

# A Long and Winding Road to Democracy: The 2013 Asian Democracy Index for Malaysia

**ANDREW AERIA, TAN SENG KEAT**

## **Introduction**

The Malaysian General Election of 2008 was a watershed election when the Barisan Nasional (BN)<sup>1</sup> governing coalition under the leadership of then Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi lost its hitherto overwhelming two-thirds parliamentary majority of nearly forty years to the newly cobbled-together and loose opposition coalition, the Pakatan Rakyat (PR).<sup>2</sup> The subsequent general election of 2013 (GE13) was therefore an opportunity for Prime Minister Abdul Najib Razak (who took over from former Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi in 2009) to showcase his leadership credentials. It was also an opportunity to test electoral support for BN. He failed on both counts. Nevertheless, throughout the year and especially during the 2013 election campaign, public discourse centered upon issues of political governance, the economy, and racial and religious issues, as well as social issues like crime prevention, public amenities, and welfare. Indeed, 2013 was a year of intense political ferment.

Coming on the heels of the first Asian Democracy Index (ADI) pilot survey in 2012, the ADI survey for 2013 was a humble attempt to gauge the quality of democratic governance in Malaysia. Undertaken in June 2013, the results suggested a mixed picture, which largely reflected that the development of democracy in all its multiple facets was going to be a long and winding road.

This short paper begins by briefly describing the political-economic and social background of Malaysia in 2013. We then describe our ADI survey process and its limitations. With those limitations as caveats, we then proceed to present our 2013 ADI survey results along with our conclusions.

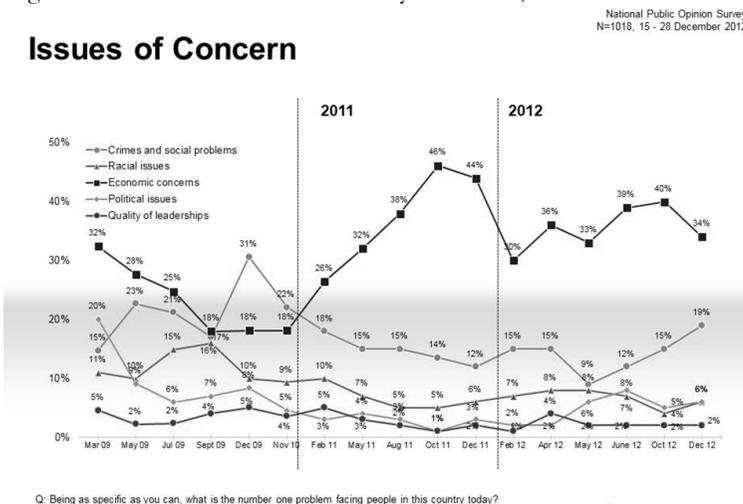
---

Andrew Aeria is Associate Professor at the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Social Sciences, University Malaysia Sarawak. Tan Seng Keat is Research Manager in Merdeka Centre, Bangi, Selangor, Malaysia.

### Malaysia in 2013

The backdrop of our 2013 ADI survey was a weak albeit recovering economy and one of Malaysia’s most contested elections in its history. A social barometer poll conducted by the respected Malaysian polling agency Merdeka Centre in December 2012 captured some of the key issues of concern of the Malaysian public as the country entered 2013. At the top of the public list of concerns was the economy, namely jobs, wages, security of employment, social welfare, retirement concerns, the business environment, investment, among others. This was because the country’s economy, although resilient with Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth of 5.6 percent (2012), was still recovering slowly from the global recession of 2008 and 2009. Exports and incomes suffered greatly in 2008 and in subsequent years thereafter. Malaysia has long been a major producer of primary and electronic goods and consequently was deeply affected by global economic uncertainties and the weak export environment in the United States of America and Europe (Malaysia 2012). Unsurprisingly, the Malaysian economy in early 2013 was weak, which affected the mood of the Malaysian electorate (Malaysia 2013). Next on the list of social concerns was crime and social problems followed by political issues, racial issues, and the quality of leadership in the country (see figure 1). It was these issues that formed the foundation of subsequent tussles between the political parties and civil society over the direction of the country in 2013.

Figure 1. Issues of Concern to the Malaysian Public, 2013



Source: Merdeka Centre 2013a

The groundswell of support for change was very much in the air in the run-up to the 2013 General Election. Making GE13 even more significant and crucial was that BN coalition president and prime minister, Abdul Najib Razak was leading his United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) and the BN coalition into elections for the first time. And he was doing it from a position of weakness after the BN in the 2008 general election experienced its worst ever performance, winning only 140 seats (a net loss of fifty-eight parliamentary seats) and only 51.39 percent of the popular vote. Correspondingly, the opposition PR was campaigning from a position of relative strength after winning eighty-two seats (a net increase of sixty-one parliamentary seats) and 47.79 percent of the popular vote in the 2008 general elections (Wikipedia 2015).

If Malaysia was formerly seen as being mainly a consociational state with elite accommodation (von Vorys 1976; Milne 1977), the years of the Mahathir government (1981-2003) transformed Malaysia into a pseudo-democracy with elite contestation (Khoo 1992; Case 2001), authoritarianism (Rais 1995; Khoo 1997), oligarchic control (Singh 2000) and nationalist strongman governance in pursuit of “development” (Loh and Khoo 2002)—hence, the persistence of many long-serving elite politicians in all parties across the political spectrum.

Significantly, although Dr. Mahathir Mohamad retired in 2003, he remained influential within UMNO, the backbone of the BN coalition government. As well, he has never shied away from putting across his views, acidly if necessary. Thus, after the BN’s electoral debacle of 2008, he successfully persuaded UMNO to displace his successor Mr. Abdullah Ahmad Badawi as Prime Minister in 2009. This paved the way for Mr. Najib Abdul Razak to become Prime Minister in April 2009. Dr. Mahathir has continued to influence and even dictate the direction of policy within the ruling party and the country’s leadership.

Although Mr. Abdullah Badawi had come to power promising political, economic, and social reforms, the reality was otherwise. The country saw deepening corruption and the erosion of political and democratic institutions. This lack of significant reforms ultimately was the undoing of Mr. Badawi and the BN in 2008. Mr. Najib also promised further reforms, much of which he also did not deliver. Instead, he backtracked further by avoiding difficult economic reforms and persecuted protestors demanding electoral reforms. In consequence, the months leading up to GE13 were intense in terms of their political contestation given the dynamism of the opposition PR coalition led by former Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Anwar Ibrahim who, no doubt, hoped to topple the BN coalition in 2013.

Prior to the election in early May 2013, the Coalition for Free and Fair Elections (BERSIH) held rallies, conducted dialogues, and issued numerous press statements demanding genuinely free and fair elections in the country. Their eight demands<sup>3</sup> clearly had sustained public support when hundreds of thousands of ordinary Malaysians throughout the country turned out repeatedly to demonstrate their demand for free and fair elections in July 2011, April 2012, and January 2013. Worried, the government resorted to generous financial handouts in February to poor individuals and households that cumulatively earned less than RM2000/month and RM3000/month respectively, a move that the opposition decried as electoral bribes. The handout strategy worked. BN managed to hold on to their support among low income voters—even slightly increasing it—to avoid defeat in the election (Merdeka Centre 2013b). BN also retained widespread support in the rural East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak.

Nevertheless, GE13 was still perceived as a failure for Prime Minister Najib and his BN coalition as BN did not manage to reverse their 2008 loss of parliamentary seats in any significant way. The BN federal coalition won a majority of parliamentary seats (133 seats) in Malaysia's heavily gerrymandered and malapportioned electoral system that favored rural seats controlled by BN. However, they lost the popular vote (BN: 46.6 percent) to the opposition PR coalition, which won eighty-nine seats and 50.4 percent of the popular vote.

Discouragingly for many, PR did not win enough votes or parliamentary seats to form government or to even dent the authoritarian tendencies of the BN coalition. These results only led to further large-scale demonstrations throughout the country by the opposition PR coalition (called Black-Out Demonstrations) to protest the theft of an election by BN via vote fraud, phantom votes, power black-outs during vote-counting, use of defective indelible ink, and malapportionment of electoral constituency boundaries.

Adding to the heightened state of political ferment at that time was the military stand-off that occurred when over 200 militants from Sulu, Philippines calling themselves the "Royal Security Forces of the Sultanate of Sulu and North Borneo" (dela Cruz 2013) engaged Malaysian security forces in Sabah state in March 2013 over what they claimed to be a reclamation of "ancestral territory" (Calica and Lee-Brago 2013) by the heirs of the Sulu Sultanate. Although the Malaysian government regarded this intrusion as "an invasion" (Khor 2013), many ordinary Malaysians remained convinced that the deadly conflict was rooted in decades of illegal immigration into Sabah state from South Philippines. The Malaysian government had long been running a secret but systematic program of granting citizenship to foreign nationals in Sabah to bolster electoral

support for the ruling BN coalition in the state (Malaysiakini 2006). Others regarded the conflict as being rooted in local politics gone wrong (*ibid.*). Whatever the case, the end result was that there was both a sense of heightened nationalism among government supporters and a deep sense of cynicism, anger, and despair among those (especially native/indigenous Sabahans) who thought that the intrusion was really a consequence of policy blowback.

In addition, there was deep social frustration throughout the country over the rising incidence of serious crime in the country. Malaysians were shocked when the Deputy Director-General of Customs was shot dead by an assassin in Putrajaya, the country's administrative capital, while on his way to work in late April. This incident, just before the general elections, only heightened longstanding public concerns about wanton crime and the inefficiency of the police force in the country. Such concerns were not allayed when in late July, the founder of the Arab-Malaysian Banking Group was shot dead and his wife injured by a hitman, while in late October, a bank officer died after being shot in the face by that bank's own security guard who proceeded to rob the bank. A spate of three senseless killings over three days in late October/early November—namely the abduction of an fifteen-year-old girl who was found dead, stuffed in a suitcase; the assassination of the Pahang State Religious Department's Head of Enforcement; and the murder of a Taiwanese tourist and the abduction of his wife in Sabah—only added to the public perception of a crisis of policing in the country.

Tragic developmental disasters, incidents of infrastructure collapse, and the failure of various development projects during the year due to negligence and corruption caused many fatalities and serious injuries. Such incidents only added to existing social discontent. Public perception of financial leakages and development project irregularities due to weak government controls that allegedly involved politicians, public officials and private contractors was entrenched when landslides repeatedly occurred in urban residential areas, construction sites, and even rural highland valleys. A stadium roof in Terengganu state collapsed for the second time, the ramp of a major bridge in Penang collapsed, and a bridge in Terengganu state was swept away by floods that hit four east coast states of Peninsular Malaysia in December.

The emergence of various fascist/right-wing groups closely allied to UMNO/BN like the race-based supremacist indigenous organization, Pertubuhan Pribumi Perkasa Malaysia (PERKASA)<sup>4</sup> and the ultra-conservative religious-based Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia (ISMA)<sup>5</sup> that exploited and inflamed ethnic and religious tendencies in support of the

BN government prior to the 2013 general election certainly contributed toward further polarization of ethnic and religious communities in the country. Although such groups did succeed in rallying conservative Malay-Muslim voters behind UMNO/BN during the elections, these groups nonetheless contributed toward the BN losing significant support among non-Malay and non-Muslim communities.

It was in this social context of deep public discontent that the Asian Democracy Index 2013 survey was administered in Malaysia.

### **Asian Democracy Index 2013, Malaysia: Scope, Problems and Limitations**

The Asian Democracy Index survey was first introduced to Malaysia in 2012 when we conducted a pilot survey to evaluate the index instrument that had been adapted from the one initially designed and administered in Korea.<sup>6</sup> After making some amendments to the index instrument, we administered the index survey in June 2013.

As the ADI is an expert survey that targets the responses of professionals and not a representative quantitative study, we drew up a pool of about one hundred potential respondents throughout the country whom we felt reflected the country's ethnic-religious and regional profile—two main political markers or ideological dividers of Malaysia. We sent out the index instrument and followed up over the next two months. We finally received responses from twenty-six of these one hundred respondents, after two and a half months, by the end of August, a rather low response rate. There were serious difficulties in getting professionals to respond. They often articulated that they were too busy to spend time responding to the “lengthy index which was time-consuming to complete.” Indeed, many of these experts had to be persuaded via subsequent phone calls and emails to participate as many were also conservative in wanting to keep their views to themselves and worried about how the data would be deployed post-survey.

Of these experts who responded to our index survey, twenty-two were men and five were women within the age range of 20-60 years. While we tried hard to have a reasonable gender-balance, it would seem, for reasons presently unknown, that the women we contacted for the index survey were more hard-pressed for time to respond compared to their male counterparts. Of these respondents, eleven were Chinese, twelve were Malay, three were Indians and one was a non-Muslim indigenous person. Of these professionals, six identified themselves as pro-government Barisan Nasional supporters; sixteen identified themselves

as pro-opposition Pakatan Rakyat supporters; while the remaining five persons identified themselves as independents without any party affiliation. In terms of geographic location, six of these professionals were resident in the state of Selangor; four in Penang; three in Kuala Lumpur and Perak; two respectively in Johor, Negri Sembilan, Sarawak, and Kelantan; and one each in Terengganu, Malacca, and Sabah making the spread of geographic responses evenly distributed throughout the country.

With regard to the index instrument itself, there were limitations that we were under no illusions about, which we acknowledged from the outset. First and foremost, although the results were interesting, the fact remains that the index survey was not representative of social reality in Malaysia. Given its small sample size, it was impossible to be so. Nor was it intended to be; we never set out to run the index survey to be representative since it was designed to be an index that canvassed the views of a select number of experts and professionals. Thus, the results allowed us to have a peek into exploring the current state of opinion about democracy among various professionals and experts in the country. As well, we found from the outset that the gendered pattern of responses indicated that the results were skewed toward having a male-dominated perspective. We also realized that although the responses we got were indicative, they were merely responses from the educated elites in Malaysian society. These elites, many of whom are highly educated, middle or upper-middle class and well-travelled certainly did not share the same understanding of democracy, justice, ethnic tensions, et cetera as would have been understood by the bulk of ordinary working-class people who have lower incomes and lower educational achievements. Had these masses of working-class people been surveyed, the results would have likely been significantly different since elites/experts and normal/ordinary citizens do not share similar views or ideologies on the political condition of Malaysia. Finally, as we administered the index survey, we realized that the Malaysian respondents held different meanings/connotations for terms such as “justice” or “fair” given their varying religious, cultural, ethnic and language backgrounds. Similarly, comprehension of certain terms like “affirmative action” carries significantly different meanings among Malaysians (ethnically based) from that which is generally employed in developed social-democratic countries (needs based).

With these caveats and disclosures, we now explore the post-GE 2013 views of Malaysian experts and professionals about the state of democracy (i.e., the situation of monopoly control over politics, economics, and civil society) in the country.

### Overview of the 2013 Malaysian Asian Democracy Index

The overall aggregate score for the index of democracy in Malaysia in 2013 was 4.08 (see table 1). Since our index survey did not derive an index for 2012, this index is the starting benchmark for all our subsequent Asian Democracy Index surveys in the years to come.

Table 1. Summary of Democracy Index Survey Values (2013)

Principles	Subprinciples	Politics Category	Economy Category	Civil Society Category	Index Values
Liberalization	Autonomy	3.67	6.09	4.43	4.73
	Competition	3.80	4.23	5.21	4.41
Equalization	Pluralization	3.26	2.38	4.00	3.21
	Solidarity	4.27	3.71	3.87	3.95
Liberalization (L)	3.74	5.16	4.82	4.57	
Equalization (E)	3.77	3.05	3.93	3.58	
Aggregate Index Values: (L) and (E) only	3.75	4.10	4.27	4.08 (Overall)	

It will be noted that the overall democracy index value of 4.08 is a low score on a 0-10 scale. Taking the broad view, one sees from the values derived that the index survey respondents were most pessimistic about politics (3.75) followed by the economy (4.10) and least so about civil society (4.27). Yet, the reality is that all these values are low. In other words, 2013 was really a year in which a significant general election and vicious ongoing politics dominated all areas of public life in Malaysia.

The autonomy index value for the political liberalization category showed a low score (3.67) reflecting low individual and civil freedoms. That the competition index was also not much higher (3.80), which indicated that there was little public choice in terms of political competition. Reflecting these two values was that of political pluralization, which was

the lowest in the category (3.26), suggesting that political power was very unevenly distributed in the country with democratic institutions and processes heavily stymied or tightly controlled. Interestingly, the value for political solidarity is relatively much better than that of the others in the same category (4.27). Hence, it did suggest that there was public energy within the political system to challenge the entrenched disparity of power. What our respondent scores thus indicated was that Malaysia retained a very entrenched authoritarian political system in which power was highly concentrated in the hands of elites (political liberalization score: 3.74). Accordingly, it was unsurprising that the political equalization score was low (3.77), reflecting the depth of elite monopoly in the pattern of power relations in the country.

Within the economy category, our economic pluralization index value of 2.38 (which was the lowest recorded score of all field-specific index values) clearly indicated that economic resources in the country were tightly concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy elites and state enterprises (known as government-linked companies or GLCs). Such a perception plainly showed that the monopoly of economic resources mirrored the monopoly of political power in the country with accompanying negative influences upon the overall quality of democracy. Similarly, the institutional character of the state and its ability to address this inequality was low as reflected in the low economic solidarity value of 3.71. This was also somewhat reflected in the perception that much of the economic sector was not independent of government intervention and involvement, as the economic competition index value is 4.23. Considering that politics and business overlap in Malaysia's system of ersatz (Yoshihara 1988) and/or crony capitalism (Gomez and Jomo 1997), this finding only reinforced the perspective that the economy was generally controlled by rich and politically well-connected elites. Nevertheless, the relatively higher score of 6.09 (highest value obtained in the economy index) in economic autonomy suggested that despite high levels of economic monopoly, many professionals perceived that the public still enjoyed a strong measure of freedom; an indicator of the dynamism of the country and the availability of substantial economic surplus given Malaysia's status as a net exporter of valuable primary commodities (e.g., petroleum and oil palm) and manufactured goods (e.g., electronics). Seen as a whole, the economic sector had a comparatively better liberalization score of 5.16, which likely reflected the perception of respondents having better education, larger incomes, and inherited wealth, among others, which gave them more resources and thus allowed them to perceive more freedom and independence

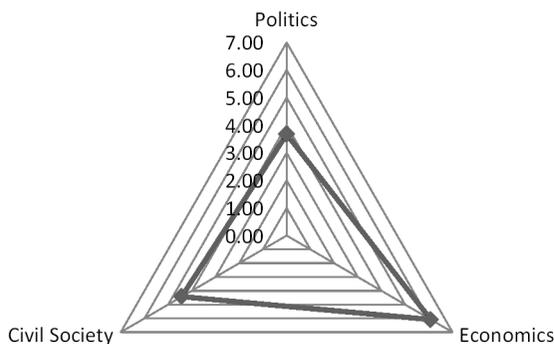
of economic action in the country compared to members of the working classes. Still, the low economic equalization score of 3.05 suggested that the respondents perceived the economy to be woefully marginal to the majority but monopolized by elites with huge resources.

For the civil society category, the respondents also returned pessimistic scores about the future of democracy. When asked about civil society autonomy, they returned a weak score of 4.73, suggesting that Malaysia lacked an autonomous civil society free of government or economic influences. Their responses were likely due to the existence of numerous authoritarian laws like the Peaceful Assembly Act (2012), which supposedly replaced Section 27 of the Police Act, and the Security Offences (Special Measures) Act (2012) that supposedly replaced the odious Internal Security Act. All these new laws continue to stymie the growth and influence of civil society groups. This view was reflected in the civil society pluralization category, which had a score of 4.00. Respondents thus regarded civil society as an unequal partner in society—civil society groups did not set the mainstream agenda, lacked information and influence (and also financial resources) relative to other political and economic actors. Yet, despite these low scores, the respondents held a positive view that civil society had a crucial role to play in contributing toward democracy—the score of 5.21 for civil society competition category. But overall, the view remained a pessimistic one—the respondents did not think democracy in the country would develop in a vibrant or dynamic way since they did not regard civil society groups as faring well in the solidarity category, giving it a very low score of 3.87. Clearly, given the various restrictions, limitations and disadvantages that civil society groups faced, the respondents did not rate well the capacity of civil society groups to promote diversity, awareness, social participation, and improved governance. Overall, our respondents' view of civil society in Malaysia was weak as well, in line with their views on the economy and politics. Clearly, civil society was not free of numerous authoritarian regulations. This was indicated by a weak civil society liberalization score of 4.82. Accordingly, this position of civil society weakness meant that the overall civil society equalisation score was very low at 3.93, indicating that the Malaysian civil society sector was working against huge odds, often from a very disadvantaged position.

Taking an individual view of the subprinciple of autonomy across all three categories of politics, economics, and civil society showed clearly that the Malaysian economy enjoyed relatively more independence from government interference and control than politics and civil society. This

was unsurprising since Malaysia has long been an economy that trades primary commodities and electronic manufactures on the global market while tightly restricting political activity and dissent. This is pictorially evident in figure 2.

Figure 2. Relative Autonomy of Politics, Economy, and Civil Society in Malaysia, 2013



The individual view of the democratic subprinciple of competition across all three categories in the country showed that political competition was most established in civil society surpassing that of economics and strikingly even the political category. This suggested that the political sector of the country was partly paralyzed. Instead of energies contributing toward a vibrant political sector by enhancing electoral competition between political parties, it was diffused into the civil society sector on account of the government's strict control of the electoral system and its outcomes. In other words, it was civil society that had emerged as the site of a self-reference system for democracy in the country (see figure 3).

In terms of distribution of power and resources across all three categories in the country, the subprinciple of pluralization showed that it was really civil society that had the best distribution of power, resources, influence, and information. On the other hand, the economic category was perceived to be the most unequal in terms of pluralisation (see figure 4).

Figure 3. Relative Autonomy of Politics, Economy, and Civil Society in Malaysia, 2013

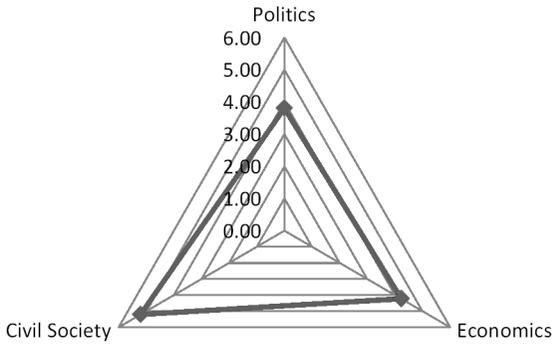
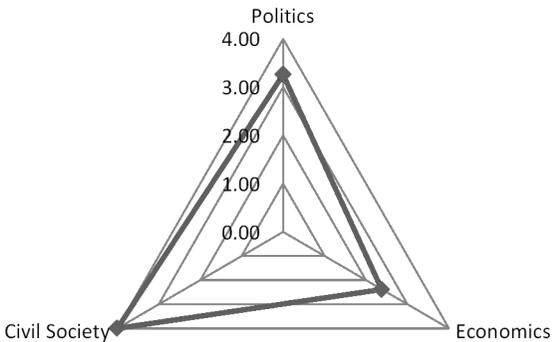
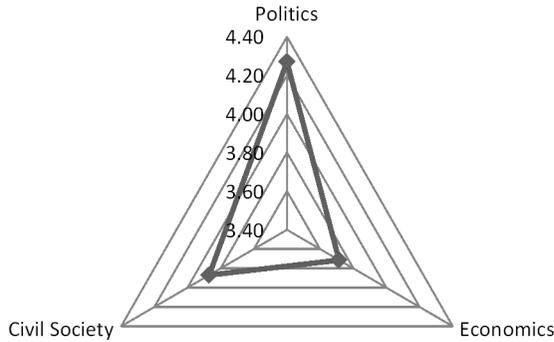


Figure 4. Relative Pluralization of Politics, Economy, and Civil Society in Malaysia, 2013



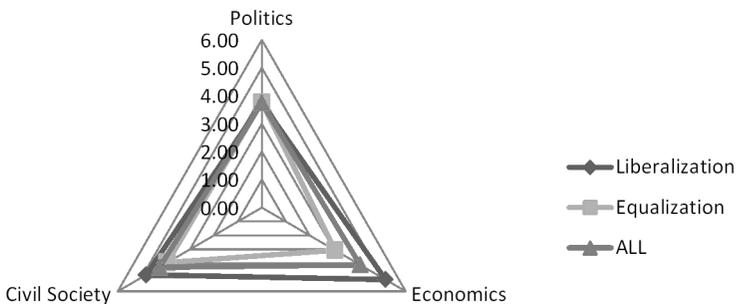
As figure 5 shows, for the subprinciple of solidarity across all three categories in the country the politics category had the most active level of participation followed by civil society and then economics. Again, there was a sense that most people felt marginalized by the economy. However, it was also likely that part of the findings for economics here was skewed by a particular understanding of certain terms like “affirmative action” by all those polled.

Figure 5. Relative Solidarity of Politics, Economy, and Civil Society in Malaysia, 2013



When viewed across all categories, the core democratic principles of liberalisation and equalization indicated that the latter had a very low score of 3.58 while that of the former was only slightly better at 4.57. Put differently, what these scores suggested was that elite monopoly control over the politics and economics of the country was very significant and deep. This elite control therefore deeply impaired efforts to bring about a transformation of the inequality in the relations of power, resources, rights, and influence into something that was more liberalized and equalized. In other words, the democratic fiber of Malaysia was perceived as being deeply stymied (see figure 6).

Figure 6. Overall Quality of Liberalization, Equalization, and Democracy in Malaysia, 2013



## Conclusion

Our 2012 index poll found that Malaysia was a country that was deeply authoritarian. It was dominated by a small but extremely powerful political and economic elite. Since then, despite the dynamic efforts of the country's civil society organizations and opposition political parties in pursuit of electoral, political, and economic reforms, the country has not progressed democratically. This is borne out by Malaysia's low overall ADI score of 4.08.

In order to maintain their hold over government in Malaysia and especially to win GE13, the governing BN coalition resorted to cynical methods of using electoral handouts and stoking ethnic and religious tensions to remain in government. The problem of constituency malapportionment along rural-urban and ethnic lines also certainly helped the BN coalition remain in government. Indeed, the failure of the electoral reform movement, BERSIH, to pressure the government to reform the Electoral Commission despite massive pressure exerted on the government via public demonstrations and internet media campaigns in the lead up to GE13, as well as its subsequent failure to even extract any subsequent commitment to serious electoral reform, showcases how difficult the road to democracy is in the country. Elite control remains entrenched in politics, the economy remains monopolized by crony corporates close to the governing BN coalition, and the rule of law remains weak and pliable. Apparently, little had changed since 2012. Malaysia remains stagnant and political, economic, legal, and social reforms remain in the doldrums. Indeed, the country is facing a long and winding road to democracy if it is to reach the Promised Land of a robust and functioning democracy.

## Notes

1. The governing Barisan Nasional (or National Front) coalition comprises thirteen national and regional political parties, all of which were conservative, ethnic-oriented, right-wing. The mainstay parties within BN in 2013 were the United Malay National Organisation, the Malaysian Chinese Association, the Malaysian Indian Congress, and the Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu. All others were minor parties. See the National Front webpage for more information: <http://www.barisannasional.org.my/en>.
2. The opposition Pakatan Rakyat (or Peoples' Alliance) comprises an uneasy coalition of three parties, namely the multi-ethnic, centre-right Parti Keadilan Rakyat, the ethnic-Chinese center-right Democratic Action Party, and the conservative Islamist Parti Islam Se-Malaysia. See their electoral manifesto for more information: <https://www.pakatanrakyat.my/>.
3. BERSIH's eight demands were as follows: 1) a clean electoral roll; 2) reform of the postal ballot; 3) use of indelible ink; 4) a minimum election campaign period of

- twenty-one days; Free and fair media access and coverage; 5) strengthening of public institutions; 6) an end of electoral corruption; and 8) an end to dirty politics. See more at: <http://www.bersih.org/about-bersih-2-0/8-demands/>.
4. PERKASA or the Malaysian Indigenous Empowerment Movement is a race-based supremacist organization that seeks to entrench indigenous but mainly Malay rights as per Article 153 of the Malaysian Constitution. Further information is available on their webpage: [http://www.pribumiperkasa.org/Halaman\\_Utama/](http://www.pribumiperkasa.org/Halaman_Utama/).
  5. Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia (ISMA) or the Malaysian Muslim Alliance is an ultra-conservative Muslim organization that seeks to “develop and empower Islamic civilization in Malaysia on the basis of mutual justice” (Source: [http://isma.my/org/?page\\_id=20](http://isma.my/org/?page_id=20)).
  6. The results of this pilot index survey was reported in Aeria and Tan 2013, 81-122.

## References

- Calica, Aurea and Pia Lee-Brago. 2013. “Sultan: Sabah is Our Home.” *The Philippine Star*, 19 February. <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2013/02/19/910499/sultan-sabah-our-home>.
- Case, William. 2001. “Malaysia’s Resilient Pseudodemocracy.” *Journal of Democracy* 12 (1): 43-57.
- dela Cruz, Arlyn. 2013. “Heirs of Sultan of Sulu Pursue Sabah Claim On Their Own.” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 16 February. <http://globalnation.inquirer.net/64577/heirs-of-sultan-of-sulu-pursue-sabah-claim-on-their-own>.
- Gomez, Edmund T. and K. S. Jomo. 1997. *Malaysia’s Political Economy: Politics, Patronage and Profits*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Khoo Boo Teik. 1997. “Democracy and Authoritarianism in Malaysia since 1957: Class, Ethnicity and Changing Capitalism.” In Laothamas, Anek editor, *Democratisation in Southeast and East Asia*, 46-76. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Khoo Kay Jin. 1992. “The Grand Vision: Mahathir and Modernisation.” In Kahn, Joel and Francis Loh editors, *Fragmented Vision: Culture and Politics in Contemporary Malaysia*, 44-76. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Khor Yu Leng. 2013. “The Sabah-Sulu Crisis Threatens the Palm Oil Supply-Chain.” *ISEAS Perspective* no. 12, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Loh, Francis Kok Wah and Khoo Boo Teik. 2002. *Democracy in Malaysia: Discourses and Practices*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon.
- Malaysia (Government of Malaysia). 2012. *The Malaysian Economy in Figures 2012*. Retrieved from <http://www.epu.gov.my/en/the-malaysian-economy-in-figures-2012>.
- . 2013. *Economic and Financial Developments in the Malaysian Economy in the First Quarter of 2013*. <http://www.bnm.gov.my/files/publication/qb/2013/Q1/p1.pdf>.
- Malysiakini. 2006. “Special Report: Sabah’s Project M.” *Malysiakini*, 27 June. <http://www.malysiakini.com/news/53046>.
- Merdeka Centre. 2013a. “Peninsular Malaysia Voter Survey, December 28, 2012. Issues of Voter Concern.” <http://www.merdeka.org/v4/phocadownload/Researches/poll%20release%20dec%202012%20-%20voter%20issues.pdf>.
- . 2013b. “Getting it Right. The Approach and Experience of Merdeka Centre in Political Polling in Malaysia.” Paper presented at the UNIMAS 2nd International Elections and Democracy Conference 2013, Kota Samarahan, 7 November 2013.
- Milne, R.S. 1977. “Politics, Ethnicity and Class in Guyana and Malaysia.” *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol.26, No.1, pp. 18-37.

- Rais Yatim. 1995. *Freedom under Executive Power in Malaysia: A Study of Executive Supremacy*. Kuala Lumpur: Endowment.
- Singh, Hari. 2000. "Democratization or Oligarchic Restructuring? The Politics of Reform in Malaysia." *Government and Opposition* 35(4): 520-546.
- von Vorys, Karl. 1976. *Democracy without Consensus*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Wikipedia. 2015. "Malaysian General Election, 2008." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malaysian\\_general\\_election,\\_2008](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malaysian_general_election,_2008).