votes from 9,041 voters which present 19.8 % and Andrew Jian (AMANAH) has won 164 votes from 9,041 voters. The remaining balance of the votes are included spoilt votes and did not go for vote which is spoilt vote present 136 voters (1.5%) and 2421 voters did not go for vote which present 26.8%. Therefore, due to ethnicity, who go for votes included Malay, Melanau, Chinese, Iban and etc. Malay and Melanau present 63.7%, Chinese present 3.4%, Iban (32.3%) and other ethnics present 0.6%.<sup>4</sup> Police permits were required for open required for open air campaign rallies. All ground rules governing campaign activities were carried out smoothly and were under control. In rural area like N27 Sebuyau, the candidates mostly used posters and buntings.

The campaign period for the 11<sup>th</sup> Sarawak State Legislative Assembly Election was the day commencing after the closure of nomination until 12 midnight immediately before polling day. Contesting candidate were allowed to hold their election campaign to seek support from the electorate. During campaign period in N27 Sebuyau, they campaign through using campaign materials such as posters, buntings, billboards which were displayed in their constituencies.

As Barisan Nasional maintains a clear advantage in rural areas, where it won closed to an estimated two-third majority of supports. In this 11<sup>th</sup> election, both side between BN and opposition party are heavily fighting to break the urban and rural patterns of voting. The opposition party is faced an uphill battled. PKR's long-standing support for land rights and DAP's more recent Impian efforts underscore their attempts to win rural support.<sup>5</sup>

With recent improvements of native customary rights to land and promises to stop some construction, rural issues are less heated than in the past, making the opposition

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<sup>4</sup> The star news, 2016

<sup>5</sup> Malaysiakini, 2016

campaign even more challenging. As there are many rural folk have yet to received promised compensation and continue facing serious conditions of poverty and poor infrastructure however they also make up question the sincerity of promises.<sup>6</sup>

The people living in Sebuyau areas of the state that are advised to equip themselves and prepare for the economic opportunities that will come with the construction of the proposed Batang Lupar bridge and Batang Sadong bridge. The construction of the bridge will definitely transform Sebuyau areas of the state, bring the economic activities so the people living in these Sebuyau areas must be prepared. YB Datuk Julaihi was presenting living allowance amounting RM174,600 to 584 fishermen from Sebuyau. On the aid, it was a continuous initiative of the government to help fishermen in the state to improve their living standard. The rural people especially the Iban community in Sebuyau always support behind the Barisan Nasional, where to ensure the on-going development plan to be implemented in order to enjoy a better and secure life.<sup>7</sup>

Deputy Minister of Industry of Rural Development, YB Datuk Julaihi Narawi said when opening new roads at Kampung Entangor, Sebuyau worth RM550,000. Also he said that the facility including the RM20,000,000 road linking the village and other village surrounding Entangor through the main street. As we can see that, if the first people had to use the water, no electricity and clean water, but now all the facilities enjoyed by the Barisan Nasional operation. Thus, the senior citizen in Sebuyau particularly desirable for the Iban Community continue to support rural development policy lead by Chief Minister Tan Sri Adenan.<sup>8</sup>

Whereas, a senior member of the Legislative (Assemblyman) at Sebuyau explained although the country has more than 30 ethnic groups, the majority of people can live in harmony and enjoy the rapid development the senior undertaken to inform the development of the Barisan Nasional government is not just physical, but also the aspect of human capital development with a focus on education. Then after, he start the “Newspaper in Education (NIE)” to help primary and the secondary school students in the constituency of Sebuyau N27 to improve the performance of English in their

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<sup>6</sup> Malaysiakini,2016

<sup>7</sup> Berita Sarawak,2016

<sup>8</sup> Berita Sarawak,2016

respective schools. As encourage the residents to continue to give strong support to the Barisan Nasional government, including the candidate's constituency of Sebuyau in the next election. The reason is because the government had proved its commitment and ability to assist the population with the development in Sebuyau.

Other than that, YB Haji Julaihi Haji Narawi conducted 'Kejohanan Bola Sepak Piala and offer handsome reward. This program is organized by 'Pergerakan Muda' PBB N27 Sebuyau. The current edition offers handsome reward for the team that participated in the program. The organizer who is also 'Ketua Pemuda' of PBB, N27 Sebuyau, Osman Jamel said that the competition are divide into 2 category which is Open category and Veteran Category. Veteran category is only for team inside the area of Dewan Undangan Negeri (State Assembly Hall) N27 Sebuyau. While, open category is open for all. Entry registration for the team who wanted to participate for competition is starting available from 8am to 2.30pm on the 2<sup>nd</sup> day, while the first game starts on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day.<sup>9</sup> The organizer encouraged the team especially from outsider of State Assembly Hall N27 Sebuyau so that they register early to prevent from slip out the opportunity to play the game.

In my opinion, this program is to attract all youngster at Sebuyau to be involved in sport activities. Due to this program, it also to encourage the youngster to develop their skill in playing games and having a healthy life. However, at the same time, with this program, it can built a confident by the people at Sebuyau towards the BN representatives, in order to cohere together, also it can establish and improve the relationship between themselves.

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<sup>9</sup> Utusan Sarawak, 2016

## 2.5 TRADITIONAL MEDIA

Traditional media can be defined as anything that aims to communicate in the family, friends and all in society. All traditional media may not be popular but they help to communicate. Whereas, these traditional media are differ in different regions and communities.

Even today you will find the villages where there is no electricity accordingly. Such places may not be able to view television or access the internet. Same also with the illiterate will not be able to read the newspaper or the excitement. However, this does not mean they are not communicating. They have also developed differently how to communicate depends on local language and culture. However, there are differences between the traditional media that have been using most of the people in N27 Sebuyau and the electronic media that have using wide abroad. The differences of both media will be tabulated as below.

*Table 2.5.1: The differences between Traditional Media and Electronic Media*

<b>Traditional media</b>	<b>Electronic media</b>
Non-technological in nature	Technological in nature
Flexible in nature but enjoys cultural freedom	Culturally rigid
Less expensive medium	Expensive medium which needs high Monetary investment
Messages are presented before a live audience	Messages are presented or broadcast Before a live audience
Reach is limited	Reach is limited reaches out to a large number of people

Traditional media has existed in N27 Sebuyau and also in other rural areas for a long time and has been used as a communication medium. For many years, the rural population has been use public media to state their social, ritual, moral and emotional needs. Traditional media has an important role in implementing socioeconomic processes

development in N27 Sebuyau where most of them more preferring to use traditional media rather than electronic media. In where, it helps in convincing and influencing highly effective people especially in rural area such as N27 Sebuyau. For example during the struggle for freedom, the mass media played a big role in the spread and deliver the message of patriotism. As generally, everyone knows that during festivals, they greet each other and decorate their houses. This communicates their friendship and love among themselves and for others. This is also an example of the traditional media form of communication. As today we are using modern ways of communication such as the mobile phone and internet to send messages of friendship and greetings. Meanwhile, communications through traditional media thus helps in building good relations.

Moreover, Traditional media methods include mostly non-digital advertising and marketing methods, including Television advertisements, Radio advertising, Print advertising, Direct mail advertisements, Billboards and off-site signs, Cold calling, banner ads and so on. Somehow, traditional media is still winning matches, but it's on the way to retirement for many brands. There are some situations, though, where it is still king. For many mass market products, television, outdoor, press and radio are among the traditional media big hitters that can have a low cost-per-acquisition.

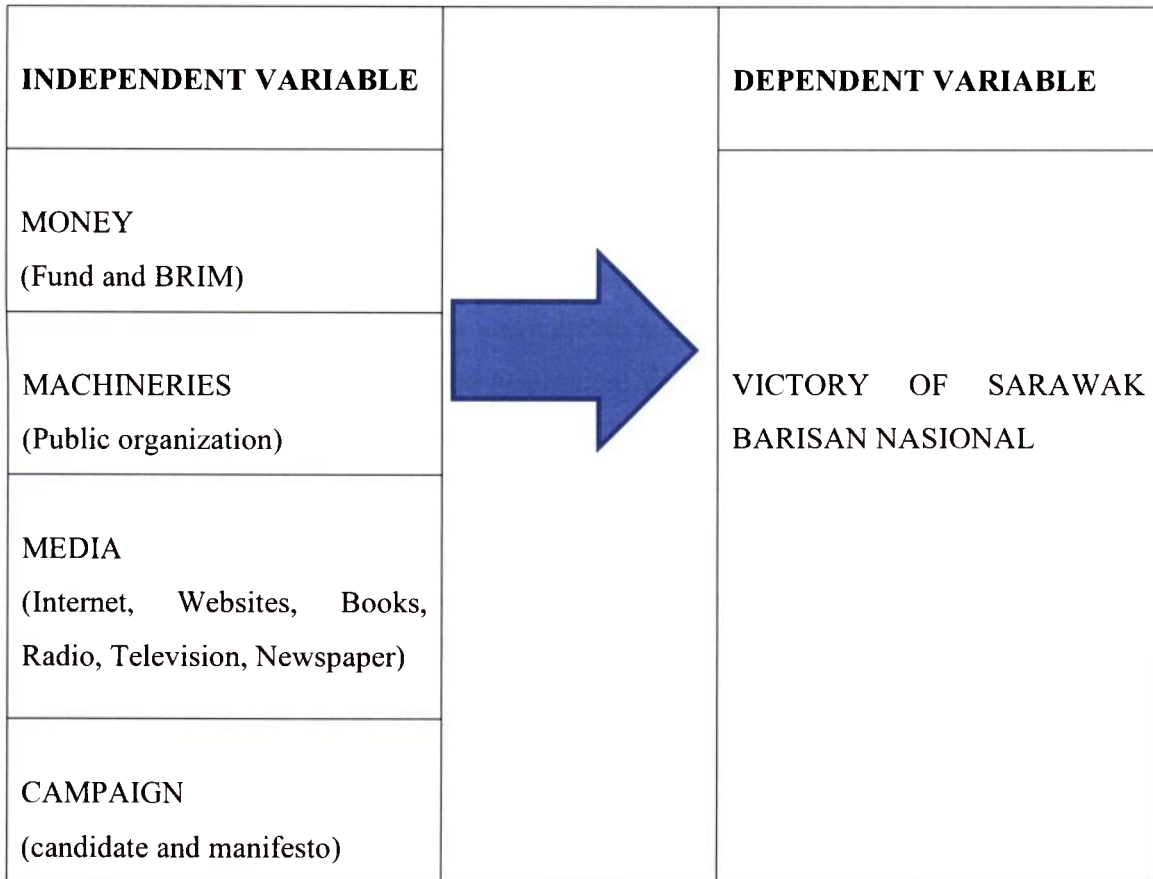
While radio ads, TV commercials and print ads are still popular, they are not reaping the same returns as before. These mediums are focused on disrupting the audience, and since the rise of the Internet is allowing audiences to pick and choose what they see - its effectiveness by itself is lowering, and fast.

Traditional marketing mediums, however, can be made more powerful when used in conjunction with digital marketing methods. Particularly as content can be repurposed and spread to a larger number of market touch points using a combination. The most important takeaway is to back up all your traditional marketing campaigns with a comprehensive digital presence, including a powerful website and active social media.

## 2.6 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In order to investigate and understand about the concept about this research, we will show the diagram of conceptual framework relate to our research. This conceptual framework provide an understanding ways on whether independent variables money, machineries and media has significance association towards the methods and strategy used by BN. The independent variables are money, machineries and media. The methods and strategy used by BN known as dependent variables. The conceptual framework for the study is shown as follow.

*Figure 2.6.1: Conceptual Framework on Money, Machineries and Media is determined by Methods and Strategy used by BN.*



The above conceptual framework is shown that the victory of Sarawak Barisan Nasional determined by money, machineries, media and campaign.

### 2.6.1 Money

Money politics in Sarawak is happened directly to individual voters outside appointments, programmers and projects. Money in this politics perspective means the financial aids from the government to the people through programmers, projects and even cash handouts. To account for the differential forms of aid flows and their political and economic implications it is examines by two types of aid, namely aid for production purposes (“financial aid”), which can be misused by the ruling regime in order to remain in power (“patronage”) at the expense of the productive capacity of the country, and aid for political purposes (“political aid”) that increases the probability of regime alteration through technical assistance that cannot be misused. In turn, the probability that the incumbent regime (irrespectively of its political orientation) remains in power increases with misused financial aid, but decreases with political aid. Political aid is particularly designed to favor democratic transitions and to discourage the longevity of autocratic regimes with its main channels being the development of competitive electoral systems, elections monitoring, advice provision on electoral regulation and support to the development of political parties. In addition, political aid targets constitutional reform and aims at strengthening the powers of legislatures and institutional mechanisms that help make local governments more accountable and responsive to citizens. Finally, this form of aid is particularly designed to promote good governance, to encourage citizen political participation, and to support the development the people.

As now, there are BR1M has been implemented. It is estimated 7 million Malaysians will be chosen to receiving for BR1M are refers to certain category which is from the elderly to poor households. As given the economic situation currently, the government expect that the fund to be known, and it appears based on the estimated number of houses, which is less than 100,000 people receives BR1M, partly due to the high cost of accessing it logistics, especially in rural areas. The government continues to rely on the support, in areas where BR1M available. There is extra cash on hand for distribution, to solve the problem or issues in vote buying cash transfers linked to the federation. These funds are part of campaign funds given to the candidates, who can use this grant at their discretionary power.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Welsh B, May 6<sup>th</sup> 2016



### **2.6.2 Machineries**

The machinery of government means the interconnected structure and process of government, such as the functions and accountability of departments in the executive branch of government. The term is used particularly in the context of changes to established systems of public administration where different element of machinery are created. Machineries in politics means the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live with the cooperation with other party and organization. As such, politics is inextricably linked to the phenomena of conflict and cooperation. People recognize that in order to influence the political message that they are upheld, they must work with others under same colony.

In Malaysia, Barisan Nasional which hold as a dominant party of government access to and obtain the assistance of state machinery in order to promote their policies. The government will makes use of state facilities and government workers, especially in the local government department during the election. The party would make use of public organizations to disseminate the political information via policies that they are implement. Some of the government machineries would also the bodies such as the Electoral Commission, which oversees the running of the election during the election.

### **2.6.3 Media**

Media is a public space and areas for a groups and individuals to express their views or opinions. The expression is through a public exchange of arguments and counter-arguments that the truth finally come out.<sup>11</sup> It is free and comprehensive expression. As in nowadays, Media is essential to the functioning of the public in daily life. Due to the globalization and modern technology, largely unregulated Internet freedom is a symbol of modern media that allows various opinions. Internet offers the potential for exchange and a broader discussion, where it allows people to become more interactive by creating a new set of the latest information and extensive. Therefore, BN use this media practices to interactive and give official information using the internet and social media. The Internet users went from being the recipient of the information provider

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<sup>11</sup> Mill, 1859, reprinted 1974

immediately and got the opportunities feedback as anyone with access online and a limited basic skills can be the one who gives information to create a website, and participate in chat rooms, discussion forums and interactive sessions.

New Media has set the political agenda, which is due to the political influence of behavior, attitude and participation of the one who happen a cause, which is a symbol of democracy. The Public opinion often regarded as majority view and opinion was formed through rational evaluation arguments in the public. In this world of modernization era, public opinion often represented indirectly through the selection, measurement methods are necessary and effective in mass society.<sup>12</sup> In addition, BN also use the media in many ways such as by printed in books, by radio, by Television, Newspaper and etc. These are called as traditional media practice. Hence, through media the connection between BN and people can be direct interaction. It becomes less complexity for both sided to connect with each other at anytime and anywhere. This becomes one of the methods and strategy that used by BN.

#### **2.6.4 Campaign**

The basis of good campaign strategy is first, to recognize the reality of the campaign. In broader context it is in which the campaign is being run. Second is the strategy to set an appropriate goal that if achieved, will win the election. This basis of the campaign will helps dictates what the campaign will look like, how it organized, and the role of political parties in each campaign. Hence, the campaign will indicate to increase the popularity of which has led to a rise in more professionalized and strategic campaigns.

In Malaysia, the trend of electoral campaigning focused more on the candidate's first then only parties. According to Niffenegger (1989), local campaigning is extremely important in Malaysia because priority is not to get an overall majority of individual votes (state) but to obtain an overall majority of individual seats. Thus, this gives rise to imply that one constituency is more important than to target constituencies that are more likely to change. The recent State Election of Sarawak witness a healthy competition in individual candidate marketing as well as party politic positioning. Since 11<sup>th</sup> State

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<sup>12</sup> Pauline L, 2015

Election was a tough battle between both coalition parties, and naturally both parties were fighting to be the people's choice. This situation has given rise to strong party positioning tactics in order to be able to stand in its own unique position in the mind of audiences. Based on Bradshaw (1995), party positioning uses policies, issues and reasoned arguments as well as style of presentation in order to win the battle in the mind of voters.

## **2.7 CONCLUSION**

Based on the every elections in Sarawak, we can see that BN's Sarawak has been strongest constituencies over the years. BN is maintained by the strategy of 3M which comprises of money, media and government machinery. There is also high voters for BN because of the strategy campaign played by BN during campaign period such as lucky draw prizes as a tactic to encouraged supporters towards BN. Thus, the power for the BN is enhanced and BN victory made likely through their strategy to influence their supporters.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHOD**

#### **3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN**

The purpose of this research design is to identify and measure the political methods and strategies used by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in the Sarawak. This is to obtain the feedback from the peoples among the Sebuyau area which to measure the factors that influence voters towards BN ruling coalition parties. All the information we need is collected from the feedbacks of the people that we get from questionnaire and interview. This study will be conducted with the voters after the winning of the BN candidate in the recent state election that held on 7<sup>th</sup> May 2016.

#### **3.1 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUE**

##### **3.1.1 Population**

It encompasses of all the element such as individual and campaign strategy that are relating to the study. For this research, our population is among the people in N27 Sebuyau. Since we are searching on the methods and strategies used by BN, our population will focus to the people among the area itself so that we can get accurate data from the people comment.

##### **3.1.2 Sample**

We will randomly choose 50 respondents selected from people among the area of Sebuyau itself. The sample will be in the rural area of Sebuyau and we will obtain the data from varieties of ethnics, and age to participate in our research project through questionnaire and interview to collect quantitative and qualitative data.

##### **3.1.3 Sampling Method**

In order to complete the study, we used Probability Sampling which is Simple Random Method to distribute questionnaire. We choose this method because it is much

easier and all data can be collected immediately. All the questionnaire will be distribute to the people in N27 Sebyauu as our purpose of study is to examine the political strategy by Barisan Nasional in the area.

### **3.2 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT**

We have collected the data through the research instrument that we have selected. Our research instrument is by distributing questionnaire as our quantitative method to the respondents to get accurate information regarding on the topic that we have selected for our research. Then we will analyze the data after the process of the distributing questionnaire. The advantages of using the questionnaire is we will get the direct information through the answers given by the respondents and this will save time and cost for us.

In our questionnaire, there are four sections involved which are Part A, the analysis of Demographic Profile including gender, age, ethnic and education level of the respondents, Part B includes our Independent Variable which are media, money, machineries and campaign strategies implemented by the Barisan Nasional, capitalizing popularity and image of the candidate and the strategy adopted by party itself. Part C includes our dependent variable which are the dominating factors that influence voters towards BN ruling coalition parties

In addition to questionnaire, in Part D we include into our research to collect the data through open-ended questions or interviews with respondents in order to get other comment that can be valuable to be add up for the methods and strategies by BN.

### 3.3 QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

#### 3.3.1 Section A

Section A consist of demographic profile analysis including the type of ethnic, age, occupation and also their education level. This section will measure their confidence to BN based on their identity.

#### 3.3.2 Section B

Section B comprises of ten questions. It is regarding on our quantitative Independent Variables which are what the dominating methods and strategies used by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in the rural area. The fourth Independent Variable are being separated from this section as it is collected based on qualitative data during interview sessions. The respondent should answer these ten questions by circling the appropriate number based on what they have faced in the recent real situation. Below are the scales we used for these sections.

*Table 3.3.1: Likert Scale*

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

Therefore, by using this Likert Scale, we were able to distinguish how different the situation faced by each respondents which are among the government officers in N27 Sebuyau

#### 3.3.3 Section C

Section C comprises of 10 questions which is regarding on our dependent variables which is what are the motivating factors that influence rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak state election. It also in the form of Likert Scale. The respondents should answer this question by circling the appropriate number based on what are the motivating factors that influence rural voters towards BN ruling coalition

parties in the recent real situation, which is according to their degree of satisfaction. Below are the scales we used for these sections.

*Table 3.3.2: Likert Scale*

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

Hence, by using Likert Scale, we are able to identify which are the motivating factors that most of them are influencing and we can use the data to analyze in the descriptive and correlation test in order to study the relationship between our dependent variable and all those quantitative independent variable.

### **3.4 DATA COLLECTION**

#### **3.4.1 Questionnaire and Personal Interview**

We have chosen both questionnaire and interview as our primary sources to collect data within our research study. This is because both methods are less cost and more save time for us to conduct the survey and as well as it is easier for us to get all the information with the three scopes of research objectives directly from the interviewed respondents. Both questionnaire and interview session were being held in the same day. For the questionnaire, it is printed in a white paper in a form of A4 paper size. There are 4 pages including the front page which is all about the purpose of our research and some information about us as a researcher. The respondents tends to read the first front page before they proceed to answer all those questions in both sections A and B.

More than that, for the questionnaire, we have prepared it with dual language so that the respondents can fully understand what we are asking them, either they read in Malay or English. For the interview session, we just ask the respondents to get their subjective answer to be used for the collection of qualitative data. There are 10 question to be answered by the respondents Pilot test also has been done to determine the errors in our questionnaire and interview in terms of arrangement of questions, the relation

between the questions and the scope of research objectives and some grammars to be used before the questionnaire and interview questions are distributed and answered respectively. In our session, we have included our qualitative independent variable which is the assistance from the government which may affect the problem to the methods and strategy used by Barisan Nasional.

#### 3.4.2 Articles and Journals

We have chosen articles and journals as our secondary resources to collect the data within our research study. This is because both sources may help us to get some information even though some actions have been taken to curb the issue that we are studying for. Based on study make by the previous researcher, we will know that the strength and weaknesses from the implementation of the problem statement. For example, we combine some strategies made by different previous researcher to make a single strategy that has long term effect to solve the problem that we are studying for. Through the study of these secondary sources, we can make our research to be successful and reliable based on the literature review that we have written on in our research proposal.

### **3.5 UNIT OF ANALYSIS**

Unit of analysis can be defined as the level of aggregation of the data collection during subsequent data analysis (Abdullah, n.d). In this study, the unit of analysis is based on individual. Here means that the data collected are from each individual who are the people in the area of N27 Sebuyau who receives and experience the BN methods.



### **3.6 DATA ANALYSIS**

The study carried out uses SPSS Version 20.0 descriptive statistic which involve transformation of raw data into a form that would provide information to describe a set of factors in a situation and this is done through ordering and manipulation of raw data collected (Sekaran, 2003). In order to measure the level of methods and strategy used by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in the Sarawak, the mean score or average is use as a measurement that offers a general picture of the data without unnecessarily inundating one with each of the observations in a data set.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESEARCH FINDING**

#### **4.0 INTRODUCTION**

In our research study, we have walk on the research by distributing our questionnaire and also having a face to face interview session with the public in N27 Sebuyau. Hence, we have included the quantitative analysis which represents the data collection from our questionnaire and also the qualitative analysis based on the results of the interview session with the respondents. The number of respondents in our data collection is 50 respondents which came from different profile at N27 Sebuyau.

Based on our research, the first objectives that we want to discover is to analyze the dominating methods and strategies used by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in the rural area in Sarawak. The second objective is to discuss the motivating factors that influence the rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak State Election. In our research, we have used two types of test which are descriptive analysis test and the qualitative analysis based on the data from interview sessions with the peoples at N27 Sebuyau.

This chapter is presenting on the results and findings of analysis and test conducted in this study. In section 4.1, it shows that the results and findings of the reliability test. While, in section 4.2, it shows the accumulation of all demographic background of respondent's profile. This is followed by finding the objectives in section 4.3 which it is consist of the two sections. In section 4.3.1 it shows the dominating methods and strategies used by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in the rural area. In section 4.3.2 it shows the motivating factors that influence rural voters towards BN coalition parties in the Sarawak State Election. However, in section 4.4, we have arranged and analyzed the subjective answer according to the questions of the interview session.

Also, in this chapter, we will able to perceive whether our research objectives are achievable or not. Hence, we include the table findings in Section A, B and C of the questionnaire in order the research has not missing value. Table 4.1.1 show the missing

value of Section A. Table 4.1.2 shows the missing value of Section B and Table 4.1.3 shows the missing value of Section C.

*Table 4.1.1: Missing Value in Section A*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	31	62.0	63.3	63.3
	Female	18	36.0	36.7	100.0
	Total	49	98.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.0		
Total		50	100.0		

*Table 4.1.2: Missing Value in Section B*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	4	8.0	8.2	8.2
	Disagree	1	2.0	2.0	10.2
	Mixed Feeling	9	18.0	18.4	28.6
	Agree	26	52.0	53.1	81.6
	Strongly Agree	9	18.0	18.4	100.0
	Total	49	98.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.0		
Total		50	100.0		

Table 4.1.3: Missing Value in Section C

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Disagree	1	2.0	2.0	2.0
	Mixed Feeling	5	10.0	10.2	12.2
Valid	Agree	29	58.0	59.2	71.4
	Strongly Agree	14	28.0	28.6	100.0
	Total	49	98.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.0		
Total		50	100.0		

#### 4.1 REALIBILITY ANALYSIS

In this subtopic, we have emphasized on the two research objective that we desire to achieve which are the first objectives that we want to discover is to analyze the dominating methods and strategies used by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in the rural area in Sarawak. The second objective is to discuss the motivating factors that influence the rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak State Election.

The researcher adopted the use of reliability analysis. This needs to be done to ensure that the data are reliable to the answer of research objectives and reliability is a necessary condition for validity. The questionnaire is tested where the result obtained should be close as possible to 1 to be accepted. Thus, the table 4.1.4 below shows the result of reliability analysis that has been conducted for this research.

*Table 4.1.4: Reliability Statistics*

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.883	25

Based on the results obtained in table 4.1.4, the Cronbach's Alpha of the questionnaires is closeness to value 1. As the Cronbach's Alpha stated is 88.3% in which it is considered as very good. It shows that the 88.3% of the question are reliable and can be trusted to determine the findings of the study. Another 11.7% of the questions are not reliable and if it change the Cronbach's Alpha, it could be increased and more reliable.

According to Sekaran and Bougie (2011), the reliability less than .600 is considered poor reliability while .700 is acceptable and the ranges over .800 is good. However, Nunnally (1976) stated that the Cronbach's Alpha .600 is sufficient to be an acceptable value for research purpose. Therefore, the results obtained are reliable to the respondents.

## 4.2 RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

This section will be presenting on the demographic background of respondents in this study including gender, age, ethnic, educational level and occupation. From this frequencies statistical, we able to analyze the mean of respondent based on the frequencies and percentage in the statistics table as below:

*Table 4.2.1: Gender of respondents*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	<b>Male</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>62.0</b>	<b>63.3</b>	<b>63.3</b>
Valid	Female	18	36.0	36.7	100.0
	Total	49	98.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.0		
Total		50	100.0		

Table 4.2.1 shows the frequency and percentage of the respondent gender. The frequency shows 31 for male and the percentage is 62.0. For the female, the frequency is 18 and the percentage is 36.0. Thus, the total of frequency is 50 where the percentage is 100. The statistic shows that male respondents are more than female respondents.

Table 4.2.2: Age of respondent

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
21-31	10	20.0	20.4	28.6
31-41	13	26.0	26.5	55.1
Valid 41-51	12	24.0	24.5	79.6
51 and above	14	28.0	28.6	100.0
Total	49	98.0	100.0	
Missing System	1	2.0		
Total	50	100.0		

Table 4.2.2 shows the age of the respondents. Most of the respondents are between 21 years old to 51 years old and above. It is shows that the highest frequency are 14 and the percentage are 28 % which represent 51 years old and above. Next, the frequency of age 31 years old to 41 years old is 13 with the percentage 26%. Then the frequency of age 41 years old to 51 years old is 12 with the percentage 24%. Lastly, the lowest frequency is refers to the age between 21 to 31 years old with the frequency of 10 and the percentage of 20%. The statistic shows that respondents with the range age of 51 and above years old are more than the rest.

Table 4.2.3: Ethnic of respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Malay	31	62.0	63.3
	Chinese	5	10.0	73.5
	Bidayuh	1	2.0	75.5
Valid	Melanau	3	6.0	81.6
	Iban	9	18.0	100.0
	Total	49	98.0	100.0
Missing	System	1	2.0	
	Total	50	100.0	

Table 4.2.3 shows the ethnic of the respondent. Whereas, most of the respondents are Malay with the frequency 31 and the percentage is 62%. The Chinese with the frequency 5 and the percentage is 10%. The Melanau with the frequency 3 and the percentage 6%. While, the Ibans with the frequency 9 and the percentage 18%. The lastly which the lowest frequency and percentage is Bidayuh ethnic, where the frequency is 1 and the percentage is 2%. The statistic shows that respondents from Malay ethnic are more than among them.



Table 4.2.4: Education Levels of respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Primary School	14	28.0	28.6	28.6
	Secondary School	23	46.0	46.9	75.5
	Diploma	6	12.0	12.2	87.8
	Bachelor	2	4.0	4.1	91.8
	Master	4	8.0	8.2	100.0
	Total	49	98.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.0		
Total		50	100.0		

Table 4.2.4 shows the educational level of the respondents. The frequency and the percentage of primary school is 14 and 28%. Next, the frequency and the percentage of secondary school is 23 and 46% which is the highest score among the rest. Then, the frequency and the percentage of Diploma is 6 and 12%, while, Bachelor is 2 and 4% which is the lowest score among the rest. Lastly, the frequency and the percentage of Master is 4 and 8% which also in lower score. The statistic shows that respondent who gain education level until Secondary school are more among them compare to the other level.

Table 4.2.5: Occupation of respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Civil Servant	14	28.0	28.6	28.6
	Non Civil Servant	23	46.0	46.9	75.5
Valid	Unemployed	6	12.0	12.2	87.8
	Political Members	6	12.0	12.2	100.0
	Total	49	98.0	100.0	
Missin g	System	1	2.0		
	Total	50	100.0		

Table 4.2.5 shows the occupation of the respondents. The frequency of civil servant is 14 with the percentage 28%. However, for non-civil servant, the frequency is 23 and the percentage is 46% which is the highest score. While, for the unemployed respondent and political members, both of them share the same frequency which is 6 and the percentage is 12%. The statistic shows that respondents are occupied as non-civil servant.

### 4.3 FINDING BY OBJECTIVES

4.3.1 The first objective of this study is to analyze the dominating methods and strategies used by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in rural area in Sarawak. Therefore, to answer this objective, the researchers are using the Descriptive Analysis and the result as follows:

*Table 4.3.1: Descriptive Analysis for methods and strategies used by BN that aware by the people at N27 Sebuyau*

Methods and Strategy	Mean	Std. Deviation
Financial	3.7143	1.06066
Programmes	3.9796	0.92398
Fund Development	4.0000	0.86603
Civil Act	3.4490	1.20867
Civil Benefit	3.4286	1.29099
Educators	3.4694	1.35558
Online	3.7347	0.95253
Media role	3.6531	1.05180
<b>Traditional Media</b>	<b>4.0612</b>	<b>0.87579</b>
Campaign	3.9796	1.01015

The descriptive analysis can be used to determine measures of central tendency which is refer to mean and standard deviation. Whereas, descriptive statistics as table in above to summarize the data.

Based on table shown above, the mean for BN gives financial aids to public is 3.7143 whereas the mean of BN programs is 3.9796. Next, the mean for BN allocated fund for development is 4.0000 while the mean of Civil Servant actively participated in carry out BN's activities is 3.4490. Furthermore, the mean of Civil Servant actively participated in promoting benefit is 3.4286. In addition, the mean for educators and civil

organizations as mediators to promote BN and educate to old folks is 3.4694. Next, the mean for BN leaders that focused on establishing their online presence is 3.7347. Besides that, the mean for online media role is the main method in shaping the political communication of the public is 3.6531. Next, the mean for BN alternatives by using traditional media is 4.0612. And lastly, the mean for BN allocated money for campaign is 3.9796. The statistic shows that the most method and strategies that used by BN that aware by the people in N27 Sebuyau is the traditional media which shows mean 4.0612.

Regarding on our research, the result shows that all the variables are acceptable because the result of mean for every each variable is more than 3.000. In which, the high scores of mean is for BN allocated fund for developments and BN alternatives by using traditional media. As meaning to say that both of this methods and strategies are most tangible that can influence the rural voters to vote for BN in Sarawak State Election.

Based on interview session, we realized that most of respondents agreed with BN still using the traditional media in Sebuyau especially refers to the old folk respondents, who choose the traditional media compare to information technology (IT). It is because, for them, the traditional media is more familiar for them to get information rather than need to access for internet, which may costly and complex due to ignorance of certain people and the poor knowledge in IT system.

4.3.2 The second objective of this study is to determine the motivating factors that influence the rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak State Election. Therefore, to answer this objective, the researchers are using the Descriptive analysis and the result as follows:

*Table 4.3.2: Descriptive Analysis for Motivating factors that influence rural voters towards the candidate*

Motivating factors	Mean	Std. Deviation
Education Level	4.1429	0.67700
Background	4.2041	0.84112
Leadership	4.1429	0.81650
<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>4.2245</b>	<b>0.87238</b>
Performance	4.1429	0.88976
Transparent	4.1429	0.86603
Party Experience	4.1020	0.96274
Candidate Experience	3.9592	0.99915
Manifesto	3.7551	1.12788
Gift	4.0408	0.97808

Based on the table shown above, the mean for candidate's education level is 4.1429. Next, the mean for background and personality of candidate is 4.2041. Besides that, the mean for leadership skill for candidate is 4.1429. Next, the mean for strong political ethnicity of the candidate is 4.2245 which showing the highest mean and frequency. Other than that, the mean for good track record of party's performance is 4.1429. Next, the mean for clear and transparent political image is 4.1429. Next, the mean for the party politic experience itself is 4.1020. While, the candidate politic experience is shown in the table above is 3.9592. Next, the mean for good election

manifesto of the candidate is 3.7551 and lastly, the mean for the gift from the party is 4.0408

Regarding to our research, the result shows that the strong political ethnicity of the candidate is the most influence factor that motivate rural voters to vote for Barisan Nasional in State Election. Meanwhile, the motivating factors that shown the most least result is refers to candidate experience and manifestos.

Based on our interview session, we have realized that most of the peoples in the N27 Sebuyau is putting their trust on Barisan Nasional because of the dominancy party and the victory in every elections. Also, some of them agreed with the strong political ethnicity of the candidate can influence the rural voters because the candidate himself and most of the peoples who lives in Sebuyau comes from Malay Ethnic.

#### **4.4. PEOPLES AT N27 SEBUYAU'S IDEA AND OPINION (QUALITATITAVE ANALYSIS)**

This subtopic focuses on qualitative analysis in which the data was collected from the interview session with the peoples at N27 Sebuyau. There are 2 question involve that we give them in order to analyse the methods and strategies used by the ruling coalition party and the motivating factors that influence rural voters to vote BN in Sarawak State Elections. The data collection will be analyze carefully so that we will focus for our research objectives. There are 50 peoples of the total respondent that we collect the data from them but unfortunately, there is one null result which is invalid. As mentioned earlier, we use the mix method to conduct for our research analysis. Out of 50 respondent, only 14 respondents who responding to the questions and the other 34 respondents, leave the space blank with no answer. However, out of 14 respondents, there are only 8 respondents who answer relevance to the question while the other 6 respondents answered not relevance to the questions. Here is the result from our qualitative analysis

Firstly, our qualitative analysis had asked about what the other methods and strategy that used by BN to maintain their support. The respondent number 6 specified a

comment that Barisan Nasional need to appeal to the rural and poor which is from middle class which is the majority of Sarawak communities. Next, the respondent number 9 specified a comment about the political methods and strategy that used by BN, where the respondent wants the BN to get closer to all peoples in Sebuyau not only close to certain group of peoples, which the assistance must be given to those are really needs, not be given to those lucky among them and N27 Sebuyau need to aware on this issue. Furthermore, the respondent number 14 specified a comment for BN to gives cooperation with surrounded residence. The respondent number 16 specified a comment that BN need to regularly to get closer with the communities, not only meet the people the time of Sarawak State Election. In addition, the respondent number 23 specified a comment that BN need to give assistance to the people and always down to the ground. The respondent number 45 specified a comment that BN need to be closer with the people so that the people able to be convinced with the line of leadership Barisan Nasional regardless with races or religions. The respondent number 49 specified a comment that BN needs to come out with development plans.

Secondly, our qualitative analysis had asked about what the other motivating factors influence the rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties. The respondent number 6 specified a comment that BN has a strong presence in Sarawak for decades now, so no matter what they will always win majority of the seats. The majority of the Bumiputeras also trust BN because of their presence here so they have to come to trust BN and the future generations will most likely come to do the same thing. The respondent number 16 specified a comment that the candidate must be people-oriented where he needed to get knowing each individual in every spot. The respondent number 44 specified a comment that he wanted the candidate to gives more refurbishment at Sebuyau such as buildings, factories, hospital and etc. In addition, the respondent number 45 specified a comment that the candidate must have an attitude of "*Janji Mesti Ditepati, Rakyat Didahulukan*". The respondent number 49 specified a comment that a candidate need to come out with political promises to all the residents in Sebuyau.

#### 4.5 CONCLUSION

Based on our research study, we found that the methods and strategies which contribute to the BN's dominant party is relevant with our research since we have analyzed based on both method which are quantitative and qualitative analysis. It is found that, the first objective have shown a strong mean which stated the highest score of mean is BN alternatives by using traditional media. All the methods and its result indicate that most method and strategies that used by BN are aware by the peoples at N27 Sebuyau.

We also have found that in the second objective, the motivating factors that influence rural voters towards Barisan Nasional is strong political candidate ethnicity. Based on the data collection, we found that most of the people are influence to vote Barisan Nasional due to the appointment of candidate based on the majority of ethnicity belong to the area. All the motivating factors and its result indicate that most motivating factors that influence rural voters in N27 Sebuyau.



## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we will conclude our research that we made which is regarding on the Political Methods and Strategy Used by Sarawak Barisan Nasional (BN) specifically in N27 Sebuyau, Sarawak. We had emphasized on PBB party coalition of Barisan Nasional on our study because the PBB had been nominated for Barisan Nasional seats in Sebuyau. We also have discovered on how Barisan Nasional party maintaining their seats from their methods and strategies perspective based on the collection of our questionnaires and interviews. In this research, 50 respondents are involved for our data collection which are among the people of Sebuyau itself.

This research also includes the main findings of our research to meet the research objectives which are firstly, we want to analyse the dominating methods and strategies used by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in the rural area in Sarawak where we had make it in Sebuyau area. Secondly, we want to collect the motivating factors that influence the rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak election.

Besides that, we as well have included the implications of doing our research. This is to ensure that our research may solve all the issues arising involving the method approach and strategies support level to strengthen Barisan Nasional advantage and the dominance of the BN in their control of seats. Indirectly, the methods used by BN become the testimony for people satisfaction with the government performance. Thus, the higher majority voters for BN shows that their strategy is the way for the people of Sarawak to keep chosen BN and continue their support for the BN.

Furthermore, we also included all the limitations that we had faced throughout conducting our research from the beginning until the end. This kind of limitation might become a references for the next researcher who want to make or continue the research study regarding on the politics so that they can minimize the limitations on their upcoming research.

## **5.1 DISCUSSION**

Our discussion will explain about the implication which will be the significance of our study towards both Barisan Nasional (BN) and the people Sarawak itself and recommendation regarding the issues arises involving the satisfaction from the people of Sarawak. The discussion also included the limitation throughout conducting our research which involved with the 50 local people of Sebuyau, Sarawak.

### **5.1.1 Significances**

There are few significances of doing our research regarding on the Barisan Nasional strategy and their methods to convey and disseminate political views and communication to the people of Sarawak especially in the rural area. In political strategies field within rural area in Sarawak, there will be some restriction faced by the party to attract their support such as the perception of people's Sarawak on the relationship of BN Sarawak reflect with BN Peninsular, limitation of financial resources, and rural areas holds by the older electorate which obviously effect on the strategies provide by BN. Hence, we have identify what is the root of the methods and strategies played by BN for them to disseminate their political message. Based on our data analysis, tradisional media become the main methods by the Barisan Nasional to disseminate their political message. In addition, the methods and strategy used by Barisan Nasional to obtain their voters also affected by the will of the people in the area, in short money handouts for the people and last one is their campaign strategy which the role of the candidate played the significance strategy to influence the people.

Firstly, we realized that in order for government gain and retain the political power, politicians use the media to persuade the masses to vote and support them. We have known that traditional media become the major method such as newspaper, television, radio and banners are best tool for BN disseminate their political message and information in rural area instead of relying modern media like Internet. This is because the rural area is surrounded by older folks because of the ignorance with Internet Technology (IT). Hence, it is not necessary new media like media masses and social media can attract the reader.

Secondly, based on our analysis, we have known the role of government to provide citizen well-being is crucial to ensure a strong and viable of democracy. Providing citizen well-being and improvements of standard of living such as easy access of public goods, education, health, building and facilities and even welfare would become the key for citizen to support the government. Barisan Nasional as we concern have become the dominant party of government and coincidentally will take the responsibility on public affairs and funding. These kinds of money assistance from the government are valuable because the result will contribute to the number of voters as well as may increase satisfaction of the people. For example, based on our data interview in Sebuyau, most of the people strongly supported PBB coalition parties because Barisan Nasional had given them fund assistance of BRIM and new access of Batang Sadong Bridge project. Thus, money in short also the contributing factors for the voters to vote their chosen party.

Furthermore, we realized that the strong campaign strategy will contribute to the support as well as contribute to the desire for the people to vote for the coming next election. Barisan Nasional had appointed the right candidate for the election where they had appoint candidate based on the majority of the ethnicity in the selected area. In addition, all the campaign strategy played by candidate's itself such as consistent meeting with the people, free meal and functions, walkabout, seeking the limitation of the constituencies and the people itself and develop a programs to assist people can convince the people to vote for the candidate.

### **5.1.2 Recommendations**

Based on this research, we have founded some recommendation regarding on how to improve Barisan Nasional strategy in order to obtain vote from the people.

Firstly is the Barisan Nasional should enhanced their campaign strategy by choosing few issues that are traditionally strong points for their political party. The BN should present issues and try to emphasize these issues. For instance, current and contemporary events such as economic and political occurrences, also affect what candidates choose to make an issue during an election. On most issues, BN must decide what position to take on the issue, whether to take an issue that seems more popular with

the public or try and persuade citizen to adopt their point of view. Therefore, there are many current events must be addressed by candidates in order to gain wider from voters.

Secondly, Barisan Nasional need to come out with social media strategy in promoting democracy as well as a campaigning tool for the leaders and candidates to meet with their electorates in respective constituencies. Social media can become a significant role in constructing the perception of voters in urban and sub-urban area. As for now, the young voters are slightly increased, BN should tackle the young voters for the next election. For instance, social media like blogs, Facebook, Twitter, Youtube is essential way to access for the youth because the young generation are dominated with Information Technology and Internet. Hence, our recommendation is BN have to develop the strategic use of Internet to tackle the youth who made up almost half of the number of voters.

In addition, the most significant role of the government party to gain trust from the voters is that, the government must fulfill all the promises after win the election. This is importance for the next election because people votes for the party to represent their demand.

### **5.1.3 Limitations**

During conducting our research, we have found several limitations that affect our research study. Limitation is a restrictions or obstacles that we have to face throughout conducting research in order to obtain a good results and achieving our research objectives. Based on our research, there are two objectives we wanted to achieve which are firstly, we want to analyse the dominating methods and strategies used by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in the rural area in Sarawak where we had make it in Sebuyau area. Secondly, we want to collect the motivating factors that influence the rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak election.

The first limitation is we are having fewer youth respondents. The majority of the respondents we could find are old folks. There are fewer number of youth respondents during the time due to the day we distributed the questionnaire there were an event attended by the old folks and also it was a school time. Hence, our data collections are based on the old respondents.

Second limitation is the some of the respondents are not followed the instruction in answering the questions due to the inability to read. Most of our respondent are comes from older folks and they do not know how to read. Therefore, we need to facilitate them to answer our question so that we could key in all the data effectively with based on the questions.

Besides that, some of the respondents also were not giving cooperation to answer our questions due to their limited of time while attending the programs during the event organized by the State Legislative Assembly candidate. Therefore, we have to obtain other respondents that can give full cooperation to answer all the questions.

Furthermore, we were also facing difficulties key in the qualitative data to our Information System which is IBM SPSS Statistics 2.0 Software. This is because some of the respondents are not giving a suitable answer for our interview questions therefore, we need to exclude his answer from being stored in our SPSS Data.

Even though there are several limitations in conducting our research, it does not mean that we have to change our research topic or end up with the incomplete research. However, we were continually found the solutions on how to curb this kind of limitation and preceding our research with a full data collection and analysis.

## 5.2 CONCLUSION

Based on our research that we have undergone involving the 50 respondents which among the people of N27 Sebuyau area, we have found the answer for those our research objectives.

Firstly, the first objective of this study is to analyze the dominating methods and strategies used by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in rural area in Sarawak. In this scope we have undergone the analysis by using Descriptive Analysis among four methods which are money, media, machineries and campaign. It is indicate that the highest scores of mean that become the major methods and strategies used by Barisan Nasional is media which specifically by traditional media. It is also shown that he second dominants methods played by Barisan Nasional is by money where allocation of fund for the development purpose become the additional way to increase people attention to vote for Barisan Nasional. As meaning to say that both of this methods which are media and money are most tangible that can influence the rural voters to vote for BN in Sarawak State Election.

The second objective of this study is to determine the motivating factors that influence the rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak State Election. Therefore, to answer this objective, we also undergone Descriptive Analysis to discover which factor become the motivating factor for voters to vote Barisan Nasional. To be concluded, based on our data analysis, the ethnicity of candidates has significant roles in affecting the number of votes which contribute the won of BN. Barisan Nasional had a great strategy by appoint the candidates based on the majority of the ethnicity.

The qualitative analysis is based in our interviews also indicate the second objectives of our research to discuss what other motivating factor that contributes to the dominance of Barisan Nasional. Most of the people suggest that BN should be people oriented and the party have to fulfilled promises once they won the election.

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APPENDIX 1:  
RESEARCH  
SUMMARY

<b>OBJECTIVES</b>	<b>VARIABLES</b>	<b>MEASUREMENT</b>	<b>SCALE</b>	<b>STATISTICS</b>	<b>FINDINGS</b>	<b>HYP</b>	<b>CONCLUSION</b>
To analyze the dominating methods and strategies used by BN ruling coalition parties to maintain their support in the rural area in Sarawak.	Dependent: Victory of BN  Independent: -Money -Machinery -Media	By determining which methods and strategies that mostly effective to maintain the dominant of BN party position.	Likert Scale (Ordinal)	Frequencies Statistics	Mean=4.0612  The result indicate that most method and strategies that used by BN is traditional media.	None	The most effective methods used by BN is money and media which showing the means score for BN allocated fund for development is 4.0000 while mean score BN using traditional media is 4.0612.
To discuss the motivating factors that influence the rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak state election.	Dependent: Victory of BN  Independent: -Campaign	By determine whether motivating factors such as candidates requirements and political promises influence the voters decision towards BN.	Likert Scale (Ordinal)	Frequencies Statistics	Mean=4.2245  The result indicate that most influence motivating factors is strong political ethnicity.	None	All the requirement of the candidate especially their ethnicity contributing to voters decision towards BN.

APPENDIX 2:  
QUESTIONNAIRE &  
INTERVIEW  
SESSION



UNIVERSITI TEKNOLOGI MARA SARAWAK

Title: The methods and Strategy Used by Sarawak Barisan Nasional among rural area in Sarawak specifically at N27 Sebuyau.

Dear Respondent,

We are the Bachelor of Administrative Science Students researching the methods and Strategy Used by Sarawak Barisan Nasional among rural area in Sarawak specifically at N27 Sebuyau.

Please complete the questionnaire and return it to the representative who provided you the questionnaire. It will take you about 5 minutes to complete the questionnaire. There is no right or wrong responses to the questions and only for study purpose. We are interested in your views and perceptions of this topic. Any report of the data will be aggregated and will not identify the respondent. We thank you for your cooperation and wish you all the best.

*Tajuk: Kaedah dan Strategy yang digunakan oleh Sarawak Barisan Nasional terhadap kawasan luar bandar di Sarawak khususnya di N27 Sebuyau.*

*Responden yang dihargai,*

*Kami pelajar Sarjana Muda Sains Pentadbiran ingin mengkaji kaedah dan strategi yang digunakan oleh Sarawak Barisan Nasional terhadap kawasan luar bandar di Sarawak khususnya di N27 Sebuyau.*

*Sila lengkapkan borang soal selidik ini dan kembalikan kepada wakil yang mengagihkan boring tersebut. Ia akan mengambil masa 5 minit untuk melengkapkan borang tersebut. Tiada salah atau silap ke atas respon yang diberikan terhadap soalan kerana ianya hanya sebagai kegunaan pembelajaran sahaja. Sebarang laporan dari data akan dikumpulkan dimana identity responden tidak akan didedahkan. Kami mengucapkan terima kasih atas kerjasama dan harapkan anda yang terbaik.*

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Section A- Demographic Profile  
*Bahagian A: Profil Demografi*

Direction: Please read each statement carefully and tick your answer.  
*Arahan: Sila baca setiap kenyataan dengan teliti dan tandakan jawapan anda.*

Gender  
*Jantina*

Male  
*Lelaki*

Female  
*Perempuan*

Age (years old)  
*Umur (tahun)*

21-31  
*21-31*

31-41  
*31-41*

41-51  
*41-51*

51 and above  
*51 ke atas*

Ethnic  
*Bangsa*

Malay  
*Melayu*

Melanau  
*Melanau*

Chinese  
*Cina*

Iban  
*Iban*

Bidayuh  
*Bidayu*

Education Level  
*Taraf Pendidikan*

Primary School  
*Sekolah Rendah*

Secondary School  
*Sekolah Menengah*

Diploma  
*Diploma*

Bachelor  
*Degree*

Master  
*Master*

PhD  
*PhD*

Occupation  
*Pekerjaan*

Civil Servants  
*Penjawat Awam*

Non-civil Servants  
*Bukan Penjawat Awam*

Self-employed  
*Bekerja Sendiri*

Unemployed  
*Tidak bekerja*

Political members  
*Ahli Politik*

Section B- Barisan Nasional dominating methods and strategies to maintain their support.  
*Bahagian B- Kaedah dan Strategi Barisan Nasional untuk mengekalkan sokongannya.*

For each statement, please indicate your answer by using the following scale.  
*Bagi setiap pernyataan, sila nyatakan jawapan anda dengan menggunakan skala berikut.*

Strongly Disagree <i>Sangat tidak setuju</i>	Disagree <i>Tidak Setuju</i>	Mixed Feeling <i>Tidak Pasti</i>	Agree <i>Setuju</i>	Strongly Agree <i>Sangat setuju</i>
1	2	3	4	5

Direction: Please read each statement carefully and tick your answer.

*Arahan: Sila baca setiap kenyataan dengan teliti dan tandakan jawapan anda*

No. No.	Questions Soalan	1	2	3	4	5
1.	BN give a financial aids to the public in the area. <i>BN memberi bantuan kewangan kepada penduduk di kawasan setempat.</i>					
2.	BN programmes such as BRIM and 'Blue Tanker' is one of the alternative to capture the public hearts. <i>Program BN seperti BRIM dan pemberian 'Tangki Biru' adalah alternative untuk menawan hati penduduk.</i>					
3.	BN allocate a fund for the development project in the area. <i>BN memberi peruntukan projek pembangunan untuk kawasan tersebut.</i>					
4.	Civil servant and organisation have actively participated in carry out the BN's activities to the district and public. <i>Penjawat dan organisasi awam telah mengambil bahagian secara aktif untuk menjalankan aktiviti parti BN terhadap daerah dan penduduk setempat.</i>					
5.	Civil servant and organisation have actively participated in promoting the benefit of Barisan Nasional. <i>Penjawat dan organisasi awam telah mengambil bahagian secara aktif dalam mempromosikan kebaikan parti BN.</i>					
6.	BN used the educators and civil organisation as a mediators to promote BN and educate to old folks. <i>BN menggunakan pengajar dan organisasi awam sebagai mediator untuk mempromosikan dan mendidik warga tua setempat.</i>					
7.	BN leaders focused on establishing their online presence through websites, blogs or social media, using Twitter and Facebook to court young voters. <i>Pemimpin BN memberi tumpuan untuk mewujudkan kehadiran mereka melalui online media seperti laman web, blog atau media sosial menggunakan Twitter dan Facebook untuk menarik undi dari pemuda.</i>					

8.	Online media role is the main method in shaping the political communication of the public in Sebuyau. <i>Peranan online media adalah kaedah utama dalam membentuk komunikasi politik terhadap penduduk di Sebuyau.</i>					
9.	BN alternatives to used traditional media such as newspapers, television or radio to spread their news and manifesto. <i>Alternatif BN menggunakan media tradisional seperti televisyen, akhbar atau radio untuk menyebarkan berita dan manifesto.</i>					
10.	BN party has allocated much money for the campaign such as gift, free of foods, wages and money for villages that helped for the campaign. <i>Parti BN banyak memperuntukkan wang dalam kempen seperti wang suguhati, makanan percuma, gaji dan wang kepada kampong yang membantu dalam kempen.</i>					

## SECTION C: RESEARCH QUESTION 2

What are the motivating factors that influence rural voters towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak State Election. Please tick the number of the response which best represents the level of agreement.

*Apakah faktor-faktor motivasi yang mempengaruhi pengundi luar bandar terhadap BN parti-parti pemerintah dalam Pilihan Raya Negeri Sarawak. Sila tandakan nombor tindak balas yang terbaik mewakili tahap persetujuan.*

QUESTIONS	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Uncertain 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
1. Candidate's education level can convince the peoples. <i>Tahap pendidikan calon dapat meyakinkan penduduk.</i>					
2. Background and personality candidate that convince people. <i>Latar belakang dan personaliti calon yang meyakinkan penduduk .</i>					

<p>3. Leadership skill of the candidate in communicate with the peoples. <i>Kemahiran kepimpinan calon dalam berinteraksi dengan penduduk.</i></p>					
<p>4. Strong political ethnicity of the candidate. <i>Calon yang mempunyai etnik politik yang kuat.</i></p>					
<p>5. The performance of the ruling party very good track record. <i>Rekod prestasi parti pemerintah begitu memberansangkan.</i></p>					
<p>6. Clear and transparent political image. <i>Imej politik yang bersih dan telus</i></p>					

<p>7. Politic experience which survived in Sebuyau. <i>Pengalaman politik yang bertahan di Sebuyau.</i></p>					
<p>8. Political experience of the candidate. <i>Pengalaman poitik yang ada pada calon.</i></p>					
<p>9. A very good election manifesto of the candidate and fulfilled the people desire. <i>Manifesto pilihan raya calon yang begitu memberansangkan dan memenuhi kehendak penduduk.</i></p>					
<p>10. Gift from the party in the form of: banquet, souvenirs, money, projects, halls, football's field, etc. <i>Hadiah dari parti yang berupa: Pesta makan, cendera hati, wang, projek kampung, balai raya, padang bola dan lain-lain.</i></p>					



SECTION D: OPEN-ENDED (QUALITATIVE)

Is there any other method and strategy that Sarawak Barisan Nasional used?

*Adakah terdapat kaedah dan strategi lain yang digunakan oleh Barisan Nasional Sarawak?*

If yes, please specify:

*Jika ya, sila nyatakan:*

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Is there any other motivating factors that influence towards BN ruling coalition parties in the Sarawak State Election?

*Adakah terdapat faktor motivasi lain yang dapat mempengaruhi parti pemerintah Barisan Nasional di Sarawak?*

If yes, please specify:

*Jika ya, sila nyatakan:*

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APPENDIX 3:  
PLAGIARISM  
REPORT

APPENDIX 4:  
PHOTO-SHOOTS  
SESSION WITH  
RESPONDENTS

