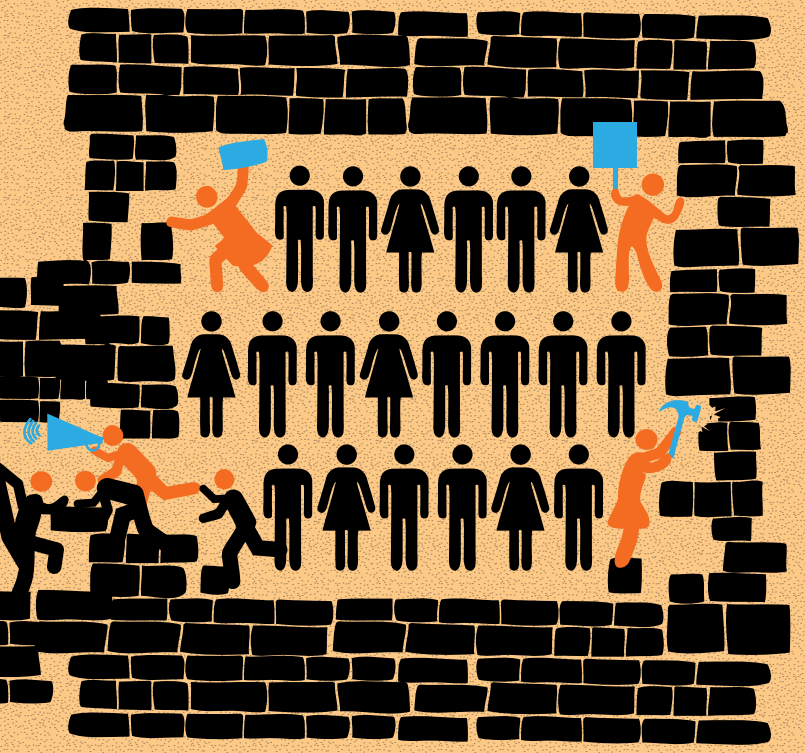
ACTIVATING MALAYSIANS:

THE D-I-Y TOOLKIT



MALAYSIAN CENTRE FOR CONSTITUTIONALISM & HUMAN RIGHTS (MCCHR)
a.k.a PUSATRAKYATLB

MCCHR PusatRakyat LoyarBurok

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Activating Malaysians: The D-I-Y Toolkit

First Edition (2012). Reprint (2013).

Published in Malaysia in 2012 by
LoyarBurok Publications (LoyarBaca), a division of
Liberal Banter Sdn Bhd (723502-K)
32 Jalan PJU 7/16
Mutiara Damansara
47800 Petaling Jaya
w: www.LoyarBurok.com
e: loyarbaca@loyarburok.com

Printed and bound in Malaysia by
Academe Art & Printing Services Sdn Bhd
7 Jalan Rajawali 1A
Bandar Puchong Jaya
47100 Puchong

Design and layout by
Bright Lights At Midnight
www.blam.com.my

Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia Cataloguing-in-Publication

Activating Malaysians: The D-I-Y Toolkit
ISBN 978-967-0102-01-6
1. Social Workers -- Malaysia
2. Youth -- Social Aspects
3. Social Action -- Malaysia
I. Activating Malaysians: The D-I-Y Toolkit
361.3

Dedicated to all Malaysians who believe – or will soon believe – that we need to take charge of our own lives and our own communities by do-it-yourself activism if we are to uplift and improve the conditions of our peoples and our country.

Move with us!

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PREFACE

Why activism?

2011 and 2012 have been the most turbulent years for democracy and dictators in many regions of the world. We saw people power bring down Gaddafi and Mubarak. We saw disenchantment with the abuses of financial institutions leading to a backlash against capitalism giving birth to the Occupy movements. We saw Europeans marching in the tens of thousands against austerity drives by their governments.

Increasingly common in recent years, Malaysians are starting to see how non-violent direct action is making an impact on their lives especially in circumstances where formal institutions and processes have failed. The thread in many of these movements has been the taking of collective action by individual citizens to effect behavioural change by the powerholders.

Campaigns against the ISA, EO, AUKU and Lynas, among others, have been consistent, persistent and at times controversial affairs in the country. Some of these movements have seen successes with the repeal of the ISA and EO after a struggle of more than 40 – 50 years. Tremendous public pressure saw the Court of Appeal in a rare judgment declaring section 15 of the AUKU unconstitutional. Repeated beach rallies attended by the ordinary makcik(s) and pakcik(s) of Kuantan led the Government to waffle and change its initially stout defensive position on Lynas to establish a Parliamentary Select Committee for further investigations.

It is no coincidence that a massive BERSIH 3.0 protest for electoral reform is rumoured to be in the pipeline following the successes of BERSIH on November 10, 2007 and BERSIH 2.0 on July 9, 2011. No historian will forget that it was due in substantial part to citizens breaking the fear factor and coming out in force in the trio of street protests – the Malaysian Bar's Walk for Justice (September 26, 2007), BERSIH's and HINDRAF's rallies (November 25, 2007) – that led to the unprecedented election results in 2008.

Activism in our nation has become more important, more pressing, more relevant, more necessary and more powerful with the advent of the internet, the advancement of progressive youth empowerment through rights-based initiatives, the rise of the middle-class wanting to see change and the increasing disillusionment, disenchantment and distrust of those in authority.

But activists are not born. They are made. Anyone who tells you that he or she was 'born an activist' is lying. Instead, one should ask what triggered one's journey in activism. What was the catalyst that made one become a more active citizen?

For some, it may be have been the Reformasi or the BERSIH movement. For others, it may have been a personal story of police abuse or a community's experience in keeping a potentially deadly radioactive plant out of its neighbourhood. Every story is different, and each his or her own. But there is always a story if one thinks about it more thoroughly.

Why do I need this D-I-Y Toolkit?

In reality, many young Malaysians today are willing and ready to act to help, amongst others, the marginalised and oppressed in society. But many simply lack the skills, resources and capacity to do so. All they have are energy and idealism. Most thus rely on ad hoc campaigning tactics or disjointed organising methods which in turn usually fall short of achieving the stated goals or seriously impacting powerholders.

Post-BERSIH, we have seen a larger number of Malaysians gaining an interest in activism and taking action on their own, many initially without the support of political parties. The fact that political parties from both sides of the divide then attempt to, and do, 'hijack' some of these movements enlarges the reach of the peoples' messages while putting the issues on the national plate.

How are we then to harness these gains and constructively channel these initiatives towards lasting and meaningful social reform? If I am new to activism, what do I need to do to further my cause? What are the steps I need to take? Is there a model or template that can be easily replicated by others? How do human rights campaigns and movements achieve success? This Toolkit attempts to address these questions.

Second, in the belief that activism needs to be mainstreamed and no longer confined to a small minority pushed to activism by chance or accident, this Toolkit serves to provide some sort of coherent thinking – or checklist – of the design fundamentals or architecture in building campaigns or movements for effective practical implementation. The science of activism, so to speak.

Third, this Toolkit aims to complement the UndiMsia! experience by providing the necessary grounding for our movers to lead and facilitate UndiMsia!'s flagship #IdolaDemokrasi GameShops on their own.

Fourth, our research bears no copy of any similar Malaysian book on activism as this Toolkit. Given that we are in an age of information overload but regularly forget easily or suffer from attention deficit, we have documented and archived the verbal history and journey of UndiMsia! (launched on September 16, 2011) in the hope that it will give a fresh perspective to activism hereto unseen in our nation, for the current generation and future ones.

Primarily written for UndiMsia!'s community movers as a guide to influencing accurately those they meet or mobilise and for a secondary audience of people keen to have an inside take into what UndiMsia! is, we hope that the tools set out in this Toolkit will, with some diligence, be used in furtherance of the causes of the people.

A cautionary note: this Toolkit does not pretend to be an exhaustive or definitive guide. In fact, it draws on various other resources mentioned in ***Chapter V, Sources For Further Reading And Action***. The Toolkit is not THE answer but one of the answers. It is a start. It has been a work-in-progress for the past few months and will continue to be so as our labour of love that chronicles UndiMsia!'s progress while the movement quickly moves through its paces. This is the first time the science of activism in the model developed by UndiMsia! is written in this way and we will continue to refine the tools and resources to make activism more fun, more accessible, more effective and more meaningful for the end-user activist (or would-be activist).

How do I use this Toolkit?

This book does not necessarily have to be read from the beginning to its end. We have segmented the book for easy reference in a way that reflects a logical flow. We believe that any new mover will be able to gather core information from this Toolkit to supplement his or her experiential learning with UndiMsia! through, among others, the movement's #IdolaDemokrasi GameShop.

What do I do after reading this Toolkit?

No book can 'teach' activism. Activism must be experienced. This Toolkit may only 'suggest' possible narratives or guide action, and we do not pretend that you will learn all you need to know by reading this book. You must feel activism, experience it and do it to enjoy a fuller benefit from this Toolkit.

Around the world, one most usual phenomenon attributable to human nature is the ability of people to simply complain about problems and the concomitant inability to take action to seek solutions, i.e. the 'recurrent complainer', who takes little or no real tangible action. Yet, a truly free and functioning democracy is not about your vote that is cast once every five years or so. A vote once every five years solves little, if any. It is about taking action before and after the vote. UndiMsia!'s call to action is basically that we ACT. Take action. Act.

While UndiMsia! aspires to educate, empower and build capacity, such aspiration can only find fulfillment if there are youth who will be part of it and inspire it, for UndiMsia! is no one's property but ours all. For what UndiMsia! has done so far and what it will be in the future, it is for those who see the movement's work to decide. For not, we

can only hold our hands to our hearts, uncover our conscience and say that we have tried, are trying and will try our darnest best – in good faith – to make Malaysia a better place for us all.

Written based on a collective experience of more than 14 years participating in and leading various social movements since the Reformasi era in the late 90s', we offer this Toolkit to you for activism, Malaysian style.

Move with us: to capture, connect, convert and cultivate!

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March 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

UndiMsia! is born from the idea that Malaysia – now more than ever before – needs a fiercely non-partisan movement to build a new generation of independent active communities able to solve their own problems through the use of simple, do-it-yourself citizen action tools. Since its September 16, 2011 launch, UndiMsia! has caught the attention of the media, politicians, NGOs and numerous stakeholders with generally favourable reports of the movement's social change agency work. A great deal of this has been well-publicised on our various net channels @UndiMsia namely Facebook, Twitter and YouTube.

Much of where the movement is at now is due to the many energetic and idealistic youth who have moved with UndiMsia!, and who have 'graduated' from our flagship #IdolaDemokrasi GameShops held regularly in different parts of the country and are being planned for overseas. These movers have in their own way gone out to inspire, influence and activate others, and continue to contribute their lives and bodies to the cause of activism. They have helped improve and shape the movement, its deliverables and its initiatives, making UndiMsia! a full-fledged force in itself. To them, UndiMsia! owes much sincere gratitude and inspiration.

In no particular order of preference or importance, we acknowledge UndiMsia!'s Community Movers, the LoyarBurokkers of LoyarBurok.com (that awesome community blawg), the Constitutionalists at MyConsti, the Human Rights Activists at the Bar Council's Human Rights Committee and the Young Lawyers at the Bar Council's National Young Lawyers and Kuala Lumpur Young Lawyers committees.

Individually, well, there are too many to mention – but we will name some anyway (we apologise if we left out anyone, you know who you are): Rebecca Choong, Hasbeemasputra Abu Bakar, Joanne Chua, Haziqah Nasirah, Tan Sze Ming, Farency Baseng, Alex Kwok, Low Wen Zhen, Sam Lim, Kedric Kwan, Cheryl Chok, Tania Jo, Pepper Lim, Pang Sheue Chyn, K Shanmuga, Fahri Azzat, Sharmila Sekaran, Zain HD, Seira Sacha, Khaizan Sharizad, Zaim Mohzani, Idzwan Husaini, Chan Yen Hui, Rebecca Lau, Edward Saw, Boo Su-Lyn, Marcus van Geyzel, Lim Ka Ea, Long Seh Lih, Adrian Chew, Woon King Chai, Michael Loo, Vienna Looi, Adam Adli, Farida Ibrahim, Juana Jaafar, Karen Yap, Justine Tan, Pang Jo Fan, Rubin Khoo, Michelle Choi, Pauline Teoh, Syahredzan Johan, Qayyum Jumadi, Lisa Ng, Aira Azhari, Aerie Rahman, Farisya Shukor, Adli Zakuan, Aizat Mokhtar, Farhan Azahan, Zulhabri Supian, Hazwany Jamaluddin, Rajen Devaraj, Edmund Bon, Chin Oy Sim, Benazir Japiril, Azrul Syahradzi, Aston Paiva, Alison Ong, Lee Ee May, Louis Liaw, Ong Kar Jin, Wong Chin Huat, June Low, Jocelyn Loh,

Joachim Leong, Yaw Ern Nian, David Teoh, William Ng, Janet Tan, PK Sukania, E Nalini, Rahmat Abu Bakar, Sara Lau, Khor Heng How, Patricia Noeb, Kang Mei Yee, Ong Kian Ming, Daniel Albert, Kimmy Ang, Benjamin Leong, Sean Ho, Jubili Anilik, Louise Tan, Tan Khai Yoong, Galvin Wong, Azira Aziz, Derek Kok, R Gokul, Lim Wei Jiet, Fahmi Reza, Kenneth Chung, New Sin Yew, Shahnon Lau, Ikmal Hazlan, Anne Baltazar, June Rubis, Anne Hooi, Ammar Khairi, Farah Chuah, Roger Chan, Audrey Lim, Michelle Ng, Daniel Soon, How Zean Shiung, Debra Nita, SK Thew, Chew Hoong Ling, Rahul Kulkarni, Nicol Paul, Alea Nasihin, Arun Valliappan, Michelle Yesudas, Teoh Tee Keat, Sufri Safuan, PY Wong, Melissa Sasidaran, Nadiah Ahmad, Yap Jin Rui, Tan Hwee Yee, Randy Chew, Redzuan Yusoff, Azri Malek, Rafeeza Hamdan, Karl Rafiq, Pang Khee Teik, Gilfred Ho, Chew Chai Voi, Rachel Chin, Ferdinand Pereira, Thean See Xien, Winson Lee, Adrian Yeo, Jonathan Yong, Ian Choong, Jason Lee, Izwan Zakaria, Patrick Loh, Dinesweri Puspanadan, Zara Kahan, Wong Fook Meng, Nadia Heng, Elaine Tiu, Nova Nelson, Hardesh Singh, Adriana Leu, Adriene Leong, Firdaus Husni, Boo Sha-Lyn, Liam Hanlon, Kenneth Wong, Lingswaran Singh, Andrew Yong, Izmil Amri, Cilia Chong, Ong BK, David Mathew, Choo Mun Wei, Esther Anandaraj, Nadia Abu Bakar, Reuben Wee, Reshera Chan, Shafiqa Nabeera, June Choon, Quek Yiing Huey, Amer Hamzah, Chuah Ee Chia, Moly Mathews, Teh Chi-Chang, Thilaga Sulathireh, T Arokiasamy, Syed Harun, Jasmine Ng, Nandakumar Haridas, Melissa Loovigaratnam, Ryan Soo, Syarulnizam Salleh, Saifuddin Abdullah, Idris Jala, Tan Jo Hann, Lily Foong, Masjaliza Hamzah, Chuah Siew Eng, Karen Jolly, Lew Pik-Svonn, Tan Shang Neng, Joanne Leong, Lau Yi Leong, Nur Ezira Ramli, Rachel Foong, Rizwan Tayabali, Fatimah Ismail, Johny Andu, Yoshua Chua, Michele Chua, Ashley Chua and Najwa Tajul.

And of course, Fazrul Reza and Ellina Amin of Bright Lights At Midnight (BLAM) for putting together, in their usual way, the perfect visual and technical aspects of this Toolkit!

GLOSSARY

ADUN
Ahli Dewan Undangan Negeri (Member of the State Legislative Assembly)

AG
Attorney General

AUKU / UUCA
Akta Universiti dan Kolej Universiti 1971 / Universities and University College Act 1971

BERSIH
Gabungan Pilihanraya Bersih dan Adil / The Coalition for Clean and Fair Elections

Community Mover
UndiMsia!'s life and blood. The organisers and mobilisers of the movement playing the four roles of activists: Citizen, Reformer, Social Change Agent and Rebel.

CPPS
Centre for Public Policy Studies

EC
Election Commission

EO
Emergency (Public Order and Crime Prevention) Ordinance 1969

HINDRAF
Hindu Rights Action Force

IGP
Inspector-General of Police

ISA
Internal Security Act 1960

JAC
Judicial Appointments Commission

LoyarBurok (LB)
The ONLY blawg. Just an awesome D-I-Y community blawg that provides a multi-functional platform for addictive access by writers and readers.

Lynas
Lynas Corporation Ltd is an Australian company seeking to build the Lynas Advanced Materials Plant (LAMP) to process rare earth in Gebeng, Kuantan, Pahang. Fears of radioactive threats to the environment have sparked a citizen movement against Lynas.

MACC
Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission

MCA
Malaysian Chinese Association

MCCHR
Malaysian Centre for Constitutionalism and Human Rights a.k.a. PusatRakyatLB. Enough said.

MP
Member of Parliament

MyConstitution (MyConsti) / PerlembagaanKu
A first-of-its-kind national campaign to educate Malaysians on the Federal Constitution initiated by the Bar Council's Constitutional Law Committee.

NGO
Non-Governmental Organisation

NVDA
Non-Violent Direct Action

PM
Prime Minister

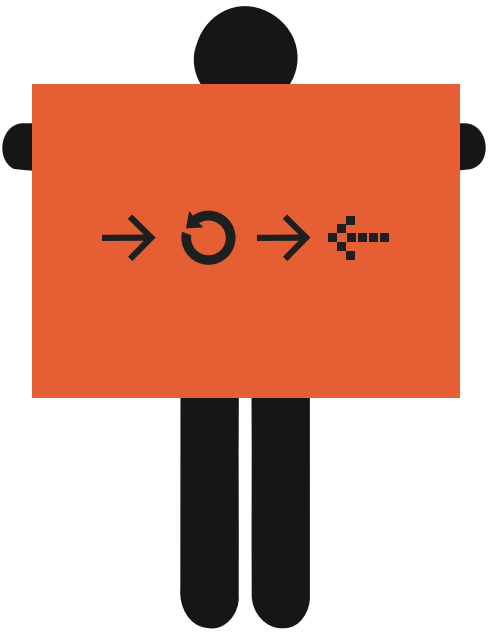
Reformasi
A movement started in 1998 initially to protest the sacking of Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim and then to free him from prison. It has now spawned other movements in Malaysia.

SUHAKAM
Suruhanjaya Hak Asasi Manusia Malaysia (Human Rights Commission of Malaysia)

WFJ
Walk for Justice

YAG
Youth Action Group

YDPA
Yang di-Pertuan Agong



CHAPTER 1

I. A BRIEF HISTORY: HOW, AND WHY? #LBRAK

How and why UndiMsia! This is the narrative.[1]

From February 26 to 27, 2011, a bunch of 32 bored and restless Malaysian youth converged in Malacca to mull about life, love, civil society and Malaysian politics. Through 10 episodes of honest sharing and open discussions, we identified several trends since the General Election in 2008 that needed to be dealt with, among others:

- Many NGO leaders and civil society activists had joined political parties, in particular the Pakatan Rakyat coalition.
- With the apparent promise of instant change, youth formed the impression that solutions to society's ills can be found in the route of partisan politics, and poured themselves and resources into strengthening political parties by enlisting as members or working for the parties' leaders.
- Large gaps in NGOs and civil society groups started to appear as its leaders and second tier of youth activists bypassed the non-partisan struggle for change.
- Many incompetent MPs had been elected to Parliament.
- NGOs and civil society groups were duplicating or replicating human rights and local democracy campaigns, and this was sapping already limited resources.
- There was consensus on the need to:
    - Effectively mainstream activism to quickly build the capacity of the 'new' youths to lead campaigns and mobilise as well as for ordinary citizens to organise their communities to take action on their own.
    - Re-engineer NGO and civil society activism for more efficient use of limited resources.
    - Re-claim and enlarge civil society's space on a national scale.

To achieve the stated goals, a practical solution suggested was to create a sustainable education and empowerment movement to holistically provide a platform setting out the thought processes and actions required to nourish and flourish activism. The movement had to be constituted by the following features: it had to be non-partisan, civil society-led, inclusive and collaborative, issue-driven, and action-driven.

Ultimately, such a movement needed to be user-generated (i.e. 'nothing-to-do-with-me-the-organiser') in that communities would take up issues on their own without relying – as they would or might have – on campaigners or mobilisers. To get there required, firstly, awareness-raising, secondly, the creation of opportunities for interaction and, thirdly, securing the entry conditions for conversion, participation and collaboration.

A few public consultations, a few discussions, a few inspirational talks here and there. And the rest flowed.

#UndiMsiaTip

Be Here Now

Free Your Mind

This Is Safe Space

The Plan Is The Plan

The Energy Never Dies

Once You Start, You Cannot Stop

We Hope You Find What You Came For

1 For two blawg posts on #LBrak written by Liam Hanlon and Zain HD, see Appendix A.

CHAPTER 2

II. UNDIMSIA! THE MOVEMENT

"CAST YOUR WHOLE VOTE, NOT A STRIP OF PAPER MERELY, BUT YOUR WHOLE INFLUENCE."

HENRY DAVID THOREAU, CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE (1849)

"YOU NEED A COMBINATION OF LITIGATION, ... AND DEMONSTRATIONS, ... [A]ND LEGISLATION ... YOU NEED THAT COMBINATION. THAT WAS GOTCHA POLITICS."

JESSE JACKSON, INTERVIEW WITH GINA MCCAULEY, HTTP://WWW.ESSENCE.COM (2008)

UndiMsia! was officially launched on September 16, 2011.[2] It provides a model template for activists and communities seeking to create and build human rights or social justice caused-based campaigns or movements. The template consists of four pillars: 'Information', 'Process', 'Action' and 'Platform' which should be followed through in planning and executing the necessary activism to solve a particular issue or problem and further the chosen cause.

1ST PILLAR: INFORMATION

Why the Information Pillar?

UndiMsia! believes in the need for accurate, user-friendly information on issues that affect Malaysian life to be disseminated to the public for discussion, debate and solutions.

We have an issue that has become a problem. It could be racism in school or corruption in the public service or even simply having no water coolers in school. These are issues and we are suffering because the issue is now a problem. In taking action to deal with the problem, we must first identify the issue involved. We then need to gather sufficient and credible information about the problem to address it effectively.

To push any campaign or movement forward and sustain it, we need to source and research sufficient and credible information to form the base for the messages and causes we want to take up. A message or cause unsupported by sufficient or credible information will not garner the necessary traction. This would mean that few would support citizen action taken to address the problem.

2 For UndiMsia!'s Fact Sheet and FAQs, see Appendix B.

Goal

To collect and verify information, and subsequently to disseminate it to raise awareness.

How do we do it? A Roadmap.

Gather our friends, call for a meeting and discuss. Or organise and host #UndiMsiaChats wherever we are to talk about the problem and elicit views.

- Identify the issue ☑
- Frame the problem that needs to be solved (in 10 words) ☑
- Ask:
  - Is the issue a 'real' problem? ☑
  - Who is the victim/complainant? ☑
  - What does the victim/complainant want? ☑
  - Who is causing the problem? ☑
  - What are the consequences of the problem? ☑
- Interview those affected and key stakeholders ☑
- Research the problem referring to credible sources ☑
- Assess the problem holistically ☑
- Ideate three solutions to the problem ☑
- Frame three key messages we would like to convey about the problem and the solutions ☑
- Publish deliverables to spread the messages e.g. letters, memorandum, infographics, videos, blog posts, posters, pamphlets ☑
- Disseminate the deliverables ☑

2ND PILLAR: PROCESS

Why the Process Pillar?

UndiMsia! believes in the need for Malaysians to meaningfully and effectively engage with our elected representatives and local community leaders to ensure that citizens are given what they are due and what they are promised as well as to address representation shortcomings. Problems that need to be solved should be raised with these representatives and leaders as the first 'port of call'.

The dissemination of information and messages under the 1st Pillar is insufficient if we are not also in a position to influence powerholders and policymakers such as MPs, ADUNs, local councillors and community leaders to take corrective action. The next step is therefore to bring our messages through official channels to those able to make policy changes.

Goal

To engage powerholders and policymakers in our cause or problem for solutions to be implemented.

How do we do it? A Roadmap.

Find ways to communicate with our MP, ADUN, local councillor or community leader: write, email, call or go to their offices/service centres to meet him or her. Or organise and host #UndiMsiaChats wherever we are and invite him or her for a discussion.

- Take the deliverables and bring them to the attention of the powerholders ☑
- Meet and speak to the powerholders to discuss the problem and solutions ☑
- Make the powerholders your allies and treat them as such ☑
- Document the meeting by taking notes or audio-visual recording ☑
- Agree on the plan of action:
  - What will be done to solve the problem? ☑
  - How will it be done? ☑
  - When will it be done? ☑
  - What channel(s) of communication will be used between parties to monitor progress? ☑

Ensure pledges are made by the powerholders with tangible and measurable outcomes ☑

Monitor and track the plan of action and pledges:

- Has the problem been addressed? ☑
- Have the solutions been implemented? ☑
- If so, audit the solution(s) if it is what the victim/complainant wants ☑
- If not, bug and pressure the powerholders, reminding them of the plan of action and pledges ☑

If the above fails, threaten the powerholders with more severe measures e.g. voting against them,[3] writing about them, haunting them, filing Court cases, going to the media, NVDA etc. ☑

3RD PILLAR: ACTION

Why the Action Pillar?

UndiMsia! believes in the need for Malaysians to inspire, organise and mobilise citizens and communities to take action when the need arises. With the tools imparted at our flagship #IdolaDemokrasi GameShop, Youth Action Groups (YAGs) are formed and developed to take up causes and issues they deem fit including spreading the word and work of this movement.[4]

After executing the 1st and 2nd Pillars and in the unfortunate event that the powerholders are unresponsive, unreliable and recalcitrant or do not take the desired action to solve the highlighted problem, more drastic action is necessary. This is to put greater pressure on the powerholders leaving them no choice but to address the problem meaningfully. The people would have to up the ante by taking NVDA to inspire, galvanise and gain wider support from the public to tip the scales of power in favour of those affected.

If we do not take action, the powerholders 'win' and we 'lose' as they have succeeded in refusing, neglecting or failing to exercise the power vested in them to properly deal with our concerns and problems. In other words, they have silenced us. It is time for people power. But 'real' people power is not about politicians spouting slogans after an election victory. It is about citizens and communities taking frequent action on a daily basis, not just by voting once every 5 years.

3 To make our elected leaders more responsive and accountable, we need to know more about and understand the issues they champion, and vote for or against them based on these issues. A 'report card' such as UndiMsia! and CPPS' #LaporanRakyat is one method of tracking and auditing our elected representatives. See Appendix C for the text of the #LaporanRakyat.

4 For a sample template of the Movers'/YAGs' Key Result Areas in #LaporanPenggerak, see Appendix D.

The true idols of democracy must be the people, not politicians or institutions. Through #IdolaDemokrasi, activists, citizens and communities walk through a model which facilitates – by the use of certain tools – the taking of action on a specific problem, in particular, three tools known as the #ProblemTree, the #BigPicture Analysis and the #ActionPyramid.

Goal

To raise the profile of our cause, demonstrate the failure of official channels and public institutions, grow majority public support and compel or trigger a reaction from powerholders for an effective resolution to the problem.

How do we do it? A Roadmap.

Organise our friends and connect with stakeholders and those affected by the problem. Host #IdolaDemokrasi[5] to discuss the issues, problem, causes, consequences and the NVDA needed to be taken. At the GameShop:

Document the GameShop by taking notes or audio-visual recording ☑

Hear and listen to those affected by the problem ☑

Agree on the facts and law as to the basic rights violated and engaged ☑

Using the #ProblemTree, map out the causes and consequences of the problem ☑

Using the #BigPicture Analysis, map out the lines of influence and pillars of power among the powerholders ☑

Using the #ActionPyramid, map out the target, objective, strategies, allies and opponents, the NVDA and tactics ☑

Agree on the plan of action:

- What will be done to solve the problem? ☑
- How will it be done? ☑
- When will it be done? ☑
- What channel(s) of communication will be used between the movers to monitor progress? ☑
- Form a YAG and identify roles and leaders ☑
- Ensure pledges are made by the movers with tangible and measurable outcomes ☑

5 For a practical, step-by-step guide to the #IdolaDemokrasi GameShop, see Appendix E.

Fix a date for a follow-up meeting or an advanced GameShop ☑

Mobilise others and attract new movers to the cause. Capture. Connect. Convert. Cultivate. ☑

ACTION! ☑

At the follow-up meeting or advanced GameShop, audit the action:

Was the action successful? ☑

Which of the eight stages is the movement at? ☑

Has the problem been addressed? ☑

Have the solutions been implemented? ☑

If so, audit the solution(s) if it is what those affected want ☑

If not, what is the next step? ☑

4TH PILLAR: PLATFORM

Why the Platform Pillar?

UndiMsia! believes that activism requires a well-rounded platform that co-opts the support and involvement of all non-partisan NGOs and civil society groups or initiatives to complement each other's work. This platform is important as many activists are unpaid volunteers and it is crucial to maximise – not duplicate or replicate – resources.

All movements require mass support, organisation and mobilisation. Activism should not be the prerogative or burden of the affected few but of all caring and concerned Malaysians. That is why one sees in many movements or campaigns of national interest various NGOs and groups forming coalitions and making joint public statements.

In the programmes of action under the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Pillar, the work undertaken would be more effective if like-minded groups are also engaged. Under the 4th Pillar, UndiMsia! seeks to provide such a platform by coalescing, cross-promoting and sharing resources among like-minded NGOs and groups or initiatives (particularly those in the field of education and empowerment).

Goal

To connect and engage with other NGOs and civil society groups or initiatives to form a wide-ranging menu that may be called upon in support and solidarity of affected communities and cross-cutting work.

How do we do it? A Roadmap.

On UndiMsia!'s website, there is a dedicated directory page listing out various NGOs and civil society groups or initiatives for information. Use the directory and suggest other NGOs and groups or initiatives to be included in the list.

Seek out and research like-minded NGOs and civil society groups or initiatives ☑

Attend talks, lectures, seminars, workshops and events organised by them ☑

Speak to the leader, staff and campaigners of these groups or initiatives to learn what they do ☑

Invite them to share and provide views, training and resources on the particular issue, problem or cause ☑

Invite them to endorse or be a partner in the cause ☑

#UndiMsiaTip

Capture. Connect. Convert. Cultivate.

It is not what you say, but how you make others feel that matter.

The world is not a given reality. We, as activists, are here to shape it – not to be shaped by it.

Orang kata cinta itu buta – tak kenal warna dan darjat. Begitulah juga dengan aktivisme – kerana aktivisme lahir dari cinta.

Who are the people? Where is the power?

Take action NOW for otherwise our freedom, rights and justice cannot protect themselves.

CHAPTER 3

III. THE ACTIVIST IN YOU: CITIZEN, REFORMER, SOCIAL CHANGE AGENT AND REBEL

So, what is next?

The attractive by-product of activism besides assisting affected communities is that it allows and encourages the activist much natural self-growth while enhancing moral awareness about him or herself. One of the key areas, however, which leads young activists to becoming unstuck is the question of what role he or she ought to play in starting, moving or participating in a campaign or movement. In not being able to come to a constructive solution to this dilemma, many face confusion, despair and a sense of hopelessness when things do not go their way, leading them to eventually burn out and give up on activism. This is exactly what the 'enemies' and 'opponents' want to see.

Helpfully, though again not definitive, Bill Moyer in his Movement Action Plan (MAP)[6] provides some direction. Social movements are "collective actions in which the populace is alerted, educated, and mobilized, sometimes over years and decades, to challenge the powerholders and the whole society to redress social problems or grievances and restore critical social values". Defining the way movements work: "citizen activists put the spotlight on individuals, groups, institutions, and social systems that promote policies and practices they believe both cause the problem and violate revered social values. Then they challenge entrenched power and call on the whole society to solve the problem, repair the harm, and make changes that end the violation of those deeply-held principles. In this description of the role of social movements it is clear, that there is, inevitably, a struggle for power. The central task of social movements is to win the hearts, minds, and support of the majority of the populace. Because it is the people who ultimately hold the power, they will either preserve the status quo or create change".[7]

Based on years of research and experience, Moyer theorises that activists must understand that four different roles must be played out at the various eight stages of successful movements.[8] The four roles are as 'Citizen', 'Reformer', 'Social Change Agent'[9] and 'Rebel'. The eight stages of movements are 'Normal Times', 'Prove Failure Of Normal Institutions', 'Ripening Conditions', 'Take-Off', 'Perception Of Failure', 'Majority Public Opinion', 'Success' and 'Continuing The Struggle'.

6 See Moyer, Bill, JoAnn McAllister, Mary Lou Finley and Steven Soifer. 2001. ***Doing Democracy: The MAP Model For Organizing Social Movements***. New Society Publishers.
7 Ibid. at p. 2.
8 This Toolkit, at this juncture, aims only to introduce basic ideas for Malaysian activism and will not yet delve in detail into the more advanced MAP theory. For useful summaries of the four different roles of activists and eight stages of successful movements available online, see www.turning-the-tide.org and www.thechangeagency.org.
9 Moyer uses the term 'Change Agent'. In the context of Malaysia, 'change' connotes a variety of meanings in particular, change by voting out the current political party leading the Government and replacing it with the Opposition. We have added 'Social' and used the term 'Social Change Agent' to clarify that 'change' in this context does not necessarily refer to political party change but has wider societal effect and implications.

Note that all the four roles must positively complement each other and be effectively executed to achieve any measure of success for the movement. Read with the eight stages, the four roles are not calculated to pigeon-hole any activist, but as a comfortable form of self-evaluation questioning what have I been doing, what have I been doing right or wrong, what can I do more and what can I do effectively or more effectively. Further, it helps the activist to situate himself or herself in the larger picture of the movement and nation building to track his or her contributions, and at the same time to understand that activism is a long-term project.

Take this simple, unscientific 'The Activist In YOU' quiz to ask yourself which of the four roles would you generally identify yourself with:

1. Which of the following best describes you?
   - ☐ Someone who thinks rules are to be followed
   - ☐ Someone who thinks rules can be changed
   - ☐ Someone who thinks rules are to educate
   - ☐ Someone who thinks rules are to be broken

2. If you get in trouble in school, what would it be for?
   - ☐ I will never get into trouble
   - ☐ Reading books unrelated to the subject taught in class
   - ☐ Talking in class
   - ☐ Arguing with the teacher

3. What kind of clothes do you enjoy wearing?
   - ☐ Whatever is practical
   - ☐ Formal and neat white collared shirt and tie
   - ☐ T-shirts with social messages printed on them
   - ☐ Ripped and rugged jeans

4. What do you think the Federal Constitution is for?
   - ☐ To prevent disorder and chaos in society
   - ☐ To sustain a free and good life
   - ☐ To empower citizens
   - ☐ What Constitution?

5. When seeing an injustice happen to a person before your eyes, what would your reaction be?
   - ☐ I would alert the authorities
   - ☐ I would speak nicely to the people involved to settle the problem in favour of the victim
   - ☐ I would lecture both the victim and oppressor about the problem at hand and provide possible solutions for adoption by them
   - ☐ I would confront the conflict head-on and shout at the oppressor

6. What part in a team do you usually play?
   - ☐ Working behind the scenes
   - ☐ Media spokesperson for the team
   - ☐ Coach or mentor of team members
   - ☐ On the ground where the action happens

7. When seeing systemic problems and institutional failures in society that irks you, you would:
   - ☐ comment negatively about the problems and failures to others and work around them
   - ☐ work within the system to bring about progressive changes
   - ☐ educate, empower and organise citizens to deal with the problems and failures
   - ☐ take to the streets to protest against the system

8. (Answer this question instinctively) Why are you into activism?
   - ☐ Because I think that it is necessary
   - ☐ Because I have philosophical and intellectual ideas I want to implement to improve our system
   - ☐ Because I believe we need to educate and empower citizens to stand up for their rights
   - ☐ Because I hate the system

Get what we mean?

(a) ***Citizen***

In the Citizen role, activists "advocate and demonstrate a widely held vision of the democratic good society; give the movement legitimacy in the eyes of the ordinary citizens; enable the movement to withstand efforts by powerholders to discredit it; and reduce the potential for violent attitudes and actions within the movement".[10]

(b) ***Reformer***

In the Reformer role, activists "transmit movement analyses and goals to powerholder institutions and individuals; perform parliamentary and legal efforts – lobbying, referenda, lawsuits; work to create and expand new laws and policies; act as watchdogs to ensure the new laws and policies are actually funded and carried out; mobilize movement opposition to conservative backlash efforts; and nurture and support grassroots activists".[11]

The Reformer is usually the academic, jurist, lawyer, intellectual and professional activist who raises and brings new, unconventional ideas and ways of doing things to the table. Not always received favourably at first, the Reformer is the one who wears the sharp suit, sober tie and polished shoes who would sit

10 ***Doing Democracy*** at pp. 23-24.
11 ***Doing Democracy*** at pp. 26-27.

with the powerholders over curry puffs, cakes and very sweet tea in countless planning meetings to draft new laws. Or attend Parliamentary Select Committee hearings to present proposals and research papers.

(c) ***Social Change Agent***

In the Change Agent role, activists "promote citizen-based democracy; support the involvement of large numbers of people in the process of addressing a specific social problem; redefine the problem to show how it affects every sector of society; promote a new social and political majority consensus favouring positive solutions; promote democratic principles and human values in an 'open system' (that is, a system that is organized by citizens themselves, without being controlled by elite powerholders in the closed system of an oppressive hierarchy); develop the majority movement; support the development of coalitions; counter the actions of the powerholders; and move society from reform to social change by promoting a paradigm shift".[12]

In gist, the Change Agent is the educator who does empowerment work for large sections of society. The Agent accesses different tracks on a consistent basis using various programmes to influence minds and win hearts.

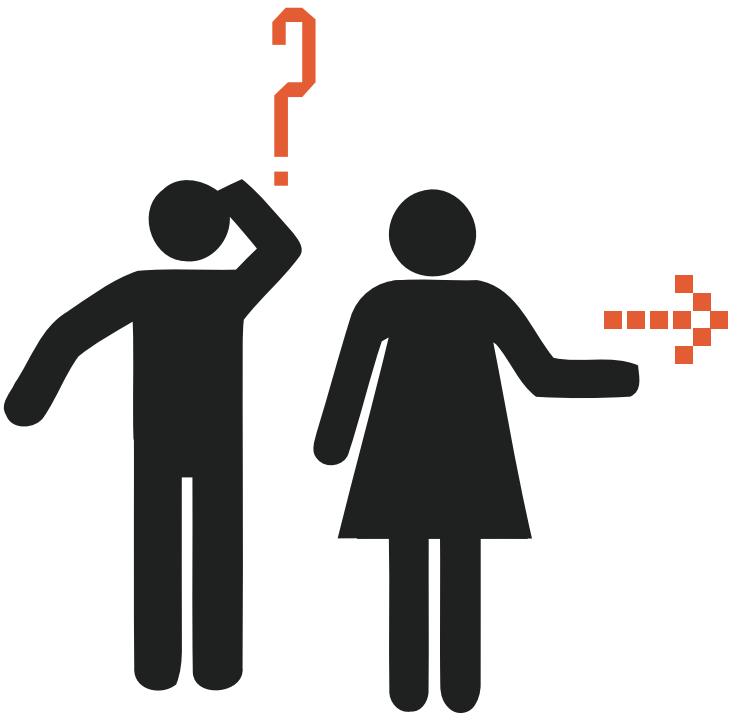
(d) ***Rebel***

In the Rebel role, activists "put issues on society's social agenda through dramatic, nonviolent actions; put issues on the political agenda; show how institutions and official powerholders violate public trust by causing and perpetuating critical social problems; force society to face its problems; represent society's democratic and moral vanguard; and promote democracy".[13]

The Rebel activist is the one who leads rallies, demonstrations and protests, and who pushes the boundaries in society. As the most important catalyst in 'trigger' events, they are few and far between because of the risks involved. The beauty is that we do not need many.

Having said the above, we emphasise as Moyer did that the roles are not fixed. They are interchangeable. You may one day play the Rebel and another day Reformer, as Gandhi, the Bar Council and BERSIH leaders have done. What is important is to identify which role you are playing or intend to play. Adopt the role that you like or are comfortable with for greater impact. Do not wantonly criticise others who may play a different role than you such as the Rebel (for continually spreading pessimism and negativity) or the Reformer (for working within the system with the powerholders). Do not demand that everyone must play the same role as you. Rather, seek out allies to ensure all roles are played out at any given point of time.

12 ***Doing Democracy*** at pp. 26.
13 ***Doing Democracy*** at pp. 24.



CHAPTER 4

IV. A NOTE TO A YOUNG ACTIVIST: BUILDING YOUR OWN CAMPAIGN/MOVEMENT

Dear Young Malaysian,

You hope, and will provide hope for our nation, because we believe, as we are sure you do, that hope for a better future is one of the greatest emotions that sustains us in life. And you – as the young – are in fact the hope of our beloved nation.

You have greater influence over your peers and your generation is the one that will propel us forward as we develop together to meet the needs and challenges of the future. Realising the power you have in your hands and wanting to use the power constructively is a first right step you have taken in activism.

Think not of those who say that Malaysians are an apathetic lot and that there is nothing we can collectively do to improve the conditions of our peoples.

Think not of those who complain and complain but take no action to help themselves or others.

Think not of those who rely on the power elite and self-interested stakeholders who are then taken up and led down the garden path, only to realise that it has been but a game.

Think not of those who laugh at activism and activists only for them to crawl back seeking help from you when a problem affects them personally.

Instead think about educating yourself and others around you.

Instead think about empowering yourself and your community.

Instead think about finding solutions to the problems that Malaysians face on a daily basis 365 days a year.

Instead mobilise and organise your community to consult on what ought to be done to alleviate the problems.

Most importantly, activate yourself and others around you to act towards building self-determining and self-sustaining communities who can stand up for yourselves, others and all Malaysians.

The youth of today have much in common. You are aware. You are opinionated. With the benefit of instantaneous communication, you receive and share a lot of information with your peers. You are no longer complacent with the status quo and no matter where you are now, you would always think about how things could be better than this. You believe in something and you are willing to fight for it.

But many still tend to stop at a point: they find out about things, complain about them and then move no further. So the crucial step for you to take now is to translate your willingness into action and have a better understanding of your rights, roles and responsibilities to move forward; for this is our future.

Activists And Activism

There are fellow human beings all over the world, some Malaysians, who still sleep on the streets, who still live without adequate food and water, who still have no access to medicine and healthcare, who still cannot go to school. Others are victims and survivors of corruption, abuse of power, torture, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment and punishment. Yet others still seek real and effective justice to be able to move on with their lives. Far worse, some still do not know that they are citizens of this country who possess inalienable rights.

The words 'activists' and 'activism' are two extremely powerful words. They connote movement and they define action as opposed to passivity and ennui.

These words however were used to conjure up negative notions of 'troublemakers' and 'busybodies'. This was so because the corrupt, the oppressors, the dictators, the violaters, the racists and the abusers wanted to paint a picture – a false one – that activists questioning what they were doing and shaming their deeds were wrong. In actuality, it was the right thing to do as human and thinking beings. And so they wanted to hide from activists and activism. They were afraid of activists and activism. But they have failed.

Today, despite many attempts at criticising, imprisoning, persecuting and denouncing activists and activism, activists and activism are buzzwords, and the 'in-things' to be and to be involved in. We will not stop. We will not stop because activists and activism have saved and improved lives, reduced pain and suffering, and enhanced human civilisation.

Given this, we must remember that activists are not born, they are made. We learn and grow into our role as activists – some faster than others particularly if a 'trigger' event had occurred to affect that person's life.

What therefore are the foundations of an activist? We suggest three (and there may be more), namely, ideology, emotion and function.

The Ideological

Activists must ground their struggle for any cause on first principles. Without fundamental principles of right and wrong, no cause would go very far.

For example, if one's cause is to promote and entrench ethnic superiority, what would be the core ideological premise that would

gather traction with right-minded people? If one's cause is to uphold and implement State assistance for everyone irrespective of ethnicity, what would be the core ideological premise for doing so? As such, an ideological underpinning is an imperative. Because we suggest that the natural state of human beings is freedom, our ideological core must be in rights – human rights.

Many, many, many years ago, various cultures and religions spoke about the concept of 'rights' but not in the way we know of it at present. We were taught to love the sick, help the poor and defy the wicked. We were called to fight injustice, control our desire for material wealth and punish the cruel.

Today, freedom has been translated into legal language as 'rights'. This was necessary because there were those in power who wanted to alter the natural state of human beings by curtailing and re-shaping our freedom for their personal or political gain to the detriment of those they viewed as 'inferior'.

Today's language of human rights found its roots in the modern human rights movement tracing back to the end of World War II in 1945. The shock and horror of the atrocities of the Nazi regime prompted principles of equality and non-discrimination to take centre stage.

In 1945, the United Nations Charter reaffirmed faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person. Proclaimed in 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) – arguably the most important international human rights instrument – recognised that inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. No discrimination should be practised for reasons of ethnicity, sex, language, religion, political opinion, national or social origin, birth or other status.

Left unsaid is that the modern human rights movement is relatively young but has achieved great success including defeating apartheid and totalitarianism, freeing detainees held without trial, and systematically providing food, shelter and healthcare for the needy. But we must not forget that many of these concepts of human rights had previously been articulated and defined in different ways by religion and culture of past civilisations. The UDHR embodies many of these concepts. We must not forget this.

Some still maliciously argue that human rights is anti-culture and anti-religion. This assertion is wrong. For every right under the UDHR, one is able to find a corresponding enunciation of the same in culture and religion, and perhaps more. In light of prevailing circumstances, human rights in reality protects the diversity of culture and religion especially those practised by the minority of people in various communities.

The ideological activist will therefore find three key principles of human rights that he or she can work from.

Firstly, human rights is universal. Rights is inherent in everyone, regardless of who or where or what you are. It has often been argued that rights is relative; critics cite regional differences and assert that human rights is a Western, bourgeois concept not generally applicable to their particular cultures or religions. This idea of relativism – that different standards apply to different people – comes dangerously close to conceding that there are sub-standards for 'sub-humans'.

In UndiMsia!'s #IdolaDemokrasi GameShops, we conduct the 'Spaceship' module where Malaysians are asked to list down five items they would take to a new world if Earth is destroyed today. Every single time, the choices would include food, water and clothes for sustenance in the new world. Broken down, we as humans need certain things to live and these things have now been called 'human rights'. Similar modules have been done and tested by other community groups with participants from Europe, South America and Africa, and the lists they have consistently come up with correspond with the Malaysian lists.

What this simple exercise suggests is that the central tenet of human rights is correct: across the globe wherever one comes from, human rights is the basic minimum standard of treatment a human being is entitled to. The UDHR establishes this principle, not only in its name, but also in declaring a common standard of achievement for all peoples in all nations.

Granted, in the application of human rights standards, States have a 'margin of appreciation' to deal with particular social norms and conditions but they cannot violate or 'go below' the minimum standard set by the UDHR. In this sense, culture and religion influence the application of human rights in particular communities and enrich the idea of rights rather than undermine it.

Second, human rights is inalienable. Rights cannot be taken away from us because they were not given to us by anyone in the first place. Put it another way, we are born with these rights. Some rights are non-derogable such as the right to life and freedom from torture. Other qualified rights cannot be compromised except in narrowly defined circumstances for the larger good of the community such that restrictions must be prescribed by law, pursue a legitimate aim and be no more than strictly necessary in a democratic society. Many civilised countries now have their own Constitutions spelling out these rights in order that governments and citizens act to respect, protect, fulfill and enhance these rights.

Third, human rights are normatively indivisible and functionally interdependent. Civil and political rights on the one hand – known also as 'negative' rights in the sense that its observance lies in prohibiting interference by governments – and economic, social and cultural rights on the other – known also as 'positive' rights in the sense that governments must progressively provide for its citizens – cannot be separated.

They cannot be cherry-picked to prioritise one right over the other by using the familiar 'Asian values' argument that we should focus on economic development first before fighting for free speech. Jose Diokno, a human rights lawyer and the former Secretary of Justice in the Philippines, aptly remarked and we quote: "True, a hungry man does not have much freedom of choice. But equally true, when a well-fed man does not have freedom of choice, he cannot protect himself against going hungry." If one is hungry, free speech is of little use to him or her if he or she does not have the energy to protest. But if there is no freedom to speak, who will know if one is hungry when the dreaded day comes?

We argue that any form of activism based on the human rights value-system will be well-rooted, strong, progressive and necessarily humane.

The Emotional

Beccaria in ***Of Crimes and Punishment*** (1764) once said that "if, by defending the rights of man and of unconquerable truth, I should help to save from the spasm and agonies of death some wretched victim of tyranny or of no less fatal ignorance, the thanks and tears of one innocent mortal in his transports of joy would console me for the contempt of all mankind".

Idealogy without emotion misses the reason for activism. The emotion of care for others grounds the activist. Why be an activist? Why do activism? Do unto others what you would like to be done unto you. Shorn of rights language, it is because there are complainants, victims and survivors who are suffering, needing help and seeking justice. They say that their rights have been violated and you see it too. And you are able to help and want to do something about it.

Being an idealogical activist is not sufficient. You must not only talk about rights in a pretentious or fanciful manner but must also have the soft skills and ability to understand and empathise with the person being wronged or who is suffering. How is the person suffering? Is the person able to live his or her life meaningfully as any decent human being should or would like to? What are the laws or policies preventing this from happening? After all, there would be no cause to advocate for if no one is affected.

The activist cares for the person involved and must seek to arm himself or herself with the personal story of the person. It would require the emotional activist to effectively listen – not just hear – the person by way of conversations and interviews and to look at the problem as a form of human suffering which the activist would not want befall himself or herself. It would also require the generally known traits of 'love' to be exhibited, namely, compassion, kindness, patience and gentleness.

The more effective lobbying campaigns have been those whereby activists build a case study or profile around the person who is suffering and the effect it has on his or her family and friends. By invoking a composite personal story that touches the hearts of others, it is easier to connect the problem with those the activist seeks to gain mass support from. This would necessitate communicating the person's story in the simplest yet heart-wrenching way possible without distorting the facts. It is a powerful tactic in activism.

The Functional

Adopting the rights value-system and then putting yourself in the shoes of the person suffering must culminate in understanding the responsibilities you have and roles you play as an activist for effective action. Having rights engenders responsibilities as with great power comes great responsibility.

A person may have the right to express himself or herself no matter how distasteful or ridiculous the statement may be and the right should not be curtailed by the State save in limited circumstances such as if the statement is a call to war or constitutes imminent incitement to violence. However, in exercising the right, one should be acutely aware of the effect the expression may have on other communities who may not share the same view. Such was the case with the cartoons of Prophet Muhammad that while the depictions were in exercise of the right to expression, the cartoons were disrespectful and bordered on religious prejudice. It would have been better had the cartoons not been published.

Article 29 of the UDHR tells us that everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his or her personality is possible. Similarly, Article 29 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights adopted in 1981 enshrines the duty owed by the individual to his or her family, national community, country and positive African cultural values. Restrictions to a person's rights in certain areas such as freedom of speech, assembly and association are permissible only if necessary on the basis of morality, public order and national security where the harm to society outweighs the benefit in the exercise of the individual right.

It is the responsibility of the functional activist based on the ideology of rights to decide if a certain cause of action should be taken or not, and in that equation, whether the harm to society outweighs the benefit. In essence, do not in the pursuit of curing a rights violation commit a further violation. A person's right cannot be seen in isolation from the rest of society and the responsibility as activists is to as best as possible ensure the rights of all are balanced in respect and protection.

An underlying problem may perhaps be a misunderstanding of the vision of human rights that it is not meant to hurt but to protect. It is not a carte blanche for offensive or extreme behaviour but merely to set a minimum benchmark. Once that standard is adhered to, little can be heard by way of complaint.

Centuries ago in 1789, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen defined liberty as consisting of the freedom to do

everything that injures no one else. Reminding ourselves of this definition calls us to constantly execute a balancing exercise between the cause we are fighting for with how our activism affects various communities either positively or to their detriment. Layered with the suggestion about our responsibilities as previously mentioned – once the ideological and emotional activist has decided to act on a cause – is the question of an activist's role. Pumped with adrenaline rapidly flowing in the blood veins, the functional activist makes the action happen.

The phrase 'fighting for rights' when searched on Google shows many images of protestors waving placards, shouting slogans, marching on the streets and setting up camps in public spaces such as in Wall Street and Dataran Merdeka. The role that these protestors are playing is the 'Rebel' role as defined in Bill Moyer's ***Doing Democracy: The MAP Model for Organizing Social Movements***. Moyer writes that there are four different roles an activist should play – the 'Rebel', the 'Reformer', the 'Change Agent' and the 'Citizen'.

Generally, the Rebel highlights the gap between what the current situation is and what it should be, and persistently voices No! to rights violations even if it means risking life and limb. This contrasts with the Reformer who works within the system by engaging in dialogue with powerholders and policymakers through the parliamentary and legal processes to bring about change. The Change Agent educates and empowers by promoting new values and solutions in addressing problems and organising communities for mass support. The Citizen upholds positive values of a good society and lends assistance to social movements to legitimise them while resisting drastic and violent change.

When considering our roles as activists, it is useful to ask what role do we want to play or what role do we play effectively. Each and every role is important and social activism movements usually achieve successes when the four roles are cohesively executed by activists.

The ambitious and multi-talented activist may be able to play up to four roles at given points in time of a movement. Gandhi as an example played the role of a Rebel when he led the Salt March in 1930 and played the role of a Reformer when he sat with the British to work towards the independence of India. The Bar Council played the role of Reformer in drafting an alternative law to the Peaceful Assembly Act and attempted to push it through. It played the role of Rebel in taking to the streets to protest the same Act at the Walk for Freedom on November 29, 2011.

Many fall into the trap of thinking that activism is only about being the Rebel. Many who are afraid or unwilling to be the Rebel believe that they cannot therefore be activists. This is untrue. The Rebel fulfills only one of the four roles in activism. You may be more inclined towards one role than the others; and in practice, the activist may interchangeably play all four roles at different stages of a movement. Each role should support one another. We should support every person playing different roles and see the actions of all as a collective.

We need those who will boycott, occupy, protest and demonstrate to bring issues to the forefront of our national consciousness and prompt us into action (Rebel). We need groups like the Bar Council, Abolish ISA Movement and BERSIH to research, publish reports, draft recommendations and lobby Members of Parliament for reform (Reformer). We need movements such as the MyConstitution to campaign and create public awareness about the Federal Constitution, UndiMsia! to empower and activate communities to take effective action and LoyarBurok as an online platform to promote, safeguard and uphold free speech and expression (Change Agent). There is a role for you and everyone, if we only search ourselves a little bit more.

Do-It-Yourself Activism

Where are we at now? We have suggested looking at the paradigm of activism from the lenses of the ideological, the emotional and the functional. An activist must embody all three components. Speaking rights to power demands that the activist sets out the cause based on human rights, articulates the personal story of the sufferer and takes effective non-violent direct action to remove or shift the pillars and balance of power away from the oppressor (who is usually the powerholder).

We must realise that non-violent direct action is not a substitute for other methods of effecting behavioural change. Running campaigns by haunting officials, boycotting events, demonstrating on the streets must complement litigating cases in the courts and legislating just laws or undoing unjust ones. We think that for the first time in Malaysia's 55 years of controlled democracy, we have seen this brand of 'gotcha politics' arriving in a full circle with the critical take-off moment during the Reformasi movement and now re-igniting about ten years later with the BERSIH movement. The citizens are no longer afraid of the Government and its machinery, much less tear-gas and water cannons, and this is a tribute in part to the many who have been arrested, prosecuted and persecuted for putting their lives on the line for greater rights and a more meaningful democracy.

We gather you are reading this Toolkit expecting it to empower you. You cannot rely solely on others to empower you and you do not need others to empower you. As the young, you do not carry as much historical baggage of older generations and you are not haunted by too many ghosts of the past. You are able to discuss issues that have hitherto been thought off-limits and you are able to conceive ideas and possibilities that no one has ever imagined before. It is all too easy to be armchair commentators and too convenient to be Twitter or Facebook activists; but at the end of the day, clicking 'Like' or re-tweeting a tweet without more just would not do if what you are trying to do is to make a real difference.

Having a noble aim, a clear vision and an achievable goal is not sufficient. Once you are able to ideate the three components of ideology, emotion and function, you must then ask what can you do as an activist to deal with a specific problem that cries out for a solution? We suggest the following by using:

- the #ProblemTree: map out the causes and consequences of the problem you are seeking to solve;

- the #BigPicture Analysis: map out the lines of influence among the stakeholders such as our national or local institutions and powerholders vis-à-vis the citizens, and ask where the supporting pillars of power lie; and

- the #ActionPyramid: map out the target that you are calling on for behavioural change, the objective, demand or message of your activism, the strategies to be employed, the non-violent direct action to meet your objective, demand or message and the tactics to make your action credible, sustainable, impactful and effective.

The tools to undertake the critical exercise above is part of UndiMsia!'s flagship #IdolaDemokrasi GameShop and UndiMsia! would be glad to facilitate your learning and help you establish a comprehensive action plan for the cause you intend to champion.

It should come to pass one day that no one should need activists or activism for there are no problems in the world to contend with. But that end is not near yet.

You are the hope of our nation. You have much to give. You are the future of Malaysia.

The time for talking and complaining is over. It is time to ACT. Now.

Free your mind and empower yourself. We wish you the best!

CHAPTER 5

V. SOURCES FOR FURTHER READING AND ACTION

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APPENDICES

VI. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
(1) URGENT NEWSFLASH: LOYARBUROK NOT JUST A BLAWG! JOIN THE ARMY!

Liam Hanlon writes on #LBrak which may be found on LoyarBurok.com. Posted on March 1, 2011.

LoyarBurok's weekend-long retreat revealed that LB is not simply a blawg, or loosely bound group of activists. It represents a larger and more concrete mission, which is to educate the voters of Malaysia and encourage civic engagement, in the hope of promoting accountability within the political process.

February 26 – 27, Malacca – Driving up the dusty hillside of El Sanctuary, LoyarBurok's commune-like home for the weekend in a kampung 20 kilometers outside of Malacca's pusat bandaraya, I silently contemplated the question I soon learned was on the minds of most LoyarBurokkers: *what is LB*? Is it just a quirky and provocative blawg? Is it a group of defiant lawyers looking for some catharsis? What are its long-term objectives? Or is it merely an innocuous movement looking to bring a little humour to otherwise serious issues, which are typically reserved from irreverence.

What I learned during this two-day marathon was that LB draws its power from all of these qualities and functions, and many more, converging together to create a perfect storm that has the potential for monumental impact. And this change is not solely related to the legal arena or the on-going human rights discussion, like many people seem to assume; rather, it encompasses a broader goal of civic education and empowerment. Ultimately, it will help nurture a fundamental paradigm shift in the way ordinary citizens view their role in politics and the options at their disposal to effect change.

The group first convened to set their expectations for the weekend, and similarly their expectations for LB's mission. This process was filled with open-ended questions about the objective of LB and its initiatives to reach this goal. Surely, there were divergent ideas on the role of LB, as there would be with any organisation comprised of such a diverse group, ranging from environmentalists to corporate lawyers, students to NGO folk, and of course, the marginally employed, a title which I reserve exclusively for myself.

But despite these distinctions, everyone is a LoyarBurokker, and consequently attended the training, because of a commonly held frustration: there is something seriously awry with the way Malaysians view their role in politics and how they engage in the political process. Sometimes people may feel marginalised and thus

lack a motivation to challenge their representatives, other times they may be bamboozled by politicians who emphasise party affiliations and ad hoc election-time promises, rather than substantive issues, and others simply are offered an economic quid pro quo in exchange for their vote. Either way, the end game is still the same. Politicians are only nominally held accountable for their policies and rarely respond to the actual concerns of its constituents. The political trend continues, and the pervasive concept of 'futility in civic engagement' persists in this society.

As the weekend carried on, and workshops manifested themselves into solutions, the LoyarBurokkers started to formalise a coherent goal of how to address this political apathy. Underpinning these plenary groups and brainstorming sessions was a critical conundrum: connecting abstract political principles to the concrete problems facing ordinary citizens. This is the crux of the problem, most LoyarBurokkers concluded. Voter education has to be focused and framed in way that emphasises tangible issues that everyone in the country can relate to, not simply reserved for the urbanite having an apple martini from his perched view in KL's SkyBar.

It has to be a ground-up campaign, which embraces a collaborative and participatory approach that speaks directly to voters' concerns. Without this mindset, the initiative will most likely fail to reach its intended audience – the voters – and be another futile attempt by civil society deemed too elitist.

This relates to LB's second conclusion from this weekend: listen before talking. Often times, NGO campaigns fall short of their goal because they tend to forget the simple fact that people know what they need the most and the problems that are most pressing for them. They don't need outside organisations dictating to them what they need to be worried about and how they should fix it.

LB understands that prior to embarking on a voter education initiative, you must first know what is plaguing the voters you are trying to reach. It is imperative that this discussion takes place, and that people feel included in the process. What is the point of encouraging civic engagement if you do not first consult the citizenry you are trying to engage? Whether through town hall meetings, online dialogue or fact-finding missions, LoyarBurok recognises that the people must be heard before they are spoken to.

The third essential part of this equation is the make-up of the army of LoyarBurokkers. Without a committed, experienced and innovative group to spearhead this concept, this campaign is merely a pipedream. But I assure you, LoyarBurok is not beset by this inadequacy. Rather, they have a surplus of diverse and dedicated minions, each bringing their own expertise to the cause. And the LB army was in full force in Malacca this weekend, making it very clear to me that this campaign is for real.

The level of maturity and passion in this weekend's discussions, compounded by the diversity among the group, was something I had never seen before. It was truly remarkable to be, even for a weekend, a part of this group, and to witness the potential that LoyarBurok possesses. Anytime you can get a Sarawakian advocate collaborating with a Petronas-employed lawyer, you know you've got something special.

In fact, this weekend's group affected me to the extent that I have actually decided to try and defer my Master's Program in London for a year, and stay here to be a part of LB's movement. I could not imagine having had the opportunity to participate in LB's voter education initiative, and the civic transformation it will surely elicit, and passing on it. Even if LB can harness half of its potential, I think it is surely poised to have a huge impact.

So yes, LoyarBurok is a blawg. It is a group of lawyers and activists looking to provide some comedic relief to life's ills. It is a platform for advocacy. But it is also something much more encompassing and concrete. It is a movement to help voters make informed and relevant choices about the politicians they choose. It is a drive to return political power back into the hands of its rightful owner – the people – via the power of the vote. It is a campaign that will transform the idea of civic engagement in Malaysia. It is something with which, if you haven't already, you need to get involved.

(2) LOYARBUROK: AGENTS OF CHANGE

First published in The Star, this is Zain HD's reflection on #LBrak held on February 26 – 27, 2011 which may be found on LoyarBurok.com. Posted on March 3, 2011.

I am writing this piece from the inaugural LoyarBurok Retreat in Malacca where 32 people – 'LoyarBurokkers' – have come together for two days.

LoyarBurok is a platform for intelligent and critical discourse, where Malaysians can come together by sharing their writings on its blog and views via its email group. This gathering in Rumbia took some of this discourse offline.

Besides getting the 'brain working', it was a pleasure being in discussion with many good beings in a 'safe space', where everyone can speak without being judged. After all, many Malaysians often think well about food, but little of their people. The fact is, like good food, good people also exist. The bunch of people at the retreat is evidence of this.

Among them is human rights lawyer Edmund Bon.

For me, what is more significant than his work dealing with ISA detainees are his 'extra-curricular' activities and initiatives such as the MyConsti campaign which aims to educate the public on their fundamental rights and civil liberties as provided in our Federal Constitution.

Edmund is one of the founders of LoyarBurok, and he recently introduced PusatRakyatLB – the Malaysian Centre for Constitutionalism and Human Rights – that will be launched this month.

The Centre will serve as LoyarBurok's first physical on-ground presence to provide a platform for Malaysians to use for training, education, research and advocacy, among others.

Then there is June Rubis, a conservation biologist who has been working both in Malaysia and Indonesia over the past decade on orang utan conservation.

She is the first local full-time female field worker in our country and also the first to initiate long-term orang utan research in Sarawak for the Wildlife Conservation Society.

She has since left that role to work together with the Sarawak Dayak Iban Association (SADIA) and Jaringan Orang Asal seMalaysia (JOAS) on land rights issues of the indigenous communities of Sarawak.

She flew from Kuching to be part of the retreat and is a firm believer in building stronger ties between Sabah, Sarawak and Peninsular Malaysia, particularly within civil society.

The third and final person I'd like to introduce is Woon King Chai.

He might be recognised as a student leader and activist, but he made headlines as one of the four students charged with campaigning at the Hulu Selangor parliamentary by-election, known as the 'UKM4'.

King Chai's main focus now is how to leverage on his legal battle to push for student rights, especially their involvement in politics.

It was very interesting to listen to him explain reasons behind his legal battle and his opinions on why certain restrictions within the UUCA could potentially hinder the development of university students.

He argues that restricting a student's freedom in deciding their learning experience – including participation in politics – would affect their thinking, growth and maturity.

I have only shared a little about three of the 32 people who participated in the retreat but I feel that people like these do the kind of work that affects many Malaysians. Theirs may not be glamourous work, but they make a difference.

But like you and me, they are not perfect. What they have done, however, is take action instead of just sitting back and these actions led them to where they are today. You can see this metaphorically, or even literally – today, they all put their minds together to create a voter education campaign.

I was part of this process, and it was one that I didn't expect. After all, I coordinate flashmobs and I know little about voter issues. Yet, I was still able to contribute.

My journey on the 'path' started two years ago when I decided to stop whining and to start doing something.

Today, the paths of 30 brothers and sisters crossed.

APPENDIX B
UNDIMSIA!'S FACT SHEET AND FAQS

UndiMsia!: Building D-I-Y Action Communities By Activating The Youth Vote

UndiMsia! is an initiative to engage young Malaysians. Moving online and on the ground, we:

- provide tools and workable solutions to problems that matter to young Malaysians and their communities;
- build, mobilise, organise and support young Malaysians to take impactful action with tangible results in their own communities;
- promote greater participation by young Malaysians in decisions that affect them; and
- assist young Malaysians to ask the right questions and make informed choices when they vote at any process which requires the election of leaders.

Is UndiMsia! all about the vote? What will UndiMsia! do when it is not 'voting season'?

UndiMsia! is not only about the vote – in fact, far from it. Instead, UndiMsia! emphasises citizen empowerment 'prior' to and 'after' the vote. It is an education movement aimed at promoting and enhancing greater participation by young Malaysians in our country's democratic process.

Is UndiMsia! supported by any political party?

UndiMsia! is a fiercely non-partisan, young citizen movement. UndiMsia! works with anyone who supports our work and initiatives. Our intention is not to unseat any political party from power or install any political party to power. But UndiMsia! accepts that in any meaningful democratic system, information and initiatives that affect citizens, politicians and political parties may at times be viewed as 'political' when citizens demand powerholders to change the way things are being done in the country.

Why should I get involved?

Information is power, and with the correct skills, young Malaysians are better equipped to ask the right questions and lead this country. The youth are the future of Malaysia, and you now have the chance to shape your own future. You will be part of a Youth Action Group (YAG) in your community who will assist people improve their lives, and yours. YAGs will appear all over the country as UndiMsia! moves.

How do I join?

Email us at move@undimsia.com with your name, handphone number and email address or meet UndiMsia!'s community movers every Saturday #UndiMsia!Chats @PusatRakyatLB from 11am to 12pm. We will include you on our egroup and Facebook group to connect with other movers.

www.UndiMsia.com
fb.com/UndiMsia
twitter.com/UndiMsia
youtube.com/UndiMsia
move@undimsia.com

APPENDIX C
UNDIMSIA! AND CPPS' #LAPORANRAKYAT

What is this? In a democracy, the people play a very important role in ensuring that those elected or are to be elected to power conduct themselves well and work effectively. This #LaporanRakyat is to gather information from you about your wakil rakyat, and to assist you to ask the right questions in assessing their performance.

Macam Mana Ni? Take Action: Think, Fill Up, Return This To Your Community Mover

Age:
Sex:
Constituency:
Ethnic background:
Are you a registered voter?

Q1
- Who is your ADUN?
- How many years/terms has he/she been your ADUN?
- Where is his/her service centre?
- Describe your ADUN in 50 words:

- What is the most important thing your ADUN has done which positively affected you and your community?

Q2
- Who is your MP?
- How many years/terms has he/she been your MP?
- Where is his/her service centre?
- Describe your MP in 50 words:

- What is the most important thing your MP has done which positively affected you and your community?

Q3
Have you heard or read of your ADUN/MP talking about the following issues in your community?

Yes or No or I don't know/I don't care

a. Crime
b. Corruption
c. Democracy e.g. participation of people in decision-making
d. Education e.g. access to schools & higher education
e. Employment e.g. job opportunities
f. Environment
g. Freedom of Expression & Information

h. Gender Equality
i. Healthcare
j. Infrastructure e.g. roads
k. Prices of Food & Goods
l. Prices of Houses
m. Public Transportation
n. Racial Unity
o. Others, specify:

Q4

What are the 5 main issues above that need to be solved/improved in your community? Kindly explain.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.

Q5

Rate your ADUN/MP [on a scale of 1 (worst) to 5 (best)]:

- How often do you see your ADUN/MP in your community? e.g. once a month/once a week/every day
- Is it easy to meet your ADUN/MP?
- Does your ADUN/MP solve problems that are brought to his/her attention? If so, which problems?
- Does your ADUN/MP know about the problems/issues in your community?
- Does your ADUN/MP speak to your community often? e.g. once a month/once a week/every day
- Does your ADUN/MP discuss issues with your community to make a decision together for your community?
- Has your ADUN/MP fulfilled the promises and pledges he/she made during the previous election(s)?
- Are you happy with the performance of your ADUN/MP?

TOTAL SCORE

APPENDIX D
UNDIMSIA!'S #LAPORANPENGGERAK

Movers'/YAGs' Key Result Areas per year:

1. Capture. Connect. Convert. Cultivate:
   30 new Movers / 1 YAG ☑

2. Draft, design and publish:
   Mover / YAG Manifesto of principles, policy and aims ☑

3. Host, organise and conduct:
   1 #UndiMsiaChats ☑

4. Host, organise and conduct:
   1 #IdolaDemokrasi ☑

5. Host, organise and conduct:
   1 #SidangYAG held once every 2 months ☑

6. Take action. Start a campaign / movement:
   1 intra-YAG / community issue / cause ☑
   1 national issue / cause ☑

7. Join the #SekolahAktivisme coaching programme ☑

Note: #UndiMsiaChats, #IdolaDemokrasi and #SidangYAG are only facilitative means to the end of taking collective citizen action to address an issue or problem. Hosting, organising and conducting #UndiMsiaChats, #IdolaDemokrasi and #SidangYAG are not in themselves actions to further a particular cause.

APPENDIX E
UNDIMSIA!'S #IDOLADEMOKRASI GAMESHOP

Brief
The #IdolaDemokrasi GameShop aims to help communities contextualise their problems in terms of governance, with a focus on consensus building and participation through open, honest dialogue, and then arming them with the appropriate tools to help them overcome these problems themselves by taking collective action.

+ It's not a workshop!
#IdolaDemokrasi is an interactive, participatory and participative-styled GameShop designed to empower communities with the tools and skills needed to solve their own problems, on their own terms. UndiMsia!'s movers only facilitate the thinking and process, not provide the answers.

+ It's not just about the vote!
UndiMsia! is not only about the vote – in fact, far from it. Instead, UndiMsia! emphasises citizen empowerment 'prior' to and 'after' the vote. It is an education movement aimed at promoting and enhancing greater participation by young Malaysians in our country's democratic process.

+ 100% non-partisan!
At #IdolaDemokrasi, communities are encouraged to look beyond politics and politicians and to focus on the issues – to examine the root causes and consequences of their problems (#ProblemTree), to see where the lines of influence and pillars of power lie (#BigPicture Analysis), and to come up with credible, sustainable and impactful solutions by taking collective action (#ActionPyramid). In the process, communities also conclude that our system of representative democracy is flawed and in need of reform.

+ Crowd-sourced democracy and being 'solutionists'
The modules of #IdolaDemokrasi are designed to build up to examining the #BigPicture and what actions citizens can take to implement solutions presently in the short-term and in the long-term to make Malaysia a more vibrant and robust democracy on all levels.

+ Who are we?
We are community movers of UndiMsia! and we represent the movement. We are leaders:

- In the GameShop, we guide and facilitate the communities to find possible answers together. We do not give the 'right' answers or impose our personal values or opinions on them.

- However, we encourage freedom of speech and the airing of ALL views, notwithstanding that some views may be held by a minority, may sound outrageous, absurd, silly, childish, provocative, discriminatory, sexist and ridiculous, or may be pro-establishment or anti-establishment.

- We do not judge ANY participant. At the highest, we may challenge the views of the participants or suggest alternative opinions for discussion or examination. No personal attacks may be made on any participant even if the participant attacks us personally.

- Every participant is important. Every view is welcomed. Assume that each participant will voice his or her opinion only once, and HEAR and LISTEN to that view. Observe and encourage the quieter participants to speak up.

- No participant is too 'slow' to learn. People learn using different methods and it is up to us to find and use the best method. As far as possible, #idolaDemokrasi seeks to ask critical questions and involve the participants in collective experiential learning, not to tell them what we know and what we think they ought to know.

- Above all, we must be disciplined. We should not make any discriminatory, sexist, derogatory or insulting remarks, even if it is meant as a joke or as a private statement among ourselves. Remember that we represent the future of Malaysia!

- Be sincere and humble – if we do not know the answer, say we do not know it. If we are wrong, admit our mistake. Keep it real, yo!

- Remain energetic and positive at all times. Watch our body language. Be open. Smile and laugh. Treat each participant like a friend.

- Our aim is to present a lively, rocking and inclusive GameShop for everyone. We want to motivate, inspire and activate them!

+ Why are we doing #IdolaDemokrasi?
We are doing the GameShop to EDUCATE and EMPOWER communities, and at the same time educate and empower ourselves to give more meaning to our lives, LOL! Remember that we will learn a lot about ourselves in this process. If participants leave the GameShop feeling disempowered, then we are doing it wrong.

We also aim to make democracy fun, exciting and alive. Direct democracy. Participatory democracy. Thereupon, we draw on the energy and buy-in of the participants to talk about, support and act to make Malaysian democracy real for themselves and others.

+ What should we expect at the end of #IdolaDemokrasi?
101% – everyone should leave the GameShop energised, educated, tired but also wanting to take on the world by organising to act and hopefully, by being a community mover. The communities'

#ActionPyramid ideating strategies and tactics of action should be executed. No one should feel that they wasted their time. Feedback on the GameShop is strikingly positive.

+ I wish to host and/or organise #IdolaDemokrasi. How should I prepare for it?
Simple. Quickly read this Toolkit. Then contact us in various ways for example, by emailing us at move@undimsia.com with your details and proposed dates. Once we are set, we will send you our GameShop Pack detailing the stuff you need to prepare such as the following:

i. Promotional poster of the GameShop and its modules i.e. a template is provided if you require one to be used

ii. Contact list of the participants i.e. a template is provided – if possible, have the participants sign up and email us their details before the Gameshop

iii. GameShop materials i.e. mahjong paper, large tip marker pens (5 colours), whiteboard/blackboard, masking tape/blu-tack, name tag stickers, A4 paper, pens, projector, sound system, screen, laptop (with Mac 'iMovie' or Windows 'Wondershare DVD Slide Show Builder' program), camera and card reader, nice music and nasi lemak (if possible)

iv. Resource materials as handouts:

- UndiMsia!'s FactSheet available online at UndiMsia.com
- Four Roles Of Activists, Bill Moyer (1990) [version adapted by Turning The Tide]
- Eight Stages Of Successful Social Movements, Bill Moyer (1990) [version adapted by Turning The Tide]
- Eight Stages + Four Roles Graphic, Bill Moyer (1990) [version adapted by Turning The Tide]
- The Movement Action Plan, Bill Moyer (1990) [version adapted by The Change Agency]
- 198 Methods Of Non-Violent Action, Gene Sharp (1973)
- Correcting Common Misconceptions About Non-Violent Action, Gene Sharp (1973)
- Various Forms Of Activism: An Overview Of The Change Agency Case Studies, Maria Zoretic (2006)

+ How many hours do I need for #IdolaDemokrasi?
The optimum run time is 8 hours. The bare minimum is 5 hours for about 30 participants. We encourage organisers to mobilise at least 30 participants to make the GameShop worthwhile. If the community is larger, more time is required. This is how a 5-hour GameShop is scheduled:

15 minutes	Introduction, Expectations Check & Group Agreement
15 minutes	Module 1: Where Do You Stand?
30 minutes	Module 2: Spaceship
1 hour	Module 3: #ProblemTree
1:30 hour	Module 4: #BigPicture Analysis
1 hour	Module 5: #ActionPyramid
30 minutes	Call To Action

+ How many community movers are needed to facilitate #IdolaDemokrasi?
Optimum mover/participant ratio is 1 to 10 to run the modules and facilitate the groups. Additional movers are needed to post live updates on Twitter and Facebook (1 mover), take photos and create the #RecapVid[14] (1 mover) as well as to deal with the merchandise if #RuncitUM is open (1 mover). Ideally, there should be 6 movers for a GameShop of 30 participants.

+ I have seen pictures and videos of #IdolaDemokrasi, and it looks so cool! I am sure many have benefitted from it and the youth have gone on to do some quite interesting activism projects post-GameShop. I want to read in text form a blow-by-blow account on how it is run to learn to facilitate it. Where can I do so?
Experiencing it is best. But if you cannot, then pay attention. Below. [Our default GameShop explained here is conducted for any community who wishes to experience it. However, if there is a specific issue or problem that the community wishes to discuss, we are able to tailor the GameShop accordingly. The modules in the GameShop here are not exhaustive and may be adapted (with additional and complementary modules not listed here) to suit the needs of the particular community.]

ACTIVITY

Introduction, Expectations Check & Group Agreement (15 mins)

Introduction
Movers – as facilitators – will introduce themselves and write the programme for the day on the whiteboard/blackboard visible to the participants at all times.

Briefly explain what UndiMsia! is (and is not), the purpose of the GameShop and how it will be conducted.

Expectations Check
Ask the participants to briefly introduce themselves, why they are at the GameShop and what they expect from it. It is preferable if the mover has a name list of the participants.

14 See Appendix F.

Expectations are written on the whiteboard/blackboard visible to the participants at all times.

Group Agreement
Ask for suggestions from the participants as to what 3 guidelines we – as a group – should adopt to make the GameShop fun, exciting, worthwhile and meaningful. If there are no views, suggest some.

Ask the participants if they agree to the suggested guidelines. If they do, move on. If not, come to a consensus.

Module 1 – Where Do You Stand? (15 mins)

Mechanism
Present a series of contentious statements or questions – related to current issues if possible – to be answered by the participants choosing to stand in 3 different spots in the room. The answers are: 'Yes, I agree', 'No, I do not agree' or 'I do not know/I am not sure'.

Once the participants are in their respective groups, ask them individually to explain their position and their reasons behind it.

Allow other participants who have different views to express themselves. Let the participants respectfully challenge each other and get used to the idea of argumentative dissent.

Probe and ask further questions about perceptions or assumptions made by the participants.

Outcomes
At the end of the module, discuss:
- Are there issues 'too emotional' or 'too sensitive' to be discussed in society? Should these issues be 'swept under the carpet'? Was the group able to speak about these issues without 'killing' each other?
- How do we – and should we – as Malaysians deal with a diversity of opinions? How do we reason to say one opinion is more valid than the other?
- Why did some participants say they did not know or were not sure about some issues? Insufficient information? Or were they not aware or just did not care?

Module 2 – Spaceship (30 mins)

Mechanism
Give each participant a piece of A4 paper and a pen.

Present this scenario: imagine the world is about to end and you must leave in a special Spaceship to another planet. What are the 5 items you will choose to bring with you to the new planet? Each participant must individually list 5 items (Personal List).

After the participants have completed their Personal List, ask them to turn to their right and compare their lists with the participant next to them. The pair of participants is to discuss and collectively agree by consensus (not vote) on 5 items they will bring to the new planet (Pair List).

After the pairs have completed their Pair List, group all of the participants into 2 or 3 bigger groups of about 10-15 members each. Depending on the number of participants, there should be at least 2-3 different groups presenting its decisions.

Give each group a piece of mahjong paper and marker pens. The individual groups are to discuss and collectively agree by consensus (not vote) on 5 items the group will bring to the new planet (Group List).

The Group List is to be written on the group's mahjong paper with brief reasons (in point form) for choosing the 5 items. Each group must name their group and choose a leader and a spokesperson.

After the groups have completed their respective Group List, their spokespersons are to stick their mahjong papers on the walls around the room and present their groups' decisions and reasons on the 5 items.

Movers will facilitate the conversations on the individual group's presentation by asking questions regarding the 'need' for the items and 'process' in coming up with the Group List. After each group's presentation, open the floor to comments or questions from other groups.

Outcomes
More often than not, participants will come up with a list of items that are either basic needs or instrumental constructs (e.g. freedom and justice) to facilitate the attainment of those needs.

At the end of the module, discuss:
- What was the common thread of items chosen by the groups? Food, water, shelter, clothes and facilitative items such as fishing nets and engineering tools?
- Would a non-Malaysian undertaking this module choose different or similar items?
- How are these items related and identified today? Needs? Human rights? Constitutional rights? Explain these concepts.
- Was it more difficult to decide on the 5 items for the Group List compared to the Personal List and Pair List? Why?
- How closely did the groups adhere to the consensus decision-making guidelines during the Group List process? Was it easy or difficult?
- If the Group List was not made by consensus, how was it made? By voting? Or by force? Or participants just kept quiet and relented to the suggestions of the dominant participant? Was this process effective and meaningful?
- Were there any items in the Personal or Pair List that did not make the Group List? Why? How did you feel when your item was left out? What would you do now to change that?

- How did the groups choose its' leaders and spokespersons? By voting? Or by default as no one wanted to step forward?
- Did the leader or spokesperson adequately represent the views of the group? If not, why and what could be done to improve the situation?

Module 3 – #ProblemTree (1 hr)

Mechanism

Crowd-source this module by asking the participants to identify problems they face on a daily basis or are of national concern. More often than not, the participants will come up with a list of problems ranging from specific issues in their community, college, university or at work to general issues in the country such as racism, public transport, corruption and education.

(This module may be contextualised to fit any issue the participants want to highlight. Thus, if the GameShop is specifically conducted for a community wanting to discuss its problem and find solutions to it, then use that problem in this module.)

The problems sourced from the participants are to be written on the whiteboard/blackboard. If necessary, ask the participants to explain why the problems matter or are important to them.

Draw an example of the #ProblemTree tool and briefly explain how to use it: the 'problem' is the 'tree trunk', the 'branches' represent the 'consequences' of the problem and the 'roots' represent the 'causes' of the problem.

Using the same groups in Module 2, let the participants choose the problems they would like to discuss from the list.

Give each group a piece of mahjong paper and marker pens. Each group must draw out the #ProblemTree. After the groups have completed their diagrams, their spokespersons are to stick their mahjong papers on the walls around the room and present their groups' #ProblemTree.

Movers will facilitate the conversations on the individual group's #ProblemTree by validating or asking questions pertaining to the #ProblemTree. Note that some causes may not actually be causes but consequences and vice versa.

After each group's presentation, open the floor to comments or questions from other groups.

Outcomes

At the end of the module, discuss:

- Were some problems actually symptoms of the root causes of those problems? Are we dealing with the roots of the problems or only the symptoms?
- Were some consequences of the problems also root causes of the same?

- Were the groups able to use the tool, dissect the problems and arrive at the consequences and causes without reference to 'who said what' i.e. what politicians or political parties said about the issues?
- Was there even a need to mention politics when the groups were focusing on the consequences and causes?
- Was there sufficient credible information to be sure about the causes? If not, what is needed?
- By addressing the causes, what are some of the solutions to the problems?

Module 4 – #BigPicture Analysis (1:30 hr)

Mechanism

Crowd-source this module by asking the participants several general questions: Who are Malaysian citizens? How are we identified? Who runs the country? Who are the powerholders? What are the roles and functions of the powerholders? Where do their powers come from? What are the power relationships between the powerholders and us, the citizens? Who/what influences us on a daily basis? Do we influence the powerholders? If so, how? Who/what are the causes and consequences of events that happen in our country?

Elicit responses from the participants.

Then, narrow down the questions by asking the participants to:
- Identify the demography of Malaysian citizens: total population, ethnic background, religion, gender, age and income class.
- Identify the 'hard' or official sources of power and influence on citizens: the Federal Constitution and the institutions formed under the Constitution including the King (YDPA), Parliament (Legislature), Government (Executive/Cabinet) and its constituent bodies (e.g. police and immigration), Courts (Judiciary), Election Commission and Attorney General, and other formal institutions including statutory bodies (e.g. SUHAKAM, Bar Council and MACC).
- Identify the 'soft' or informal sources of power and influence on citizens: the media, religions/beliefs, education, businesses, banks, trade unions, political parties, NGOs and pop-shared culture.

As the participants respond, use a black marker pen to draw the demographics, sources of power and influence on a mahjong paper/whiteboard/blackboard visible to the participants at all times.

Ask the participants in greater detail about the sources of power and influence (loosely termed as the 'powerholders'):
- What are their particular roles/functions?
- Where do their powers come from?
- Who are the people who constitute the powerholders?
- Who are the people who lead, own, manage or run these powerholders?
- Are these people appointed or elected?
- How are these people appointed or elected and by whom?

Write the key information elicited from the participants on the mahjong paper/whiteboard/blackboard vis-à-vis each source of power and influence.

Ask the participants about the lines of power/influence between the powerholders and citizens:
- How do the powerholders govern or influence us?
- Do the powerholders govern or influence us more or vice versa?
- How do we influence the powerholders?

As the participants respond, use a red marker pen to draw arrowed lines of power/influence between the powerholders and citizens.

Refer to the consequences and causes in the #ProblemTree presentations.
- Who/which of the powerholders are causing the problems?
- Who/which of the powerholders are in an official position and able to deal with the consequences and causes of the problems?

With reference to the diagrams of Parliament, Cabinet and Courts and based on the methods of appointments or elections, ask the participants if there is a real and meaningful separation of powers between the institutions.

With reference to the diagrams of the Election Commission, Attorney General and statutory bodies ask the participants who appoints the people to lead these powerholders.

With reference to the diagrams of the media, religions/beliefs, education, businesses, banks, trade unions, political parties and NGOs, ask the participants who leads, owns, manages or runs these powerholders.

With reference to the demography of Malaysia citizens, ask which income class leads or owns all of the illustrated powerholders. The minority, high income, elite class?

As the participants respond, use a green marker pen to draw the links of leadership and ownership of the powerholders with reference to the income class of Malaysia.

Ask the participants where the citizen's voice is in the #BigPicture? The 222 MPs in Parliament? One vote once every 5 years to elect the 222?

As the participants respond, use a blue marker pen to draw an arrowed line from the citizens and the 222 MPs/Parliament representing the vote. Then ask how many Malaysians voted in the last 2008 elections.

Remind the participants that Malaysia practises a system of representative democracy where the 222 MPs are to represent the Malaysian population. Is that really the case?

With reference to the population demographics, ask the participants:
- How many MPs are women?
- How many MPs are Orang Asli and Orang Asal?
- How many MPs are below the age of 35?
- How often has your MP consulted you or your community before voting on a law in Parliament?
- How often has your MP consulted you or your community on a particular issue?
- How often have you disagreed with your MP's view in Parliament?
- Did you sanction any of the racist or sexist statements your MP made in Parliament or outside of it?
- Do you feel that your MP represents your views?

Outcomes

At the end of the module, discuss:
- Whether the participants feel that the 222 MPs actually represent the Malaysian population and all of its diversity?
- Does Parliament represent the will of the majority?
- What is 'procedural' democracy and 'substantive' democracy?

- Is a representative democracy system actually rule by the majority or minority?
- In a representative democracy, is voting in elections important or not?
- What is meant by 'people power'?
- Whether the system of representative democracy vests too much unchecked power in certain powerholders allowing for abuse of power?
- Whether the system of representative democracy needs to be improved by reform to allow greater space for citizen participation and legally-binding decisions made directly by the citizens?
- How do systems of deliberative, direct, participatory or monitory democracy work?
- Where official channels to the powerholders to address problems in the country fail or are ineffective, what choice do the citizens have?
- Apart from voting periodically in elections, is collective citizen action important and necessary?
- What are some of the long-term and short-term solutions to improve our system and have the citizens' voices heard more meaningfully and effectively?

#UndiMsiaTip

If one thinks voting periodically once in 5 years to deal with issues citizens face 365 days a year is a democracy, think again.

Adakah anda seorang penentang, reformis, agen perubahan sosial atau (hanya) warga?

One who complains and blames but does not act is one who looks in the mirror and walks away forgetting how one looks.

Complaining and whining is not a mark of a hallmark citizen. Ask instead: What can I do? And do it!

A meaningful democracy will encourage positive vibrant citizenry, not create an atmosphere of fear or barriers to activism.

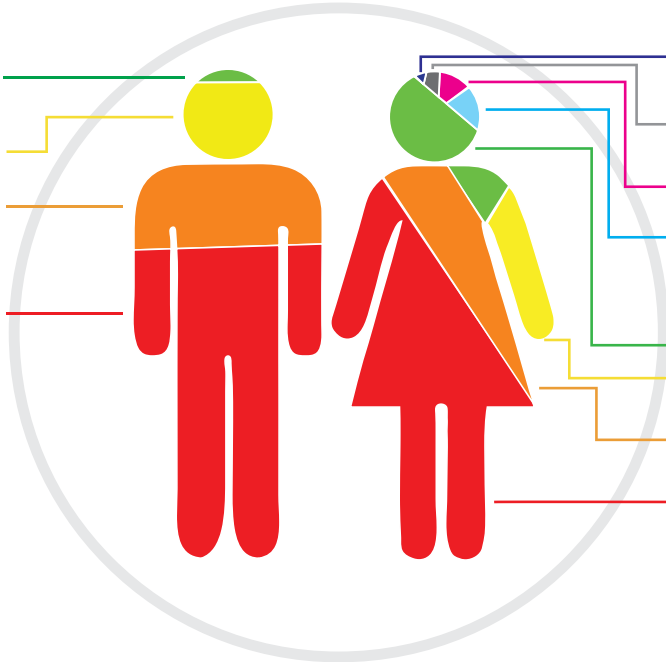
People who see the #BigPicture and have their AHA! moment are on their way towards empowering themselves. Have you?

Remind ourselves we must live each day to the fullest. Every second lost is a lost opportunity to capture, connect, convert and cultivate the disempowered.

My notes:

ETHNICITY

- OTHERS 0.7%
- INDIAN 7.3%
- CHINESE 24.6%
- MALAY & INDIGENOUS 67.4%



RELIGION

- 0.4% OTHERS
- 0.7% NO RELIGION
- 1% UNKNOWN
- 1.3% CONFUCIANISM, TAOISM & RELATED
- 6.3% HINDUISM
- 9.2% CHRISTIANITY
- 19.8% BUDDHISM
- 61.3% ISLAM

POPULATION: 28,334,135

(91.8% CITIZENS, 8.2% NON-CITIZENS)

MALE — 51.4% 48.6% — FEMALE

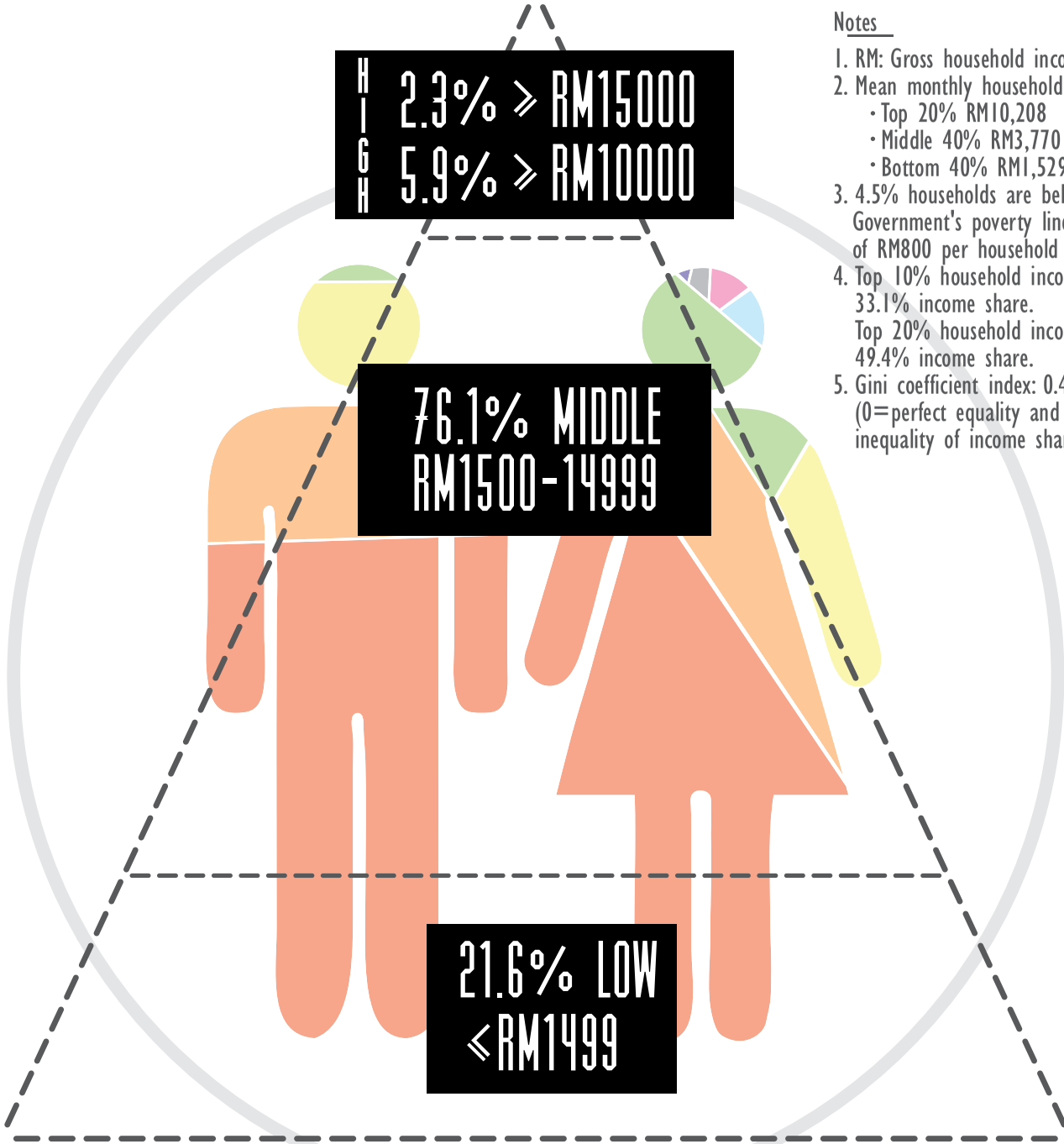
AGE:

27.6% <15

65% <35

5% ≥65

SOURCE: POPULATION & HOUSING CENSUS, DEPARTMENT OF STATISTICS (2010)



Notes

1. RM: Gross household income per month
2. Mean monthly household income:
   - Top 20% RM10,208
   - Middle 40% RM3,770
   - Bottom 40% RM1,529
3. 4.5% households are below the Government's poverty line income of RM800 per household per month
4. Top 10% household income group: 33.1% income share.
   Top 20% household income group: 49.4% income share.
5. Gini coefficient index: 0.441
   (0=perfect equality and 1=total inequality of income share)

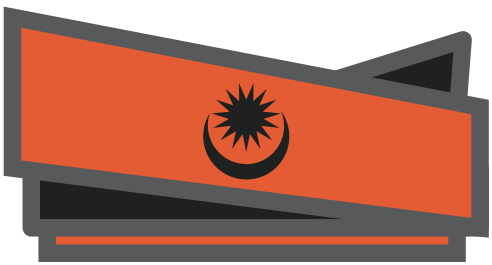
SOURCE: HOUSEHOLD INCOME & BASIC AMENITIES SURVEY REPORT, DEPARTMENT OF STATISTICS (2009)

WHAT ARE THE OFFICIAL SOURCES OF POWER AND INFLUENCE IN OUR COUNTRY?

MYCONSTI

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION IS THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND. IT IS THE HIGHEST LAW THAT ESTABLISHES THE OFFICIAL SOURCES OF POWER AND INFLUENCE IN OUR COUNTRY.

SOURCE: ARTICLE 4, FEDERAL CONSTITUTION



YDPA

THE KING IS THE SUPREME HEAD OF THE COUNTRY WHO IS ELECTED BY THE CONFERENCE OF RULERS FOR A TERM OF 5 YEARS. MORE THAN RM50 MILLION PER YEAR IS SPENT ON THE KING, THE RAJA PERMAISURI AGONG AND THEIR HOUSEHOLD.

SOURCES: ARTICLES 32-38, FEDERAL CONSTITUTION & CIVIL LIST ACT 1982

PARLIAMENT

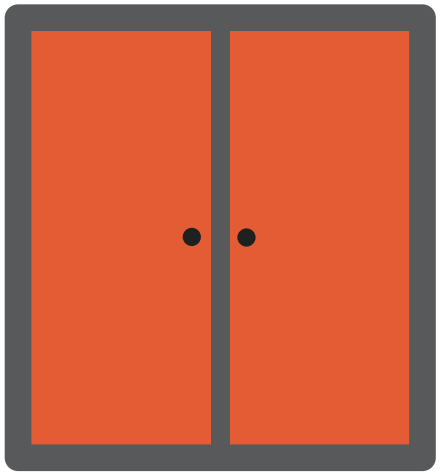
FUNCTION: TO MAKE LAWS.

PARLIAMENT CONSISTS OF THE DEWAN NEGARA (SENATE) AND THE DEWAN RAKYAT (HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES). THE SENATE CONSISTS OF 26 ELECTED MEMBERS FROM 13 STATES + 2 MEMBERS FOR KL + 1 MEMBER FOR LABUAN + 1 MEMBER FOR PUTRAJAYA AND 40 MEMBERS APPOINTED BY THE KING. THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONSISTS OF 222 MPS ELECTED IN A FIRST-PAST-THE-POST ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

THE SPEAKER AND 2 DEPUTY SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ARE ELECTED BY THE HOUSE.

SENATORS ARE PAID RM4,112.79 PER MONTH AND MPS ARE PAID RM6,508.59 PER MONTH.

SOURCES: ARTICLES 44-68, FEDERAL CONSTITUTION & MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (REMUNERATION) ACT 1980



CABINET

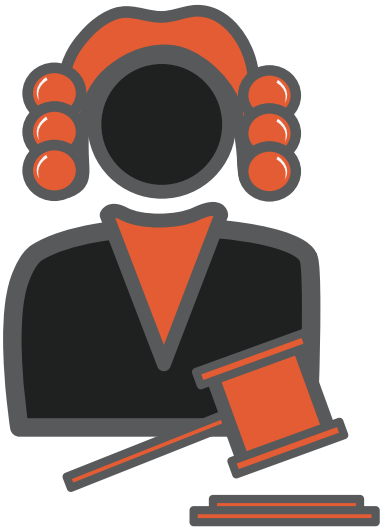
FUNCTION: TO ADMINISTER/EXECUTE LAWS AND POLICIES.

CABINET IS APPOINTED BY THE KING WHO FIRST APPOINTS THE PM TO PRESIDE OVER THE CABINET A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WHO IN HIS JUDGMENT IS LIKELY TO COMMAND THE CONFIDENCE OF THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE.

ON THE ADVICE OF THE PM, THE KING APPOINTS OTHER MINISTERS AND DEPUTY MINISTERS FROM AMONG THE SENATE OR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. CURRENTLY (2012), MORE THAN 80% OF CABINET CONSISTS OF MINISTERS AND DEPUTY MINISTERS APPOINTED FROM THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THE PM IS PAID RM22,826.65 PER MONTH AND A MINISTER IS PAID 14,907.20 PER MONTH.

SOURCES: ARTICLES 43-43C, FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (REMUNERATION) ACT 1980 & WWW.PMO.GOV.MY



COURTS

FUNCTION: TO INTERPRET LAWS.

JUDGES ARE APPOINTED BY THE KING ON THE ADVICE OF THE PM. THE PM RECEIVES RECOMMENDATIONS FOR APPOINTMENTS FROM THE JAC.

CURRENTLY (2012), THERE ARE 13 FEDERAL COURT, 20 COURT OF APPEAL AND 63 HIGH COURT JUDGES.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE IS PAID RM25,000.00 PER MONTH AND A HIGH COURT JUDGE IS PAID RM17,754.76 PER MONTH.

SOURCES: ARTICLES 121-131A, FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, JUDGES REMUNERATION ACT 1971, JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS COMMISSION ACT 2009 & WWW.KEHAKIMAN.GOV.MY

ELECTION COMMISSION

FUNCTION: TO CONDUCT ELECTIONS TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES.

THE EC IS AN INSTITUTION ESTABLISHED BY THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. ITS MEMBERS ARE APPOINTED BY THE KING AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE CONFERENCE OF RULERS AND CONSISTS OF A CHAIRPERSON, DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON AND 5 OTHER MEMBERS. IN APPOINTING THE EC, THE KING SHALL HAVE REGARD TO THE IMPORTANCE OF SECURING AN EC THAT ENJOYS PUBLIC CONFIDENCE.

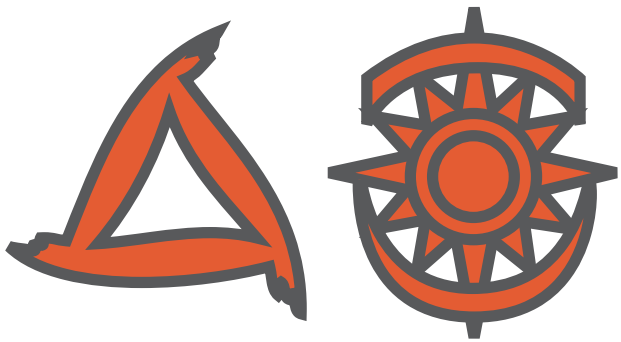
THE EC CHAIRPERSON IS PAID RM12,523.75 PER MONTH.

SOURCES: ARTICLES 113-120, FEDERAL CONSTITUTION & ELECTION COMMISSION ACT 1957

ATTORNEY GENERAL

FUNCTION: TO ADVISE THE KING AND CABINET ON LEGAL MATTERS AND TO CONDUCT CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS.

THE AG IS APPOINTED BY THE KING ON THE ADVICE OF THE PM.



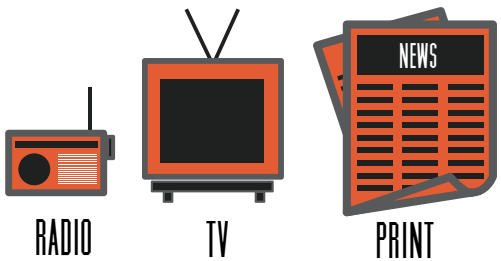
STATUTORY BODIES

STATUTORY BODIES ARE BODIES ESTABLISHED BY PARLIAMENT FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES, E.G. SUHAKAM TO DEFEND AND PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS, THE BAR COUNCIL TO REGULATE THE LEGAL PROFESSION AND UPHOLD JUSTICE, THE MACC TO INVESTIGATE AND ENFORCE ANTI-CORRUPTION LAWS AND THE JAC TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS OF JUDGES.

THERE ARE NO LESS THAN 175 STATUTORY BODIES IN MALAYSIA.

WHAT ARE THE INFORMAL SOURCES OF POWER AND INFLUENCE IN OUR COUNTRY?

NEW MEDIA



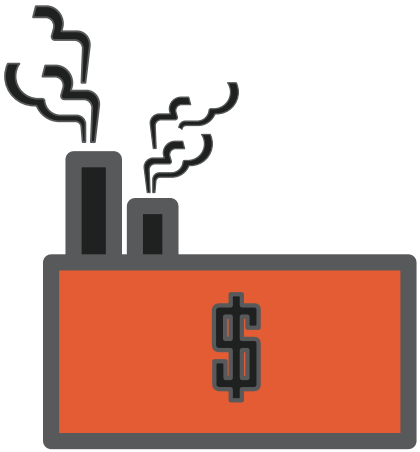
RADIO TV PRINT

OLD MEDIA

HOW DOES THE MEDIA INFLUENCE US IN THE WAY WE THINK AND RELATE, SHAPE OUR VALUES AND BELIEFS? WHO OWNS THE MEDIA? POLITICAL PARTIES? WHO GRANTS OR REVOKES PERMITS FOR PRINT MEDIA?

RELIGIONS / BELIEFS

EDUCATION



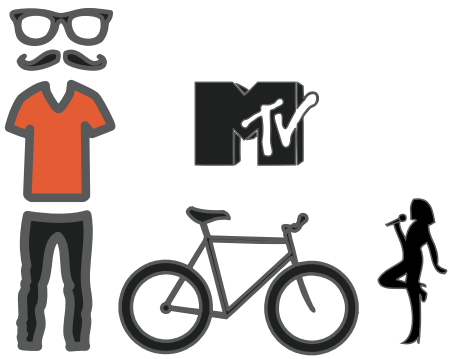
BUSINESSES

TRADE UNIONS

BANKS

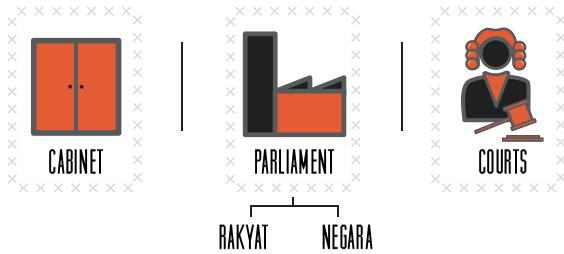
POLITICAL PARTIES

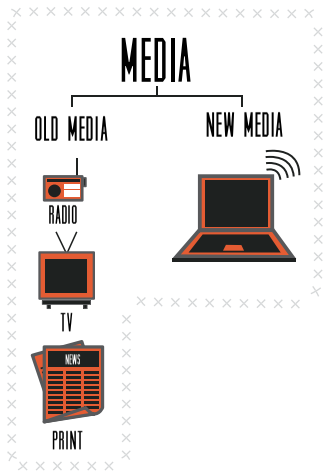
NGOS



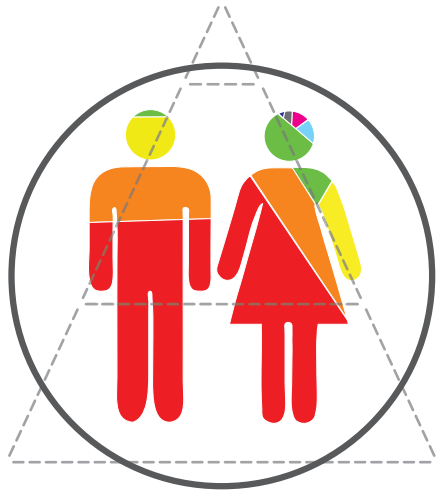
POP-SHARED CULTURE

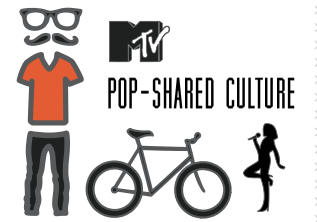
My notes:

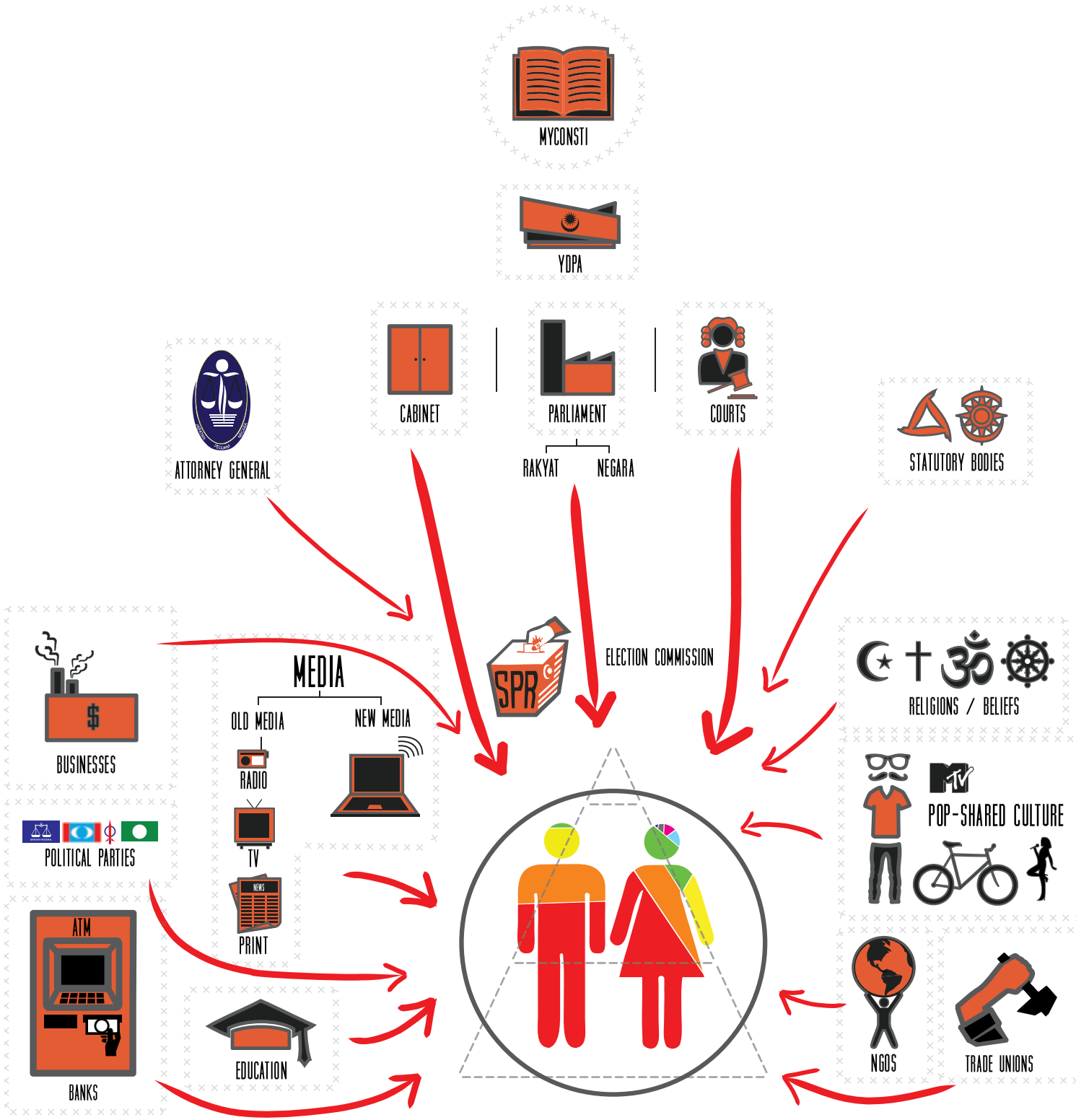




ELECTION COMMISSION






MYCONSTI
YDPA
ATTORNEY GENERAL
CABINET
PARLIAMENT
RAKYAT
NEGARA
COURTS
STATUTORY BODIES
BUSINESSES
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OLD MEDIA
NEW MEDIA
RADIO
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PRINT
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ELECTION COMMISSION
RELIGIONS / BELIEFS
POLITICAL PARTIES
POP-SHARED CULTURE
ATM
BANKS
EDUCATION
NGOS
TRADE UNIONS

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CABINET
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RELIGIONS / BELIEFS
POP-SHARED CULTURE
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NEW MEDIA
OLD MEDIA
RADIO
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PRINT
EDUCATION
BUSINESSES
POLITICAL PARTIES
ATM
BANKS

Module 5 – #ActionPyramid (1 hr)

Mechanism

Break the participants back into their #ProblemTree (Module 3) groups. They have analysed the causes and consequences of the problem and seen the #BigPicture. It is time to take action.

Draw an example of the #ActionPyramid tool on a mahjong paper/ whiteboard/blackboard visible to the participants at all times. The #ActionPyramid is made up of several layers:

- Target (tip of the pyramid)
- Objective/Demand/Message
- Strategy
- Action
- Tactics (base of the pyramid)

The participants must evaluate and respond by filling in each layer of the #ActionPyramid starting from the tip (Target) and ending at the base (Tactics). The base forms the foundation of the Action proposed to be taken. Without good Tactics, the Action should not be taken.

Pose each layer of the #ActionPyramid in a form of a question then explain the thought process behind the forming of the answers to those questions:

Who is the Target (i.e. powerholder) you are calling on for behavioural change? The Target is the one who holds the power to change/ improve principles/policies/laws.

What is the Objective/Demand/Message you seek to convey to the Target? The more specific, realistic and practical the Objective/ Demand/Message the better. For the purpose of the default GameShop, limit it to 1 Objective/Demand/Message that should be written in no more than 10 -15 words.

What is the Strategy to be employed to convey the Objective/Demand/ Message? Strategy refers to the use of a series/combination of methods (consecutive or concurrent) to achieve the Objective/ Demand/Message.

A good rule of thumb is to refer to the constituent elements of 'gotcha politics': litigation, demonstrations and legislation. For instance, one may decide to litigate the issue in Court, at the same time rally in front of the police station and lobby MPs to raise the issue in Parliament or propose a new law to curb police brutality. Do we need to do all 3? Have we first attempted to resolve the problem through official channels?

The #ActionPyramid does not exclude 'litigation' and 'legislation' as part of a wider strategy. Both these actions are already widely used by Malaysians. The focus of the #ActionPyramid is on NVDA which requires more programmatic mainstreaming particularly when formal powerholder institutions have failed. Further, NVDA seeks to enlarge the participation of citizens where by nature, litigation and legislation are specialised areas not necessarily understood or practised by ordinary laypeople.

Choosing NVDA as part of the strategy is generally to raise the profile of the cause, demonstrate the failure of official channels and public institutions, grow majority public support and compel or trigger a reaction from the powerholder to meet your Objective/ Demand/Message.

If NVDA is chosen as part of the strategy, what is the Action? Reference is made to the ***198 Methods Of Non-Violent Action*** (Sharp)[15] handout. Movements require a number of campaigns to achieve their stated goals. More than 1 Action may be adopted in each campaign depending on how the campaign is to be conducted.

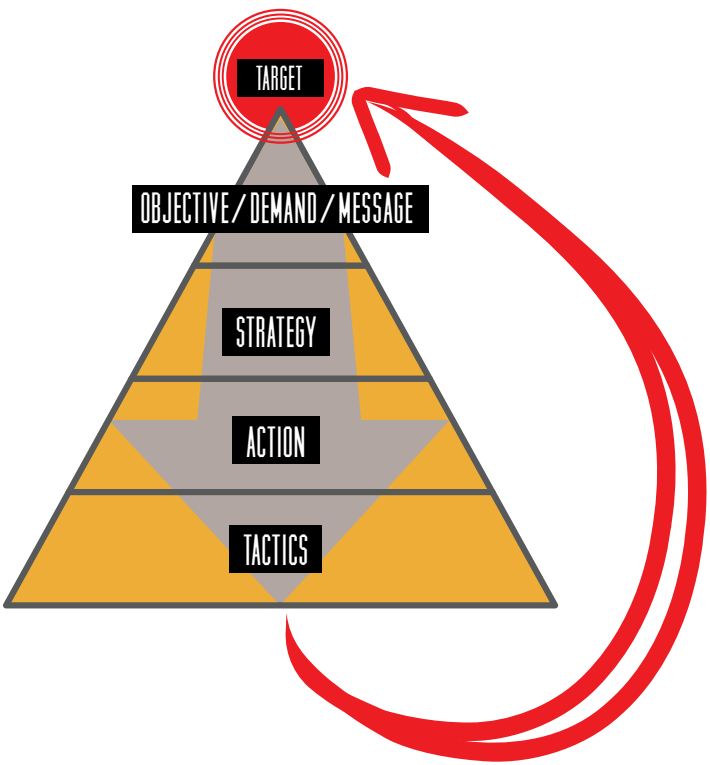
What are the Tactics to make the Action successful and effective? Tactics refer to the methods to achieve success in the chosen Action. The question may further be broken down by asking how we are to make the Action credible, sustainable, impactful and effective. Many initiatives fail at this stage because the Tactics did not have the required cohesive implementation and monitoring. It is therefore the foundation of any Action and if one is unable to carry out the Tactics satisfactorily, the Action should not be taken.

For instance, you choose to make a video on the internet about the plight of children who are victims of sexual crimes (nos. 8 and 11 #198Actions). This is part of the strategy to raise awareness with the citizens and persuade the powerholder to do something. You need to make the video go viral. How do you do that? These are your Tactics.

Or you choose to conduct a demonstration regarding electoral reform (no. 47 #198Actions). The questions that arise include:

- is the Action feasible and practical?
- will the Action work?
- is everyone comfortable in taking the Action?
- what are the risks involved in the Action and how do you mitigate those risks?
- how do you make the Objective/Demand/Message simple, direct, clear and appealing to the public?
- how do you mobilise the people?
- what resources do you need?
- who are your allies and opponents?[16]
- how do you strengthen ties with your allies for them to also act in support?
- how do you engage your opponents to move them closer towards supporting your Action?
- what would be the anticipated responses of your opponents and the powerholder?
- how do you deal with them?

15 See Appendix G.
16 See Appendix H.



- how do you use and handle the media?
- what measures do you need to take to prevent violence at the demonstration?

If there is a break down in the planning of Tactics, the Action needs to be re-worked.

Give each group a piece of mahjong paper and marker pens. Each group must draw out the #ActionPyramid and fill in each layer. After the groups have completed their diagrams, their spokespersons are to stick their mahjong papers on the walls around the room and present their groups' #ActionPyramid in front of a panel of 'judges'.

After each presentation, the judges and the floor critically question the spokespersons on the #ActionPyramid.

A vote is then taken by a show of hands to choose the best #ActionPyramid. Participants cannot vote for their own group's #ActionPyramid. Once chosen, the winning group must implement the Action using the #ActionPyramid.

Outcomes
At the end of the module, ask the participants for their feedback of the module and evaluation of the tool.

Call To Action (30 mins)

With the participants, draw up a plan of action:
- What will be done next?
- How will it be done?
- When will it be done?
- Who will do it?

Agree on tangible and measurable outcomes.

Form a YAG and identify roles and leaders. Connect them through the various channels of communications such as UndiMsia!'s egroup and Facebook group.

If possible, fix a date for a follow-up meeting or an advanced GameShop.

Play the #RecapVid.

Ask if the participants' expectations of the GameShop have been met and discuss.

NOTES FOR MOVERS

Introduction, Expectations Check & Group Agreement

1. Movers, please emphasise that we are not here to preach to them. As a facilitator, all the major output should be from the participants sourced by us. Encourage the participants to open up, share and express their views. This will set the stage for the Module 1.

2. Examples of guidelines:
- Everyone should respect each other and accordingly, their views.
- Everyone should be allowed to speak without interruption.
- This is safe space. Everyone should be able to speak freely without being judged.
- We respect a diversity of opinions.
- Everyone should be punctual.
- Everyone should switch off their handphones.

Module 1 - Where Do You Stand?

3. Movers, this module is to be treated as an ice-breaker. The purpose is to encourage the participants to move and speak up on controversial issues, as well as to get a sense of the participants' views on current issues. The purpose is not to say whether the views are right or wrong and we are not to judge.

4. Example of statements or questions:
- "The death penalty is necessary to prevent serious crimes"
- "Detention without trial is necessary for Malaysia"
- "Do you believe that elections in Malaysia are free and fair?"
- "Is a protest a legitimate form of expression in a democracy?"
- "Do you think everyone should have the right to freedom of assembly?"
- "Everyone should have the right to change his or her religion"
- "Every Malaysian should be given a free house by the Government"

5. Use this module to have the participants open up on issues that concern them including any perceptions or assumptions based on prejudice or discrimination. We need to question more, discover more, research more and talk more to fill the marketplace of discussion to properly decide if one opinion is more valid than the other. Nothing should be 'too emotional' or 'too sensitive'.

6. For those who did not know or were not sure, they are encouraged to find out more and to take a position for "(t)he hottest place in Hell is reserved for those who remain neutral in times of great moral conflict" (Martin Luther King Jr).

Module 2 - Spaceship

7. Movers, the purpose of this module is twofold:
- To introduce the concept of needs and rights – that human and constitutional rights are at the core based on human needs for self-actualisation. Rights are universal, inalienable and interdependent.
- To converse about the process of decision-making and its implications for minorities in a democracy. How did the process reflect the reality in a democracy?

8. As an individual, making decisions is easy. As the participants are grouped together in bigger and bigger groups, decision-making becomes harder and compromises would usually have to be made but not at the expense of human and constitutional rights.

9. Draw attention to the process employed by the groups to make collective decisions – consensus after deliberation, voting, authoritarian compulsion or simply by default as no one spoke up against the dominant participant.

10. Was the process fair and democratic? Were all voices heard? Introduce the concepts of representative democracy (which Malaysia practises) and deliberative, direct, participatory or monitoring democracy. Drive home the message that citizens need to speak out and stand up for their rights and themselves. If they do not, their voices, needs and rights would be drowned out by the dominant majority groups.

Module 3 - #ProblemTree

11. Movers, the purpose of this module is to get the participants to focus on and examine the root causes and consequences of 'problems'. Emphasise that:
- What were initially thought of as 'problems' may actually be symptoms of the root causes of the said problems.
- If we take the #ProblemTree far enough, the branches (consequences) may ultimately make a 'U-turn' and end up as the roots (causes) thus forming a vicious cycle.
- There is no need to talk about politicians or political parties when analysing the nation's issues.
- The media, politicians and political parties may on certain issues be fudging the real problems, causes and consequences, therefore misleading the public.

12. Explain that the #ProblemTree tool is a linear exercise in critical thinking. The findings of the groups may not necessarily be accurate as the participants may not have sufficient information which is credible before them. Hence, UndiMsia!'s 1st Pillar: Information must always first be called upon in any discussion on issues seen as problems.

13. For a common example to explain how this tool works, use the 'problem' of motor rosak:
- Consequences include being late for work and subsequently getting fired or being late for a date and subsequently getting into an argument and breaking up.
- Causes include punctured tyre due to the non-servicing of the vehicle because of insufficient funds.

Module 4 - #BigPicture Analysis

14. Movers, this is the most important part of the GameShop. It is usually the most 'depressing' module.

15. The module may be sliced in different ways to show different things and lengthened or shortened depending on the community participants. The default #BigPicture is one showing the country's scenario. However, this tool has also been and may be used to map the #BigPicture of public universities, private colleges, schools, resident associations, churches and workplaces depending on what the community wants.

16. The purposes of this module are to:

- Identify the formal and informal sources of power and influence, and the powerholders.
- Identify the lines of power/influence between the powerholders and citizens.
- Identify the powerholders causing the problems in the country and those able to deal with the causes and consequences.
- Identify the channels available to the citizens to voice their issues and problems to be meaningfully and effectively addressed.
- Challenge commonly-held notions of the system of representative democracy and the concept of 'people power' through periodical elections.
- Identify weaknesses and failures in the system of representative democracy.
- Introduce the need for long-term and short-term reforms to the system not just in Malaysia but also in other parts of the world having the same system.
- Highlight the importance and necessity for collective citizen action as the 'real people power'.

17. Many of us are not able to see the #BigPicture as we are too caught up in the individual statements, incidents and cases reported in the media. This tool ensures that we do not lose focus but will be able to understand the many Malaysian issues in the context of a bigger picture i.e. the Malaysian political system and the underlying power relations between its players. Once we understand this, we will also understand that the need for action starts with us, the citizens.

18. After the #BigPicture is drawn, some critical questions may be asked including:

- Who populates Parliament, Cabinet, Courts?
- From which income class?
- Is there a real separation of powers?
- Is there too much power with certain powerholders?
- Who owns the media?
- Who owns businesses and banks?
- How are trade unions controlled?
- Who runs universities? How are they chosen?
- Where is your voice? A vote once every 5 years to elect 222 MPs?
- How many were registered to vote in 2008? 10,740,227
- How many in fact voted in 2008? 8,161,039 (76%)
- Is your vote important?
- Is your vote not important?
- Is this fair?
- Is this a democracy?
- Is this 'majority rule' or 'minority rule'?
- How did it turn out this way?

19. More often than not, the participants seeing the #BigPicture for the first time will be shocked or sad for they see that their voice is 'heard' only once every 5 years. They come to the conclusion that the system of representative democracy is broken or flawed. This is their AHA! moment. The good news is that Module 5 seeks to uplift them.

20. The conversations after the #BigPicture is drawn usually go along these lines:

- "There is no separation of powers."
- "There is too much power vested with the PM and Cabinet."
- "Elections merely allow a minority elite to control us and our resources."
- "222 MPs do not represent us. They are not able to deal with issues we face on a daily basis."
- "The parliamentary process does not work."
- "With the same system in place, any political party that comes into power will be no different."
- "As a collective, we the citizens need to realise the power we have if we take action and make things right."

21. Movers should also aim to impart to the participants the skill set for them to draw the #BigPicture themselves when ideating initiatives for activism to map the forces at work.

22. One common way to lead into Module 5 is to ask the participants what suggestions they would make to improve our system of representative democracy. Introduce the systems of deliberative, direct, participatory or monitory democracy that go beyond mere 'procedural' elections. Examples include referendum and town hall mechanisms.

23. Invite a 'wish list' of long-term measures for reform to make our system more deliberative, direct and participatory in that citizens are directly involved in making decisions affecting them and their communities. Return or transfer more power to the people and reduce the concentration of power within the Federal Government by, for example:

- Local council elections
- Legally-binding town hall meetings
- Legally-binding peoples' assemblies
- Referendum on important national issues
- 'Citizen Initiatives'
- Restoring the separation of powers
- Reducing the powers of the PM and Cabinet

- Direct national elections for the office of the PM
- Changing the electoral system from the first-past-the-post (FPTP) mechanism to proportional representation
- Removing the party whip mechanism
- Mandatory consultation on proposed laws
- Elections to be held for the offices of the IGP and AG
- Banning politicians from doing business
- Greater devolution of powers to the States (e.g. grants, tax and natural resources)

Module 5 - #ActionPyramid

24. Movers, doing something is as important as talking about it. After Module 4 and conversing about ideas for long-term reforms, what do we do in the meantime? If the participants wanted to take collective citizen action, how can it be done?

25. Module 5 is the most challenging part of the GameShop because it takes time to ideate and plan activism. After the downer in Module 4, treat the #ActionPyramid tool not only as an introduction to the architecture and design of the particular cause-based initiative to be taken by the community but also as a way to give them hope that something can be done.

26. Points to note with the #ActionPyramid:

- Although the ultimate Target is the powerholder, NVDA seeks actually to broaden public support for the particular cause by organising and mobilising citizens. Without consistent pressure of public opinion, the powerholder would not change his/her/its position.
- The participants usually confuse Strategy and Tactics. They are not the same. It is important to take some time to explain the differences.
- Module 5 is when movers have to play a greater role in facilitating each of the groups. The #ActionPyramid tool was first developed by UndiMsia! and only introduced recently. Although it may make it seem that activism is difficult, assure the participants that this is not the case once the tool is mainstreamed. Everyone must be on the same page in taking NVDA hence the necessity to go through the #ActionPyramid process.
- For a more advanced community, illustrate by reference to the handouts of ***Eight Stages + Four Roles Graphic*** (Moyer and adapted by Turning The Tide) and ***The Movement Action Plan*** (Moyer and adapted by The Change Agency) the progression of various large cause-based movements in Malaysia such as Reformasi, BERSIH and HINDRAF and the roles of different activists therein.

Call To Action

27. Movers, this is the wrap-up session to establish the channels of communications and keep in touch with the community participants while helping them to plan their next step. UndiMsia! will assist any community on their issues whenever they need help so they should know who and how to contact us. End on a positive and inspiring note!

28. At the end of #IdolaDemokrasi, movers should re-group and conduct a de-briefing and post-mortem of the GameShop. Ask each other about how it went:

- How was it delivered?
- Was it fun and simple?
- Was it inclusive?
- Was it empowering and energetic?
- Was it creative?
- How do we think the participants felt?
- What do we need to improve on?

My notes:

APPENDIX F
#RECAPVID: RECAP VIDEO GUIDE BY PANG JO FAN

This is one important aspect of the #IdolaDemokrasi GameShop.

The purpose is to allow the exhausted participants at the end of the GameShop to sit back, relax and watch their experiences, laugh at funny pictures of their friends and simply be proud of what they have achieved in the span of a few hours. It encourages them to take ownership and reminds them of the fun and crucially, the action plans formulated.

The video would then be uploaded to YouTube after the GameShop along with pictures taken posted on Facebook for documentation and archiving.

A picture speaks a thousand words but a video captures a thousand pictures. In making this part a reality, we would need a camera and card reader to take photos, a laptop to edit the video, a projector, sound system and screen to play the video at the end of the GameShop.

The Pictures

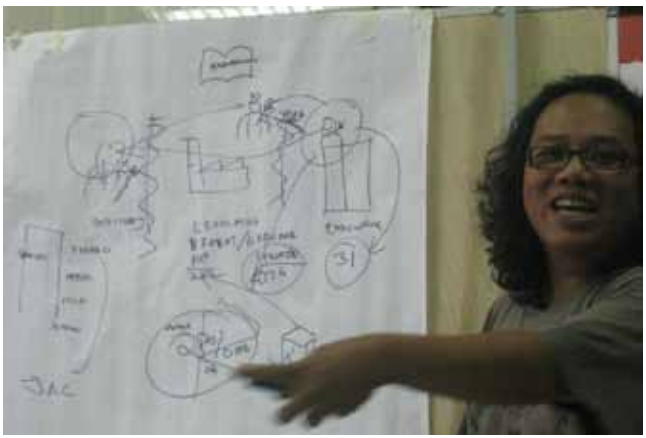
The pictures are the most vital part of the #RecapVid. We want a thousand words of activism in each picture, so it is important to snap pictures to project energy, vibrancy and logically, active participation:

- Capture the movements, actions and facial expressions of the participants during group discussions and presentations.
- Capture the close-up profile image of each participant – to show that ordinary citizens just like you and me are moving communities!

Ensure you take pictures during all the modules including the diagrams drawn by the groups and movers facilitating the GameShop. The more pictures the better.

Never forget to document some fun too. The 'whack-ier' the pictures the better. It is after all a GAMEShop. So, let the pictures show the power!

MSA



The Video

Next up: video editing. The editing is normally done right after the #ProblemTree while the #BigPicture Analysis is going on.

Transfer the videos from the camera to the laptop. (If you are inclined to do so, why not edit the pictures too?) As the video needs to be compiled in a short span of time, a complex or professional video editor is unnecessary. We need a software to collate all the chosen pictures – choose wisely while at it – and let it render with preset effects. So if you have a Mac, it is recommended that you use 'iMovie'. If you use Windows, a similar software would be 'Wondershare DVD Slide Show Builder'. If you do not have a choice, make do with Windows 'Movie Maker', but do try to make the video look cool!

The video should consist of a title describing the GameShop number, name of the host/organiser, venue, date (e.g. IdolaDemokrasi 100, College -----, Selangor, 3.3.2012) and interesting captions to introduce different segments of the GameShop. It should not be longer than 5 minutes. Include suitable background music that is neither too loud nor too dead. Examples can be found on UndiMsia!'s YouTube page.

At the conclusion, although you will feel like a most satisfied mover, your work does not end there. While the GameShop continues, quietly set up the projector and sound system and test that the video works. Play it when the time is right.

After the GameShop, instantly upload the video to YouTube and the pictures to Facebook. Spread them on Twitter and any other platforms imaginable. Inform the participants that the video and pictures are up. This is one way we activate and inspire.

Enjoy!

P/S: Do not hesitate to use this method to document YAGs' activities too!

APPENDIX G

#198ACTIONS: 198 METHODS OF NON-VIOLENT ACTION BY GENE SHARP, THE ALBERT EINSTEIN INSTITUTION

These methods were compiled by Gene Sharp and first published in ***The Politics Of Nonviolent Action (Vol. 2: The Methods Of Nonviolent Action)*** by Porter Sargent in 1973. Every method is based on a historical example or case.

I. THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT PROTEST AND PERSUASION

Formal statements

1. Public speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organisations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions

Communications with a wider audience

7. Slogans, caricatures and symbols
8. Banners, posters and displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio and television
12. Skywriting and earthwriting

Group representations

13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

Symbolic public acts

18. Displays of flags and symbolic colors
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobings
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names
28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures

Pressures on individuals

31. "Haunting" officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternisation
34. Vigils

Drama and music

35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing

Processions

38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades

Honouring the dead

43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places

Public assemblies

47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camouflaged meetings of protest
50. Teach-ins

Withdrawal and renunciation

51. Walk-outs
52. Silence
53. Renouncing honours
54. Turning one's back

II. THE METHODS OF SOCIAL NONCOOPERATION

Ostracism of persons
55. Social boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic nonaction
58. Excommunication
59. Interdict

Noncooperation with social events, customs and institutions
60. Suspension of social and sports activities
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience
64. Withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from the social system
65. Stay-at-home
66. Total personal noncooperation
67. "Flight" of workers
68. Sanctuary
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration (hijrat)

III. THE METHODS OF ECONOMIC NONCOOPERATION: ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS

Actions by consumers
71. Consumers' boycott
72. Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
73. Policy of austerity
74. Rent withholding
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers' boycott
77. International consumers' boycott

Action by workers and producers
78. Workmen's boycott
79. Producers' boycott

Action by middlemen
80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott

Action by owners and management
81. Traders' boycott
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout
84. Refusal of industrial assistance
85. Merchants' "general strike"

Action by holders of financial resources
86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
87. Refusal to pay fees, dues and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government's money

Action by governments
92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers' embargo
95. International buyers' embargo
96. International trade embargo

IV. THE METHODS OF ECONOMIC NONCOOPERATION: THE STRIKE

Symbolic strikes
97. Protest strike
98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

Agricultural Strikes
99. Peasant strike
100. Farm workers' strike

Strikes by special groups
101. Refusal of impressed labor
102. Prisoners' strike
103. Craft strike
104. Professional strike

Ordinary industrial strikes
105. Establishment strike
106. Industry strike
107. Sympathetic strike

Restricted strikes
108. Detailed strike
109. Bumper strike
110. Slowdown strike
111. Working-to-rule strike
112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in)
113. Strike by resignation
114. Limited strike
115. Selective strike

Multi-industry strikes
116. Generalised strike
117. General strike

Combination of strikes and economic closures
118. Hartal
119. Economic shutdown

V. THE METHODS OF POLITICAL NONCOOPERATION

Rejection of authority
120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
121. Refusal of public support
122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

Citizens' noncooperation with government
123. Boycott of legislative bodies
124. Boycott of elections
125. Boycott of government employment and positions
126. Boycott of government departments, agencies and other bodies
127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
128. Boycott of government-supported organisations
129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents
130. Removal of own signs and placemarks
131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

Citizens' alternatives to obedience
133. Reluctant and slow compliance
134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
135. Popular nonobedience
136. Disguised disobedience
137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
138. Sitdown
139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
140. Hiding, escape and false identities
141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

Action by government personnel
142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
143. Blocking of lines of command and information
144. Stalling and obstruction
145. General administrative noncooperation
146. Judicial noncooperation
147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
148. Mutiny

Domestic governmental action
149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

International governmental action
151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations
152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
154. Severance of diplomatic relations
155. Withdrawal from international organisations
156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
157. Expulsion from international organisations

VI. THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT INTERVENTION

Psychological intervention
158. Self-exposure to the elements
159. The fast
- Fast of moral pressure
- Hunger strike
- Satyagrahic fast

160. Reverse trial
161. Nonviolent harassment

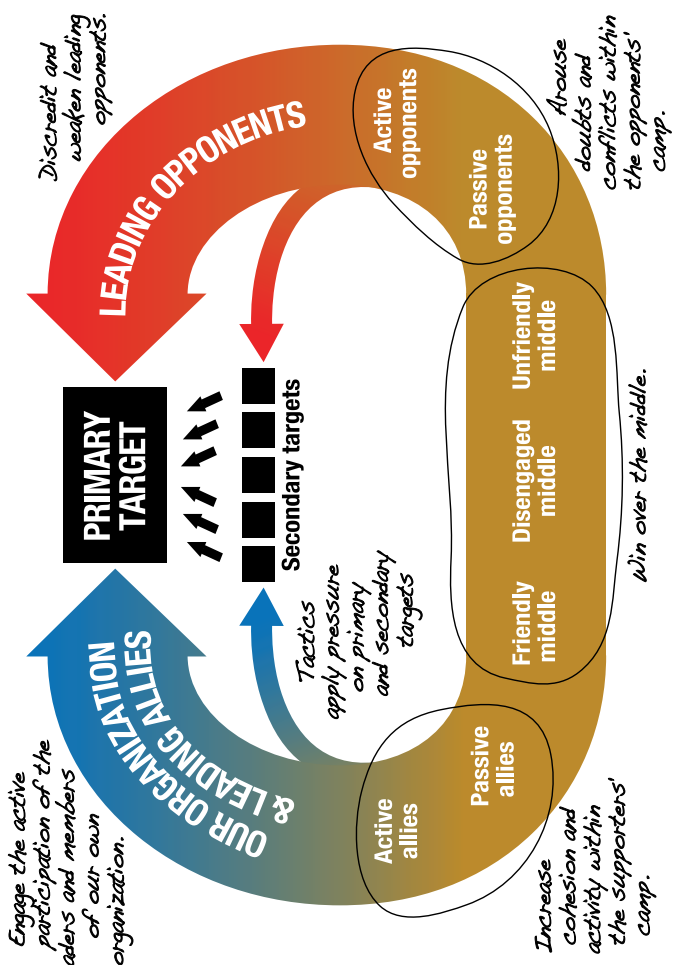
Physical intervention
162. Sit-in
163. Stand-in
164. Ride-in
165. Wade-in
166. Mill-in
167. Pray-in
168. Nonviolent raids
169. Nonviolent air raids
170. Nonviolent invasion
171. Nonviolent interjection
172. Nonviolent obstruction
173. Nonviolent occupation

Social intervention
174. Establishing new social patterns
175. Overloading of facilities
176. Stall-in
177. Speak-in
178. Guerrilla theater
179. Alternative social institutions
180. Alternative communication system

Economic intervention
181. Reverse strike
182. Stay-in strike
183. Nonviolent land seizure
184. Defiance of blockades
185. Politically motivated counterfeiting
186. Preclusive purchasings
187. Seizure of assets
188. Dumping
189. Selective patronage
190. Alternative markets
191. Alternative transportation systems
192. Alternative economic institutions

Political intervention
193. Overloading of administrative systems
194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
195. Seeking imprisonment
196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
197. Work-on without collaboration
198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government

APPENDIX H
SPECTRUM OF ALLIES AND OPPONENTS, WWW.TOOLSFORCHANGE.NET



ACTIVATING MALAYSIANS:
THE D-I-Y TOOLKIT

YOUR VOTE IS IMPORTANT AND IT IS NOT IMPORTANT
THERE IS TOO MUCH POWER VESTED IN THE HANDS OF THE MINORITY ELITE CLASS
OUR SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY DOES NOT REPRESENT THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE
WHAT DO REFORMASI, BERSIH, HINDRAF, VK LINGAM, ISA, EO, AUKU, LYNAS, TEOH BENG HOCK HAVE IN COMMON?
WHO ARE THE PEOPLE? WHERE IS THE POWER?

Written based on a collective experience of more than 14 years participating in and leading various social movements, this Toolkit seeks, in a compelling and accessible form, to:

- *Persuade Malaysians to take a second look at our system of democracy and understand its problems while offering solutions.*
- *Challenge Malaysians to take action and be involved in movement building as a way to assist themselves and other communities.*
- *Equip the new activist with recommended models and templates for the furtherance and optimisation of the activist's chosen cause(s).*

Activists are not born – they are made. Activism must be experienced. ACTIVATING MALAYSIANS: THE D-I-Y TOOLKIT is probably the first-ever Malaysian book published as a do-it-yourself guide to activism. So do it!

REAL PEOPLE POWER. REAL DEMOCRACY – PARTICIPATORY, DIRECT DEMOCRACY BOTTOM UP.
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ISBN 978-967-0102-01-6

LoyarBurok Publications (LoyarBaca) • Liberal Banter Sdn Bhd (723502-K) • www.loyarburok.com