

The Largest Contributors, the Least Beneficiaries: The Outcome of the 12th Malaysia General Election for the State of Sarawak

*Shaharuddin Badaruddin
Suseela Devi Chandran*

ABSTRACT

12th Malaysian Election 2008 has given a new perspective in Malaysian politics. The achievement of the opposition party in denying two-third majority of the ruling party, the Barisan Nasional (National Front) in the Malaysian parliament has open up the new dimensions in the Malaysian political system. Among the outstanding states that helped the National Front (Barisan Nasional) to maintain the federal government were Sabah and Sarawak. Sabah and Sarawak can be considered as the biggest cash depositors in providing enough seats for the Barisan Nasional to control the federal government. Knowing well that Sabah and Sarawak states had 'saved' the National Front from possibly the first ever defeat since independence in 1957, the federal government is very much indebted to these two states. Using this opportunity, these two states have 'demanded' more attention from the federal government. The most important issues for these two states have always been the issue of development. However, the outcome is far from expectation. Winning 31 out of 32 seats does not give Sarawak the advantage in getting more post in the cabinet in compare to other states. This paper will provide a great deal of discussions on the issues that arises after the 12th General Election and the possibilities of political maneuvering in the near future.

ISSN 1675-1302

© 2011 Faculty of Administrative Science and Policy Studies, Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM), Malaysia

Keywords: *General election, Malaysia, politics, government, democracy*

Introduction

The twelfth general election in Malaysia's history, concluded on 8th March 2008, has changed the political landscape of Malaysia. The success story of Peoples' Coalition Party (Pakatan Rakyat) to deny two third majority from the National Front (Barisan Nasional-BN) had broke the one-party state supremacy at the Parliament for the first time since 1969. The National Front lost its iron-clad two third majority in parliament. Nevertheless, the National Front was still relatively strong to form the government for the twelfth time, thanks to East Malaysia states, Sabah and Sarawak who contributed most of the victorious seats to the National front.

Amongst the most important issues that have always been a concern to the people of Sabah and Sarawak is rural development. The inability to penetrate and win the heart of the rural people – mainly the Malays/Melanau by the opposition party has always been the root cause for the NF to continuously have a winning streak. This does not only prevail in Sabah and Sarawak but overall in whole nation. Such is the strong dominance of the National Front in rural areas – excluding the state of Kelantan.

This paper will examine the impact of the twelfth general election towards the Malay people in the state of Sarawak. This essay would also analyze the possibility of Malay/Melanau politics to spread to the federal government that could have impact directly or indirectly to the people of Sarawak.

Political Theory of Sarawak

Francis Loh¹ discussed the political theory of Sabah based on the *Weak States and strongmen-politician* theory which was adopted from the Joel Migdal hypothesis. This hypothesis explains about the relations between federal government and state government in the third world nations.

The main argument that is laid on this *strongman* theory is the control over people either in certain areas or state through distribution of wealth,

patronage or by force. In another words, a leader from the central government would try to change the people based on the national vision. Thus, producing a *strongman* in the state. However, in the states where the central government fails to influence the regional strongman or fails to provide the people with better political and economic opportunities.

In the context of Sarawak state, the Theory of Political Development has influenced most of the politicians there. The Theory of Political Development could be interrelated with the development or *developmentalism*. According to Francis Loh,

“Developmentalism is the cultural consequence of the dirigiste developmentalist state, when citizens begin to enjoy improved living conditions as a result of the economic growth the state has brought about”.²

Developmentalism is an economic theory which states that the best way for Third World countries to develop is through fostering a strong and varied internal market and to impose high tariffs on imported goods. There is the notion that the performance of a nation’s economy is the central source of legitimacy that a regime may claim. Rather than subscribing to the notion, for example, that the ability to make and enforce laws gives a state power, developmentalists argue that the sustenance of economic growth and the subsequent promotion of citizens’ welfare gives the general population incentive to support the regime in power, granting it both *de facto* and *de jure* legitimacy. In another words developmentalism theory believes that in order to achieve certain economy development results or objectives, the leaders would carry out certain policies that may not be so democratic. *Because the development plans impressed the people so much that they are willing to sideline the values of democratic principles*”.³

For the last 15 years, the Sabah and Sarawak politics are based on the ‘kingmaker’ decision. With the presence of this kingmaker at the federal as well as at the state level, it gives very little opportunity for the opposition parties to make their presence felt or even survive. In fact the king maker has always played an important role in making sure a two third majority win in every general or state level election. However, in this recent general election, Sabah and Sarawak not only ‘helped’ the BN to secure a two third majority win but also ‘rescued’ the BN coalition part to govern the nation again.

2008 General Election Results

From the 140 seats that was won by the National Front (NF) coalition party, the state of Sarawak contributed 30 seats (21.4%) of the parliamentary seats, whereas Sabah state contributed a total of 24 parliamentary seats (17.1%). The rest of the parliamentary seats came from the other states in Peninsula Malaysia with a total of 86 seats (61.4%); which are Johor – 25 seats (17.9%), Pahang – 12 seats (8.6%), Selangor – 5 seats (3.6%), Perak – 13 seats (9.3%), Kedah – 4 seats (2.9%), Negeri Sembilan – 5 seats (3.6%), Kelantan – 2 seats (1.4%), Pulau Pinang – 2 seats (1.4%), Terengganu – 7 seats (5%), Wilayah Persekutuan/Federal Territory – 3 seats (2.1%), Melaka – 5 seats (3.6%) and lastly Perlis – 3 seats (3.1%). The results clearly shows that Sabah and Sarawak have contributed as much as 54 seats (38.4%), where by it is more than one third from the total seats won by the NF coalition (see Table 1).

Table 1: General Election Results 2008⁵

States	Parliament				State	
	BN	Opposition	Independent	BN	Opposition	Independent
Sarawak	30	1	0	0	0	0
Johor	25	1	0	50	6	0
Sabah	24	1	0	59	1	0
Perak	13	11	0	28	31	0
Pahang	12	2	2	37	4	1
Terengganu	7	1	0	24	8	0
Selangor	5	17	0	20	36	0
Negeri Sembilan	5	3	0	21	15	0
Melaka	5	1	0	23	5	0
Kedah	4	11	0	14	21	1
Perlis	3	0	0	14	1	0
Kelantan	2	12	0	6	39	0
Pulau Pinang	2	11	1	11	29	0
W. P. Kuala Lumpur	1	10	0	0	0	0
W. P. Putrajaya	1	0	0	0	0	0
W. P. Labuan	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total	140	82	0	307	196	2

Breakdown and Voting Pattern in Sarawak Parliamentary Seats 2008

Presently, the outer look of political scenario in Sarawak is stable, strong and harmonious. The cooperation between the leaders of component parties and other leaders are good. The unity and integration between various ethnic groups and tribes in this state has always been an outstanding plus point in Sarawak. In fact many analysts refer the Sarawak and Sabah states as the modal of multi ethnic integration in Malaysia. Though there are domestic problems within the component parties of NF in Sarawak, there are merely housekeeping matters. These problems are unlikely to challenge or pose any threats to the main NF party.

Just as the Sarawak state election which was held in the year 2006, the opposition parties do still play an important as well as significant role especially in the urban areas. Among the issues that were the selling point towards winning the hearts of voters in the urban area was the inequality in distribution of development resources, land and housing. Moreover issues such as corruption at certain levels of administration and price hikes in oil and petrol (at national and international level) was not received well by the people. Another interesting issue that caught attention from the opposition was the vernacular education especially in Chinese schools. All these issues which were not settled in 2006 was prolonged to the recent election and was called the 'Sarawak political tsunami'.

Nevertheless, though the NF won the Sarawak state election (2006) with a two third majority, it was for the first time in 19 years a BN-Chinese candidate had lost in a Chinese majority area. The NF had won a total of 62 seats in which the PBB component parties had won all the 35 seats they contested. However, the SUPP faced the worst defeat when the party lost eight seats from the total of 19 seats that was contested. Of the eight seats that were won by the opposition, six seats belong to DAP candidates and one seat each was won by candidates from PKR and SNAP respectively. Also another interesting observation that could be done from all the eight seats is that the opposition took control was in urban area, namely the Kuching town. To make it even more interesting was to know that an independent candidate, Gabriel Adit who contested in N.43 Ngemah could win over a PRS candidate in 2006. This clearly showed how people are more open to show their concern towards politics (see Table 2).

Table 2: Election Results based on Political Parties

Political parties	Num of seats contested	Won	Lost	New constituency area (Won)
Barisan Nasional	71	62	9	9
PBB	35	35	0	3(3)
SUPP	19	11	8	3(2)
SPDP	8	8	0	2(2)
PRS	9	8	1	1(1)
Opposition				
SNAP	29	1	28	4(0)
PKR	25	1	24	2(0)
DAP	12	6	6	2(1)
PAS	1	0	1	0(0)
BEBAS	20	1	19	1(0)

In the 12th General Election for parliamentary seats in the state of Sarawak, most of the parliament seats were concentrated more at rural areas. The rural areas in Sarawak are very much still populated by the Dayaks and Malays/Melanau ethnic groups. The distribution according to ethnic (as shown in Table 3) clearly indicates that nine Malays/Melanau areas are controlled by the PBB party, whereas the Dayak ethnic are represented in almost all component parties. The SUPP party which dominates the Chinese population is very much concentrated in urban areas and cities in Sarawak (See Table 4).

The Driving Force amongst the Rural Voters to Continue Support the National Front (BN Candidates in the 12th General Election

Generally, the campaign theme that has always won the hearts of the rural voters is the rural development issues, infrastructure and providing the basic needs to the rural community such as uplifting the socio-economy and education matters. Just after the general election dates were announced, the government had allocated a huge amount of money under the Ninth Malaysia Plan channeled towards rural development in Sarawak. The Sarawak Corridor of Renewable Energy (SCORE) which was launched by the Prime Minister is a long term development master plan encompassing a whole range of high tech and energy for Sarawak development as a whole.

The Largest Contributors, the Least Beneficiaries

Table 3: Voters Breakdown According to Ethnic Group in the Sarawak Parliamentary Area (Rural)

Parliamentary Area	BP	BI (%)	BBi (%)	Cina (%)	Others (%)	UR	Majority	PM
P192 Mas Gading	14,771	5.3	71.2	22.7	0.8	188	4,301	BN
P193 Santubong	19,903	82.5	4.5	9	4	248	11,945	BN
P197 Kota Samarahan	21,054	34	46	16	4	449	11,411	BN
P198 Mambong	22,180	5	70.1	24.5	0.4	473	6,657	BN
P199 Serian	18,491	7.1	80	12.4	0.1	332	13,427	BN
P200 Batang Sadong	11,111	66.8	26.6	6.5	0.1	170	5,425	BN
P201 Batang Lupar	14,381	71.9	24.15	3.94	0	193	8,092	BN
P202 Sri Aman	15,359	18.1	66.1	15.8	0	211	4,252	BN
P203 Lubok Antu	12,027	1.6	89.7	8.7	0	99	1,610	BN
P204 Betong	15,953	33.8	61.2	5	0	246	11,709	BN
P205 Saratok	16,452	5	90.3	2.4	0.32	218	8,706	BN
P206 Tanjung Manis	17,052	71.2	23.8	5	0	MTB	MTB	BN
P207 Igan	15,753					MTB	MTB	BN
P208 Sarikei	22,067	7.7	25.1	67.2	0	176	51	BN
P209 Julau	13,300	0.9	92.7	6.3	0	182	7,584	BN
P210 Kanowit	17,613	2.8	82.5	14.8	0	MTB	MTB	BN
P213 Mukah	14,403	71.2	19.3	9.5	0	521	6,298	BN
P214 Selangau	20,057	2.6	90.6	4.9	0	MTB	MTB	BN
P215 Kapit	22,723	3	86.4	11	0	MTB	MTB	BN
P216 Hulu Rajang	17,696	2	96	1.1	0			BN
P218 Sibuti	13,020	22.1	13.8	60.5	0.3	192	3,648	BN
P220 Baram	12,115	6.2	81	8.9	0.1	167	4,044	BN
P221 Limbang	12,291	43.5	20.5	24.2	11.8	113	676	BN
P222 Lawas	9,342	71.3	1.6	10.3	16.8	82	7,792	BN

Guidance: BP = Bilangan Pengundi
 BI = Bumiputera Islam (Melayu dan Melanau)
 BBi = Bumiputera Bukan Islam (Iban, Bidayuh, Orang Ulu dan lain-lain)
 UR = Undi Rosak
 PM = Parti Menang
 MTB = Menang Tanpa Bertanding

SCORE is located within the central region of Sarawak and stretches 320 km along the state's coast from Tanjung Manis to Similajau, extending into the hinterland, covering remote, semi-urban and urban centres of growth. Its main engine of growth is hydroelectric power, which is expected to be the catalyst and springboard for economic growth through various large-scale industries and their respective spin-offs. The adjacent regions will also benefit from the spillover effect of the development of energy-intensive industries, including the oil based industries, aluminum, steel and glass, tourism, palm-oil, timber-based and marine engineering. Beyond the aim of eradicating poverty and uplifting the people's standard of living, it is earmarked to propel Sarawak's leap into a truly industrialized state by the year 2020. All these industries are expected to provide job

Table 4: Voters Breakdown According to Ethnic Group in the Sarawak Parliamentary Area (Urban)

Parliamentary Area	BP	BI (%)	BBI (%)	Cina (%)	Others (%)	UR	Majority	PM
P194 Petra Jaya	24,896	80	6	12	0.1	263	14,397	BN
P195 Bandar Kuching	36,092	5.7	3.12	92	0.7	242	9,952	DAP
P196 Stampin	43,488	11.3	3.3	78	0.7	428	3,070	BN
P211 Lanang	34,341	4.85	18.4	76.45	0.05	253	4,864	BN
P212 Sibiu	36,187	20	20.1	60	0.1	334	3,235	BN
P217 Bintulu	32,579	22.84	46.32	28.66	2.18	288	14,965	BN
P219 Miri	33,765	6	31	55	0	273	5,216	BN

Guidance: BP = Bilangan Pengundi
 BI = Bumiputera Islam (Melayu dan Melanau)
 BBI = Bumiputera Bukan Islam (Iban, Bidayuh, Orang Ulu dan lain-lain)
 UR = Undi Rosak
 PM = Parti Menang
 MTB = Menang Tanpa Bertanding

and business opportunities especially to the Small & Medium Industries (SMI) as well as to Small & Medium Entrepreneurs (SME).

Besides the development promises, BN also used threats to make sure the voters do not favour the opposition side. For instance, during the national general election campaign in Sabah and Sarawak, the most widely read newspaper in both states such as The Borneo Post and The Daily Express have warned the public that favouring the opposition candidate would cause the states to lose out development grants from the federal⁴.

Post General Election: The Uncertainty

Sarawak and Sabah have 'saved' the National Front (BN) at the time needed most. Their victory in securing most of the Parliamentary seats has helped the BN coalition to continue their leadership to govern. Even though Sabah and Sarawak have stayed loyal to the BN government, nevertheless uncertainty prevails. Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim's, the de facto leader of PKR, visit to both states has mounted fear amongst the BN government. The BN government fears that Sabah and Sarawak states would shift their loyalty to the alternative party lead by Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim.

It was said that two Sabah personnel were offered Deputy Minister post, but declined to accept the position. The two posts were later substituted by two other Sabahans. In a rush following to this, the House of Representative (Dewan Rakyat) speaker position was given to another

Sabahan, Tan Sri Pandikar Amin Mulia, even though Tan Sri Ramli Ngah Talib was already waiting to be re-appointed. Grieving voices from Sabah was heard on the number of ministerial positions allocated to Sabahans, compared to another state which was allocated seven minister positions even though the total member of parliaments was very much lower than Sabah state. As these voices is truly worrying the BN government, our Prime Minister had to re-visit Sabah, just to convince the Sabah state that more benefits will be given out. It is not known actually, whether the voices are one of reminders or black mail / threat. What was said is that, these benefits would not be awarded if not because of Anwar Ibrahim's offer to Sabah and also for the loud voices from certain Sabah MP's. Other allocation provided to Sabah was the elimination of the Department of Federal Development which was not well liked by Sabahans. Department of Federal Development (JPP) was formed when Sabah was controlled by the opposition party, PBS. Although, Sabah may be happy with the offers, the way all these offers and benefits were given out, clearly shows that Federal Government have done it under great pressure. It was done mainly due to the worry and concern that BN government will loose it's influence in Sabah.

Sarawak will definitely be looking with great interest with all the offers made to Sabah. Is the position of Deputy Speaker and Leader of 'Government Support Club' in Parliament enough for Sarawak?

Sarawak Wish List After the 12th General Election

The people of Sarawak are hoping to receive similar benefits as the state of Sabah during the visit by PM Abdullah Ahmad Badawi in early June 2008. Sarawak does not need to demand as Sabah. The most important thing is that sufficient fund is allocated by the Federal Government to Sarawak to improve infrastructure projects and rural development projects (Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaafar, Dewan Rakyat Deputy Speaker and Tiong King Sing, Backbencher Club Chairman BN).

The arrival of Abdullah Ahmad Badawi to the state of Sabah and Sarawak has brought a new hope to the people of both states especially those in the rural areas. BN government will definitely fulfill all the promises to bring development to the rural areas even though operational cost has gone up due to the increase of fuel price. All rural development projects that had been approved by government will be re-structured and given proper attention in order for the projects to be completed as

planned. This promise has reduced the fear from the people, who do not want to see those development projects being stopped halfway or frozen, just due to the increase in global fuel price, especially projects that had been planned for implementation in RMK-9.

Overall infrastructure in Sabah and Sarawak is far cry compared to those in the Peninsula Malaysia. As the people of Sabah received their windfall, Abdullah has also announced an additional RM1 billion allocation by Federal Government to Sarawak. This sum will be managed by Prime Minister's Department (JPM) for various basic infrastructure projects. BN Government is fully committed to create development at rural areas, especially when it is well known that those at the rural areas were the one's who fully supported BN and was the main reason for BN to remain in power. The main plan is for BN government to continue with development projects, especially infrastructure development in Sabah and Sarawak in order for the developments to be as similar to those at Peninsula Malaysia.

List of promises made by Abdullah Ahmad Badawi stated as:

1. RM1 billion allocation for basic infrastructure projects that will be managed by PM's Department (JPM).
2. "Fleet" card for rural community of Sarawak to purchase diesel at a subsidized rate, in order to reduce the burden due to the increase of RM1.00 I in diesel price.
3. Federal Government to bare the cost of helicopter rental of RM15,000.00 per month for every trip of visit to rural areas by Member of Parliament.
4. Matching Grant of RM1.00 for every RM1.00 allocation for small projects at rural areas to every member of DUN in Sarawak. Meaning, the allocation will total up to RM500,000.00 from the original allocation of RM250,000.00.
5. Additional allocation of RM1 million for member of Parliament as had been announced earlier.
6. To absorb more Sarawakians into federal public services.
7. As an immediate action, Public Service Department will implement TUKAR LANTIK scheme, whereby state public officers are appointed to the middle and higher level positions at the federal public services.

(Sources: PM's Abdullah Ahmad Badawi's Speech at the Parliament-Post PRU-12 Election, March 2008, *The Star*, *Utusan Malaysia* & *The New Straits Times*, March-April 2008).

The Largest Contributors, the Least Beneficiaries

The government will fulfill some basic needs of the people of Sarawak (the RM3.9 billion allocation), like providing 24 hours water and electricity supply at rural area schools in Sarawak. Very much difference to Sabah, what is interesting in the case of Sarawak, unlike Sabah, is the good relationship between Federal Government and state of Sarawak. Sarawak leaders does not need to raise their voices, or impose pressure through media in order to highlight their people's grievance, because the Prime Minister had always shown concern to the needs of people of the biggest state in Malaysia.

In the process of solving the rural area problems, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi promised to the people of Sarawak that government would eradicate the absolute poverty and reduce the poverty rate to 2.8% by 2010. In order to solve this poverty issue, a poverty "Focus Group" had been formed to come up with a "Poverty Mapping" and standardize the implementation of the poverty eradication programs. This "Focus Group" will emphasize on the poverty eradicating efforts in Sarawak (and Sabah). Census on families living in absolute poverty families and poor families in Sarawak is 98% done and estimated to be completed by end of June 2008. According to Abdullah, census of a total number of 42,654 families with total income less than RM1,500.00 a month, had been collected in Sarawak. This will be an input to National Poverty Data Bank (e-kasih). As a beginning, government will focus especially on providing houses to poor people in the urban and rural areas in Sarawak.

Even then, Sarawak leaders are not happy with what was allocated to Sarawak compared to what was received by the Sabah state. As has been reported by BERNAMA,

"Sarawak as an important component of Malaysia, would appeal for fairness on the matter. Sabah and Sarawak has about the same size in population... well slightly more in Sabah. But the amount of subsidy doesn't seem to be equal. Sarawak got less than half (of the subsidy from the federal government)," he said upon his arrival from overseas as Hornbill Skyways' hangar Monday night (9 June).

Sarawak's Position in the Cabinet

After 12th General Election, 2 members of parliament from Sarawak were appointed as full ministers. Douglas Unggah Embas representing Bumiputra Dayak from PBB was appointed as Minister of Natural

Resource and Environment and Peter Chin from SUPP was appointed as Agriculture, Industry and Commodity Minister (Table 5). This time around, representatives Malay /Melanau community were not appointed into Cabinet. This has created dissatisfaction and uneasiness among the community. SUPP meanwhile, obtained one full minister and two deputy ministers (Table 6).

Table 5: Distribution of Minister & Deputy Minister Post According to States

States	Minister	Deputy Minister	Total
Johor	7	7	14
Pahang	4	3	7
Selangor	4	2	6
Perak	3	5	8
Sabah	3	4	7
Kedah	-	3	3
Sarawak	2	9	11
Negeri Sembilan	2	1	3
Kelantan	2	-	2
Pulau Pinang	2	-	2
Terengganu	1	2	3
Wilayah Persekutuan	1	-	2
Melaka	-	2	2
Perlis	-	-	0

Table 6: Distribution of Minister & Deputy Minister Post According to BN Component Parties that Contested in the Sarawak Parliamentary Election

Parti	Bilangan calon yang bertanding	Bilangan Menteri yang dilantik	Bilangan Timbalan Menteri yang dilantik	Jumlah Menteri dan Timbalan Menteri
PBB	14	1	3	4
SUPP	7	1	2	3
PRS	6		2	2
SPDP	4		2	2

During Abdullah Badawi's first visit to Sarawak after the election, he promised more position for Dayak ethnic group at the central government. This follow to the grievance within Sarawak Bumiputra

community which is less represented at the Central Government. Currently PRS is represented by two Deputy Ministers, Joseph Salang Gandum (Julau) who is appointed as the Deputy Minister for Energy, Water and Communication and Joseph Entulu Belaun (Selangau) as Deputy Minister for Rural Development and Federal Territory. Two other Deputy Minister's are Jacob Dungau Sagan who was appointed as Deputy Minister for International Trade and Industry and Jelaing Mersat, Deputy Minister for Domestic Trade and Consumer Affairs. Both are from Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party (SPDP). The question that was brought up was on how the Dayak community which contributed 14 Parliamentary seats was only allocated one minister post and four deputy minister posts.

Conclusion

Anwar Ibrahim's effort to obtain enough seats at the parliament to form a new government, symbolically by 16th September, have placed Sabah and Sarawak as the focus point by not only the BN government, but also by the opposition party. It has created a platform for heated debate especially looking at the demands directed by member of parliaments, mainly from Sabah. Even though many development programs has been promised, Sabah politicians wants Central Government to solve the illegal immigrant issues and issue of Sabah being isolated from the Malaysia's main stream politics.

Hundred days (100) after general election, political scenario in Sabah and Sarawak is still a question mark, mainly because the demands made by both states is still not completely fulfilled, even though both these states were the main contributors to national politics.

The political direction in East Malaysia could not be specified further, especially after the promise made by Anwar Ibrahim to increase oil royalty to 20% during his visit to Sabah after the general election. Francis Loh in his article regarding strongmen and federal politics, summarized it by saying "Sabah and Sarawak have become political sources of electoral strength for the BN. Ironically, Sabah and Sarawak can play the role of kingmaker in future federal elections". After the 12th general election, Sabah and Sarawak are already performing that role.

Notes

- ¹ Francis Loh Kok Wah, *Strongman and Federal Politics in Sabah*, pg. 79 in Mavis Puthucheary and Noraini Othman, *Elections and democracy in Malaysia*. (2005) UKM: Bangi.
- ² Loh, K.W. Francis (2002). "Politik Baru di Malaysia?", a paper presented for Loh's appointment as a Professor at University Sains Malaysia, Penang.
- ³ "Politik Baru di Malaysia?", a paper presented for Loh's appointment as a Professor at Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang.
- ⁴ 29 February 2008, Sabah, Sarawak papers carry BN threats to voters. The Borneo Post Online - <http://www.theborneopost.com> - Grants only in BN-held seats Posted By Rajlira On 28th February 2008 @ 10:00 In Local Voters should know by now seats won by DAP in last state election without development projects: Chan.
- ⁵ *Utusan Malaysia*, 10 Mac 2008.

References

Loh, K.W. Francis (2002). "Politik Baru di Malaysia?" A paper presented for Loh's appointment as a Professor at University Sains Malaysia, Penang.

Loh Kok Wah (2002). *Developmentalism and the Limits of Democratic Discourse*. In Loh Kok Wah & Khoo Boon Teik (ed). In *Democracy in Malaysia*, Surrey: Curzon Press.

Mavis Puthucheary and Noraini Othman (2005). *Elections and democracy in Malaysia*. UKM: Bangi.

pmsahar@sarawak.uitm.edu.my
suseela@salam.uitm.edu.my