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Title:

Understanding the Emergence, Development and Trajectories of
New Social Movements (NSMs) in
Industrial Countries & Non-Post-Materialist Societies:
The Case of Animal Protection Movement (APM) in Malaysia.

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ABSTRACT

At present the vast majority of studies of new social movements (NSMs), such as the animal protection movement (APM), focus on post-industrial countries and post-materialist societies. According to NSM scholars, post-industrial countries offer a healthier environment for NSMs to thrive because these countries possess high levels of economic, physical and material security. However, little is known about the APMs in countries which are industrial, such as those found in South East Asia (SEA). Therefore, the thesis offers a novel empirical account of the APM in Malaysia; a NSM that exists in an industrial country that does not have a strong post-materialist society. The study is focused on understanding the emergence, development and trajectory of the APM in Malaysia. The study is concerned with factors such as the accessibility of political opportunities, the level of post-materialist values, the roles played by the long standing cultural beliefs and the types of resources available in Malaysia. The study finds that the APM Malaysia is surviving in a very perplexing environment. The movement is stymied as a result of operating in a country with: a moderately closed-state structure; low levels of post-materialist values; overpowering cultural beliefs and lack of resources. It is hoped that this study will be able to provide a new perspective and insight in the analysis of APMs in industrial countries and non-post-materialist societies in SEA, thus broadening the knowledge of NSMs.

Keywords:
new social movement (NSM), animal protection movement (APM), post-industrial countries, post-materialist societies, industrial countries, non-post-materialist societies.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1.	**AAF**	Animal Asia Foundation
2.	**AGC**	Attorney General's Chambers
3.	**APM**	Animal Protection Movement
4.	**ASEAN**	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
5.	**AWF**	Animal Welfare Foundation
6.	**BAWA**	Bali Animal Welfare Association
7.	**BN**	Barisan Nasional (National Front – NF)
8.	**CiWF**	Compassion in World Farming
9.	**CLJ**	Current Law Journal
10.	**CMOC**	Chief Medical Officer
11.	**DEB**	Dasar Ekonomi Baru (New Economic Policy – NEP)
12.	**DESA**	Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat
13.	**DSM**	Department of Statistics Malaysia
14.	**DPAD**	Development Policy and Analysis Division
15.	**DVS**	Department of Veterinary Services
16.	**ECM**	Election Commission Malaysia
17.	**ESCM**	Education Service Commission Malaysia
18.	**F.F.F**	Furry Friends Farm
19.	**GDP**	Gross Domestic Product
20.	**GNI**	Gross National Income
21.	**G.O.E**	Garden of Eden
22.	**HDI**	Human Development Index
23.	**HSUS**	The Humane Society of the United States
24.	**IMF**	International Monetary Fund
25.	**ISPCA**	Ipoh Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
26.	**JAC**	Judicial Appointment Commission
27.	**JAKIM**	Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia (Department of Islamic Development Malaysia)
28.	**LGBT**	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender.
29.	**MCA**	Malaysian Chinese Association
30.	**MDGs**	Millennium Development Goals
31.	**M.I.A.R**	Malaysian Independent Animal Rescue
32.	**MIC**	Malaysian Indian Congress
33.	**MNAWF**	Malaysian Animal Welfare Foundation
34.	**MOA**	Ministry of Agriculture and Agro-Based Industry
35.	**MRSM**	Maktab Rendah Sains Mara (the elite MARA Junior Science Colleges)
36.	**NIC**	Newly Industrialised Country
37.	**NGO**	Non-governmental Organisation
38.	**NSM**	New Social Movement
39.	**OIE**	World Organisation for Animal Health
40.	**ONS**	Office of National Statistics
41.	**PAWS**	Paws Animal Welfare Society
42.	**PCB**	Public Complaint Bureau
43.	**PISA**	Programme for International Student Assessment
44.	**PETA**	People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals
45.	**PSC**	Public Select Committee

46.	**PSC**	Public Service Commission
47.	**RAWCSG**	Regional Animal Welfare Coordination Strategic Groups
48.	**RMT**	Resource Mobilisation Theory
49.	**RSPCA**	Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
50.	**S.C.R.A.T.C.H**	Stray Cats Rescue and Treatment Community Help
51.	**SPCA**	Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
52.	**SPRM**	Suruhanjaya Pencegah Rasuah Malaysia (Malaysian Anti Corruption Comission – MACC)
53.	**SMO**	Social Movement Organisation
54.	**TYT**	Tuan Yang Terutama (Governor)
55.	**UMNO**	United Malays National Organisation
56.	**UN**	United Nations
57.	**UNESCO**	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
58.	**VB**	Veterinary Branch
59.	**VPF**	Veterinary Police Force
60.	**VS**	Veterinary Service
61.	**WB**	World Bank
62.	**WESP**	World Economic and Situation Prospects
63.	**WTO**	World Trade Organisation
64.	**WVS**	World Values Survey
65.	**YDPA**	Yang di Pertuan Agong

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Research Undertaken

1.1   <u>Introduction</u>.

This thesis has selected Malaysia as its primary case study in order to acquire rich interpretations of new social movements (NSMs) in industrial countries and non-post-materialist societies.[1] In so doing, it adopts an over-time comparative perspective within a one-country case study. The motive of such a perspective is to advance our understanding on the emergence, development and trajectories of NSMs in industrial countries and non-post-materialist societies. This is primarily because the existing academic work on NSMs is more focused on NSMs in post-industrial countries and post-materialist societies in western democracies.

In the academic work of Ronald F. Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997), he claims that NSMs are prevalent and vigorous in post-industrial countries. This is because, when industrial countries begin to ascend towards becoming post-industrial countries, levels of wealth escalate and post-materialist values become ascendant (Brooks and Manza, 1994: p. 545). Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997) claims that citizens in post-industrial countries pursue post-materialist values such as freedom of expression, autonomy, equality and quality of life because they enjoy high levels of material wealth and physical security and are thus released from the pressure of basic acquisitive needs.

However, where does that leave NSMs in industrial countries without such levels of post-materialist values? In presenting a comprehensive analysis of the animal protection movement (APM) in Malaysia, this thesis broadly agrees with Inglehart's claim that NSMs are stronger and more vibrant in post-industrial countries and post-materialist societies.[2]

This thesis presents arguments and evidence to show that the APM in Malaysia is not as resilient and effective as it might be because of three important factors:

1) The effectiveness of the APM in Malaysia is inhibited by the country's moderately closed state structure;

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[1] Since Malaysia classified by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as a Newly Industrialised Country (NIC), I have chosen the terms "industrial country" and "non-post-materialist society" to describe Malaysia throughout the thesis because these are convenient terms that really describe that Malaysia is not a post-industrial country and does not have high levels of post-materialist values.

[2] I have chosen to use the term "animal protection movement (APM)" throughout the thesis because of the following two reasons: 1) Protection is just a convenient term and I am not adopting Garner's protectionist ethics; and 2) animal is a convenient term that really means "non-human animal".

2) The APM in Malaysia is stymied due to low levels of post-materialist values and overpowering cultural beliefs; and

3) The APM in Malaysia is stymied due to the stalled bureaucratisation of the animal protection social movement organisations (SMOs).

In a nutshell, the thesis does not only present a case of an NSM in an industrial country and a non-post-materialist society, but it also investigates how well NSMs thrive in industrial countries and non-post-materialist societies. The thesis is divided into seven individual chapters. **Table 1.1 (a)** below, presents the chapters of the thesis and their synopses.

Table 1.1 (a): Chapters and Synopses

Chapter	Synopsis
Chapter 1	The first chapter introduces the thesis with an emphasis on its vital components, offering a clear statement of the topic or problem under investigation. The first chapter includes: 1) Context information; 2) Statement of the problem; 3) Rationales of the study 4) Research objectives; 5) Research questions; 6) Research hypotheses; 7) Brief description of the research design and methodology; 8) Brief description of the theoretical framework; and 9) Significance of the study.
Chapter 2	The second chapter provides an overview of previous research on NSMs. It introduces the framework for the case study that comprises the main focus of the research described in this thesis. The chapter is divided into two parts: 1) **Part 1:** Represents the groundwork for the case study that follows. 2) **Part 2:** Represents the concepts and theories which will be integrated into the study.
Chapter 3	The third chapter provides the justification and methodological detail for the study. The chapter is divided into several subsections discussing the research methods for the study, such as the case study method, semi-structured interview method, participant observation method and documentary research method. The chapter also addresses the methodological challenges of the study.
Chapter 4	The fourth chapter examines the flexibility and accessibility of political opportunities in Malaysia's political structure and its effects on the APM there. The chapter argues that the APM in Malaysia is stymied as a result of the country's moderately closed state structure.

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Chapter 5	The fifth chapter looks at the roles played by the levels of post-materialist values and cultural beliefs in influencing the APM in Malaysia. The chapter argues that the APM in Malaysia is stymied as a result of the low level of post-materialist values and strong cultural-beliefs amongst Malaysians.
Chapter 6	The sixth chapter examines the level of bureaucratisation of the animal protection SMOs in the APM in Malaysia. The chapter argues that the APM in Malaysia is stymied as a result of the stalled bureaucratisation of its animal protection SMOs.
Chapter 7	This is the final chapter of the thesis. It offers a general conclusion of the entire study and its findings. It also highlights the limitations of the study and suggests studies which are promising for future research.

1.2   Background Statement.

NSMs are different from traditional social movements because they are customarily associated and identified with what is called the post-materialism of post-industrial countries. They generally focus on the role of culture because NSMs are the product of the transference from an industrial to a post-industrial economy and they are associated with what is termed as *middle class radicalism* (Parkin, 1968). As maintained by Frank Parkin, the middle class in post-industrial countries challenge the established economic and material wealth oriented goals of western democracies by constructing a new social model that highlights post-materialist values. In the words of Parkin, "whereas working class radicalism could be said to be geared largely to reforms of an economic kind, the radicalism of the middle class is directed mainly to social reforms which are basically moral in content" (1968: p. 2).

Post-materialist values surface as people reprioritise from material and economic wealth preference to non-material and non-economic values such as freedom of speech, gender equality, environmental protection, animal rights, sexual identity, gay rights and peace (Inglehart, 1997: p. 77-78). Nonetheless, there is a particular genre of NSM that is currently gaining gradual momentum in industrial countries such as Malaysia. At present, in Malaysia, there is an APM that is actually making its existence visible and noticed by the Malaysian public and government.

The APM in post-industrial countries is committed and engaged in a broad animal protection agenda embracing issues such as the rights and welfare of farm, laboratory, zoo, companion, and stray animals; as well as the rights and welfare of commercially exploited animals in the entertainment, fashion and beauty industries. The APM in Malaysia, an industrial country, on the other hand, is fixed on a narrower range: to reform the current status of animal welfare and promote the humane treatment of stray and companion animals in the country.

The APM in Malaysia prioritises rescuing, rehabilitating and rehoming as many abandoned companion and stray animals as possible; spaying and neutering stray animals to control its population; establishing feeding colonies for stray animals; and creating non-kill sanctuaries to protect stray and abandoned companion animals. The APM in Malaysia is predominantly focused on ameliorating the welfare and heightening the protection of stray and companion animals in the country.

1.3   Statement of the Problem.

At present, there are extensive literatures on APMs in post-industrial countries and post-materialist societies such as Austria, France, Germany, the UK and the US. There is very little, however, on the APMs in industrial countries and non-post-materialist societies such as Malaysia.

However, the rationale for undertaking this research is not merely the important job of filling this knowledge gap. By illustrating that there is an APM in Malaysia, and exploring its emergence and activities, the thesis is not only providing evidence that NSMs exist in industrial countries, but also at the same time addressing their obstacles. This is important to explore further Inglehart's prominent post-materialist theory. Put simply, by studying the APM in Malaysia in depth, we can further understand if and why NSMs are more established and dynamic in post-industrial countries.

1.4   Research Objectives.

Research objectives seek to identify in clear terms what the research seeks to achieve. Fundamentally, there are three identifiable research objectives for the study assumed. The study takes the APM in Malaysia as its key case study so as to satisfy its ambitions, which are:

1) To determine the factors and establish the logic that have contributed to the materialisation of the APM in Malaysia;

2) To identify and address the challenges and opportunities of the APM in Malaysia; and

3) To determine the future prospects of the APM in Malaysia.

In the pursuit of these ambitions, wider implications concerning APMs in other industrial countries and non-post-materialist societies, especially on their prospects, will be able to be drawn.

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1.5   Research Questions.

A research question is the underlying focus of a study. It emphasises the study, ascertains the research technique, and guides all phases of investigation, analysis, and writing. With that in mind, the study undertaken is guided and centered on a set of clear and focused research questions.

These research questions are critical in facilitating the study to synthesise multiple sources in order for it to present its arguments and evidence. The critical research questions are as follows:

1) Why has the APM, a genre of NSM that is usually prevalent in post-industrial countries and post-materialist societies, transpired in Malaysia, an industrial country and a non-post-materialist society?

2) What does the APM in Malaysia campaign for?

3) What are the main challenges endured by and opportunities available for the APM in Malaysia?

4) What are the components of the APM in Malaysia? and

5) What are the future trajectories of the APM in Malaysia?

6) What is the strongest factor stymieing the APM in Malaysia?

1.6   Research Hypotheses.

A hypothesis is necessary to make the activity of a study relevant. It is a specific but testable prediction between two variables. Hence, for the purpose of the study undertaken, there are three specific hypotheses which are going to be tested throughout the entire course of data accumulation, exploration and synthesisation. The hypotheses of the study are as follows:

1.6.1 Hypothesis I:

The Animal Protection in Malaysia (APM) is Stymied as a Result of Malaysia's Moderately Closed State Structure.

The literature on APMs implies that in western democracies, animal welfare is an issue that is predominantly supported by legislators who are from centre-left parties. This is because legislators who are concerned with augmenting the plight of the vulnerable and defenseless acknowledge that animals are another subdued group worthy of backing

(Garner, 1999, 2004). Consequently, given the absence of left-wing parties in Malaysia, it may be presumed that the APM there finds it challenging and difficult to establish connections and gain support from the legislators of the country. Therefore, the first hypothesis of the study is to examine if the effectiveness of the APM in Malaysia in making radical changes towards the humane treatment of animals in the country is inhibited by the country's political structure: namely the fact that it is *closed* rather than *open.*

However, openness is not only about having left-wing parties in the political system. According to Herbert P. Kitschelt (1986), the degree of openness of a state structure is defined by four important factors which are: the number of political parties in the political system; the level of independence that the legislative branch has over the executive branch; the room for intermediations offered by the executive branch to have with interest groups; and the existence of effective mechanisms which will aggregate demands articulated by interest groups. These four factors are used to establish the degree of openness of Malaysia's state structure and the way this affects the political opportunities accessible to its NSMs.

It must be noted, however, that *closed* and *open* are not the only terms used to describe the difference in political opportunities available to social movements. For John S. Dryzek et al. (2003), the structures of a state's interest representation can be divided into two types: a state can be *inclusive* or *exclusive*. An *inclusive* state is more receptive (open) to a chain of interests. Meanwhile, an *exclusive* state is only open and flexible to interests which are seen as most important, typically economic interests. Furthermore, states can be *passive* or *active* with regard to the types of interest representation they sanction or pursue. An *active* state "intervenes to try to affect the content and power of interests present in civil society", while a *passive* one "does little or nothing to either advance or impede the standing of particular groups" (Dryzek et al. 2003: p. 7).

Crucially, for Dryzek et al. (2003), the *passively exclusive* structural arrangements in Germany's state structure actually provided fertile ground for its anti-nuclear movement to thrive. This is because the movement successfully avoided having its aims captured and moderated by state leaders, and also because the movement successfully linked its defining interests to the current and emerging state's imperatives (Dryzek et al., 2003: p. 187).

Given Dryzek's findings, and how they contrast with other scholars focused on political opportunities, it will be interesting to test the outlined hypothesis and determine how Malaysia's state structure impacts upon its APM.

The first hypothesis will be tested by integrating the assumptions and claims of theorists who focus on political opportunities – thinkers such as Charles Tilly (1978), Doug McAdam (1982) and Sidney Tarrow (1988) – with the findings from the 2014 fieldwork in Malaysia. In this endeavour, the interview sessions with the officials from the Ministry of

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Agriculture and Agro-Based Industry (MOA) and Department of Veterinary Services (DVS), the operators of animal protection social movement organisations (SMOs), animal activists, independent animal rescuers and animal shelter operators play an important role in providing valuable insights and information which will facilitate in the assessment of the first hypothesis.

For example, the information acquired from the officials of MOA and DVS will illustrate the level of commitment and interest that the Malaysian government has on animal issues. This is because the officials who had agreed to be a part of the research are the officials who were involved in the revision and amendment of the *Animals Act 1953* and currently involved in re-formulating and re-drafting of the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*.[3] Meanwhile, the outcomes of the interview sessions with the animal activists will present original information and knowledge on the political support that they get, if any.

1.6.2 *Hypothesis II:*

The Animal Protection Movement (APM) in Malaysia is Stymied Due to Low Levels of Post-Materialist Values and Overpowering Cultural Beliefs in the Country.

It is commonly argued that NSMs flourish in post-industrial countries because they have what is called a *new middle class* which prioritises post-materialist values over material acquisitive needs. Post-industrial countries have prioritised post-materialist values because these societies went through what is called a *culture shift* (Parkin, 1968; Touraine, 1988; Melucci, 1989; Inglehart, 1977, 1990, 1997; Jasper, 1997; Rootes, 1992). As an industrial country, it is assumed that Malaysia does not have a robust and large APM because it does not have high levels of post-materialist values since it has yet to experience a *culture shift*.

However post-material values are not the only type of value which might affect the fortunes of the APM in Malaysia. In fact, other cultural values might also be important. Malaysia is a multi-cultural and multi-faith country. As published by the 2010 Population and Housing Census of Malaysia:

1) 61.3% Islam;

2) 19.8% Buddhism;

3) 9.2% Christianity;

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[3] The *Animal Welfare Bill* may be cited as the *Animal Welfare Act* (http://research.dvs.gov.my/survey/uplo ad/surveys/47389/files/deraf%2012%20AWB-%20120809%20-phase%202%20final.pdf).

4) 6.3% Hinduism;

5) 1.3% traditional Chinese religions; and

6) 2.1% consists of Animism, Folk religions, Sikhism and Atheism.

The following **Image 1.7.2 (a)** illustrates the distribution of religions in Malaysia.

Image 1.7.2 (a): Distribution of Religions in Malaysia
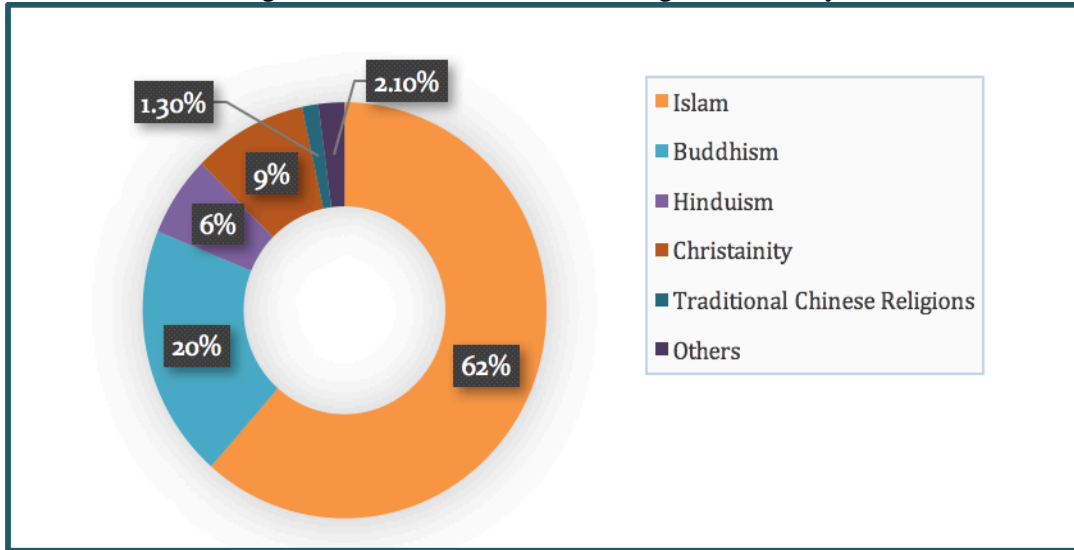
Source: Population and Housing Census of Malaysia, 2010.

Consequently, Islam, Buddhism, Christianity and Hinduism are the predominant religions in the country. These religions dictate benign treatment of animals and yet some activists reported that certain cultural beliefs override them to sanction cruel treatment towards animals. A further hypothesis to be explored in this thesis, then, is whether such cultural beliefs have contributed to the poor status quo of animals in Malaysia.

Therefore, the aim of the second hypothesis in this study is to examine if it is true or otherwise that the APM in Malaysia is stymied due to poor levels of post-materialist values and overpowering cultural beliefs. In order to do so, the results from the First Wave and Second Wave surveys on the levels of post-materialist values across the globe by the World Values Survey (WVS) will be incorporated into the research. These surveys by WVS demonstrate the levels of post-materialist values in both industrial and post-industrial countries. A comparative approach will be adopted whereby the levels of post-materialist values in post-industrial countries will be contrasted against Malaysia's. Plus, specific questions will be asked to the animal protection SMOs, animal activists and animal lovers about the type of challenges that they face in their daily activities.

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1.6.3 Hypothesis III:

The Animal Protection Movement (APM) in Malaysia is Stymied Due to the Stalled or Interrupted Bureaucratisation of the Animal Protection Social Movement Organisations (SMOs).

Bureaucratisation is a development phase within the life of an SMO. When an SMO has secured stronger political power, established steady political rapport with the political elites and acquired qualified and professional staff to execute its tasks instead of depending on volunteers, then the SMO can be said to have bureaucratised (Hopper, 1950; Macionis, 2001). But it is believed that the bureaucratisation of the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia's APM has stalled. The study therefore postulates its final hypothesis: the APM in Malaysia is stymied due to the stalled bureaucratisation of the animal protection SMOs.

In order to test if the final hypothesis is accurate or otherwise, factors which are regarded within the literature as crucial for the bureaucratisation of SMOs such as resources, people, money, organisational structure, leadership, and clear chain of command will be explored and analysed in relation to the animal protection SMOs of the APM in Malaysia. The theory of *resource mobilisation* (RMT) will also be incorporated into the discussion with the ambition to establish the reasons as to why the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia are believed to be mired at the bureaucratisation phase.

As well as testing whether each of these hypotheses is true, the thesis will also aim to uncover if any of the factors is stronger than the others. That is to say, it will also seek to determine, if possible, what the strongest factor stymieing the APM in Malaysia is.

1.7   Research Design.

A research design is basically the general plan or blue print of how a study is to be carried out. It details procedures which are necessary for acquiring the information and evidence needed to structure or solve the research questions and test the hypotheses of a study.

For the purpose of the study, a steady correspondence had been established and nurtured with a myriad of animal protection SMOs in the APM in Malaysia, and the fieldwork for the research was carried out from the 1st of August 2014 to the 31st of October 2014.

For the purpose of data collection, the study planned to use five data collecting methods during the three-month fieldwork. The initially selected methods were as follows: case study; documentary research; in-depth interviews; participant observation; and photo-

ethnography. Extensive discussion and elaboration on the research design and research methods will be carried out in Chapter 3 of the thesis.

1.8   Theoretical Framework and Key Concepts.

A theoretical framework is a structure that underpins, proposes and illustrates the theories and concepts that rationalise why the research problem under study happens. The structure of the theoretical framework for this study is made up of theories and concepts which are critical in the study of social movements and NSMs.

The theoretical framework of the study will be extensively explicated in Chapter 2 of the thesis. However, it is useful now to provide a very succinct explanation of the main concepts and theories.

1.8.1 Social Movements.

This thesis views social movements as informally structured but persistent groups that promote a social goal or resistance towards a social change. They come in different sizes but they are largely collective. That is because social movements rise from the mobilisation of people whose relationships are not articulated by rubrics and processes, but because they simply share a mutual stance on society (Diani, 1992: p. 13; Turner and Killian, 1972: p. 246; Faulks, 1999). Such an interpretation of social movements mirrors the idea that social movements are inherently associated with social change and are propelled by individuals with collective identity and collective aims at making reformations in the policy and society of which they are a part. Hence, the concept of social movements is integral to the research.

1.8.2 Social Movement Organisations (SMOs).

John Lofland's interpretation of SMOs suggests that there is a high correlation between SMOs and social movements. In the opinion of Lofland, SMOs are "associations of persons making idealistic and moralistic claims about how human personal or group life ought to be organised that at the time of their claims making, are marginal to or excluded from mainstream society" (1996: p. 3). Such an interpretation of SMOs by Lofland concurs with the description of social movements that they need SMOs to coordinate their activities and execute critical tasks that are pertinent for their survival and achievement of goals. Ergo, the concept of SMOs is believed to be imperative for the research because the APM in Malaysia has myriad of animal protection SMOs and yet the movement is postulated to be stymied. Therefore, the conceptual literature on SMOs is critical to identify and enlighten the issues which are believed to be distorting the bureaucratisation phase of the SMOs in the APM in Malaysia.

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1.8.3 New Social Movements (NSMs).

As discussed earlier in the chapter, NSMs are movements that are significantly distinctive from traditional social movements. NSMs are argued to be post-materialist value oriented whereas traditional social movements are positioned on class struggles. Some of the examples of NSMs are animal rights, anti-war, feminism, peace and sexual identity movements. However traditional social movements are highly associated with labor movements. NSMs are more widespread in post-industrial countries because the citizens have achieved substantial economic and material affluence which makes their preference shifts from material acquisitive needs to value and moral priorities (Inglehart, 1997; Jasper, 1997).

As a result, the NSM concept is vital for the research because it will support the research in satisfying three out of the six research questions, which are:

1) How has animal APM, a genre of NSM, transpired in Malaysia, a non-post-materialist society?

2) What are its main challenges and opportunities? and

3) What are its future trajectories?

1.8.4 New Social Movement Theory.

It is certain that the NSM theory is vital to the study because it will help to investigate if Malaysia, despite being an industrial country and a non-post-materialist society, has experienced the kind of *culture shift* which theorists argue is necessary for NSMs, such as the APM, to flourish in the country. This is primarily because scholars such as Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997), James M. Jasper (1997), Alberto Melucci (1981, 1985), and Alain Touraine (1981, 1985) argue that NSMs exist in post-industrials countries because they went through a *culture shift* during their transition from being industrial. According to Melucci (1981, 1989) such *culture shifts* happen because capitalism went through major transformations and as a result class struggle was no longer treated as the main priority, with moral and other values coming to the fore.

NSM theory will support the research by helping to identify the factors contributing to the existence, challenges, opportunities and trajectories of the APM in Malaysia.

1.8.5 Political Opportunity.

Political opportunity is one of the three vital elements that established the *political process theory;* the other two are the *resource mobilisation theory* (RMT) and *framing process* (Caren, 2007: p. 1). Political opportunity is vital in interpreting the importance of

a political structure and the opportunities that the structure offers in promoting or hampering a social movement. The works of Tilly (1978), McAdam (1982) and Tarrow (1988) interpret that the political structure of a country signifies the settings of its political system in which it will either facilitate or inhibit collective actions. Tilly (1978) for example, argues that the moderate transparency, free and unrestricted access of a political system in consolidating the interests and concerns of new groups will influence the inception of a social movement. Ergo, it is certain that political opportunity is crucial for the research in testing its first hypothesis: that the APM in Malaysia is stymied due to Malaysia's moderately closed state structure.

1.8.6 *Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT).*

As maintained by John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald (1977), groups and individuals with shared identity, values and goals are marshalled and involved in collective actions by mobilising structures such as SMOs, informal networks and culture groups. *Resource Mobilisation Theory* (RMT) is pertinent to investigate the level of bureaucratisation of the animal protection SMOs and effectiveness of APM in Malaysia. The theory holds that a social movement will flourish and sustain if it mobilises its resources effectively and productively.

Therefore, in order to ascertain the level of bureaucratisation and effectiveness of the animal protection SMOs and APM in Malaysia, the integration of RMT into the research will encourage the following questions to be investigated:

1) What type of resources are available for the APM in Malaysia?

2) Are the obtainable resources for the APM in Malaysia plentiful or meager?

3) What type of resource avenues are there in Malaysia for its APM to tap into?

4) How are the resources acquired by the APM in Malaysia?

1.8.7 *Framing Processes.*

The *framing process* refers to the mobilisation strategies assumed by a movement to legitimise and enthuse collective actions. According to Erving Goffman (1974), framings assist a movement to deliver events or occurrences to be purposeful. They also have the function of organising experiences and guiding actions. Therefore, the integration of framing processes into the research will help to identify the challenges and opportunities that the APM in Malaysia endures in framing their cause - especially in the face of widespread cultural beliefs regarding animals, the absence of political opportunities, the poor level of post-materialist values and the unsteady supply of resources.

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The thesis does not have a specific chapter on the framing process, but discusses framing in detail in Chapter 6. The thesis finds that the framing process is a skill that is missing from the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia.

1.9 Original Study and Significant Contribution.

Because of the strong association of post-industrial countries and NSMs, there has been very few academic study on APMs in industrial countries and non-post-materialist societies such as Malaysia.

So what makes the study particularly interesting and new is that it provides the *very first* piece of academic research on the APM in Malaysia. This new knowledge is important because the APM in Malaysia, as we will see, is an emerging and significant movement. It is also important because Malaysia has an *interesting political relationship* with animals. Despite being an industrial country with a moderately closed state structure and low levels of post-materialist values, Malaysia has two pieces of legislation in place to safeguard the welfare and safety of animals in the country.

For example, Malaysia's first legislation pertaining to animal welfare was the *Animals Act 1953* which was introduced by the British in 1953. The Act's main purpose was to administer the activities of DVS. The Act was intended to homogenise and reinforce the procedures on the "import and export of animals and animal products, control and eradication of diseases, prevention of animal cruelty", achieve improvement in "animal production and other related activities" in Peninsular Malaysia, and also to oversee the slaughtering of animals in accordance with *Sharia* law. The *Animals Act 1953* remained as Malaysia's sole legislation protecting animals in the country until 2013.[4]

However, in 2015, the Malaysian Parliament passed its latest and most comprehensive legislation pertaining to animal welfare and the bill was expected to be gazetted in the same year.[5] This took place after the bill's hearing, passing and gazetting was delayed for almost 12 years. In a media conference on the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*, the Minister of MOA, Dato' Sri Ismail Sabri Yaakob, was quoted saying "If the bill is passed for the second reading, we will go ahead and gazette it. Then we can take action for the welfare of animals," (The Rakyat Post, 9 April, 2015; Bernama, 9 April, 2015; http://mltic.my/gen

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[4] However, according to the current Director General of DVS, Datuk Dr. Kamaruddin Md. Isa, the Department is still using the *Animals Act 1953,* to this day, to safeguard the welfare of animals while waiting for the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* to be finalised by MOA before getting it gazetted.

[5] The *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* was passed by both, the Senate (Dewan Negara) and House of Representatives (Dewan Rakyat) in 2015. But it has yet to be gazetted because the draft of the gazette is pending with MOA. The pending of the draft leads to the delay for the passed bill to be delivered by the Attorney General's Chambers (AGC) to be signed by the Yang Di-Pertuan Agong (YDPA). A gazetted law means, the law is passed by the Parliament and given the royal assent before it can be enforced.

eral/news/animal-welfare-bill-2015-tabled-in-dewan-rakyat-MY12220.html).

The *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* was originally conceived in 2004, but was not prioritised by the Malaysian government, meaning that its formulation, legislation and enforcement were delayed. Nonetheless, the bill was finally passed by the Malaysian Parliament in 2015 and is expected to be gazetted soon, following Malaysia's ambition to be upgraded as a developed country by year 2020; Malaysia's membership in the World Organisation for Animal Health (OIE); Malaysia's motivation to become the first member country of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to have a working animal welfare bill; and Malaysia's aspiration to become a halal hub and at the same time an exemplary country for other Islamic countries to emulate.[6]

Secondly, my study is also original because it looks at an NSM in a context *other* than a western democracy. The findings of my study and the evidence it presents thus contributes to that small literature which exists on APMs which are not western democracies. For example, there are texts on APMs in industrial countries such as Brazil, China, India, South Africa and Thailand.

For instance, Heron Santana Gordilho (2010) looks at the rights of animals in Brazil by focusing on the *habeas corpus* for chimpanzees; Tagore Trajano de Almeida Silva (2014) looks at the origins and development of teaching animal law in Brazil; Ari Pedro Oro (2006) studies on the sacrifice of animals in Afro-Brazilian religions; and the book by Michele Pickover (2005) presents the cruelty that routinely happens to animals in South Africa – animals as food, the trade in wildlife, trophy hunting and vivisection. However, these texts do not provide comprehensive studies of how those NSMs came about, their development, their obstacles, their opportunities, their successes and failure, and their trajectories.[7]

For example, there are some academics looking at the APM in China. This is most probably because China is gradually becoming a superpower. However, these texts tend to focus on the historical context of animal treatment in the country, the involvement of cultural beliefs in animal treatment and also the prospects of new legislations in the country. For example, the works of Deborah Cao (2011), Jiaqi Lu, Kathryn Bayne and Jianfei Wang (2013), Gui H (2016) and Amanda Whitfort (2012) are focused on the prospects of having new animal protection legislation in China.

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[6] The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is a regional organisation consisting ten Southeast Asian countries. ASEAN encourages intergovernmental collaboration and aids economic integration among its member countries. Since its institution on August 8, 1967 in Bangkok (Thailand), its membership comprises of Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar (Burma), the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam (http://asean.org/asean/about-asean/).

[7] *Habeas corpus* is a measure of legal standing that previously applied only to humans. It does not give or grant chimpanzees personhood. But, it is a legal term that would give chimpanzees the same rights as humans; it is a step that could lead to non-human animals gaining more legal standing.

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To explain further, in *Evaluating China's Draft Animal Protection Law,* Whitfort assesses the inducements or inspirations behind the preliminary version of anti-cruelty law and appraises its aptness to safeguard animals in China. Specifically, the article analyses the obstacles with depending on anti-cruelty laws to defend and safeguard animals from violence and the latest progress of a "statutory duty of care towards animals" that is now practiced in Australia, Europe, New Zealand, Taiwan, the UK and the US. According to Whitfort, "in its final form, the China draft law has abandoned the inclusion of a duty of care towards animals and prohibits only overt animal cruelty" (2012: p. 347).

There are also some small literatures on the animal treatment in South East Asia. But these literatures are focused primarily on the treatment of large wild mammals in captivity – zoos. For example, Govinda Agoramoorthy (2010) focuses on the management of zoos in South East Asia in *Wild Mammals in Captivity: Principles and Techniques for Zoo Management.* And in 2002, Agoramoorthy and Bernard Harrisson produced an academic work, *Ethics and Animal Welfare Evaluations in South East Asian Zoos.* For this work, they focused on the treatment of animals in Thailand zoos. Katie McEwan (2011), had also produced an academic work on the treatment of animals in entertainment in South East Asia, focusing on elephant abuse in Thailand. According to McEwan (2011), Thailand's culture plays a significant part in the issue of elephant abuse in the country (http://youthambassadors.barrie.ca/global2011/katieisu.pdf).

There are also literatures on animal welfare in India, but these literatures are primarily focused on the importance of creating animal welfare legislation in the country. For example, N.V. Giridharan, Vijay Kumar and Vasantha Muthusamay (2000), explore the comprehensive areas of influence that affect on molding public perspective and public policy concerning animals in the country. Jessamine Theresa Mathew and Ira Chada Sridhar (2014) assert that it is important for India to create a positive duty upon humans to be kind to animals and that it is important for the courts in India to be able to translate and communicate animal welfare laws in the language of kindness and self-respect. Meanwhile, Palanisamy Sankar and Kannan Kanaksamy (2013) are focus on legislations pertaining to animals involved in animal experimentations, emphasising the introduction of the concepts of *Refinement, Reduction and Replacement* (3Rs) into the usage of animals in experiments. Kathryn Bayne, Gudde S. Ramachandra, Ekaterina A. Rivera and Jianfei Wang (2015) have also done work pertaining to the progression of animal welfare and the 3Rs in Brazil, China, and India.

So while my study of the APM in Malaysia contributes to this emerging literature, it also stands apart from it. This is because its main focus is on the *movement*, rather than the legislation. My study covers a wider spectrum of discussion. It presents findings and evidence pertaining to the historical context of animal protection movement in the country, the entities involved in the movement, the obstacles the movement endures, the opportunities which are available for the movement to improve, the development of

the movement, the tactics adopted by the movement and most importantly the future of the movement. With cautious optimism I can claim that my study is the first and most comprehensives study of the APM in an industrial country and a non-post-materialist society.

Thirdly, the APM in Malaysia itself is an interesting case to study because it is a very *unique* movement; not only in terms of its *scope* but also its *indigeneity*. This is because the APM in Malaysia is largely attentive to the well-being and safety of stray and companion animals; and unlike the APMs in other industrial countries, the APM in Malaysia is entirely local – the movement is driven by Malaysians. Plus, I am personally involved in the movement; this means novel information, original knowledge and thorough description about the APM's nature, mission, aims, opportunities, challenges, successes and failures can be attained and presented in the thesis.

Fourthly, the study is also original and valuable because it uses the APM in Malaysia as an example to assess and examine how well NSMs blossom in industrial countries and non-post-materialist societies. The study utilises the APM in Malaysia as a test subject to analyse the validity of the NSM theory and post-materialist theory. The APM in Malaysia is employed to test the following claims:

1) NSMs thrive better in post-industrial countries and post-materialist societies; and

2) NSMs have a positive relationship with post-materialist values – the higher the level of post-materialist values, the stronger the NSMs become and vice versa.

Therefore, not only does the study produce some original and important findings, but it also *broadly supports* the main theoretical assumptions of the literature. However, it also *challenges* one of them in an interesting way. For example, it is widely held that SMOs need to be fully bureaucratised in order to achieve their successes. Yet, my study shows that in Malaysia, the smaller and least bureaucratised SMOs are some of the most effective animal protection organisations in the country.

As a result, attaining such new knowledge of an NSM in an industrial country with a non-post-materialist society allows for interesting and novel applications of NSM theory. Since, there has been little work looking and applying this scholarship to such locations, my thesis provides interesting and novel use of an established literature and set of ideas.

1.10   Conclusion.

The first chapter has been dedicated to elucidating the nature of the research undertaken. The chapter began by outlining the description of the problem statement, research objectives and questions and highlighting the significance of the study. It continued by briefly explaining the prominent definitions and interpretations of the

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concepts and theories that will be integrated into the research. And finally, it succinctly elaborated on the research methods that the study plans to adopt.

The chapter does not elaborate in depth on the theoretical framework and research design of the study. This is because the theoretical framework and research design of the study will be dealt in depth in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 of the thesis. Chapter 2 is dedicated to deliberating on the literatures of the selected theories and concepts. Meanwhile, Chapter 3 is devoted to explicate and describe the methods espoused through out the course of study.

The three hypotheses of the research will be tested, examined and deliberated in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 of the study. Chapter 4 is on the limited availability of or limited accessibility to political opportunity, Chapter 5 is on the poor level of post-material values and strong influence of cultural beliefs and Chapter 6 is on the stalled bureaucratisation of the animal protection SMOs in the APM in Malaysia. Meanwhile, Chapter 7 is the final chapter that summarises the entire study, highlighting its findings, addressing its limitations and offering informed suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1   Introduction.

The preceding chapter elaborated the framework and background of the study. This was paramount in instituting the fundamental idea of what the study entails. The current chapter is dedicated to a review of the literature pertinent to the questions and themes that this thesis addresses. The principal purpose of the literature review is to appraise prior studies on new social movements (NSMs) especially with regards to animal protection movements (APMs). This is to scope out the key data assemblage needs for the study, and to mold the emergent research design process (Denscombe, 1998: p. 217). It is, after all considered as quintessential for researchers to apprise themselves with present research before amassing their own data (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe, 2002: p. 46-47).

As a result, the chapter has been divided into two parts. The first part offers the discoveries acquired from the selected research and literatures on APMs. Essentially, the first half of the chapter represents the groundwork for the case study that follows in the study. It delivers the historical and contemporary insights on APMs which are believed to be relevant in identifying the differences between the APMs in post-industrial societies and Malaysia. These identified differences are crucial in delivering evidence to test the hypotheses of the research. Meanwhile, the second part deals in depth with the concepts and theories which will be integrated into the study. This is to justify as to why such theories and concepts are germane to resolve the research questions and test the hypotheses of the research.

This first half of the chapter delves into four overall themes:

1) The historical development of APM in Britain;

2) The debates surrounding animal issues - rights, welfarism, utilitarianism, abolitionism and protectionism;

3) The animal welfare initiatives in Malaysia; and

4) The animal protection movement in Malaysia - its nature, objectives, components and activities.

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Literature Review: Part 1
The Groundwork of Research Undertaken

2.2 Theme I:
Historical Background of the Animal Protection in Britain.

There are two fundamental reasons as to why the first theme is exclusively dedicated to describe the historical roots of animal protection in Britain. The reasons are as follows:

1)   Britain has the longest history of animal protection in the world. This is because, as claimed by Richard D. Ryder, English society started to display benevolence and affection towards animals as early as the 17th century through the practice of owning companion animals (2000: p. 56). Since Britain has the oldest APM in the world, it is believed that by understanding its historical background, it will give an insight into APMs more generally; and

2)   Formerly known as *Tanah Melayu* or Malaya, Malaysia is a former English colony from the 18th century until it achieved its independence in 1957 (Milton, 2004). It was during the British occupation that the *Animals Act 1953* was sanctioned in Malaya. Since Malaysia is a former colony of Britain, by learning about the APM in Britain, we may glean information about Malaysia's.

In Britain, the moral recognition of human obligations towards animals became intense in the 18th century. At that period of time there were a myriad of English intellects and cultured individuals expressing their discontent towards the level of animal exploitation and cruelty in the country. Jeremy Bentham was one of the prominent figures that massively contributed to the cause of protecting animals in Britain (Sherry, 2009: p. 11). In 1789, Bentham introduced a strong stance on animal protection from the utilitarian perspective in his *An Introduction to the Principles of Moral and Legislation* (Preece and Chamberlain, 1993: p. 269).[8] Since then, it has been claimed that Bentham's famous statement "the right question for animals is not 'Can they reason?' 'Can they talk?' 'But can they suffer" provided the primary precepts of animal protection movement in Britain (Beers, 2006: p. 21; Vicente-Arche, 2001: p. 168).

Britain instituted the *Black Act in 1723*. It was a piece of legislation affirming that it was a major transgression to damage or impair the property of others, and it included animals in its definition of property (Ryder, 1989: p. 56). Then in 1749, copious articles were printed in British newspapers and magazines criticising blood sports such as cockfights (Beers, 2006: p. 21) and denouncing brutal treatment of horses and cattle (Niven, 1967;

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[8] Peter Singer claims that although Bentham speaks about rights, the argument is really about equality rather than rights (1990: p. 8).

Lansbury, 1985; Ritvo, 1987). Such works had invigorated the cognizance that humans bear the duty to treat animals with benevolence (Niven, 1967: p. 53-54). In 1781, the *Statutory Surveillance* was endorsed for the inspection of the treatment of cattle in Smithfield market. Later in 1786, the certifying of abattoirs ensued with attentiveness to merciful butchery techniques (Thomas, 2005: p. 146).

Around the same time works expressing humane sentiments towards animals were printed in Britain. Books such as *Fabulous Histories* by Sara Trimmer (1786), *Original Stories from Real Life* by Mary Wollstonecraft (1788), *History of Sanford and Merton* by Thomas Day (1789) and *Evenings at Home* by John Aikin and Arma Barbauld (1795) were some of the examples of publications aimed at emboldening children to be compassionate and sympathetic towards animals. Some have argued that it was thought at the time to be significant for children to cultivate thoughtfulness for those who were regarded as socially inferior, such as animals (DeMello, 2012: p. 402).

The 19th century saw an explosion of interest in animal protection in Britain when the cultured classes became concerned about attitudes towards the elderly, destitute, children, insane and animals in the country (Finsen and Finsen, 1994). For example, after publishing *The Origin of Species* in 1859, Charles R. Darwin published the *The Descent of Man* in 1871 where he articulated the view that "there is no fundamental difference between man and the higher mammals in their mental faculties" (Legge and Brooman, 1997: p. 15; Loptson, 1998: p. 286; Darwin, 2003: p. 508). These two publications are Darwin's major works on evolution by natural selection.[9] Later in 1872, he published *The Expression of Emotions in Animals and Man*, in which he underlined that the more complex animals are, the richer and more multifaceted their emotional lives become, including dogs and monkeys (Mason, 2005: p. 197; Lightman, 2016: p. 112).

Subsequently in 1877, the book *Black Beauty: The Autobiography of a Horse* was published by Anna Sewell. The book was designed to gravitate public attentiveness to the ordeal and distress of horses and other domestic animals (DeMello, 2012: p. 222; Nyman, 2015: p. 67). Later in 1892, Henry Salt presented an influential precursor to present-day theories of animal rights in his manuscript *Animal Rights: Considered in Relation to Social Progress*. In this manuscript, Salt states that as long as humans are not able to be kind and compassionate towards animals, humans will remain in suffering because they are unable to be kind to one and another (Hendrick and Hendrick, 1989: p. 240). Salt considers that the predicament of destitute or persecuted humans is closely related with the suffering and mistreatment of animals. In pushing his ideas on animal rights, Salt advocated vegetarianism and campaigned for the annulment of vivisection and hunting, and an end to the misuse of animals for human use such as for

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[9] According to http://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/natural+selection, evolution by natural selection means "the process in nature by which, according to Darwin's theory of evolution, only the organisms best adapted to their environment tend to survive and transmit their genetic characters in increasing numbers to succeeding generations while those less adapted tend to be eliminated".

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consumption, commercial, fashion and cosmetic purposes (Gold, 1998). Then in 1896, as a retort to vivisection, Herbert G. Wells published the very successful anti-vivisection novel, *The Island of Doctor Moreau*, where Wells delivered the archetypical depiction of the experimental physiologist as the persecutor, destroying the animals while claiming to care for them (DeWitt, 2013: p. 165).

Britain was undergoing extensive industrial growth in the 19th century, which had led to diverse approaches towards human relations, animals, environment and social life. Ryder asserts that industrialisation had a pernicious effect on the conventional ways of keeping, treating, handling and relying on animals. This is because, after the Second World War, free-range and outdoor farming transformed into intensive and shed-bound farming (1989: p. 262). In his book *Animal Century: A Celebration of Changing Attitude to Animals*, Mark Gold (1998) agrees that industrialisation emboldened the agrarian development, monetary growth, town expansion and political changes in Britain. However, Gold (1998) claims that urbanisation and industrialisation resulted in people progressively losing contact and sympathy with animals. Industrialisation and urbanisation, as claimed by Ryder (1989) and Gold (1998) had altered the human-animal relationship in the 19th century in Britain. Therefore, legislation pertaining to the welfare of animals began to be enacted in Britain in the 19th century (Dwyer and Lawrence, 2008: p. 2).

In 1822 the British Parliament passed the *Martin's Act* which sanctioned the first statute for the protection of animals. It was Britain's first piece of legislation to safeguard animals and it was designed to inhibit "wanton and malicious cruelty to animals" (Carson, 1972: p. 49). In 1824, the *Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA)* was instituted to exclusively assist the enforcement of the Act (Guither, 1998).[10] Originally, the Act was to avert the brutal and indecorous handling of cattle only. But then, the Act's provisions were extended in 1835 and 1849 to safeguard dogs and other domestic animals against pointless inhumanity. As a result, Britain outlawed cock fighting and dog fighting in 1835 (Beers, 2006). Subsequently, in 1886, the *Mayhew Animal Home* was instituted to safeguard "the lost and starving dogs and cats of London" (https://themayhew.org/about/). As of today, it is still saving and offering shelter to a myriad of animals every year. Later in 1892, the *National Canine Defense League (NCDL)* was established to care for dogs from abuse, savagery and persecution of any kind and today, it runs as the *Dogs Trust* and has become the leading dog welfare aid organisation in Britain (https://www.dogstrust.org.uk/about-us/).

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[10] Subsequently in 1840, Queen Victoria decreed the addition of the preface *Royal* to the Society and it became the *Royal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals - RSPCA* (Beers, 2006).

Animal testing also became a main concern in the 19th century. Albeit, living animals had been subjected to scientific research and experimentations for countless years, it was not until the 19th century that anti-vivisection groups started to surface expressing concerted disapproval of the practice. For example, in 1824 issues concerning vivisection were heavily condemned as an abuse of animals by the SPCA and brought before and deliberated in the House of Commons (Ryder, 1989: p. 89). Another example would be the establishment of groups such as the British Union of the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV) and the National Anti-Vivisection Society (NAVS) in 1870 to rigorously focus on and contest the practice (Radan, 2013: p. 526-528). As early as 1875, vivisection had been regarded by many as a pernicious form of animal cruelty primarily because, vivisectors subjected animals, mainly dogs and cats, to invasive and painful experiments without anaesthetics (Hopley, 1998). Legislation pertaining to vivisection, the *Cruelty to Animals Act* was only introduced in 1876 (Lansbury, 1985).

In 1906, the most controversial anti-vivisection campaign occurred in Britain. The *Brown Dog Affair* was the epitome of public disapproval of the practice of vivisection in the country (Lansbury, 1985; Rowan *et al.*, 1995; Encyclopedia Britannica Advocacy for Animals, 19 January, 2010). Despite having regulated and certified procedures and general inspections of its animal experiments, the University College of London (UCL) violated the 1876 law, the *Cruelty to Animal Act*. The Act was infringed and violated because a dog was subjected to more than one experiment, had not been correctly anaesthetised and was later disposed by an unlicensed research student who destroyed it either by chloroform or surgical means (NAVS, 29 March, 2012). The NAVS denounced such conduct as illegal and inappropriate. The *Animals (Scientific Procedures) Act* succeeded the 1876 law in 1986. Under the new law, venues such as research facilities that carry out animal experiments are legally enforced to acquire the *Certificates of Designation* from the Secretary of State and are obligated to have specific persons who are accountable to look after the welfare of the animals (Home Office, 13 March, 2014).

In 1911, the *Martin's Act* was consolidated in the *Protection of Animals Act*, which inhibited the precipitation of preventable pain and distress, making it a legal offence to "cruelly beat, kick, ill-treat, over-drive, over-ride, overload, torture, infuriate or terrify any animal; or cause, procure, or, being the owner, permit any animal to be so use" (Warren, 2007: p. 127; Nuffield Council on Bioethics, 2005: p. 221). Advance Acts were sanctioned right through the 20th century and these comprised of the following (politics. co. uk, 2014; Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, 18 April, 2013; https://www.gov.uk/guidance/research-and-testing-using-animals):

1) Performing Animals (Regulation) Act 1925;

2) Pet Animals Act 1951 (Amended 1983);

3) Animal Boarding Establishments Act 1963;

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4) Riding Establishments Act 1964 and 1970;

5) Breeding and Sale of Dogs (Welfare) Act 1999, which revised and protracted the provisions of the Breeding of Dogs Act 1973 and the Breeding of Dogs Act 1991;

6) The Agriculture (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1968 (1968 Chapter 34) – pertaining to farm animal welfare; and

7) Animals (Scientific Procedures) Act 1986 (ASPA). ASPA has recently been revised to transpose European Directive 2010/63/EU on the protection of animals used for scientific purposes. The revised legislation came into force on 1 January 2013.

But, the most momentous piece of animal welfare legislation was approved in 2006 where the *Animal Welfare Act* largely rescinded and superseded the *Protection of Animals Act 1911*. It intensified and amended the requirements of the 1911 Act, and consolidated and modernised some other sections of Britain's animal welfare legislation (https://www.rspca.org.uk/whatwedo/changingthelaw/whatwechanged/animalwelfarea ct).

In his book, *Animal Revolution: Changing Attitudes Towards Speciesism*, Ryder argues that the animal protection movement in Britain was largely dormant during the First and Second World Wars. Ryder (2000), claims that it could be that war had a dampening effect upon morality. Whatever the case, towards the 1950s and 1960s, animal protection emerged once again as the cruelty of factory farming was bared to the public. For instance, in 1944, the *Vegan Society* was instituted by Donald Watson, Dorothy Watson, and Elsie Shigley to encourage self-restraint from all animal products. Later in 1964, Ruth Harrison published *Animal Machines* and it was the fundamental disclosure of modern industrial agriculture, in which she invented the expression *factory farms*. The book played a contributory role in stimulating the deliberation amongst the public and government regarding intensive farming (Simpson, 2013: p. 6-7; Dawkins, 2014).

Then in 1965, the British government authorised a study, spearheaded by Professor Roger Brambell, into the well-being and comfort of rigorously cultivated and harvested animals, in part in response to Harrison's 1964 book (Mench, 1998; Harrison, 2013: p.18). The *Brambell Report* stated that animals ought to have the *five freedoms* to "stand up, lie down, turn around, groom themselves and stretch their limbs" (Farm Animal Welfare Council, 10 October, 2012). Later that year, Brigid Brophy, an English anti-war activist, feminist, novelist and playwright published an essay titled *The Rights of Animals* in The Sunday Times where she argued that human enslavement and manipulation of animals is unethical, unprincipled and ought to be stopped (Linzey, 1998). Then in 1967, Peter Roberts instituted *Compassion in World Farming* (CiWF) to critique the mishandling and maltreatment of farmed animals (www.ciwf.org.uk). And notably in 1987, the UK

outlawed veal crates and iron deficient diets for veal calves and outlawed sow gestation crate in 1999 (http://www.spca.bc.ca/assets/documents/welfare/farm/farmsense/june-2 012-feature-story.pdf; http://www.ciwf.org.uk/our-impact/).

The animal protection movement was further revived post-war because of further interest in hunting. For example, *The League Against Cruel Sports* (LACS), started to disrupt foxhunts in Britain in 1955, where false scents were laid down to deceive the hounds. Later in 1958, these actions were described as *hunt sabotage* by the London Daily Telegraph (http://www.animalsandethics.org/chronology.html).

Subsequently, in 2002, the Scottish Parliament approved the *Protection of Wild Mammals (Scotland) Bill* to prohibit the "cruel and barbaric practice of deliberately using hounds to chase, terrify, attack, cause suffering to and kill wild mammals" (Rural Development Committee 10th Report, 2001). The prohibition of fox hunting, fox baiting and hare coursing with hounds made Scotland the first constituent of the UK to veto hunting with hounds (League Against Cruel Sports, 2014; The Guardian, 26 May 2015).

The ban on hunting with hounds was finally approved by the British Parliament after 80 years of advocacy. In 2004, the *Parliament Act of Britain* was invoked by Michael Martin, Speaker of the House of Commons, thus overruling the House of Lords' veto of a bill proscribing hunting with hounds. As a result, hunting with hounds became illegal in England and Wales the following year (IFAW, 2015; BBC News, 18 Feb,2005; BBC News, 19 November, 2004; Independent, 19 November, 2004; BBC News, 17 February, 2005; The Guardian, 18 November, 2004, BBC News, 7 February, 2005).

Since the 1970s, the protection movement for animals appeared to be splitting into two school of thoughts: animal welfare and animal rights. Animal rights proponents aspire to institute fundamental rights for animals and cease the manipulation and oppression of animals by humans (Regan, 2004: p. 29). Those who believe in animal welfare, on the other hand, are inclined to consent human use of animals, provided that the use is compassionate and considerate (Hewson, 2003). However, both welfare and rights groups frequently refer to themselves as animal protection organisations.

In 1970, Ryder invented the phrase *speciesism* which can conceivably be recognised as the "attitude or assumption that human beings are innately superior to other sentient species and thus are owed moral considerations not owed to other species" (Torcello, 2011: p. 41). In short, *speciesism* refers to the idea that animals are designated to a reduced moral consideration than humans and can be simply exploited as tools to attend to human needs. Later in 1973, the utilitarian philosopher, Peter Singer, promoted the "equal consideration to the interests of all sentient beings, irrespective of species" idea when he reviewed the 1971 publication of the *Animals, Men and Morals: An Inquiry into the Maltreatment of Non-Humans* (Davey, 2011: p. 24).

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Singer's 1975 publication, *Animal Liberation,* was based on his 1974 lectures when he was teaching an ongoing adult edification course titled *Animal Liberation* at New York University (Eadie, 2012: p. 38). This highly influential book was grounded on Bentham's utilitarian philosophy and is said to have enthused and steered activists to an increased mobilisation of animal rights movements through public rallies and protests, systematised appeals and petitions, the liberation and removal of animals from laboratories, factory farms and breeding establishments and the sabotage of hunting (Sherry, 2009: p. 11). The book is widely regarded as the foundation of the modern animal rights movement and it became a global cause *celebre* and positioned animal rights on the public agenda worldwide (Torcello, 2011: p. 41; Eadie, 2011: p. 24).

For example, in Britain, the augmented attentiveness toward animal rights had motivated the establishment of the *Band of Mercy* in 1972 by Ronnie Lee and Clifford Goodman to take undercover activism to liberate and remove animals from farms and research facilities, and to destruct buildings and apparatus utilised in animal testing and exploitation. The organisation broke into Oxford Laboratory Animal Colonies, in 1974, a research facility in Bicester, Britain (Roberts, 1986: p. 5).

Meanwhile in the US, Henry Spira utilised tactics such as sending letters to news editors, putting up advertising posters, leafleting and sidewalk picketing which were aimed at New York's Museum of Natural History to dissent the lethal experiments that were carried out on cats in exchange for documentation about their sexual behavior. The campaign lasted for two years until the Museum yielded and ceased the experiments in August 1977 (Spira, 1985).

Later, the APM in post-materialist societies was further stimulated by academic interest in animal protection issues, which produced various schools of thought or *ethics* within the movement. The following theme will discuss the ethics of APM in depth.

2.3 Theme II: Debates on the Animal Protection Movement (APM) Ethics.

The second theme offers a review of prominent literatures on the different ethics which are said to inform the APM. In order for the study to arrive at a reliable and qualified conclusion on the nature of the APM in Malaysia, it is critical for the study to discern and highlight the differences between these schools of thought. Nonetheless, it is not the purpose of the study to critically evaluate these ethics. After all, this thesis is not a work of political philosophy. Instead, the aim is to appropriately understand these ethics, and to see which influences the APM in Malaysia.

2.3.1 Animal Rights School of Thought.

One of the essential precepts of animal rights is that humans do not possess the right to use or consume or exploit animals for human benefits, which include food, clothing, entertainment and scientific experiments. This is grounded on the denunciation of speciesism and the knowledge that animals are sentient beings. This ethic holds the position that humans *owe direct moral duties to animals*, and the moral status of animals is *not* regarded as inferior to that of humans. On the authority of this school of thought, animals have the right to be uninhibited by cruelty, captivity, oppression, use and mistreatment by humans. Animal rights denotes that animals are similar to humans and they retain concerns and interests that cannot be forfeited or interchanged just because it may help or assist others. In other words, animals deserve moral consideration in their own right. Nonetheless, the rights position "does not hold that rights are absolute; an animal's rights, just like those of humans, must be limited, and rights can certainly conflict" (Stefanakis, 2006: p. 192; PETA, 2014; Animal Liberation Front, 2014).

Tom Regan famously maintains that animals are *subjects of a life* because they have *inherent value* and therefore they have the rights to be dealt with regard and consideration (Singer, 1985: p. 13-26). A *subject of a life* is unlike a plant or an inorganic object because it is cognizant of feelings and desires (Rowlands, 1998: p. 61). As maintained by Regan, any organism that has a multifaceted mental life including cognizance, recollection, meaning and conception of the future is a *subject of a life.* He uses these criteria to ground his case for fundamental of animal rights. And because each subject of a life is an "individual who cares about his or her life, that life has inherent value and this inherent value is equal among all subjects of a life" (Jenkins, 2003: p. 155). Regan explicates that *inherent value* is the assumed worth something has in itself that is independent of its usefulness to anyone (Singer, 1985: p. 16). He claims that individuals have moral rights grounded on their *inherent value.*

Regan further asserts that human and animal rights are justified with respect to moral precepts. Most essential is the precept of *justice*, which is directed through his *respect* principle. In his own words, "we are to treat those individuals who have inherent value in ways that respect their inherent value" (2004: p. 248). By this *respect* precept, all *subjects of a life*, as a matter or impartiality, have a fundamental moral right to conduct or treatment which acknowledges their *inherent value.*

The position of animal rights is based on the belief that treating animals worse than humans just because they belong to a different species is illogical and morally wrong. Ryder describes the discriminatory treatment against animals as *speciesism.* He first coined the term in his first two animal rights brochures in 1970 during protests against animal experimentations in Oxford (1993: p. 220). In the opinion of Ryder (1971), *speciesism* is the unequal or dissimilar treatment of individual beings, grounded exclusively on their species, and it is commonly equated with sexism and racism. In his book *Victims of Science: The Use of Animals in Research*, Ryder explains that "I used the

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word speciesism to describe the widespread discrimination that is practiced by man against other species. Speciesism is discrimination and like all discrimination it overlooks or underestimates the similarities between the discriminator and those discriminated against" (1975: p. 16).

Theories of animal rights recognise that there are dissimilarities between human and animals, but claim that those distinctions are morally inconsequential to the question of having moral status or rights. For an illustration, multitudinous of people think that humans carry brain-based skills that are different from or more sophisticated than other animals. But as claimed by Regan (1980), cognitive ability is morally irrelevant to the question of having moral status or rights because that would mean that brilliant humans would have the superior moral and legal rights compared to humans who are considered to be intellectually inferior.

2.3.2 Controversies in the Animal Rights School of Thought.

There are quite a number of controversies surrounding the animal rights school of thought. The first debate would be on *death*, where the animal rights position maintains that death is the eventual destruction to animals because death is the ultimate loss. Regan concurs, because in his opinion death causes the loss of life and thus it closes all possibilities of finding satisfaction (1989: p. 156). Nonetheless, Ruth Cigman interprets the death of animals differently, she believes that animals do not hold what are called *categorical desires* to avoid death. Cigman argues that animals do not have the ability and the capacity to fathom and accept the finality and potential tragic significance of death. Thus, Cigman maintains that death does not harm animals (1989: p. 150-152).

A second controversy surrounds animals' ability to have the *full language of rights*. Alan R. White strongly opposes the idea that animals have rights based on the argument that animals do not have access to the *full language of rights*. White sees rights as something which can be "exercised, enjoyed, given, claimed, demanded and sustained" and to be "accompanied by or contracted with a duty, an obligation, a power, a liability and also responsibility" (1989: p. 119-121). Carl Cohen also insists that "animals cannot be the bearers of rights, because the concept of rights is essentially human and it is rooted in the human moral world and has force and applicability only within that world" (2001: p. 30). Yet, Cohen recognises that animals are sentient beings that are cognizant of physical reactions and they can sense discomfort and experience distress. Nonetheless, he strongly maintains that by having some human traits does not mean that animals are morally comparable to humans. Julian H. Franklin argues almost in the same line with Cohen and White. Franklin (2005), affirms that animals cannot be given rights because the thought of rights is predominantly human. Plus, rights are intensely ingrained in the human realm because rights are crucial in the moral realm. Ergo, to Franklin, rights are not valid to and for animals because animals do not live in a moral realm.

A third controversy surrounds the so-called *marginal-human* argument. Regan (1985), explicates that there are two groups of humans, those who have the features and capacities such as the ability to reason and the ability to respond to emotions; and those who lack such capacities such as infants, the severely mentally challenged and the senile.

In his book *The Case of Animal Rights*, Regan claims that humans and animals have an *equal inherent value* by making a comparison of *inherent value* between animals and humans who are mentally impaired. He supports his claim by justifying that while animals do not have the ability to reason fully, they do have the autonomy and intellect of so-called marginal humans. Since marginal humans have *inherent value* and rights just like the normal humans, there is no rational basis to deny that animals have *inherent value* and rights too (1985: p. 23). Nonetheless, Raymond G. Frey is uncomfortable with Regan's basis of argument and does not approve of the application of *marginal humans* in order to cede *inherent value* and rights to animals (1989: p. 115). Frey believes that while every human life has an individual value, a mentally impaired human does not have a life whose value is equal to a normal adult human (1989: p.116-118). Since human life has different scopes of enrichment, Frey finds Regan's claim of *equal inherent value* for animals invalid.

A fourth source of controversy is that it needs to be noted that animal rights is not necessarily equivalent to abolitionism. For Regan and Francione it is, but for Alasdair Cochrane it is not. Cochrane presents a completely novel philosophy of animal rights built on their *interests as sentient beings*. In contrast to other advocates of animal rights, Cochrane asserts that "because most sentient animals are not autonomous agents" (2009: p. 9), "they have no intrinsic interest in liberty" (2009: p. 15). As such, he attests that our duties to animals reside in ending their suffering and death, but do not entail liberating them from all human use. Cochrane's *interest-based rights approach* thus claims that sentient animals have a coherent right not to "be made to suffer and not to be killed", but he insists that "they do not have a prima facie right to liberty. Because most animals possess no interest in leading freely chosen lives, humans have no moral obligation to liberate them" (2012: p. 247). To conclude, for Cochrane (2012), animals do have rights but we can use them for certain human ends; in other words, animal rights is separable from abolitionism.

A final source of controversy is the implication of animal rights for conservation policy. For example, James B. Callicott disagrees with the applicability of the *subject of a life* and *inherent value* concepts used by Regan when it concerns biological conservation. This is because Callicott (1989), perceives Regan's concepts as only concerned with individual subjects of a life. As such, Callicott believes that Regan has failed to provide a rationale for the conservation of many endangered species, most of which are plants and insects that lack consciousness or the ability to experience the world (Dewey, 2004: p. 1-2).

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2.3.3   Animal Welfare School of Thought.

The animal welfare school of thought conflicts with the rights view, in that it believes that humans can use animals for their ends and in this sense that a certain degree of speciesism can be justified. However, the animal welfare position argues that the human use of animals must not entail unnecessary suffering. It accepts that animals have interests, but argues that these interests can be forfeited on the grounds of human benefit. This ethic holds the position that humans *do owe direct moral duties* to animals, but that the moral status of animals *is* inferior to that of humans.

Animal welfare is not only about guaranteeing that an animal is not maltreated or affected by pointless pain or distress. It is about safeguarding an animal's physical state, emotional state, capability to achieve its biological needs and its desires. Human concern for animal welfare is grounded on the notion that animals are conscious, and that thoughtfulness ought to be given to their welfare, particularly when they are used for food, fashion, scientific tests, entertainment and as companions. These concerns can include how animals are dispatched for food, how they are engaged in scientific experimentations, how they are maintained as companion animals and how human actions and undertakings affect the existence of threatened and vulnerable species (Bousfield and Brown, 2010: p. 1).

As expressed by Harold D. Guither animal welfare, is a "human responsibility that encompasses all aspects of animal well-being, including proper housing, management, disease prevention and treatment, responsible care, humane handling, and, when necessary, humane euthanasia" (1998: p. 125).

Historically, the welfare animal position emerged in the 19th century and it holds the stance that animals have an inferior moral value to humans (Francione, 2010: p. 1-3). This school of thought accepts the use of animals by humans for human benefits, provided the animals are *treated humanely* and *unnecessary pain* is not imposed on them. This position basically assumes the legitimacy of using animals crucially as the vehicles and instruments to deliver and accommodate human ends provided that certain safeguards are employed (Singer, 1975). Lawrence Finsen and Susan Finsen (1994), interpret this position as promoting kindness and eliminating inhumane treatment of animals without challenging the status quo that humans are superior to animals.

2.3.4 Controversies in the Animal Welfare School of Thought.

Firstly, some scholars argue the animal welfare position promotes animal enslavement and mistreatment. For instance, Gary L. Francione views this position as the lubricant for the cruel treatment of animals to be ubiquitously accepted (2009: p. 2). Francione (2009, 2010), further adds that the humane regulations proposed by this position fail to

appropriately safeguard animal interests because such regulations and laws come into effect only when cruelty is committed and only then a criminal sanction is imposed. Francione (2009, 2010), accordingly argues that the bylaws and guidelines on the humane treatment of animals do not have the ability to safeguard the rights and interests of animals from any forms of ill treatment before any cruel act is committed.

Secondly, many animal rights supporters argue that animal welfare reforms are literally escalating instead of reducing the suffering of animals. Animal welfare reforms are constructed on the position's fundamental premise that animals have a reduced moral value than human life. Hence, animal welfare reforms are viewed to be the instruments of justification for the exploitation of animals, and as the apparatus to accommodate human interests and benefits (Singer, 1975: p. 16; Elise, 2013: p. 25-27; Francione, 2 May, 2007). It is therefore argued that animal welfare reforms are basically coaxing the public to have healthy thoughts and perceptions about animal exploitation and such deceptions are viewed to be encouraging the persistent exploitation of animals.

Thirdly, this position supports the property status of animals and Francione considers that due to such status, animals are always subjected to being the instruments of meeting human needs. In *Animals-Property or Persons?,* Francione maintains that the only way to safeguard animals from any form of malice is by abrogating the status that animals are property (2004: p. 14-21). This is primarily because, the property status of animals has brutally restricted the type of legal protection afforded to animals (Francione, 1995). Dissimilar from inanimate entities, animals are sentient beings that have their own lives and interests and therefore they should not be considered property under the law.

2.3.5 Utilitarianism School of Thought and Its Debates.

Of course, not all groups or ethics fit neatly into these groups of *animal rights* and *animal welfare*. For instance, one important school of philosophy, which has been extremely influential in animal activism, is *utilitarianism*. Utilitarianism is a viewpoint promoted by Bentham in 1789 through his book, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. The fundamental ground of utilitarianism is that correct undertakings are those that boost usefulness or value.

Bentham describes utility as either the occurrence of constructive and productive results such as "benefit, advantage, pleasure, good, or happiness" or the absence of negative consequences such as "mischief, pain, evil, or unhappiness" (Broome, 1991: p. 1). In other words, correct or accurate undertakings are actions that intensify the pre-eminent results or abate the worst effects. An imperative feature of utilitarianism is that the benefits of all those who are embraced by a specific situation must be measured. Similarly, the significances and repercussions to all those involved must also be taken into consideration. Taking into account the good and bad effects of a situation for

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everyone who is involved is an arduous undertaking and it becomes more convoluted when animals are taken into account.

Singer (1975), made an argument in *Animal Liberation* that the anguish, distress and pain experienced by farm animals on cattle ranches and elsewhere outweigh the gratification and nourishment that the foodstuff provides to humans. Also, he asserts that the discomfort laboratory animals endure offsets their value to humans as experimental subjects. He argues that practices in which animals suffer in this way are so horrible and that they must be stopped.

This utilitarian position is interesting in that it is not reducible to either the animal rights position or the animal welfare position. Like the animal rights position, it regards sentient animals as having equal value to that of humans. But like the animal welfare position, it also regards some uses of animals as acceptable if they increase overall utility.

However, Frey (1980), argues that animals do not hold interests because they are incapable of experiencing needs, longings, anticipations or recollections and therefore he argues that utilitarian theory must omit animals. Whereas, Peter Carruthers argues that utilitarianism is not a satisfactory ethical philosophy for studying animal issues because it equates animal lives with humans'. Carruthers argues that "we find it intuitively abhorrent that the lives and sufferings of human beings...the beliefs in question are so deeply embedded in our moral thinking that it might be more reasonable to do without any theory of morality at all, than to accept one that would accord animals equal moral standing" (1992: p. 195).

2.3.6   *Abolitionist and Protectionist Schools of Thoughts.*

These various ethics have informed the APM in part by making groups either *abolitionist* (those who adhere to rights-based philosophy) or *protectionist* (those who adhere to welfarist, utilitarian, or other philosophies).

Francione (2010), argues that an abolitionist approach is morally required for greater protection of animals and he essentially wants to abolish all forms of animal exploitation by humans. However, he acknowledges that animals do not have the same rights as humans, and he further claims that "many of which would not be applicable to non-human animals". But, Francione argues for the single right of animals not to be treated as the property of humans (2010: p.1-2).

As stated by Francione, if the dogma that animals are property of humans continues, the present-day and forthcoming law will continue to endorse the utilisation of animals for human purposes and benefits. This is primarily because property (animals) has an inferior value from owners (humans) (2010: p. 1-2).

Meanwhile, Robert Garner does not think that abolishing the property status of animals will ensure that the interest animals in avoiding suffering can be circumvented. Garner explains that the property status "is not consistent with protecting their interest in not suffering" that "the use of animals does not necessarily infringe their interest in not suffering" (2010: p. 236) and that welfare reform "is moving incrementally towards the recognition of the rights of animals not to suffer in unacceptable ways" (2010, p. 176).

Francione further claims that abolitionism cannot be reconciled with welfarism since the latter "regards the lives of animals as having less moral value than the lives of humans" (2010: p. 5). In order to understand Garner's response, it is worth noting the difference between what he advocates in terms of strategy, and what he advocates in terms of ultimate objectives. From a strategic perspective, Garner does not have an issue with welfare reforms. He sees animal welfare reforms as a "potential for making economic efficiency more compatible with animal welfare" (2010: p. 209).

Nonetheless, in terms of his objectives, Garner holds the view that animals do have the right not to be tortured by humans, irrespective of the benefits that humans would acquire from using them in this way. Garner argues that this position is unlike the welfarist view, and calls it *protectionism*. As an animal protectionist, Garner adopts an *interest-based theory* of animal rights to claim that animals have a *right* not to have suffering inflicted upon them by humans. Garner explains that every sentient being suffers to some degree and we all know what the variance is between a great deal and a little. However, Garner admits that "whether suffering can be reduced to the point where my ethical principle is satisfied is an open question" (2010: p. 238). Because of this, Francione views Garner as incapable of identifying what form of animal use would establish an ethically tolerable level of suffering. Thus, Francione deduces that Garner's precept of acceptable suffering is almost the same as the unnecessary suffering precept of the welfarist notion (2010: p. 250).

Francione also believes that the promotion of strict veganism will gradually have a paradigm shift in the property perception. He insists that convincing people to become vegans will assist the goal of abolishing the use of animals. The reason is that "veganism not only respects animal life but also reduces suffering more effectively through reducing demand for animal products, one would think that even a utilitarian would urge veganism as having a greater benefit than, say promoting a welfarist reform" (2010: p. 71).

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2.3.7 A Summary of the Debates on the Animal Protection Movement Ethics

The following **Table 2.3.7 (a)**, presents a summary of the animal movement ethics discussed in **Section 2.3**.

Table 2.3.7 (a):
A Summary of the Fundamental Ideas in Animal Protection Movement Ethics.

Ethic	Fundamental Idea	Outcome
Abolitionism	Animals are not the property of humans. Veganism will assist the goal of abolishing the use of animals.	By abolishing the property status of animals, all forms of animal exploitations and sufferings will end.
Protectionism	Strategically, it agrees with animal welfare reforms. But objectively, it holds the view that animals have a right not to have suffering inflicted upon them by humans.	The use of animals is not fundamentally wrong. But the animals have the right not to suffer or be tortured by humans irrespective of the benefits that humans would acquire from using them in this way.
Rightism	Animals have inherent value and they are subjects-of-a-life. It holds the position that humans owe direct moral duties to animals and the moral status of animals is not regarded as inferior to that of humans.	Humans do not have the right to exploit animals in any forms for human purposes.
Utilitarianism	Somewhere in between animal rights position and animal welfare position.	To that of humans.
Welfarism	It holds the position that humans owe direct moral obligations to animals. Nonetheless, it regards the moral status of animals as inferior to that of humans.	As a result, humans can use animals for human benefit as long as the animals are treated humanely and free of unnecessary suffering during the process.

2.4   Theme III:
        Animal Welfare Initiatives and the Animal Protection Movement (APM) in
        Malaysia.

Malaysia is an industrial economy, which as claimed by the NSM scholars, has not experienced the *culture shift* from material acquisition needs to post-materialist values. Nonetheless, despite its non-post-materialist society status, Malaysia has its own *Animals Act 1953 (Revised 2013),* Malaysian Animal Welfare Strategic Plan, a gradually increasing APM and the ambition to have better animal welfare and protection through its newly passed and soon to be gazetted *Animal Welfare Bill 2015.* Therefore, it is the duty of this section to elucidate on the initiatives taken by Malaysia, an industrial economy, to upgrade the welfare and protection of the animals in the country, and also to define the nature, objectives, components and activities of its APM.

2.4.1 Animals Act 1953.

The *Animals Act 1953,* became a part of the Malaysian law on the 30th of April 1953 and it was crafted to administer the activities of the Department of Veterinary Services (DVS). The Act was intended to coalesce and strengthen the procedures on the "import and export of animals and animal products, control and eradication of diseases, prevention of animal cruelty", achieve improvement in "animal production and other related activities" in Peninsular Malaysia, and also to supervise the slaughtering of animals in accordance with the *Sharia* law (Attorney General's Chambers, 16 March, 2006).

Fundamentally, it can be understood that the Act was crafted to counteract cruelty towards animals and institute procedures pertaining to the general welfare of animals in Peninsular Malaysia. Nonetheless, as stated by DVS, the *Animals Act 1953* does not have a robust premise to curb the incidences of abuse and ill treatment of animals in the country. The Act was finally revised for the first time in 2006, but its reappraisal was weightless since it was just to replace some of the words and sentences with better suited ones. However, its comprehensive review materialised in 2013 where vital revisions were enacted on *Part IV-Prevention of Cruelty to Animals* of the *Animals Act 1953* (Malaysian Veterinary Council 20 March, 2013).

The 2013 revised *Animals Act 1953* was gazzeted on the 23rd of September of the same year (Malaysian Veterinary Council, 20 March, 2013). The amendments covered the following sections:

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PART IV-PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS
(Animals Act 1953, Revised 2013: p. 25-28)

1) **Section 44.**   Penalty for Cruelty to Animals.

2) **Section 45.**   Power of Veterinary Authorities and Police Officers.

3) **Section 46.**   Power of Town Board or Municipal Officers.

4) **Section 47.**   Orders by a Magistrate when an Offence has been
                           Committed.

5) **Section 48.**   Power to Order Destruction of Animals.

6) **Section 49.**   No Compensation for Destruction of an Animal
                           Incurably Diseased or Injured or Destroyed at
                           Request of Professed Owner.

7) **Section 50.**   Award to Informer.

2.4.2 *Animal Welfare Bill 2015.*

However, realising the shortcoming of the *Animals Act 1953 (Revised 2013)* in keeping a tight rein on the abuse and ill treatment of animals in the country – even with the new amendments – the Ministry of Agriculture and Agro-Based Industry (MOA) and DVS re-proposed Malaysia's 2004 animal welfare bill in 2012 which was passed by the Malaysian Parliament in 2015. **Section 24(3)** of the Bill stipulates all the steps that are to be complied with regarding the welfare of an animal which include: meeting the needs of the animal; providing an appropriate atmosphere and diet; allowing the animal to be able to display normal behaviors; allowing the animal to be kept with or apart from other animals; and ensuring the animal is safeguarded from discomfort, distress, injury and ailment.

Moreover, the Bill imposes stiffer penalties for animal abuse, including a fine of between RM 20,000 to RM100, 000 (£4,000 to £20,000), plus a maximum three years in prison for those who are convicted. MOA and DVS asserted that both pieces of legislation, the *Animals Act 1953* (Revised 2013) and the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*, would be preserved as they serve different functions.[11]

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[11] The Animal Act 1953 (Revised 2013) includes a RM50, 000 (£10,000) fines and a year imprisonment for abuser.

The re-proposed Animal Welfare Bill was appraised by the Attorney General's Chambers (AGC) in 2013. Its exposition at the Parliament was projected to be in October 2013. Nonetheless, after the review, it was discovered that the Bill had few discrepancies over the roles of the agencies involved.[12] The AGC had set October 2013 as the new deadline for the agencies involved to re-formulate and re-draft the Bill accurately.

However, MOA and DVS realised that it was impossible to comply with the new deadline since the Bill was not on the national agenda of the Malaysian government, the task force was of a small size and the officials assigned to the drafting and formulating of the legislation kept changing. Furthermore, it was impossible to reach a date that would be conducive for the agencies involved to meet and recalibrate the Bill over the discrepancies of their roles and jurisdictions in a very short notice.

The Malaysian government believes that in the process of becoming an advanced society, it needs to have potent and functional legislations pertaining to animal welfare. The animal welfare bill was re-proposed in 2012 by the MOA and DVS to effectively safeguard the welfare and safety of stray and companion animals, laboratory and husbandry animals and also wildlife. It is an all-inclusive set of legislations pertaining to animal welfare compared to the *Animals Act 1953 (Revised 2013)*.[13]

For example, the re-proposed Animal Welfare Bill covers animals used for scientific research as a specific category. According to its **Section 20 (1) (b) (ii)**, an Animal Welfare Board will be created to act as a licensing body for those who use animals for scientific purposes. The section also asserts that the Board is entrenched with the powers of suspension in cases where the licensee's animal ethics committee has failed to conform with the scientific use code in relation to the licensee's use of animals.

Moreover, the re-proposed Animal Welfare Bill has a specific section that stipulates all the regulations pertaining to animals in research. **Section 26** of the recently passed *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* specifies the following:

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[12] Ministry of Housing and Local Authority (MHLA), Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (MNRE), Department of Veterinary Services (DVS) and Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) are the agencies involved in formulating and designing the animal welfare bill.

[13] In 2013, the World Organisation for Animal Health (OIE) had its annual conference in Kuala Lumpur and it brought up issues on husbandry animal welfare. As a member of OIE, Malaysia felt obligated to emphasise on animal welfare in international trade and at the same time to comply with the requirements of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The WTO regulated that husbandry animals' welfare for international trade are to be concerned at these five aspects: the treatment, the space, the health, the content of the food and the care of husbandry animals.

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PART IV: MATTERS RELATING TO ANIMAL WELFARE
SECTION 26: ANIMALS USED IN RESEARCH, TESTING OR TEACHING
(Animal Welfare Bill, 2015: p. 20)

1) **Section 26(1)(a):** proscribes the use of animals in research, testing and teaching unless all practical measures are compiled to guarantee that the physical, health and behavioral requirements of those animals are met in accord with both good practice and scientific knowledge;

2) **Section 26(1)(b)**: requires that when the animals are ailing or hurt, they shall receive, where practicable, medical treatment that relieves any unreasonable or unnecessary pain or distress;

3) **Section26(1)(c)**: compels that where those essentials cannot be satisfied, pain or distress must be lessened to the lowest possible levels; and

4) **Section 26(2):** prohibits a person or institution from using animals for scientific reasons unless they are a scientific establishment, or a member of staff or a student at a scientific establishment that carries a license authorising that use of animals.

5) **Section 26 (3):** The guidelines on the research, testing or teaching of animals in school shall be in accordance with any guidelines issued by the Board.

6) **Section 26 (4):** No person shall breed any animal to be used for research, testing or teaching unless it is approved by the Board.

7) **Section 26 (5):** For the purpose of this section, *school* has the meaning assigned to it in the Education Act 1996 [Act 550].

8) **Section 26 (7):** Any person who contravenes any provision under this section commits an offence and shall, on conviction, be liable to a fine of not less than RM20,000 (£4,000) and not more than RM100,000 (£20,000) or to imprisonment for a term not more than three years or to both.

The re-proposed Animal Welfare Bill was finally passed by the Malaysian Parliament in 2015 and waiting to be gazetted by the Malaysian government (The Star, 2015; The Malaysian Insider, 2015; http://www.channelnewsasia.com).

2.4.3 *The National Animal Welfare Strategic Plan (2012-2020).*

The National Animal Welfare Strategic Plan is part of the government's idea to place the country on a clear path towards becoming a developed nation. It was envisioned to show Malaysia to be a compassionate society that is concerned for the welfare and safety

of animals as part of the plan for Malaysia becoming a recognised developed nation by 2020. The plan aspires to implement international animal welfare standards that are strengthened by universal human values. This is primarily because it is believed that an animal loving culture is pertinent in developed countries and as a result, the government thinks it is mandatory for Malaysia to have an unequivocal national approach to ensure that animal welfare is upheld effectively (Department of Veterinary Services, 28 August, 2013).

2.4.4 JAKIM Released Fatwa for Spaying and Neutering Pets.

The Department of Islamic Development Malaysia or JAKIM is a department under the Prime Minister's Office. It is an entity independent of MOA and DVS. It serves as the central agency in the planning of Islamic affairs and development of community based on Islamic principles (Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia, 8 February, 2016). It is also an important Islamic institution with regards to the treatment of animals in the country. This is because, JAKIM provides guidance on animal treatment based on Islamic guidelines and rules.

For example, in July 2002, JAKIM issued a *fatwa* that all companion animals such as "cats and dogs are encouraged to be neutered or spayed in order to maintain the health and welfare of both, the animals and the community" (http://www.e-fatwa.gov.my).[14] The word encouraged used in the fatwa represents *harus* which indicates that, it is not compulsory to spay or neuter but it is encouraged to do so. Later, the fatwa was released to the Malaysian public in the spirit of creating responsible pet owners and a more humane Malaysian community.

2.4.5 The Department of Veterinary Services (DVS).

The Department of Veterinary Services (DVS) is accountable for delivering veterinary aids that encourage the progress of all areas of the animal industry, predominantly the production of food. The assistances provided by DVS envelope all issues concerning animal wellbeing, veterinary public health, expansion of the animal industry, improvement of genetic resources, veterinary research, the human resource development and the implementation of laws and regulations (http://www.dvs.gov.my/ index.php/pages/view/8).

It was formerly known as the Veterinary Service (VS) and established in 1888 in the state of Pulau Pinang with the assignment of a qualified veterinarian at the Health Department. At that time, the principal responsibility of the veterinarian was to inspect and assess imported animals particularly from Thailand and Kedah. In the pursuit of

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[14] In a religious setting, the word *fatwa* transmits more meaning. This is because when a Muslim has an inquiry that needs to be resolved from an Islamic standpoint, he or she submits or raises this question to an Islamic academic or intellect, and the answer received is acknowledged as a fatwa.

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protecting Pulau Pinang from diseases transmitted by imported animals, a quarantine centre was erected in 1896, which became the first quarantine centre in Malaysia. With the formation of the Veterinary Branch (VB) in the Health Department and with the assignment of veterinary doctors and veterinary examiners, the VS expanded to the other states in Peninsula Malaysia. All the veterinary services were consigned under the authority of the Chief Medical Officer (CMO) and centred in Singapore until 1930. At that time, the core obligation of the appointed veterinary officers was to control animal disease outbreaks. Besides that, a unit of Veterinary Police Force (VPF) was created in the Police Department under the purview of the State Police Chief. This unit was also sanctioned to exterminate stray dogs to eradicate rabies and to report on any animal disease epidemics. However, this unit was later abolished and substituted by the post of livestock aides (http://www.dvs.gov.my/index.php/pages/view/8).

In 1930, VS was removed from the Health Department and this departure became the basis for the formation of DVS. Later, DVS was also created in local government councils like in Pulau Pinang and Melaka. In 1934, the headquarters of DVS relocated from Singapore to Kuala Lumpur and became a self-governing department under the management of the Director of Veterinary Research and Veterinary Advisor until the Second World War. DVS was reformed during the British occupation and the restructured system became the foundation of the organisation until today. DVS is a Federal Government agency under MOA, whereas the State Department of Veterinary Services (SDVS) is administered under the authority of State Government (Department of Veterinary Services, 14 December, 2015).

2.5 **Theme IV:**
Animal Protection Movement (APM) in Malaysia- Its Nature, Objectives,
Components and Activities.

2.5.1 Nature and Objectives of the APM in Malaysia.

The APM in Malaysia is relatively young, but it has an abundance of animal protection social movement organisations (SMOs). These animal protection SMOs are focused on improving the welfare and protecting the safety of stray and companion animals in the country from all forms of abuse and neglect. They aim to change the mind-set of the Malaysian government and the majority of the Malaysian public towards stray and companion animals in the country.

2.5.2 Examples of Animal Protection Organisations in Malaysia's APM and their Activities.

The *Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animal (SPCA) Selangor* is the oldest animal protection SMO in Malaysia and it was the first animal Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) instituted in the country. It was established in 1958 with the mission to safeguard

vulnerable animals and assuage their discomforts. It takes in more than 700 displaced and battered animals every month and runs adoption programs and investigations on cruelty reports, provides humane edification and support to community animal carers, and operates a dedicated relatively inexpensive spay-neuter clinic. Its spay-neuter clinic was incepted in 2003 and since then it has circumvented the births of an estimated 20 million unwanted animals.[15] It also appeals to the Malaysian government and local municipals for the benignant treatment of animals and for more severe penalisations for offenders of crimes against animals. For instance, SPCA Selangor lobbied the Malaysian government and triumphed in maintaining the trade injunction on macaques steadfastly in place when the government revealed its plans to ship macaque monkeys for consumption and bio-medical research abroad. Subsequently in 2013, SPCA Selangor engaged with every Body Shop's out-let in Malaysia to acquire signatures from the public urging the government to pass and gazette both the *Animals Act 1953 (Revised 2013)* and *Animal Welfare Bill 2012* by 2013 (http://www.spca.org.my/what-we-do/lobbying-campaigns).[16]

The *Animal Welfare Society of Malaysia* (PAWS) is a non-profit animal sanctuary in Petaling Jaya, Selangor. It has been in operation since 1987. It receives unwanted dogs and cats which will then be vaccinated, dewormed, neutered or spayed and later put up for adoption. It works to rescue, care for and re-home abandoned animals. At the moment, there are over 500 dogs and cats under its care. The organisation and all of the costs involved in its operation are completely dependent on donations from the public as well as earnings from charitable events. The organisation comprises of three office staff, a number of part-time veterinarians, one vet assistant and seven kennel workers (http://www.paws.org.my/about/).

Animal Care is a registered society that offers neutering aid for stray and community animals in Malaysia. It is neither an animal shelter nor a rescue team but a full volunteer organisation that aspires to encourage caregiving to animals, help in the neutering and medical needs of animals, and to cultivate compassion to animals through education. As of today, it has aided the public to neuter and spay approximately 5000 community animals, provide suitable and necessary medical treatments to about of

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[15] SPCA Selangor had closed its spay-and-neuter clinic, *Klinik Kembiri,* in the Kuala Lumpur City Hall (DBKL) non-permanent pound in Cheras due to the lack of space and basic facilities. The DBKL pound was moved to Cheras in March after the government land in Setapak, where the clinic was formerly located, was sold to clear the way for a mixed-development project. But the closing of the clinic was also well-timed as SPCA moved into new premises in mid-July. The new SPCA building has a lot more space, inclusive of two surgery rooms that could accommodate four animals at one time. The manpower from the momentary pound was transferred to the new building for better efficiency (The Star, 27 August 2015).

[16] Before the *Animal Welfare Bill* was passed as *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*, it was almost passed as a piece of legislation in 2013 as *Animal Welfare Bill 2012*. But its presentation at the Parliament had to be delayed as a result of unforeseen circumstances.

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3000 community animals and has efficaciously rehomed approximately 2000 community animals (https://myanimalcare.org/about/).

Noah's Ark Ipoh has rescued and neutered over 4000 stray and abandoned companion animals since its inception in September 2009 and about 70% of these have been adopted. It looks into matters pertaining to animal welfare and currently is working with the city council of Ipoh to look into complaints regarding stray animals and animal abuse cases. The members of *Noah's Ark Ipoh* go onto the streets together with city council enforcement officers to investigate claims and reports of animal abuse, cruelty and neglect. On the 5th of April 2012, the organisation had effectively marshaled animal lovers and activists in Ipoh to participate in a peaceful protest against the shooting and maiming of stray dogs by the Ipoh Municipal Council (The Malay Mail, 16 April, 2012; https://myanimalcare.org/2012/04/04/calling-for-animal-lovers-in-ipoh/). The focal objectives of the protest were to cease the rampant killing of stray dogs by the Ipoh Municipal council and to propose an alternative measure, mass-spaying, to surmount the number of stray dogs in Ipoh humanely.

Stray Cats Rescue and Treatment Community Help (S.C.R.A.T.C.H) is an organisation that exclusively rescues, rehabilitates and re-homes stray and abandoned pet cats. It aims at educating pet owners on responsible pet ownership, advocating animal welfare, lobbying for strong animal protection laws and helping local animal shelters by bringing volunteers and food supplies. This organisation had steered a peaceful demonstration in front of the Petaling Jaya Magistrate Court as a retaliation against the light penalty imposed on the owners of a pet hotel, *Petknode* (The Star, 28 June, 2012).

Image 2.5.2 (a) on the next page, sparked the anger among animal lovers across the country and pet owners who had lost their pets to *Petknode*. The hotel owners, Yushairi Khairuddin (right) and Shahrul Azuwan Adanan (left) (leaving Petaling Jaya Magistrate Court after pleading not guilty of animal cruelty in December 2011), displayed neither remorse nor guilt after the first hearing of the case.

Image 2.5.2 (a): Owners of *Petknode* – The Pet Hotel from Hell

Source: MStar, 13 June, 2012

The *Petknode* incident was one of the most shocking cases of animal cruelty in recent memory, where 60 pet cats had died and 300 were starved at the pet hotel (Utusan Malaysia, 19 October, 2012; Malaysian Digest, 28 June, 2012; The Malaysian Insider, 2012; The Star, 25 October, 2012; Astro Awani, 2 June, 2013).

On June 28th of 2012, the Petaling Jaya Magistrate Court imposed a fine of RM6,000 (£1,200) to each of the *Petknode* owners. The magistrate made it clear that the owners were charged for the crime of animal welfare neglect instead of animal cruelty. About 30 people dressed in black and red attended the trial and protested against the verdict (The Star, 28 June, 2012; Sinar Harian, 28 June, 2012; Perak Today, 29 June, 2012). The light punishment by the court had S.C.R.A.T.C.H launching an online petition to revoke the verdict of the trial (Sunday Star, 22 July, 2012; The Star, 25 October, 2012). As a result of the online petition, over one million Malaysians signed urging the government to incarcerate the owners of Petknode (https://www.facebook.co m/1-million-Malaysians-want-Petknode-owners-to-be-jailed-129974800433734/?hc_ref= PAGES_TIMELINE).

According to The Star, DVS and animal groups including the devastated pet owners appealed against the initial court decision of a meager fine (25 October, 2012). Consequently, on October 25th of 2012, the Shah Alam High Court imposed a three-month jail sentence on Shahrul Azuwan and Yushairi for each of their 30 counts of animal neglect. The sentences were to run concomitantly.

Retaining the RM6,000 fine imposed by the Petaling Jaya Magistrate Court on June 28th of 2012, after both men pleaded guilty to all counts, High Court judge, Datuk Abdul Rahman, was quoted in the AGC portal as saying that the lower court had erred in its

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"interpretation of the Animals Act" when making its decision. Both men had been charged under Section 44 (1) (d) of the Animals Act (The Star, 25 October, 2012; Utusan, 19 October, 2012; Utusan, 20 October, 2012).

Another animal organisation that is making an impact in the APM in Malaysia is the *Malaysian Independent Animal Rescues* (M.I.A.R). It is a non-profit organisation that depends on public donations and volunteers in carrying out its rescue missions and sustaining the welfare and medical needs of its rescues at its shelter. It was the first organisation to succeed in collating volunteers from different creed, race and economic status to rescue, rehabilitate and rehome animals that have been rescued from city council pounds. This organisation is currently working with the public to enlighten the Malaysian government on the brutality of its city council workers in managing stray dogs and also lobbying the government to work around the feeble laws surrounding dog and cat consumption in Malaysia by immigrant workers from Cambodia, China, Myanmar and Vietnam (The Star, 13 August, 2013; The Star, 20 July, 2013; The Star, 4 October, 2013; The Star, 24 September, 2013).

The following **Image 2.5.2 (b)** and **Image 2.5.2 (c)**, sparked the anger among animal lovers and animal activists across the country towards dog catchers hired by the city councils in Malaysia.

Image 2.5.2 (b) was captured by M.I.A.R when dog catchers in Malaysia were in action

Source: M.I.A.R's Official Facebook account

Image 2.5.2 (c)
Dog catchers in action wearing shirts displaying the abbreviated name of the city council that hired them - the City Council of Kajang (MPKJ).

Source: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h0xV5g4JlJ8

Meanwhile, *Furry Friends' Farm* (F.F.F) and *Garden of Eden* (G.O.E) are two examples of no-kill animal shelters operating in Malaysia. F.F.F was instituted in 2006 by SPCA Selangor's former animal inspector and it houses about 600 hundred abused and abandoned animals. Apart from rescuing stray and abandoned pet animals, the sanctuary runs the Dr. Dog program, an animal-assisted therapy in Malaysia for the elderly and special needs children. Meanwhile, G.O.E is solely focused on its rescue work and the maintenance of the welfare of its permanent residents at the sanctuary; G.O.E is currently sustaining approximately the lives of 450 animals (cats and dogs).

Consequently, it can be fathomed that the tasks carried out by these animal protection SMOs in Malaysia do certainly constitute the basis of an APM. Individuals with collective identity and shared goals are involved in these organisations because they strongly believe that the welfare, safety and protection of stray and companion animals in Malaysia are being infringed by the government and majority of the Malaysian public. These individuals who are identified as animal lovers, animal activists, animal rescuers and animal advocates are engaged in a collective behavior to impede animal cruelty and at the same time promote social, political and legal changes with regards to the treatment of animals in the country.

The list of SMOs I have provided is not exhaustive, however. The following **Table 2.5.2 (a)** provides some further examples of the SMOs which make up the Malaysian APM, as well as their activities.

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Table 2.5.2 (d):
**More Examples of Animal Shelters, Rescue and Foster Homes, and Animal Welfare NGOs
in Malaysia**

Organisation	Nature of Organisation
Malaysian National Animal Welfare Foundation (MNAWF)	It aims to nurture a responsible and affectionate Malaysian society through creating awareness and a balanced approach to animal welfare for the well-being of animal and mankind. It labours to engender cognizance and accountability of all Malaysians on animal welfare as part of the policy towards the construction of a compassionate Malaysian society (Animals Job Direct, 2009: p. 114).
Homeless & Orphan Pets Exist (HOPE)	It rescues, rehomes, sterilises and increases the public awareness on the responsibilities of pet ownership (http://www.hopejb.org).
Independent Pet Rescuers (Facebook Group)	It is an independent animal rescue group that comprises of a network of fosterers who are working towards rescuing and rehoming stray, abused and abandoned animals (https://facebook .com/groups/25228928707).
The Ipoh Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ISPCA)	It encourages the public to adopt animals and conducts the Trap-Neuter-Rehome-Manage (TNRM) program for the strays. It runs a non-kill shelter (https://www.ipohecho.com.my/v4//article/2015 /01/ispca).
Langkawi Animal Shelter & Sanctuary Foundation (LASSie)	The organisation was created to receive, rehabilitate and care for unkempt, mistreated and ill animals. It also runs the Langkawi Island Animal Clinic – a charity project targeted at the sterilisation of the stray cat and dog population. Both are non-profit ventures, operated partly by volunteers and designed at humanising the lives of discarded animals (http://www.langkawilassie.org.my).
Penang Animal Welfare Society (4Paws)	It aims to provide a home for stray and abandoned dogs in Pulau Pinang. It is also a non-kill shelter and provides continued care for disabled and old animals (http://4paws.com.my).
Save a Stray Malaysia	It practices "No Kill" and rehabilitates rescued animals for rehoming. Its main approach in solving stray problem is through education in changing the public mindset to respect the animal welfare rights. Its main means on managing strays is by way of sterilisation (http://saveastray.org.my).

SPCA Melaka	It is the only animal welfare organisation as well as the only animal shelter in Melaka. The shelter currently shelters 200 animals (cats, dogs, ducks and chickens). Its mission and goals include campaigning against cruelty (http://spcamelaka.org).
SPCA Penang	It aims to prevent the unnecessary suffering of animals and to ensure responsible pet ownership. It patrols the state to investigate complaints of animal cruelty and neglect, visits markets and all the areas where animals might be at risk, collect unwanted animals and put them up for adoption and provides transportation to pet owners who have mobility difficulty to send their pets to the veterinary clinics for medical treatments or vaccinations (Animals Job Direct, 2009: p. 114).
SPCA Sarawak	Their task is to function as a campaigner representing and an enforcer of the rights and welfare of animals; to support and positively cultivate the well being of the animals in the state of Sarawak who are discarded, incapacitated and imperiled by discrimination or forbidding treatment, or otherwise in need; to cultivate in the people of our community a mindfulness of the animals whose world we share; to encourage a connection of reciprocated assistance between people and animals; and to implant respect for and appreciation of all living things (Animals Job Direct, 2009; p. 114).
SPCA Seberang Perai	Its principal goal is to lessen the populace of stray animals or conceivably a zero stray populace in a civilised method through public education and sterilisation of the stray animals (http://spacaseberangperai/blogspot.com/).

Nonetheless, even though it is evident that the APM in Malaysia is predominantly focused on stray and abandoned companion animals, there is evidence that some parts of the APM have adopted a wider remit. There are groups in the APM that advocate for the rights and welfare of laboratory, zoo, captive and wild animals in the country. Further discussion of these groups and evidence pertaining to their work are presented in Chapter 7 of the thesis - *Subsection: 7.3.3 Research Question 3: What does the APM in Malaysia campaign for?*

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Literature Review: Part II
The Selected Conceptual Toolkit and Theoretical Approach.

2.6   <u>Introduction</u>.

After discussing in depth general ideas regarding the animal protection movement (APM) in general and in Malaysia, the second part of the chapter is tasked to elucidate on the crucial precepts and theories of the research. This is because the research will be integrating a variety of approaches from social movement theory in order to solidify the study, answer the research questions, satisfy the research aims, and critically analyse the hypotheses. Ergo, the study will be constructed based on the following conceptual toolkit and theoretical approaches:

1)   Social Movement (SM);

2)   Social Movement Organisation (SMO);

3)   New Social Movement (NSM);

4)   New Social Movement Theory (NSM Theory);

5)   Political Opportunity;

6)   Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT); and

7)   Framing Process.

2.7   <u>Defining Social Movements</u>.

According to Ahmet Oncu, the formal statement of the meaning of social movement is always a debatable subject because of the *multi-paradigmatic nature* of the field (2007: p.1). As such, in this section, I attempt to study and examine the various definitions of social movement in order to arrive at a working definition that suits the thesis well.

The first definition to examine will be that provided by Paul Wilkinson. He gives a fascinating definition that a social movement is actually an attentive collective effort to embolden changes by any means including violence, illegality and revolution. He outlines two important features of a social movement. Firstly, a social movement must exhibit a minimum level of organisation. Secondly, a social movement's determination to change and its core purpose are constructed based on three elements: conscious preference, commitment to the movement's goals and beliefs, and the effective involvement of followers and members (Wilkinson, 1971: p. 26-27).

Meanwhile, Tilly defines social movement as "a sustained series of interactions between power holders and individuals successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constitution which lacks formal representation. These individuals are actually making visible "public demands for changes in the distribution of power; exercise of power and to back up those demands with the support of public demonstration" (Tilly, 1984: p. 305-306). Tarrow shares Tilly's views on social movement. For Tarrow, social movements represent "collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities" (1998: p. 4).

Furthermore, to Tilly and Tarrow, social movements are often engaged in contentious politics. Contentious politics consists of "public, collective making of consequential claims by connected clusters of persons on other clusters of persons or on major political actors, when at least one government is a claimant, an object of claims, or a third party to the claims" (McAdam *et.al.* 2008: p. 261). It can be said that, Tilly and Tarrow, both view social movements as a series of contentious acts, demonstrations and campaigns by which common people make collective demands on others. In a way, they also perceive social movements as a major channel for common people's involvement in public politics (McAdam *et.al.* 2008: p. 261).

Tilly and Tarrow's views on collective identity in social movement are shared by Mario Diani in his description of social movements. In the words of Diani, a social movement is "a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and or organisations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts on the basis of shared collective identity" (1992: p. 13). Richard Flacks argues almost in the same way as Diani. To him social movements are "collective efforts for some duration and organisation, using non-institutionalised methods to bring about social change" (2005: p. 5).

Moving to the element of collective behavior, in the words of Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian, a social movement is "a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society or organisation of which it is a part. As a collectivity, a movement is a group with indefinite and shifting membership and with leadership whose position is determined more by informal response of the members than by formal procedures for legitimating authority" (1987: p. 223). In other words, Turner and Killian view social movements as an exceptional genre of collective behavior that is different from organisational and institutional conduct. And for Friedhelm Neidhart and Dieter Rucht, the collective behavior in social movements merely denotes a freer and looser organisational ethics, not aberrant behavior due to lack of organisational conduct (1991: p. 423).

As well as the element of collectivity in describing social movements, McCarthy and Zald embedded the element of ideas and beliefs in their definition of social movements. In their own words, a social movement is "a set of opinions and beliefs in a population representing preferences for changing some elements of the social structure or reward distribution, or both, in a society" (1977: p. 1218; 1979: p. 2; 1987: p. 20). In the opinion of

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McCarthy and Zald (1979), in order for such beliefs to be revolutionised into concrete and detailed actions, and to better facilitate the establishment of social movement organisations (SMOs), requirements such as leaders with convincing political familiarities, significant organisations and professional affluence are compulsory.

Departing from the elements of networks, collective identity, ideas and beliefs; Melucci (1985) introduced the element of conflict in his definition of social movements. He elucidates social movements as links of group or networks of people who have a collective identity partaking in a conflictual culture. In 1989, he describes social movements, "as the multiplicity of groups that are dispersed, fragmented and submerged in everyday life and which act as cultural laboratories" (Melucci, 1989: p. 60). This definition by Melucci was later expanded by Donatella Della Porta and Diani. They maintain that social movements are "involved in conflictual relations with evidently identified proponents. They are linked by solid informal networks and they share a distinct collective identity" (2006: p. 20).

It seems right to assume that attributes such as collective identity, collective behavior, cultural conflict, cultural change, ideas, beliefs and networks of informal interaction are important in defining a social movement. All of these important attributes are latently reflected in Roberta G. Ash and Zald's simple description of social movements: "a most inclusive definition of a social movement is any sentiment and activity shared by two or more people oriented toward changes in social relations or the social system" (Ash and Zald, 1987: p. 293).

Therefore, given all the definitions provided by different scholars, it can be claimed that social movements are systematised yet unofficial collective entities which are committedly involved in extra-institutional disputation that is slanted towards an objective. These objectives can either be targeted at a particular and narrow policy or be more generally directed at cultural change. This conclusion replicates a certain degree of similarities with the elements introduced in the various definitions of social movement.

The above abridged description of what a social movement is, mirrors the nature of the APM in Malaysia. Those having a collective identity as animal lovers and animal advocates drive the APM in Malaysia. These individuals share the belief that the welfare and rights of animals in Malaysia are being violated by state policy and ignorance of the public. These individuals are engaged in a collective behavior with the idea that the ill treatment of these animals must be alleviated. These individuals, groups and organisations have created networks of informal interactions in order to make rescue mission arrangements, share ideas, and influence the public. The APM in Malaysia has a narrower scope compared to the APMs in post-industrial countries. The main aim of the APM in Malaysia is to transform state policy to be more civilised in managing companion and stray animals' issues; and to change the mind-set of majority of the Malaysian public to be more humane towards treating companion and stray animals.

2.8   Defining Social Movement Organisations (SMOs).

Social movements are considered to have some sort of a structural form. But in the opinion of Lynn G. Bennie, the structural form is informal, comprising of "informal networks of organisations, alliances and individuals" and that the profile of a social movement is "less bureaucratic and hierarchical than a traditional political party or interest group" (Bennie, 2003: p. 165). Social movements are also understood as concerted force or endeavors by vulnerable or powerless groups using extra-institutional measures to embolden or thwart social change (Knoke, 1994). Extra-institutional measures might include "trade unions, advisory bodies, business community, interest and pressure groups, advocacies, lobbies and networks of influence, as well as the media" (Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, 2010: p. 55). Therefore, in order for social movements to develop and mobilise resources and constituents, they need to "manifest themselves in part, through a wide range of organisations which are known as the social movement organisations" (Zald and McCarthy, 1987: p. 121). This is primarily because informal groups of friends, loose association of activists and ad hoc committee are inadequate to expand or uphold a movement. Hence, another concept that is substantial to the research is the concept of social movement organisations (SMOs).

As stated in social movement theory, a social movement organisation (SMO) is a systematised part of a social movement. A SMO is normally only a fragment of a specific social movement; in other words, a particular social movement is generally instituted by several SMOs – formal organisations that share the movement's goals (McCarthy and Zald, 1979). McAdam (1982) and Roger V. Gould (1991) reinforce that interpretation by further describing SMOs as "critical building blocks of the mobilising structures of a social movement". Charles Dobson argues that an SMO needs to "carve out a niche for itself in the larger environment of other organisations pursuing similar objectives", "develop productive relationship with the media, public, funders and government" and "figure out a way to mobilise and acquire resources to support the movement" (2003: p. 184).

Nonetheless, these SMOs are susceptible to a range of extraneous tensions which alter their internal structures, operations, and ultimate success in securing targets for the movements (Faulks, 1999; Zald and Ash 1966). But, SMOs are not the only organisational forms that reinforce movement mobilisation. As mentioned by McCarthy and Zald, there are other important mobilising structures such as informal networks among activists, movement communities, cultural groups, social networks and so forth (1977, 1979).

Diani states that SMOs are disparate from interest groups, political parties, protest events and even coalitions (1992: p. 15). Hanspeter Kreisi, agrees with Diani that SMOs are different from "supportive organisations, movement associations, parties and interest groups" (1996: p. 152). This is mainly because SMOs marshal their members and

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system for unified action and they do so with a political ambition to capture or secure some public goods from the authorities. Although SMOs pursue political ambitions, they are however, entirely different from political parties and interest groups. This is mainly because, according to Kreisi, unlike SMOs, political parties and interest groups are not so contingent on the direct participation of their members in achieving goals. (1996: p. 153).

At present in Malaysia, there are copious SMOs, which are looking into the welfare and safety of companion and stray animals in the country.

2.9   Defining New Social Movement (NSM).

New social movement (NSM) is a term that secured wide popularity in the 1970s due to the proliferation of the ecology, feminist, peace, anti-racism, anti-war and other value and moral oriented movements in Western countries (Cohen, 1996: p. 173). As maintained by prominent scholars of NSMs such as Inglehart (1990) and Parkin (1968), NSMs prioritise post-materialist values over those which emerge from the conflicts of industrialism. From the vast literature on traditional and new social movements, it is palpable that post-industrial countries question and challenge traditional forms of collective identity - class and ethnicity. As a result, NSMs are interpreted by Jurgen Habermas (1981) and Touraine (1981, 1985) as the efforts to form new collective identities in post-industrial countries. Gunnar Olofsson (1998), reinforces such an interpretation by claiming that NSMs are the product of post-industrial era and they are considered to be profoundly distinct from the traditional social movements of the industrial epoch.

Table 2.9. (a) on the following page illustrates the primary differences between traditional social movements (SMs) and NSMs.

Criteria	Traditional Social Movements (SMs)	New Social Movements (NSMs)
Location	Traditional SMs are state oriented and integrated into politics.	NSMs are located in civil society outside of the conventional political environment.
Ideologies & Aims	Traditional SMs aim to achieve political representation and legislative reforms mainly associated with economic rights.	NSMs by contrast are more concerned with culture, identity and civil society attempting to change individual life styles.
Organisations	Traditional SMs have formal and hierarchical forms of political organisation.	NSMs adopt a grassroots oriented organisation.
Medium of Change	Traditional SMs focus on political entities.	NSMs employ more innovative forms of direct action in attempt to change cultural attitude.
Source	A product of conflicts between labour and capital – industrial era.	A product of structural changes in society as the society moves away from class based industrialism towards post-industrialism.

Source: Lynn G. Bennie (2003: p. 165-169) – *Social Movements*

2.10. <u>New Social Movement (NSM) Theory and its Main Theorists.</u>

The idea that a whole new genre of social movement has surfaced as a consequence of important changes in the social and political landscape in Western societies caused the conception of NSM theory. The interpretations of NSMs by prominent scholars such as Cohen (1996), Habermas (1981), Inglehart (1990), Olofsson (1998), Parkin (1968) and Touraine (1981, 1985) pointed out that NSMs and traditional social movements are very different. This is primarily because traditional social movements are: first, inclined to be absorbed in a political form of collective commitment in representing class conflicts; and second, inclined to only focus on economic fears and disparities. NSMs, on the other hand, focus more on non-class issues such as sexual identity, peace, animal rights or environmental protection. It is therefore just to assume that NSM theory disagrees with *economic reductionism* and *class reductionism* propagated by the traditional social movements (Fuchs, 2006: p. 103). It can be understood at this point that, NSMs represent agents of transition from industrial to post-industrial society.

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Bert Klandermans (1984) argues that NSMs are distinctive from traditional social movements because they are basically "challenging the perceived truths about how social movements operate" (Flynn, 2014: p. 91). Christian Fuchs reinforces such an argument by explaining that, NSM theory was actually constructed as a retort to the traditional theories of social movements. This is primarily because, theories such as mass society and relative deprivation were describing the workings of social movements as if social movements were groundless and merely the outcomes of personal grievances and dissatisfactions (Fuchs, 2006). Hence, the claim made by Cohen (1985) that there are two definite ideas underlining the principles of social movements; one was promoted by identity theorists (NSM Theory) in Europe and the other one by resource mobilisation theorists in North America.

Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT) interprets social movements as the product of the effective and positive mobilisation of resources and political opportunities by people with collective identity and collective commitment (McCarthy, 1996; McCarthy and Zald, 1977). Whereas, for the identity theorists, social movements are interpreted in "abstract terms and judge empirical conflicts as potential sources of new collective identity and as source for fundamental social change" in post-industrial economies (Jamison, Eyerman and Cramer, 1990: p. 1). Fuchs' description of social movements reinforces the interpretation of social movements by the NSM theory. For him, NSM theory interprets social movements to be the result of a society's structural conditions and structural changes (Fuchs, 2006: p. 103). NSM theory claims that economic changes and the position of actors in the labor-capital relationship are not the exclusive reasons in explaining the emergence of social movements.

There are many specific NSM theories, but they all share the assertion that NSMs try to accomplish major changes by altering the culture rather than taking over the economy and the state. They all share the idea that NSMs exist because there is a struggle in post-industrial societies in replacing the industrial era values with post-industrial ones (Crook *et.al* 1992). For example, Melucci assumes that capitalism went through colossal changes during the transition of the industrial epoch into becoming post-industrial. He believes that during the transition process the primal domain of conflict shifted to a cultural kind from a political form. For Melucci, NSMs are the consequence of when collective commitments shift from labor-capital relationship issues to quality of life concerns. In his own words, NSMs happen when "social conflicts move from the traditional economic or industrial system to cultural grounds: they affect personal identity, the time and space in everyday life, the motivation and the cultural patterns of individual action" (Melucci, 1985: p. 796).

For Melucci the era of industrial conflict is over when collective identity and commitments are constructed outside of political realm (1989: p. 19). NSMs are perceived as the result of when collective identity and commitments are more cultural instead of political. This is primarily because NSMs "translate their actions into

symbolic challenges that overturn the dominant cultural codes" (Melucci, 1989: p. 75). For Melucci, NSMs or contemporary movements "more often than others in the past, have shifted towards a non-political terrain: the need for self realisation in everyday life" (1989: p. 23). Inglehart (1990), reinforces the interpretation by Melucci by claiming that NSMs are not just about improving the life conditions of people, but they represent a culture shift in post-industrial societies.

Meanwhile, Habermas interprets NSMs as "the grammar of forms of life" or "the organic foundation of the lifeworld" (1981: p. 33-35). This is primarily because NSMs are basically changing the relationship between labor and capital. Anthony Giddens views NSMs as social movements that have evolved and aimed at challenging the supremacy of the dominant area of conflicts of industrialism. This is primarily because NSMs embrace commitments and issues that were previously isolated from politics. As a result, Giddens interprets NSMs as "providing glimpses of possible futures and are in some part vehicles for their realisation" (Giddens, 1990: p. 161).

Health, body, sexual identity, language heritage, identity, cultural and ethnicity and religion are some of the issues raised by NSMs in post-industrial societies (Savyasaachi and Kumar, 2015: p. 2). These issues are perceived to be comparable to the concerns raised by the traditional social movements in industrial societies such as better-paid wages, better labor welfare, fair labor hours and safer working environments.

Hence, it is reasonable to acknowledge that in post-industrial countries, the distribution of economic wealth and social affluence has ceased to be the crucial focus of struggle. As a result, Touraine claims "we are experiencing the decline of a certain type of class relations and conflicts and the emergence of a new generation of social movements" (Touraine, 1981: p. 6-9) and sees NSMs as "class struggles without classes as the individuals living in post-industrial societies see themselves as the products of their own actions, rather than as a part of a process of historical evolution" (Touraine, 1985: p. 84).

Claus Offe asserts that NSMs are located in civil society or the cultural domain rather than within the instrumental action of the state and branded this phenomenon as *bypass(ing) the state* (1985: p. 859). He clarifies that NSMs are not stereotypically concerned with challenging the state openly, but they have been thought of as anti-authoritarian and as repelling integration at the institutional level. They emphasise on a sole concern or problem or a narrow range of issues, which are related to a single wide-ranging topic: such as, animal rights, environmental protection or gay liberation (Offe, 1985). Habermas argues in the same line as Offe. For Habermas, NSMs are *new politics* which are attentive to issues such as identity, culture, human rights, gender and individual self-realisation. Whereas the *old politics* was gripped by material, monetary, political and military reassurance (1981, 1987). For example, the notion of *new politics* can be demonstrated in gay liberation, the focus of which surpasses the political issue of gay rights to tackle the need for a social and cultural acknowledgment of homosexuality.

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Jan W. Duvyendak claims that NSMs are encouraged and driven by the *new middle class professionals*. This is because, according to Duvyendak (1995), the *new middle class professionals* are more receptive of the post-materialist or post-modern culture compared to the working class individuals. Chris A. Rootes (1992), describes the new middle class as the highly educated members of the middle class who are in the non-market sector of the economy. They are in the service sector such as teachers, care givers, welfare professionals, guidance counselors and so forth.

Jasper agrees with Duvyendak that it is the new middle class community which pursues post-industrial goals in NSMs. Jasper created the term *post-citizenship movement* to describe such middle class. In the opinion of Jasper (1997), the members of a post-citizenship movement frequently seek safeguards or benefits for others because these members have securely assimilated into their society's educational, political and economic systems. The membership of a post-citizenship movement requires sufficient time for such pursuits, sufficient income and the belief that participation can make a difference. From Jasper's interpretation it can be understood that members of NSM must be well integrated into society's political, economic and educational systems and have the financial resources and conviction that the movement will bring the anticipated changes.

Inglehart agrees with Jasper (1997), Duvyendak (1995) and Rootes (1992) that NSMs comprise those who are well-educated, have grasped a contented level of prosperity and at the same time partake within a movement without being enthused primarily by the potential of explicit social, political or economic gains. Nonetheless, he classifies NSMs as post-materialist movements. This is because, as maintained by Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997), members of the new middle class of post-industrial societies are in pursuit of post-materialist values such as self-expression and quality of life because they enjoy high levels of material and physical security

2.11 Comparative Perspectives of Social Movements:
Political Opportunity, Mobilising Structure and Framing Process.

In his book, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, Tilly (1977) asserts that the communication between *political opportunities, mobilising structures* and *framing processes* explicates a movement's level of mobilisation and collective action. In the opinion of Tilly (1977), political opportunity represents the volume of political power, the probability of suppression and the susceptibility of a target; mobilising structures represent the level of shared identity and links; whereas framing process represents the latent benefits from partaking. Furthermore, these three attributes are interactive with one another.

Each of these attributes will be integrated into the research in the pursuit of fathoming, explicating and describing the emergence and development of the APM in Malaysia. These attributes will also be employed in testing the hypotheses of the research and the results will be interpreted so that cautious predictions can be drawn on the future of the APM in Malaysia. The following discussion will elaborate more on each of these attributes.

2.11.1 *Political Opportunity Attribute.*

David S. Meyer and Debra C. Minkoff acknowledge that Peter K. Eisinger (1973) was the first to apply the political opportunity attribute in explaining the emergence of social movements (2004: p. 1458). In the 1960s, riots transpired only in certain cities in America, instead of at all. Eisinger explicated that those riots transpired in cities that had governments that were open to conventional measures of placing demands. He argued that riots transpired in these cities because the governments allowed the partaking individuals to maintain their dissatisfactions. Meanwhile, cities with closed governments prevented riots because the claims of the disaffected were dissuaded (1973: p. 9-10). Eisinger (1973), viewed political opportunity as the extent of political power that protest groups are anticipated to gain access to in order to communicate with the political system.

However, other studies by Dryzek et al. (2003) have argued that social movements can grow and thrive in *closed* state structures. They point to how the anti-nuclear movement thrived and achieved success in the *passively exclusive* state structure of Germany. As a reminder, a *passively exclusive* state is one which keeps countervailing interests on the outside (exclusive), but which does not actively seek to repress them (passive).

According to Dryzek et al. (2003), German civil society successively advanced a powerful and provocative environmental atmosphere, mainly as a retort against the state's efforts to develop nuclear power. He further added that Germany's civil society's radicalisation and expansion of its own competence was powered by the nonexistence of political opportunities available in the *passively exclusive* German state.

So why did the anti-nuclear movement in Germany achieve success? Part of the explanation according to Dryzek et al., (2003) and as explained elsewhere, is that its radicalisation helped it to grow and thrive. After all, they claim that, "...an effective state-related politics of environmental risk require a vital green public sphere" (2003: p. 194). However, the movement also had some success due to the way in which it aligned its goals. As asserted by Dryzek et al., "an emerging connection of environmental values to both economic and legitimation imperatives could help establish a green state with a conservation imperative" (2003: p. 193). Crucially, this is just what the anti-nuclear movement in Germany in the 1970s and 80s did when they, "highlighted issues of environmental risk" (2003: p. 193). Indeed, there is no doubt that the struggle of the

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anti-nuclear movement had shepherded energy-policy issues closer to the people and increased involvement in local politics (The Christian Science Monitor, 28 March 2011).

Crucially, the need to respond to the challenge of environmentalism made the German state shift its relationship with civil society. Indeed, Germany is now classified as one of the more open systems in reference to environmental interest representation. These specific circumstances have meant that linkages have been constructed between environmental protection and both legitimation and economic priorities which are not available elsewhere.

Whether, *closed*, *open*, *exclusive* or *inclusive*, there is no doubt that political opportunities are an essential concept in exploring social movements because the shift in the institutional structure and ideological nature of those in power contributes to the efficacy, outcome and future of social movements (Eisinger, 1973; Tilly, 1978; Tarrow, 1983; McAdam 1982). The level of political opportunity basically elucidates the communication between institutionalised politics and movements. It was the works of Tilly (1978), McAdam (1982) and Tarrow (1988) that demonstrated the relationship between institutionalised politics and movements. They explained the rise of a certain social movement on the premise of changes in the formal structure or informal power relations of a particular national political system (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996). Their early works produced historical case studies of single movements or protest sequences or cycles (Costain, 1992).

Tilly's work focuses fundamentally on the political domain and the mobilisation of political resources. He treats collective actions as endeavours by new groups or challengers to infiltrate the political system (1978: p. 52). He claims that the relative receptiveness of the political system to integrating the activities and concerns of new groups will influence the emergence of social movements. Tilly's model has been aimed at historical studies and could be applied to modern political systems. In Tilly's designation, partakers in these movements are not challengers because they transpire from cohesive and well-assimilated social groups that are hitherto members of the polity. What they seek is the not access into the polity but the entry to decision-making arenas to impact policy-making.

The study of the civil rights movement in the US by McAdam is an exemplary use of political opportunities for the long-term study of a specific movement. His study on the black protest movement in the US had extensively explored chronological and sectoral variations in political opportunity in determining the trajectory of the black movement (Mayer and Minkoff 2004: p. 1460). From this longitudinal study, McAdam (1982) established that variations in population growth, oppression, migration, and political economy led to an atmosphere in which African Americans had the opportunity to form collective action and demands, and had a higher probability of those demands being received by some those in power.

Meanwhile for Tarrow, political opportunity structures are "consistent - but not necessarily formal or permanent - dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure" (1994: p. 85). Tarrow refines political opportunity structures into five interdepended groups of variables: the level of transparency or unrestricted access in the polity; the solidity of political alliances; the existence of allies and support groups; divisions within the significant elite and/or its lenience for protest; and suppression or assistance of dissent by the state (1998: p. 76–80).

According to Meyer, most of Tarrow's (1998) research on social movements is based on these five variables and is focused on the level of the nation-state. He adds that while Tarrow's variables may not always be pertinent to each and every social movement, the crucial point is that movements ascend with new or increased opportunities (Meyer, 2003: p. 19-20). These movements in turn affect the susceptibility of the state to collective action and thus may unbolt opportunities for others. The process leads to state reactions, which in one way or another produce a new political opportunity. In short, according to Tilly (1982), the success and failure of a social movement is predominantly affected by its political opportunity.

Expanding from the works of Tilly, Tarrow and McAdam, a number of European scholars of NSMs conveyed a qualified aspect to the study of political opportunity structures where they delved into the association between institutionalised politics and movements (Kriesi, 1992; Kitschelt 1986; Koopmans 1996). The NSM scholars wanted to account for cross-national distinctions in the composition, scope and success of similar movements on the premise of dissimilarities in the political features of the nation states in which they are based. This method by NSM scholars, has resulted in more cross-national research based (Kriesi, 1992; Joppke, 1991; Ferree, 1987).

Even though these two approaches resulted in two different conclusions, they share the same precept. Both of these approaches claim that social movements are molded by the far-reaching set of political limitations and prospects idiosyncratic to the national setting in which they are entrenched (Kitschelt, 1986). Therefore, for the purpose of testing the hypothesis that the APM in Malaysia is stymied due to the absence of political opportunities as a result of Malaysia's closed states structure, I have decided to opt for the approach promoted by the European NSM scholars – the association between institutionalised politics and movements. This is because, it is important to understand the political features in Malaysia in order to accurately evaluate the structure, extent and success of its APM. For that purpose, I have decided to integrate the four attributes that Herbert P. Kitschelt used in his 1986 anti-nuclear movement study in four democracies (France, Sweden, United States of America and West Germany) into the analysis.

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These attributes by Kistchelt (1986) are imperative in explaining that formal state structures play an important part in the emergence and actions of social movements, and the policies formulated in that particular context. The four attributes that Kitschelt (1986) used are as follows:

1) "The number of political parties, factions and groups that effectively articulate different demands in electoral politics influences openness. The larger the number, the more centrifugal a political system tends to be and the more difficult it is to confine electoral interest articulations to the cartel of entrenched interests that is represented by the established bureaucratised parties" (Kitschelt, 1986: p. 63);

2) "Openness increases with the capacity of legislators to develop and control policies independently of the executive. This is the case because a legislature is by definition an electorally accountable agent and is therefore much more sensitive to public demands. Whereas only the uppermost positions in the executive are subject to such direct public pressure" (Kitschelt, 1986: p. 63);

3) "Patterns of intermediation between interest groups and the executive branch are another element shaping political openness. Where pluralist and fluid links are dominant, access for new interests to the centres of political decision-making is facilitated" (Kitschelt, 1986: p. 63); and

4) "Political openness not only requires opportunities for the articulation of new demands, but new demands must actually find their way into the process of framing policy compromises and consensus. For this to take place, there must be mechanisms that aggregate demands. There must be viable procedures to build effective policy coalitions" (Kitschelt, 1986: p. 63).

2.11.2 Mobilising Structure Attribute: Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT).

Mobilising structures are basically established organisations or prior networks of individuals with shared identity and shared goals that help a movement to mobilise its constituents and resources in achieving its main goals. In general terms, mobilising structures are described as "those collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilise and engage in collective actions" (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996: p. 3-4).

The discussions of mobilising structures are largely to be found in the *resource mobilisation theory* (RMT) literature, where they are used to explicate the features and products of social movements. According to McCarthy and Zald, RMT "emphasises the interaction between resource availability and preexisting organisation of preference structures to meet preference demand" (1977: p. 1236). It can be claimed that RMT holds that social movements emerge from enduring changes in a group's structure, accessible

means, and openings for collective actions and that they thrive through the effectual mobilisation of accessible resources and the accessibility to political opportunities.

RMT is germane to this study because the theory explicates the emergence of social movements, the activities of social mobilisation, and the politics of social movements. It is anticipated that the theory will be able to produce findings pertaining to the organisational structure of the SMOs and the availability of accessible resources for the SMOs. Such findings will be invaluable to assess the effectiveness of SMOs in the Malaysian APM, and help me to test the final hypothesis of the thesis on the effects of the level of bureaucratisation of Malaysian SMOs.

2.11.3   *Framing Process Attribute.*

Political opportunities and *resource mobilisation theory* (RMT) are on their own insufficient to completely explain and interpret collective action. Interceding between opportunity, organisation and action are the mutual definitions and interpretations that people convey to their situation. For instance, individuals need to feel both disaffected about certain aspects of their lives and be confident that by acting together they can atone their predicament. The absence of either one or both of these insights will make it difficult for people to mobilise even when they have the opportunity to do so. In other words, even though political opportunities are the pre-requisite to initiate collective action, political opportunities, mobilising structures and appropriate framing processes must be collaborative with one another in order for a group to be mobilised and engaged in a collective action (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996).

This final attribute to interpret the course and characteristics of social movements is mainly influenced by the works of Goffman (Benford and Snow, 2000: p. 614). Goffman interprets framing processes as the "schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify and label" the events that are taking place in their life and the world as a whole (1974: p. 21). Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow reinforce Goffman's interpretation by adding that a framing process is "a configuration of ideational elements and symbols that operates as a kind of grammar for articulation of more specific collective action in social movements" (2000: p. 614). Thus, it can be argued that *framing processes* aid to render occurrences or activities significant and thus function to systematise experience and steer action.

Nonetheless, collective action frames are not simply the aggregations of individual stances and insights, but are also the product of negotiated collective meaning (Snow and Benford: 1988, 1992: p. 137). Snow and Benford add that collective action frames also undertake this task by streamlining and abridging the facets of the "world out there" but in ways that are "intended to mobilise potential adherents and constituents to garner bystander support and to demobilise antagonists" (1988: p. 198). It can thus be claimed that collective action frames are activity-aligned sets of beliefs and values that motivate and validate the undertakings and campaigns of an SMO.

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The framing process attribute offers a channel to communicate ideas and social constructions of ideas with organisational and political process factors (Benford, 1997). There are three factors contributing to its relevance to social movements: the extent and variety of problems covered by a frame; the level of comprehensiveness and flexibility of a frame; and the scope of a frame (Benford and Snow, 2000: p. 617 - 622).

However, after data collection from the field work in Malaysia back in 2014, it was discovered that the APM in Malaysia coordinates its strategies and activities on a *fire-fighting* basis where it handles a situation as it happens. For example, the movement sometimes frame strategies or activities which are culturally sensitive. The *I Want to Touch a Dog* was an example of how the movement reacted to the maltreatment of dogs in Malaysia as a result of cultural taboos practiced in the country. Plus, the information acquired during fieldwork was insufficient to warrant a specific hypothesis on the framing process by the APM in Malaysia. Nonetheless, the framing process attribute is found to be a useful skill that is missing from the APM in Malaysia, which will be discussed in depth in Chapter 6 of the thesis.

2.12   Conclusion.

The second chapter was designed to deliver two different outputs. The first output of the chapter was a rich elaboration on the groundwork of the case study that becomes the focal point of the research. In general terms, the first output of the chapter delivered pertinent information regarding the APM in Malaysia. It discussed the historical background of the first APM and animal welfare initiatives in the world and the dominant school of thoughts on animal protection. It also presented an elaborated overview of the APM in Malaysia.

For the first part of the chapter, it gave a detailed and comprehensive overview of the first animal welfare movement in the world – in Great Britain. This was useful not merely because it was the first country to have such a movement, but also because Great Britain was Malaysia's former colonial master and shaped its legislation and institutions. It also presented a detailed overview of the APM in Malaysia, including: its composition; its political context; and its activities.

The second output of the chapter was the justification of the concepts and theories that will be integrated into the research. The selected concepts and theories are crucial in exploring the possible answers to the research questions and also to test the three hypotheses of the research. Concepts such as *social movements* (SMs), *new social movements* (NSMs), and *social movement organisations* (SMOs) are pertinent to analyse the APM in Malaysia especially its nature, its components, its activities and its objectives and goals.

Meanwhile, theories such as *new social movement theory, political opportunity, framing process* and *resource mobilisation theory* (RMT) are critical in testing the hypotheses of the research, to understand why a NSM could emerge and operate in a non-post materialist society (Malaysia), to address and identify the obstacles that impede the APM in Malaysia.

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Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1   Introduction.

The research strategy adopted was to take Malaysia as its primary case study and an over-time comparative perspective in the pursuit of understanding animal protection movements (APMs) in industrial countries. A three-month fieldwork was carried out in Malaysia in 2014 from the 1st of August until 31st October. The fieldwork involved data collection from the Ministry of Agriculture and Agro-Based Industry (MOA), Department of Veterinary Services (DVS), Local Authority Agency, animal protection social movement organisations (SMOs), animal activists, animal shelters and independent animal rescuers. This was possible since I had established a steady correspondence with the research participants prior to the commencement of fieldwork.

This chapter outlines the research methodology of the study. For the data collection in 2014, the study espoused only four out of the five initially proposed qualitative research methods. The study carried out the following research methods:

1) Case study;

2) Documentary research;

3) Semi-structured interview; and

4) Participant observation.

This chapter is pertinent to the study because it describes the broad philosophical underpinnings of the research methods. In essence, the chapter fundamentally answers two main questions which are:

1) How did the study collect or generate the data? and

2) How did the study analyse the data?

3.2   Research Design:
Qualitative Approach with an Explorative Descriptive Design.

For the purpose of the study, a research design was applied in order to construct the study and to demonstrate how all of the vital parts of the research such as the samples, measures and techniques of assignment agreed with each other in concentrating on the research questions of the study. As stated by Denise F. Polit and Bernadette P. Hungler,

a research design is the comprehensive design of a study in deriving answers to research questions and managing obstacles experienced during the study (1993: p. 36). Then, Kader Parahoo interprets a research design simply as "a plan that describes how, when and where data are to be collected and analysed" (1997: p. 142). Later, Nancy Burns and Susan K. Grove reinforce the descriptions by Polit, Hungler and Parahoo by describing a research design as "a blue print for conducting a study with maximum control over factors that may interfere with the validity of the findings" (2003: p. 195). From these various interpretations of what a research design entails, it can be viewed that a research design is the plan that helps a study to draw answers for the research questions and to test the research hypotheses.

A typical attribute of qualitative research is that it establishes conclusions from the data as the exploration progresses. The research design of a qualitative research is unlike research that begins with a postulation where usually the speculation has strict authority over the structure, volume and extent of the data. This type of strategy impedes different means of considering and examining the research questions (Richards, 2006: p. 73). It can be claimed that qualitative research design targets to acquire understanding and investigate the complexity, richness and intensity of an occurrence, an experience or a circumstance.

Since the main purpose of the study is to understand the emergence, development and trajectories of the APM in Malaysia, the research had an explorative descriptive design. The choice of a qualitative approach was concurrent with the idea of qualitative research by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln: "an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (1998: p. 3).

Table 3.2 (a) on the following page provides a detailed description of what a qualitative research entails.

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Table 3.2 (a): Assumptions of a Qualitative Research Design

Qualitative Design Attributes
It is predominantly process incorporated, rather that after-effects.
It is attentive to interpretation on how people justify their existence, encounters and configuration of the world.
Its principal tool for data gathering and exploration is the researcher. Data are arbitrated through the researcher rather than via inventories, surveys and technology software.
It entails fieldwork where the researcher literally involves people, location, site or organisation to physically observe or record behaviour in its natural environment.
It is illustrative, vivid and pictorial because the researcher is interested in process, meaning and understanding obtained through words or images.
Its process is inductive where the researcher constructs ideas, concepts, hypotheses and theories from data.

Source: Ocheing Pamela Atieno (2009: p. 14) - *An Analysis of the Strengths and Limitations of Qualitative and Quantitative Research Paradigms.*

In the opinion of Carolyn F. Waltz and R. Barker Bausell, a descriptive research design may also be utilised for the purpose of advancing theories, discovering issues with and rationalising the existing traditions, creating sensible conclusions, or ascertaining what is being done by others who are in comparable situations (1981: p. 7). Subsequently, Burns and Grove add that the purpose of a descriptive design is to deliver the insights of those who are involved in the phenomenon studied (1993: p. 293). Polit and Hungler maintain that descriptive studies impart error-free narration of attributes of a specific person, occasion or group in everyday or non-fictional situations (1999: p. 189).

Since, this particular research fundamentally attempts to investigate and analyse the full nature of the APM phenomenon in Malaysia, a phenomenon which has yet to be studied and explored on a large or detailed scale, it is for the best interests of the research to be explorative and descriptive. Such a decision was made based on the following five factors:

1) Firstly, the study investigates the elements promoting the emergence, development and trajectories of the APM in Malaysia;

2) Secondly, the study looks into the components that embodied the APM in Malaysia and what these components and the APM were campaigning for;

3) Thirdly, the study also researches the determinants that were speculated to be stymieing the APM from advancing in Malaysia;

4) Fourthly, the study appraises the challenges endured by the APM in Malaysia and also the potential opportunities that the movement might have; and

5) Fifthly, the study constructs new knowledge that new social movements (NSMs) exist in industrial countries.

Thus, it is strongly believed that the qualitative approach of an explorative descriptive design was the most suitable and satisfactory design for the study undertaken.

3.3   Organisation of the Study:
Research Setting, Participants and Preparations.

The collection of data for the study in 2014 involved participants from the components of the APM in Malaysia and government agencies. Initially, it was proposed to engage nine animal protection SMOs, fifteen animal activists and rescuers, and two government agencies for the purpose of data collection. It was also proposed for the data collection from interviews to involve the use of an audio recorder with the intention that every detail of the interview sessions would be captured and later transcribed.

It was arranged for the interview sessions with the animal protection SMOs to be carried out in locations which were far away from the animal protection sanctuaries. The primary reason was that it would not be appropriate to conduct interviews at the animal sanctuaries because there would a lot of distractions in terms of noise, smell, heat and space. Besides, the animal protection SMOs were ardent to have the interview sessions elsewhere because they needed to keep the location of their animal shelters secret. They did not want the location to be quoted in the interviews and in the study because they have had problems with duplicitous individuals. Some individuals had come forward posing as volunteers, potential financial contributors, potential adopters, government officials and researchers when they actually just wanted to know the location of the shelters to abandon unwanted animals; especially the sick, deformed and old ones.

Meanwhile, it was established that the interview sessions with the government agencies would be conducted at the ministry and department involved. The interviews were conducted at the offices of the officials who were involved in the amendment of *Animal Act 1953* and the formulation of *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*. This was to make it easier for

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me to gain adequate but limited access to such documents and also information on other initiatives that the ministry and agency had conducted in relation to animals in the country.

I had established a good relationship with the components of the APM in Malaysia and the government agencies before I decided to carry out the study on the APM in Malaysia.[17] Since I am both an active animal activist and a public servant, it was possible for the me to institute a stable and an amicable rapport with both sides; the APM and government agencies.

I had also acquired the consent to carry out fieldwork from the *Ethics Reviewers* of the University of Sheffield where the *Ethics Application Form* was submitted for approval prior to the execution of fieldwork.[18] Upon approval, I had informed the research participants that they would need to fill in a consent form for every interview session and their individual names and personal details such as age, gender and race would be kept anonymous. The purpose of the consent form was to provide evidence that the participants were willing to participate in the study voluntarily and the study would only release information that was consented and agreed upon by the participants.[19] Their names would be kept anonymous in order to protect their privacy.

Initially, nine animal protection SMOs were suggested and had verbally agreed to participate in the research. These SMOs were the heavyweights in the APM in Malaysia. However, during the fieldwork, only four animal protection SMOs actually participated in the study. During the fieldwork, I realised the extent of animosity that the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia had for each other. The other five animal protection SMOs had walked away and decided to abort the interview sessions when they were informed about the involvement of other animal protection SMOs. And the same incident ensued with the animal activists and animal rescuers, where initially fifteen had agreed to participate, but only seven actually took part in the research. The withdrawals of some of the animal protection SMOs and animal activists and rescuers will be deliberated upon in depth in Chapter 6 of the thesis.

Nonetheless, there was another government agency that took interest in the research. Initially, the research planned to involve only MOA and the DVS, but then the *Pihak Berkuasa Tempatan Sepang* (Local Authority Agency of Sepang) was interested because

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[17] The components of the APM in Malaysia are as follows: animal protection SMOs, animal shelters, animal activists, animal rescuers and community /stray animal feeders.

[18] Please refer to Appendix A for a copy of the approved ethics application form from the University of Sheffield and information sheet for participants.

[19] Please refer to Appendix B for a copy of the consent form used for research participants.

the study involved the issue of stray management. The data collected form these three government agencies will be discussed in Chapter 4 of the thesis.

As a result, the study involved four animal protection SMOs, seven individual animal activists and rescuers, and three government agencies. Furthermore, the use of an audio recorder had to be discarded because of the following two reasons:

1) The animal protection SMOs, activists and rescuers were not comfortable for the interviews to be recorded because they strongly felt that they were discussing animal issues which were culturally, religiously and governmentally sensitive; and

2) The government agencies thought that it would not be appropriate to record the interview sessions because confidential issues might be discussed accidently such as the size of budget and man power, the priority of the stakeholders and the weaknesses of the task teams involved in animal initiatives.

To counteract the situation, I focused on vital questions and took the time to write down what had been articulated by the interviewees. There were ten interview questions, and I prioritised questions that were significant in delivering original insights, critical information and practical opinions pertaining to the research hypotheses and questions. Then, I repeated what had been captured in writing to the interviewees in order to ascertain the accuracy of the feedback and replies. After reaching an agreement that the captured answers were satisfactory, I moved on to questions that were less crucial such as historical background.

3.4   Identifying Key Informants.

According to Krishna Kumar, key informant interviews are actually a qualitative method that involve in-depth interviews with people who are well aware of what is going on in their local community and surrounding. For this reason, the main aim of key informant interviews is to accumulate evidence, data, knowledge and material from a vast of people such as local people, community leaders or experts. This is because, these individuals are viewed as community experts who have first-hand knowledge about the environment. It is strongly believed that with their particular information and comprehension of the community, they can offer discernment on the essence of problems and give suggestions to solve the problems (1989: p.6-7). Plus, according to J.M. Morse (1991), it is crucial for good informants to carry the following qualities: be enthusiastic to talk and accommodating; be a subject matter expert; and be in the position to exhaustively review and deliver experiential information about the area being explored and examined.

Key informant diversity is crucial. This is because, if a study had only involved people of a specific background or sector, its findings would come out with answers or outcomes that are unfairly prejudiced. Therefore, by interviewing key informants from a

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diversified sector, a study gets to look at various perspectives and essential questions or issues.

Having said that, for the purpose of the study, government bodies such as MOA, DVS, and the Local Authority agency had been identified as the key informants representing the Malaysian government. This is because, these agencies are held accountable by the Malaysian government for the welfare, protection and management of animals in the country. Meanwhile, entities such as animal protection SMOs, animal activists, animal rescuers and animal sanctuary operators had been identified as the key informants representing the APM in the country. By interviewing these key informants, the study was able to deliver evidence and arguments pertaining to animal issues from both parties, the Malaysian government and the APM itself.

Telephone interviews and in-person interviews are the two common methods used to perform key informant interviews. Despite being more time consuming and intensive such as requiring additional scheduling and logistical planning, the study preferred the in-person interview technique. The in-person interview technique had given the study a free-exchange of ideas where it had allowed more multifarious and intricate questions to be asked and in return, acquired more detailed responses from every interview session.

3.5   <u>Maintaining the Confidentiality of Key Informants</u>.

In maintaining the confidentiality of informants, Monica Langley and Lee Levine (1988) underline that without the presence of any specific consent, any information shared by the study participants with the researcher must not be supplied or offered to others. In response to Langley and Levine's concerns, prior to conducting fieldwork and especially prior to conducting the interview sessions, I took the liberty to inform the research participants of the nature, objectives and methods of the study undertaken. I conducted the interview sessions only after the research participants were very clear of the intentions of the study and had signed the consent forms. It was stated in the consent forms that the information acquired would only be used for the study undertaken and the information must be given voluntarily by the research participants.

Polit and Cheryl T. Beck describe confidentiality as the "protection of study participants such that individual identities are not linked to the information provided and are never publicly divulged" (2004: p. 714). In response to Polit and Beck's recommendation, I had the research participants signed consent forms and protected their identities by not mentioning their names, race, age, gender and the locations of their organisations at all in the thesis.

As stated by Burns and Grove (2005), study participants have the claim to discretion, secrecy and privacy. However, true secrecy occurs only if the information cannot be traced back to the participant's identity. In response to Burns and Grove's concerns, I

protected the privacy, secrecy and discretion of the research participants by: omitting the application of an audio recording device during interview sessions; not quoting their names in the thesis; not taking photo images of them, their organisations and the animals at the animal sanctuaries; and strictly conducting the interview sessions only at venues selected by the research participants.

3.6   Data Collection and Data Analysis.

Burns and Grove interpret data collection as a "systematic way of gathering information which is relevant to the research purpose and questions" (1997: p. 383). Most importantly, according to William M.K. Trochim (2006) data collection approaches for qualitative research typically involves the following:

1) Unmediated contact and exchange of thoughts, information or messages by speech, signals or writing with individuals on a *one to one basis*; or

2) Unmediated interaction and communication with individuals in a *group setting*.

Qualitative research data collection methods are time consuming in nature. As a result of that, for any qualitative research, data are usually collected from a smaller sample compared to quantitative research.

In the opinion of Joanne Profetto-McGrath, Denise F. Polit, Cheryl Tatano Beck, data analysis is "the systematic organisation and synthesis of the research data and the testing of research hypotheses, using those data" (2010: p. 407). Hilla Brink, Christa Van der Walt and Gisela Van Rensburg agree with that opinion where they further add that data analysis involves "categorising, ordering, manipulating and summarising the data and describing them in meaningful terms" (1996: p. 178).

The data collected from the three-month fieldwork in Malaysia through case study, semi structured interviews, documentary research analysis and participant observation was synthesised through what was known as *content-analysis*. As stated by Beverly Hancock, content analysis is "a procedure for the categorisation of verbal or behavioral data, for purposes of classification, summarisation and tabulation" (1998: p. 17). It can be surmised that content analysis requires coding and categorising data with the objective of discerning the data collected, and also to emphasise the main meanings and ideas, attributes or discoveries. As a result, in order to arrive at the significant meanings, features and finding of the research, the data collected from the fieldwork in Malaysia was analysed on two levels:

1) *Basic level*: the data collected was given a descriptive account where no comments or theories as to why, how, what and when were integrated into what was articulated by the research participants during the interviews; and

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2) *Higher level*: the data collected was given a more interpretive analysis concerning the response received from the research participants as well as what may had been inferred or indirectly suggested.

The analysed data will be presented and deliberated on in depth in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 of the thesis.

3.7   Qualitative Research Method: Case Study.

According to Robert E. Stake, the case study technique has a conceptual structure that is organised around research questions (2000: p. 435-437). As a result, the case study technique had delivered the tools for me to study the complex animal protection movement (APM) phenomenon in Malaysia. The technique was valuable for the study in developing the research hypotheses, assessing the degree of the APM's development, investigating the root cause for the APM to emerge in Malaysia and also constructing informed predictions on the future trajectory of the movement.

A case study is intensive and comprehensive, in which propositions and inquiries about a phenomenon are cautiously analysed and expressed at the beginning. A closed-case study method was integrated into the study because it firmly specified the boundaries of the case of APM in Malaysia. Besides, it is strongly believed that by studying the APM in Malaysia as single case in depth, the study will have the ability to shed some light on the APM phenomena that is taking place in other industrial countries. This is because at the present moment, the academic work on APM in industrial countries is very miniscule.

There are several factors that rendered the APM in Malaysia as an interesting single case study for the research. First and foremost, the APM in Malaysia is particularly interesting because there is currently no information about the APM in Malaysia. With my involvement in the movement, new and detailed information about the movement's mission, aims and challenges can be acquired for academic and general knowledge purposes.

Secondly, what makes the case more interesting is that the APM is operating in a non-post materialist society of an industrial country that actually has legislations in place which are dedicated to animal welfare and protection, such as the *Animals Act 1953* and *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*. As mentioned by MOA and DVS, Malaysia is believed to be the only ASEAN member country that has an animal welfare bill in place. And such a claim was supported by the recent press statement by the current Director General of DVS, "It is a legislation that not many developing countries have". He further added that "the Animal Welfare Bill 2015 is a landmark legislation that will put Malaysia on a par with developed countries" (The New Straits Times, 12 February, 2017).

Thirdly, the APM in Malaysia is an interesting case to study because it is a very unique movement. The APM in Malaysia seems to be unusual in terms of its breadth and indigeneity. As we all know, the movement is predominantly focused on the welfare of stray and companion animals and the movement is entirely native. Native in the sense that, the movement is propelled entirely by Malaysians.

The research, then, was not designed as a comparative study. It is a closed-case study where it focuses on the APM in Malaysia in studying how an industrial country (a non-post-materialist society) works it ways around animal welfare and rights. By focusing on a single case study, the study attempts to understand the grand issues of what, why and how the APM in an industrial country started, as well as the opportunities and challenges it endures (Stake, 2000).

The study adopted the single case study technique because the study attempts to examine and interpret the APM in Malaysia in depth. By taking the APM in Malaysia as its primary case study, the research has the ambition to discover and construe new knowledge and a better understanding of the APMs in non-post-materialist societies. It is believed that by understanding the APM in Malaysia, the research will be able to provide tentative answers to the emergence, development and future trajectories of APMs in other non-post-materialist societies.

As maintained by Robert K. Yin (1981: p. 59; 2003: p .2), a case study approach should be carefully weighed when:

1) the central point of the study is to respond to the how and why queries;

2) the researcher cannot influence or control the behaviour of research participants;

3) the researcher wants to canvas contextual conditions because he or she thinks they are important to the phenomenon under study; or

4) the demarcations between the phenomenon and context are ambiguous.

As a result, the case study of APM in Malaysia was a practical research technique for this study because it satisfied all the conditions described by Yin.

The principal idea in employing the single case study technique into the study was actually to assist the design of the research to be exceptionally focused and streamlined. This is because, extensive exploration was executed on issues such as:

1) How did the APM start?

2) What caused the APM to surface?

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3) Who is driving the APM in Malaysia?

4) Why is the APM not as effective as expected? and

5) How does the APM acquire resources?

In short, the case study technique was discovered to be well suited for the research because in all its particularities, the case of the APM in Malaysia itself was of interest, not because it represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem.

3.8   Qualitative Research Method: Semi-Structured Interview.

As Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein (1998) have noted, the interview technique has become a medium of contemporaneous narration, where people reveal life encounters in retort to interview questions. Interviews were thus necessary for this research because it was estimated that the interview participants would actively construct important new knowledge through my questions and their responses (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Plus, interviews are one of the most frequently used techniques of data collection for qualitative research. An interview is defined as "a method of data collection in which one person (an interviewer) asks questions of another person (a respondent): interviews are conducted either face-to-face or by telephone" (Polit and Beck 2004: p. 721).

Interviews are divided into three types: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. Structured interviews are interviews that have a set of predetermined questions that will be asked in the same order for all interviewees in every interview session. Whereas, unstructured interviews are ones without such a plan. According to Fontana and Frey (2000), the main concerns with these two techniques are as follows:

1) For *structured* interviews, participants or interviewees do not have the freedom to articulate ideas or information that are not enquired by the interview questions. The result of the interviews will be fixed and similar. There is no room for variation in responses since the questions of the interview will be treated as scripts by the interviewees.

2) For *unstructured* interviews, neither the questions nor the answers are predetermined, instead they are built based on the social interaction between a researcher and interviewees. Since unstructured interviews do not have predefined theoretical framework, they might produce data with different structures and patterns.

For the data collection, the study did not employ either the structured or the unstructured interview methods. In a structured interview method, all of the respondents involved in the research would be receiving the same set of questions and there would be less flexibility in every interview session because the interviewer would be treating the questions as if they were a script. This would have created a limited space for variation in responses except where open-ended questions (which are rare) might be used.

Meanwhile, in the unstructured interview method, a researcher can only interview one participant at a time, which means that she or he needs to be a qualified and skilled interviewer. For this method, the interviewer will not ask exactly the same question every time. In this light, Karin Klenke claims that unstructured interview method less reliable because it is not time-efficient and pricey (2008: p.126).

For the purpose of the study, I had decided to implement the semi-structured interview technique for data collection. This is because, according to Fontana and Frey (2000) the semi-structured interview method gives the interviewer a certain degree of space to modify the order of the questions to be asked and to insert new questions based on the context of the participants' replies. Plus, it incorporates a set of open questions that induce discussions with the aim opening up themes and responses for the interviewer to investigate further. On top of that, the method does not limit respondents to a set of pre-determined answers, but permits them to raise issues that the researcher might have overlooked (Fontana and Frey, 2000).

As a result, the study carried out semi-structured interviews which were carried out in two phases:

1) 10th of August - 10th of September 2014 – interview sessions with animal protection social movement organisations (SMOs), animal activists and animal rescuers;

2) 14th of September – 28th September 2014 – participant observation at two animal shelters; and

3) 1st October - 21st October 2014 - interview sessions with government agencies.

It was decided to interview the government agencies last because in Malaysia, the annual national budget is presented at the Parliament in October. I respected their priorities and obliged their request to conduct interviews after their budget preparations were completed.

The first phase of interviews involved those who were directly involved in the APM in Malaysia. To simplify the interview sessions with them, a theme list of important topics was created for them such as historical background, challenges, opportunities, victories,

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losses, hope and future of the APM in the country. This was to ensure that all relevant issues were discussed and that I would be free to concentrate on the ongoing interaction (McCracken, 1988: p. 25).[20]

Meanwhile, the second phase of interviews engaged personnel who were from MOA, DVS and the Local Authority agency. In these interviews, questions on the difficulty and challenges in amending the *Animals Act 1953 (Revised 2013),* drafting the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* and getting these legislations to be gazzetted on schedule were asked.[21]

3.9   Qualitative Research Method: Participant Observation.

In the opinion of Chava-Frankfort Nachmias and David Nachmias (1992), a researcher will develop and cultivate greater acknowledgement of the commitments, operational issues, challenges and setbacks of an observed group and generate different levels of insights when he or she becomes attached or participative with the observed group. In the light of that, the participant observation technique was integrated into the study because it was believed that the technique would aid the research to identify and determine the types of issue that were either enabling or blocking the APM in Malaysia. Such information was vital to be incorporated into the research hypotheses and also to ascertain the future prospects of the APM in Malaysia.

Observation has been described as "the systematic description of events, behaviors and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study" (Marshall and Rossman, 1989: p. 79). The method empowers researchers to narrate prevailing situations by using all five senses in delivering a "written photograph" of the situation under study (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper and Allen, 1993).

Participant observation is a qualitative research method that is described as "the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day routine activities of participants in the researcher setting" (Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte, 1999: p. 91). As a result, this method has several benefits for the research:

1) It provided me with access to the culture of the animal protection SMOs – for example: what their daily routine was like, how they managed and run the sanctuaries, how they attended to animal abuse and neglect cases, how they mobilise their limited resources and how they reacted to challenges;

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[20] Please refer to Appendix C – Interview questions for the entities in the APM in Malaysia (e.g. rescuers, activists and animal protection SMOs).

[21] Please refer to Appendix D – Interview questions for government agencies involved in animal management in Malaysia.

2) It facilitated me to discern better how things were structured and selected, how people interrelate and if there were the cultural constraints;

3) It also facilitated me to retailor the interview questions for the government agencies; and

4) It equipped and presented me with original knowledge and fresh insights in describing the activities, purposes, circumstances and impediments of the components of the APM in Malaysia.

For this particular method, I spent a week each at two animal sanctuaries and kept a notebook that had written descriptions recording the observations of individuals, situations, events and moments. I was not allowed to video record or photograph the sanctuaries primarily because the operators were concerned about their locations being exposed to the public and being inundated with surrendered and abandoned animals. As we know, purely written descriptions come with limitations where I might have missed out on observations because I was occupied with writing about the last thing I noticed, saw or experienced or I might have failed to identify events, moments or activities which were more significant.

Nonetheless, this technique of data collection was indeed crucial and practical for the fieldwork in Malaysia because it aided me in investigating, fathoming, absorbing and appreciating the events and tasks of the research participants in their natural setting. To counteract such limitations, I adopted the documentary research techniques.

3.10   Qualitative Research Method: Documentary Research.

According to Monangeng Mogalakwe, "authenticity refers to whether the evidence is genuine and from impeccable sources; credibility refers to whether the evidence is typical of its kind, representativeness refers to whether the documents consulted are representative of the totality of the relevant documents, and meaning refers to whether the evidence is clear and comprehensible" (2006: p. 225). Documentary research or documentary analysis technique was incorporated into the study, so that authentic, credible, representative and meaningful documents could support the viewpoints and arguments of the study.

There are two kinds of documents that are used in documentary analysis: primary documents and secondary documents. Primary documents are original documents or original evidence that was created at the time under study by those who had firsthand experience of the event or behavior we want to study. Meanwhile, secondary documents are the accounts or interpretations of events or behaviors created by those who do not have firsthand experience but received eye-witness accounts to compile the documents (Bailey, 1994: p. 194).

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For the purpose of this study, there were three types of documents that were used:

1) *Public Records:* Public document sources include government publications such as the original Animal Act 1953, revised Animal Act 1953, original draft of Animal Welfare Bill 2015, revised draft of Animal Welfare Bill 2015, policy reports on the changes made on these two legislations, Malaysian Animal Welfare Strategic Plan, and MOA and DVS's annual reports.

These public documents were important to the research because they helped to reasonably assess the evolution of animal welfare legislation. For instance, by examining *Animals Act 1953 (Revised 2013),* the study managed to assess the changes made to the Act and understand why such changes were necessary. Fundamentally, these public documents helped to reveal the initiatives pursued and challenges endured by the Malaysian government in protecting the safety and upgrading the welfare of animals in the country. At the same time, these documents also gave a glimpse of the future of animal welfare in the country.

2) *Personal Documents:* Meanwhile private document sources include petitions, memorandums, minutes of meetings and personal letters from the animal protection SMOs, Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) and private individuals (members of the public) to the government agencies, political elites and newspapers, e-mails, scrapbooks, blogs and Facebook posts.

The research also acquired articles pertaining to animal issues that have been published in the national mainstream and non-mainstream newspapers in Malaysia such as The Star, Free Malaysia Today, The New Straits Time, The Malay Mail, The Malaysian Insider, and Malaysia Kini and also international newspapers such as The Guardian, The Independent, The Huffington Post, The New York Times and The Telegraph. Other than that, statistical documents from the World Values Survey (WVS) regarding the level of education and post-materialist values in Malaysia was acquired and integrated into the research.

3) *Physical Evidence:* Physical objects found are sometimes found within the study setting. They often called artifacts. Examples include flyers and posters used by the animal protection SMOs in their campaigns, events or protests and also the flyers and posters used by MOA and DVS in their national efforts to aid animals in the country.

Accordingly, the study utilised the documentary research method in relation to both primary and secondary documents and integrated the findings into the research. According to Kenneth D. Bailey (1994), documentary research is practically beneficial and at times, even to a greater extreme, are cost effective than social surveys, in-depth interviews or participant observation. Plus, according to Geoff Payne and Judy Payne

(2004), documentary research is described as the technique that is used to classify, examine, construe and recognise the restrictions of tangible sources, namely written documents whether in the public or private domain.

This method was used because I wanted to get access to different and richer information that would be difficult to acquire from research participants alone during interviews and observations. Nonetheless, government documents and newspaper articles are not designed with research in mind. As a result, the information might be curtailed. On top of that, this method was very time consuming because documents could get misfiled and not updated. For example, The Malaysian Insider officially dissolved its news agency and terminated its web host on the 14th of March 2016. This had caused a great difficulty for me to re-confirm the title, year and date of the published articles which had been used in the study.

3.11   Methodological Challenges of the Study.

The most important challenge comes from the study's decision to adopt single case study as one of its research techniques. The notable discourse of a single case study analysis is the question of its external validity or generalisability. Fundamentally, the limitation of the study as a consequence of using one case study is that its academic ability to reliably offer anything beyond the particular is questioned. Nonetheless, such a limitation is not a devastating problem with the research analysis. This is because, a single case study provides important insights into the case of the APM in Malaysia, which is valuable – and those insights are a useful springboard to do future comparative work. Plus, there is not enough room to look at all potential hypotheses so I decided to pick out the ones that emerge out of the dominant debates in social movement theory.

The experience of conducting fieldwork in Malaysia for three months presented me with few other methodological challenges. Firstly, the interview questions were written in English but the interview sessions were conducted mostly in *Bahasa Melayu* (Malay language – the national and official language of Malaysia). It was inevitable to articulate in the national language because communicating in the native language of a research group creates a friendlier and stress-free environment. Nonetheless, the problem started to surface when I started to analyse and interpret the data collected from the interviews. The transference from the national language to English might jeopardise the accuracy and validity of the information if I had used the wrong English vocabulary to represent the actual meaning of a word or a sentence in the Malay language.

Secondly, the fieldwork was only for a time span of three months. Due to the time limit and different geographical locations, the study did not get the opportunity to acquire input and present the insights from the animal protection SMOs in Sabah, Sarawak and the Federal Territory of Labuan, which are geographically located in East Malaysia or Malaysian Borneo. The following **Image 3.11 (a)** demonstrates the geographical challenge I faced during fieldwork.

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Image 3.11 (a): Geographical Distance between Peninsular Malaysia and East Malaysia

Source: https://www.google.co.uk/maps/place/Malaysia

As a result of great distance and the South China Sea dividing West Malaysia from East Malaysia - please refer to **Image 3.11. (a)** above - the study presents findings which were obtained from the animal protection SMOs, animal activists and rescuers in Peninsular Malaysia only. There are quite a few number of animal protection SMOs in East Malaysia that are actually doing significant work in alleviating the plight of animals there. For example, SPCA Sarawak is really active in advocating on behalf of animals, rescuing stray animals and effectively conducting the Trap-Neuter-Release-Management (TNRM) program in the effort to control the population of stray animals, especially dogs in the state of Sarawak.

Thirdly, I was requested by the senior official from DVS whom I had interviewed to submit the interview scripts to his office before leaving for the UK. The senior official explicated that his office would like to assess and re-confirm the information that had been captured during the interview session.

According to the senior official, his office would like to ascertain that the captured information was accurate, objective, unbiased and free of negativity and unhealthy speculations. Such a request could have had a detrimental consequence on the research by limiting the information which could be used. Regardless of such possibility, I had obliged to the request and emailed the interview transcripts to the senior official's office. But there has been no reply or feedback from his office at the time of submission of this thesis.

Literally, qualitative research focuses on process, meaning and understanding based on thick description. For this reason, the study initially planned to espouse the photo-ethnography technique to collect its data. I firmly believed that by using photo images as visual descriptions would facilitate to solidify the explication of the APM in Malaysia. This is because such visual images would present physical evidence such as the types of campaign and methods of protest organised by the SMOs, taglines used for the campaigns and physical conditions of the animal shelters. These visual images were believed vital in interpreting the landscape of the APM in Malaysia where its challenges, adversities, commitment, dedication, tension, solidarity, legitimacy and kinship will be presented in the research physically instead of just words.

Additionally, the academic research on APMs in non-post-materialist societies is miniscule. With this in mind, these visual images would have presented moments, expressions, gestures and codes representing evidence that NSMs such as APMs do exist in non-post-materialist societies. The photo-ethnography technique was strongly believed to have the credibility to deliver new information and original knowledge that might be overlooked by other methods mentioned before. A final advantage of using photo images is that they are available for re-analysis and that they sometimes catch things that are too fast for observers to notice (Flick, 2002: p. 149-150)

However, the photo-ethnography method had to be discarded from the study. The main reason was that the research participants who were involved in the 2014 fieldwork were not comfortable with this method. They wanted to be anonymous and protect the privacy of their workplace and organisations. Also, the use of audio recording device for interviews was too aborted based on the same reasons: protecting anonymity and privacy.

The final methodological challenge facing the study was the unhealthy horizontal links among the animal protection SMOs. This led to the interview sessions being deprived of a good number of SMO interviewees. When only a few groups (4 out of 9) were interviewed, it was difficult to demonstrate the validity of the findings. In the process of analysing the data, it was not easy for the study to prove that the interviewed animal protection SMOs were in fact knowledgeable and informed and that they were the representatives of their peers in their inputs and recommendations.

3.12 Ethical Considerations.

The Department of Politics of the University of Sheffield, has its own research ethics procedure that has been designed to meet the University's Code of Practice and Research Ethics. In adhering to the University's Code of Practice and Research Ethics, I did not begin the field research until written confirmation from the Department of Politics that the application to conduct a research had been approved was acquired.

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Since the study involved human participants, I had conducted the research activity in a respectful manner as accorded by the Research Ethics of the University of Sheffield. As such, I did not ask questions or act in a manner that might be considered offensive to the religious beliefs, traditions, gender or age of the research participants. For example, I was extremely careful in selecting the accurate terms to be used in the interview sessions with the components of the APM and government agencies in Malaysia.

During the interview sessions with G.O.E, Noah's Ark Ipoh, S.C.R.A.T.C.H and M.I.A.R, I addressed the interviewees by using the terms *Cikgu* (Teacher), *Doktor* (Doctor), *Adik* (Little Sister) and *Puan* (Madam) respectively. Later, during the interview sessions with animal activists and rescuers I used the terms *Kita* (Us), *Saudari* (Young Miss) and *Kakak* (Elder Sister). These are important terms in the Malay language because they represent respect, humility and amicability. Meanwhile, different terms were used during the interview sessions with the officials from MOA, DVS and the Local Authority of Sepang. Terms such as *Tuan* (Sir), *Saudara* (Young Sir), *Tuan Haji* (a title that is used to address someone who has performed the Hajj) and *Yang Berhormat* (Honorable Sir/the Right Honorable) were used to honour the different levels of seniority in the Malaysian public service and Malay community.

Furthermore, I maintained the anonymity and confidentiality of the research respondents. I did not mention or include the name, gender, age or race of the research participants in the thesis, only the name of organisations that they represented. Fourthly, before the conduct of interviews, I informed the the research participants on the purpose of the interview and research and what would be done with the information acquired from the interviews. Fifthly, the interview sessions were conducted only when the research participants had signed consent forms. The research only collected data from participants who willingly participate voluntarily. Sixthly, I had acquired permission from the research participants to reproduce direct quotations in the thesis if necessary. Lastly, the information acquired was protected by keeping the transcripts and texts in a locked drawer.

3.13   Conclusion.

The chapter began by outlining the research methodology of the study undertaken and highlighting the importance of the chapter to the entire thesis. Then it moved on to describe the research design of the thesis. As elucidated earlier, the thesis is a piece of qualitative research with an explorative descriptive design. This design was believed to be the most satisfactory design to deliver insights on the research questions and to test the research hypotheses. Later, the organisation of the study was discussed where the research setting, participants and preparations were illustrated and explicated. Then, the chapter started to discuss the qualitative research methods individually by delivering the limitations and advantages of each method and how each method helped to generate the answers that were vital for the research questions and hypotheses. Each

of the methods complemented each other because each had its own weaknesses. Finally, the chapter delivered an overview of the ethical considerations that I had complied with in interpreting the obtained qualitative data and also the methodological challenges that I encountered during fieldwork.

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Chapter 4: Hypothesis 1
The Animal Protection Movement (APM) in Malaysia is Stymied as a Result of Malaysia's Moderately Closed State Structure

4.1 Introduction.

The chapter investigates the flexibility and availability of political opportunities in Malaysia's state structure and its effects on the animal protection movement (APM). This is important, because according to Kitschelt, state structures provide opportunities that impact the "choice of protest strategies and the impact of social movements in their environment" (1986: p. 58).

It is the ultimate aim of this chapter to ascertain whether the lack of political opportunity is stymieing the APM in Malaysia in its struggle towards social and political change for the animals in the country. In order to do so, Kitschelt's (1986: p. 63) analytical framework and Garner's (1999, 2004) analysis will be integrated into Malaysia's state structure. This is important to examine the nature of Malaysia's state structure; either it is *open* or *closed*.

The chapter argues that as a result of Malaysia's *moderately closed state structure*, the APM in the country is stymied.

The first section of this chapter will briefly present the significance of political opportunities for social movements. This is essential to understand how political opportunities can actually further or restrain a movement from becoming effective in achieving its goals. The second section will briefly explicate the analytical framework applied in testing the hypothesis. Then the third section will demonstrate how this analytical framework is applied to the APM in Malaysia. The data collected during the fieldwork in Malaysia will be integrated into the analytical framework. And the final section will present the summary as to why the hypothesis is broadly accurate.

4.2 How do Political Opportunities Matter for Social Movements?

From the selected conceptual toolkit and theoretical approach section of the literature review chapter, we can understand that social movements are generally proxies of change in societies; social movements are broadly described by scholars as collective, organised and sustained belief systems and practices and/or authorities and also as non-institutionalised challenge to power holders.

Still, there are ongoing debates pertaining to what ascertain the success of a movement. Some scholars who are the proponents of *resource mobilisation theory* (RMT), interpret success largely as the outcome of a movement's ability to assemble the essential resources such as finance, supporters, activists, equipment and organisational skills in spawning the necessary pressure to achieve their objectives. Others argue that movement success is predominantly perceptible to the political opportunities that surface in the journey of a movement's development. Still, a few others emphasise that what really defines a movement's competence to accomplish its goals is its ability to employ strategic innovation to outwit its adversaries even when opportunities and resources are insufficient - *political process theory.*

As discussed in Chapter 2, political opportunity is an environmental component that ferments and imbues movements. Fundamentally, it invigorates latent collective action into becoming physical mobilisation. As argued by Tarrow, political opportunity could explain why "even groups with mild grievances and few internal resources may appear in movement, while those with deep grievances and dense resources – but lacking opportunities – may not" (1994: p. 18). With that in mind, it is fair to surmise that, political opportunities have an interactive relationship with social movements because, political opportunity is asserted to influence the inception (Oberchall, 1996), energy (Rucht, 1996), stratagem (Kitschelt, 1986), conduct (De La Porta, 1996), purpose (Tarrow, 1996) and outcome (Kitshchelt, 1986) of a social movement.

Basically, political opportunity investigates a movement's progress, products and effects with an analysis of the communications it has with power holders such as the government. It basically argues that what influences a movement's successful outcome or disappointment is the amount and type of reaction the movement gets from the other groups that they are challenging.

Some argue – as outlined in the hypothesis of this chapter – that a vibrant social movement requires an open political structure with many points of access and influence for actors to achieve meaningful change (Eisinger, 1973; Kitschelt, 1986; McAdam, 1982; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996; Tarrow, 1983, 1988; Tilly, 1978). Others, like Dryzek et al (2003) claim that a closed state (or what they call exclusive) can actually allow movements to flourish. By way of example, they point to the German environmental movement in the late 1960s which achieved successes because it operated outside of the formal state institutions (Dryzek et al, 2003: p. 36).

Given this difference, it is reasonable to ask why my hypothesis tests whether the closed state structure is stymieing the APM, as opposed to invigorating it. Essentially, the answer comes down to an assumption about the differences between the political systems in Germany and Malaysia. To explain, the anti-nuclear movement in Germany, despite being deprived of the much needed political opportunities by its *passively exclusive state*, managed to grow in part by becoming radical (Dryzek et al., 2003). This is partly because the state did not have anything in place, such as restrictive statutes, to

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stop the anti-nuclear movement from growing through radicalising. But the situation is very different in Malaysia; Malaysia is an *actively exclusive state.* For it is in fact extremely difficult for social movements (in this case the APM in Malaysia) to become radical because of the statutes it has in place controlling their activities, as will be shown later in the chapter. As a result of this, I will be adopting Kitschelt's analytical framework to study whether the moderately closed state structure of Malaysia is stymieing the APM from thriving.

4.3   Kitschelt's Analytical Framework.

One of the most systematic and comprehensive analyses of social movements using the political opportunity attribute was provided by Kitschelt who studied the anti-nuclear movements in four democracies - France, Germany, Sweden and the USA - in the 1980s. In the cross-national comparison of anti-nuclear power movements in these four countries, Kitschelt (1986), explains that formal state structures play a vital part in the rise and activities of social movements and the policies formulated on the relevant issue. He further explains that the access to the political system is easier in *open* compared to *closed* governments (1986: p. 58-60). Anne N. Costain and Andrew S. McFarland supported this claim by adding that "movements meet very different fates depending on the political institutions they challenge" (1998: p. 161).

In open governments, movements try to work through the recognised and conventional institutions. This is because, political opportunity structures in *open* political environments renders multifarious points of access. But when political systems are *closed,* movements are prone to assume aggressive, provocative and hostile tactics coordinated outside the conventional policy avenues. Kitschelt (1986) substantiated this claim by demonstrating the different approaches opted by the anti-nuclear movement activists in France, Sweden, West Germany and the US. As reported by Kitschlet, the anti-nuclear movements in France and West Germany preferred confrontational strategies because these two countries are of a closed political regime. Meanwhile, in Sweden and the US, activists of the same cause opted for assimilative strategies since they are moving in open political environments (1986: p. 64-65). Hence, the claim by Meyer and Douglas R. Imig, that governments "control both the degree of access to decision-making that groups enjoy, as well as their own policy responses" is appropriate (1993: p. 257).

To reiterate, political opportunity structures encapsulate the unambiguous arrangements of "resources, institutional arrangements and historical practises for social mobilisation", which will either accelerate or confine the development of social movements (Kitschelt, 1986: p. 58). The comparative study of anti-nuclear movements by Kitschelt (1986) exhibits that political opportunity structures have leverage on the selection of tactics and the impacts of movements on their surroundings. Plus, the comparative study also provided a comprehensive understanding of the features which

contribute to and determine the dynamic and success of social movements in Western Democracies.

As a result of the comparative study, Kitschelt arrived at four practical and helpful criteria that help ascertain the degree of openness of political regimes to new demands placed by interest groups such as social movement organisations (SMOs). These factors will be borrowed, if necessary refined and applied to test the first hypothesis of the research. The criteria are as follows (Kitschelt, 1986: p. 63):

4.3.1 The Number of Political Parties, Factions and Groups that Effectively Articulate Different Demands in Electoral Politics Influences Openness.

According to Kitschelt, the "larger the number of political parties, factions and groups that effectively articulate different demands in electoral politics, the more centrifugal a political system tends to be and the more difficult it is to confine electoral interest articulations to the cartel of entrenched interests that is represented by the bureaucratised parties" (1986: p. 63). However, as argued by Garner (1999, p: 109; 2004: p. 213), it is not just the number of political parties that affects openness, but also the type of political parties in the political system.

In his work, Garner (1999, p: 109; 2004: p. 213), elaborates that in the UK, the APM has established a secure rapport with the Labour Party. The Labour Party pushes for improved animal protection and welfare because animal issues are viewed as left-wing concerns. This is because animals are professed to be another oppressed group who are believed worthy of backing by the lawmakers who are generally concerned with ameliorating the plight of the vulnerable. Garner further explicates that many left-wing Labour councils in the 1980s adopted animal charters, which provided for an enlightened approach in their responsibilities towards animals (2004: p. 201). For example, *The Hunting Act 2004* is one of the most significant acts for animal welfare in the UK and it was the Labour Party that introduced it.

Using Kitschelt (1986) and Garner's (1999, 2004) analysis, then, we can surmise that a relevant factor in determining a political system's openness to a new social movement (NSM) like the APM rests on the number and type of parties in operation there.

4.3.2 Openness Increases with the Capacity of Legislature to Develop and Control Policies Independently of the Executive.

Kitschelt claims that legislators are much more sympathetic and perceptive to public demands. This is the case because a parliamentarian is by designation "an electorally accountable agent", while only the highest seats in the executive branch are exposed to such unequivocal public pressure (1986: p. 63).

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Based on the 1986 comparative study, Kitschelt categorised the political process in France and West Germany as closed. This was because, according to Kistchelt, the executive branches in France and West Germany were clearly overriding a weak legislature. Plus, the policy making access in France and West Germany was only for a certain number of interest groups (1986: p. 64-66). As a result of weak legislature and inaccessible executive, the political system in both countries had difficulty in being cooperative towards the demands generated by NSMs or new politics (1986: p. 65).

From this example, it can be assumed that in order for a state's political input structure to be open to the articulation of interests and aggregation of demands, the legislative branch needs to be strong and independent, and the executive branch needs to be accessible.

4.3.3 Patterns of Intermediation Between Interest Groups and the Executive Branch are Another Element Shaping Political Openness.

Fundamentally, a state that practises a high degree of political openness does not make it difficult for intermediations between interest groups and its executive branch to take place. This is because such an open state provides ubiquitous intermediation channels and opportunities for interest groups to submit or pass their demands to its executive arm. As reported by Kistchelt, when "pluralist and fluid links are dominant, access for new interests to the centres of political decision making is facilitated" (1986: p. 63).

For instance, the anti-nuclear protestors in Sweden organised themselves as public interest groups. They preferred to work straight through the entrenched party system instead of going through either the legislature or the bureaucracy (Kitschelt, 1986: p. 69). This is sustained by the fact that previously overlooked new politics concerns such as "demands for participatory democracy, rights for students, the emancipation of women, comprehensive aid to less developed countries and civil and socio economic rights for immigrants" have all been thoughtfully conveyed by the political parties and have activated policy innovation in Sweden (Kitschelt 1986: p. 65).

4.3.4 Political Openness Not Only Requires Opportunities for the Articulation of New Demands, But New Demands Must Actually Find their Way into the Process of Framing Policy Compromises and Consensus.

As reported by Kitschelt, the openness of politics in the US is testified by the "strong position of its Congress, the lack of tightly integrated political parties and the relative openness of a deeply fragmented administration" (1986: p. 66). Nonetheless, as a result of its lack of systematised systems of arbitration amid pressure groups, legislators and the political bureaucracy, its capacity for political aggregation and improvement is constrained. As such, we can understand that the political structure in the US displays

impartial openness to interest communication, however far less openness when it comes to the accumulation of new interests or demands.

Essentially, it can be assumed that, in order for new demands to be integrated into the process of framing policy agreement and unanimity, the systems of arbitration or reconciliation between interest groups and the key components of a state must be well designed and structured. Basically, it means the apparatuses to accumulate demands and practical plus manageable procedures to construct effectual policy coalitions must be in place (1986: p. 63). As maintained by Kitschelt, this is important in order to prevent new demands from vanishing during the "pluralist process of coalition formation" or later on when a policy needs to be renegotiated by a powerless state agency with organised interests (1986: p. 66-67).

4.4 The Animal Protection Movement (APM) in Malaysia According to Kitschelt's Analytical Framework.

Malaysia is a quasi-democratic industrial country in Southeast Asia (Zakaria, 2005: p. 365; Crouch, 1996: p. 3-5; Zakaria, 1989: p. 349; Holik, 2011; Abbott, 2004: p. 89). As maintained by Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997), NSMs are neither associated with industrial countries nor non-post-materialist societies. This is because, these industrial countries have not: achieved the desired material wealth; secure the desired physical security; attained the high degree quality of life; and experienced a cultural shift. Nevertheless, despite its industrial country or non-post-materialist society status, Malaysia has its own APM; albeit the movement is not as aggressive, well-resourced, strong and prominent as the APMs in post-industrial countries.

Kitschelt's (1986) analytical framework was designed to demonstrate and critically analyse the different degree of political opportunity accessibility or difficulty experienced by social movements in both open and closed state structures. His study shows that unlike the social movements in closed political structures, social movements in open political regimes are more successful and efficient because a high degree of political opportunities is available (1986: p. 85).

Therefore, in order to test the first hypothesis, Kitschelt's analytical framework was integrated into examining Malaysia's state structure. As such, it revealed that Malaysia's closed state structure has denied the APM in the country the access to acquire the much needed political opportunity for it to be effective and progressive.

4.5 Malaysia's State Structure.

Malaysia has a parliamentary system of government which is led by a Prime Minister who is selected through periodic multiparty elections at least once every five years. Nonetheless, Malaysia is of a *Consociational Democratic* political regime. Such a political system is adopted by countries which require ethnic power sharing in deeply

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divided societies (Lijphart 1969, 1977, 1981, 2004, 2008; Lipset, 1963; Lipset and Rokkan, 1985). The pluralism in Malaysia did not happen naturally, but by force.

Before British rule, Malaysia was originally identified as *Tanah Melayu* (Land of the Malays). With the amalgamation of the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated Malay States and the addition of the Straits Settlements of Malacca and Penang to form a bigger political entity, *Tanah Melayu* became the Federation of Malaya in 1948; in short it was called *Malaya*. In total Malaya was a colony of the British empire for more than 150 years with just one short intermission of the *Japanese Occupation* between 1942 till 1945 during the Second World War (Jabatan Penerangan Malaysia, 10 August, 2014).

As a British colony, the indigenous people, mainly the Malays, were coerced by the British to willingly receive and accept immigrants who were brought in from China and India. The Chinese were brought in to work in tin mines and the Indians on plantation. Therefore, in order to establish power and remain unchallenged in the country, the British practised a political strategy policy which was prominently known as *divide and rule* (Embong, 2002: p. 47).

The British adeptly utilised the *divide and rule* policy to safeguard their power and control during their tenure in Malaya. The ultimate aim of the policy was to encourage and perpetuate racial disharmony or distance between the Malays, Chinese and Indians in the country (Hirschman, 1985: p. 332; Leigh and Lip, 2004: p. 300; Muhammat @ Kawangit et al., 2012: p. 504; Ramli and Jamaludin, 2012: p. 54; Hoffstaedter, 2013: p. 42; Lai, 2013: p. 193; Shamsuddin et al., 2015: p. 139). Throughout the British occupation, the *divide and rule* policy had successfully persisted disunity between these three races. What the British did under the policy was as follows: the Malays were forced to become peasants and settle in rural areas; the Chinese were granted economic power and were put in charge of urban areas; and the Indians were in charge of rubber and palm oil plantations and settled in plantation estates in the country (Omar, 2007: p. 341; Ali, 2008: p. 104; Yat, 2016: p. 23; Zawawi *et al*, 2013: p.15; Gill, 2013: p. 37; Seng, 2007: p. 210). As a result, the *divide and rule* policy made it difficult for these three races to come together and fight against the sovereign authority.

The granting of independence of Malaya from Britain came with a set of conditions. Upon achieving independence, Malaya was instructed by the British to grant citizenship to the Chinese and the Indian settlers and create a political system where there would be power sharing between the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians (Heng, 1996: p. 36; Leigh and Lip, 2004: p. 301; Daniels, 2005: p. 28; Cheah, 2002: p. 235; Baginda, 2015; Lomperis, 2000; p. 207; Young, 2006: p. 161). The British made it very clear, that if Malaya refused to fulfil and honour these conditions, it would not be bequeathed with independence. As a result, in order to be become an independent sovereign state, Malaya agreed to these conditions by adopting the *Consociational Democratic* political system, whereby each ethnic group has a political party and political elite representing

their interests.

Malaya acquired independence from Britain on 31st August 1957 and subsequently joined the Commonwealth. The Federation of Malaysia came into being on the 16th of September, 1963 when the 11 states of Malaya entered into a merger with the former colonies of Sarawak and Sabah on the western coast of Borneo and city state of Singapore (Lee, 2012: p. 66). In 1965, by mutual agreement, Singapore withdrew from this newly set up Federation and became a self-governing nation. As a result, Malaysia, as it is known today, comprises of Peninsular Malaysia and the former British Borneo states of Sabah and Sarawak.

With the 11 states in Peninsular Malaysia plus Sabah and Sarawak in Malaysian Borneo, Malaysia today constitutes of 13 states. Nine of those states are headed by *Sultans* (hereditary rulers) and the other four are each headed by a Governor or *Yang Di-Pertua Negeri* (TYT) (Ahmad, 2005: p. 6-8). Each state has a government, a constitution, a state executive committee or cabinet with executive authority and a legislature that reviews and examines issues that are not under the purview of the Federal Parliament. In addition to the 13 states there are three Federal Territories in Malaysia, which are Kuala Lumpur, Putrajaya and Labuan. These Federal Territories are governed directly by the Malaysian Federal Government (Nasuchon, 2009: p. 11). Kuala Lumpur is the capital of Malaysia, Putrajaya is the Federal Government administrative centre and Labuan is the international offshore financial centre (Abdul Rahman and Rowley, 2007: p. 61). The following **Image 4.5 (a)** illustrates the metamorphosis of Malaysia from its native origin of *Tanah Melayu*.

Image 4.5 (a): The Federated Malay States as a Forerunner to Malaysia
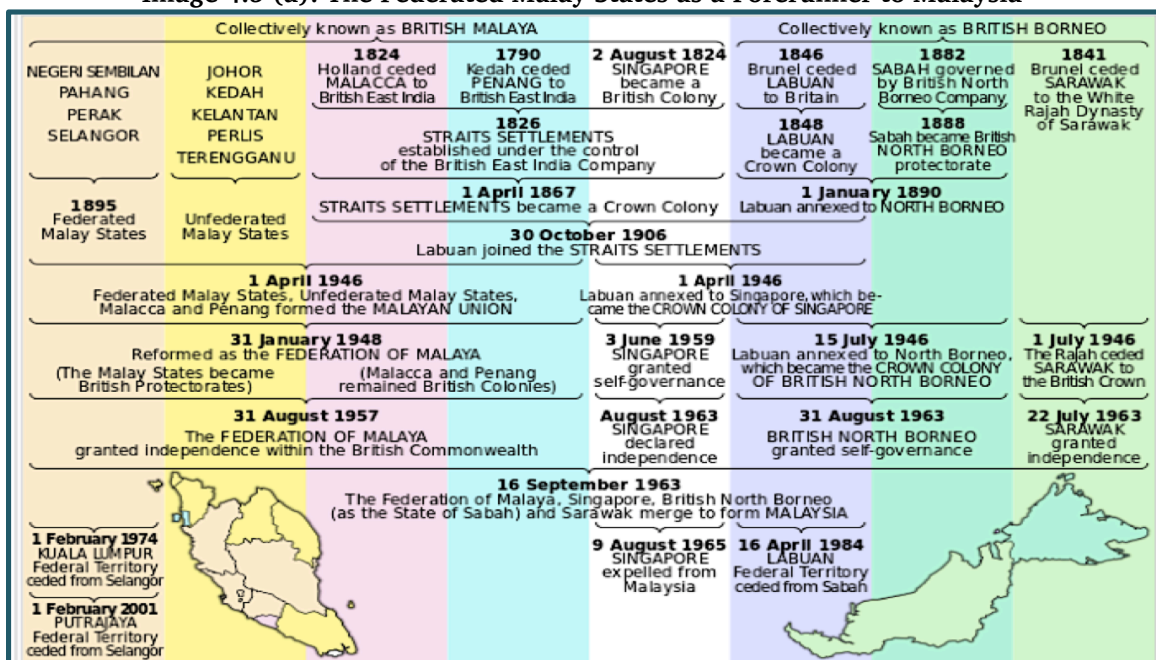
Source: The Daily Press, 2016

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Malaysia exercises *parliamentary democracy* and is governed as a federal constitutional monarchy with the *Yang Di-Pertuan Agong* (YDPA) or the King as the country's Head of State. Under Article 32(1) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the YDPA is the Supreme Head of the Federation. The *Majlis Raja-Raja Melayu* (Conference of Malay Rulers) from among the nine hereditary rulers of the Malay States elects a YDPA for a term of five years and this selection is done by alternation whereby the YDPA is formally elected by the *Majlis Raja-Raja Melayu* according to the method and manner prescribed in the Third Schedule of the Constitution and Regulations of the *Majlis Raja-Raja Melayu*.[22] After a hereditary ruler or *Sultan* had served as the YDPA, he is not allowed to be re-elected until all rulers of the other nine states have served their tenure, based on the rotation system, as the YDPA (Penyimpan Mohor Besar Raja-Raja, 2010; Thomas, 2007: p. 14).

Even though the governors or *Tuan Yang Terutama* (TYT) of the other four states in Malaysia are members of the *Majlis Raja-Raja Melayu*, they are neither involved in the election of the YDPA nor can they become one (Zakaria, 2008; Penyimpan Mohor Besar Raja-Raja, 2010). It was the Reid Commission that introduced this alternation system because it saw the YDPA as the symbol of unity for the country (Stockwell, 1988: p. 183; Harding, 2012; Ibrahim, 2012; Jabatan Penerangan Negara, 2004).

Malaysia's organisational and policy-making framework was conceived based on the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya. On the 21st of March 1956, an independent committee known as the Reid Commission was appointed to evaluate and endorse the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya. This was to prepare Malaya for its impending independence on 31st August 1957. The Commission was steered by Lord William Reid (Judge of the Court of Appeal of England) to come up with a constitution for a completely autonomous Federation of Malaya (Fernando and Hu, 2015: p. 187-190; Wade, 2009; p. 14; Omar, 1996: p. 17; Fernando, 2016: p. 144). It was through the Reid Commission that issues pertaining to the central government, the state autonomy, the special rights of the Malay kings, the appointment of the YDPA and the preservation of the special privileges of the Malays were established. In this light, the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya is the substructure of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia today (Ibrahim, 2012; In-Hwon, 2013: 64-65; http://www.ark ib.gov.my/en/web/guest/su ruhanjaya-perlembagaan-reid).

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[22] The *Majlis Raja-Raja Melayu (*Conference of Malay Rulers) or is an assembly consisting the nine *Sultans* (hereditary rulers) of the Malay states, and the governors (TYT) of the other four states. It was formally instituted in 1948 when the Federation of Malaya was formed. The main responsibility of the *Majlis Raja-Raja Melayu* is the election of the YDPA and his deputy, the *Timbalan YDPA*, which happens every five years or when the positions become available, either through death, resignation, or removal from office (Penyimpan Mohor Besar Raja-Raja, 2010).

In any democratic country, generally the power to govern is divided into three bodies, namely the *legislature, executive* and *judiciary*. This is known as the *doctrine of separation of powers*. The separation of powers is intended to ensure that no single agency or institution that has absolute power in a country. In Malaysia, the Federal Constitution of Malaysia divides the authority of the Federation into the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary arms.

These three arms of the government are significant because they provide the foundation by which democracy is practised, which is through the separation of powers, and checks and balances (Nambiar, 2007: p. 182; Faruqi, 2011: p. 11; Nah, 2008: p. 216; Anuar, 2000: p. 85). The separation of powers also happens at state levels. For example, the Parliament of Malaysia (federal assembly) sanctions the Federal Laws which are applied all over the country. And there are also state laws governing each state and its local government, e.g: each state legislative assembly sanctions Islamic laws that applies in their respective state only (Keynote Speech: Perdana Leadership Foundation, 2009).

The executive branch refers to the power to govern the country; it is the administrative branch, which controls the various national agencies and apparatus. In the Malaysian federal government, the federal executive branch consists:

1) *Yang Di Pertuan Agong* (YDPA);

2) *Majlis Raja-Raja Melayu* (The Conference of Malay Rulers);

3) The Prime Minister;

4) The Cabinet; and

5) Public services.

The YDPA is also the head of executive branch and therefore he is bestowed with the power to govern; but it is however carried out by a Cabinet of Ministers led by the Prime Minister. As the head of executive branch in the country, the Cabinet is accountable to the YDPA. Every executive act of the Federal Government, whether directly or indirectly, streams from the YDPA's royal authority. Nonetheless, the chief of the executive branch is the Prime Minister of Malaysia; this is in accord with the code of a democratic ruling system (Noordin and Lim, 2008)

A Cabinet - a council of ministers – is selected by the YDPA; they are to offer him advice in the implementation of his tasks (The Malaysian Bar, 7 October, 2010). The membership of a Cabinet consists of the Prime Minister and an unfixed number of ministers. It is a prerequisite that both, the Prime Minister and cabinet ministers, are members of Parliament, either the *Dewan Rakyat* (House of Representatives) or *Dewan Negara* (Senate) (http://thecommonwealth.or g/our- member-countries/malaysia/consti

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tution-politics). The ministers hold various positions and duties and are en masse accountable for all resolutions decided by the Cabinet. The Cabinet which is the supreme policy-making entity in the country (Noordin and Lim, 2008).

It is often appropriate to split the executive into three parts: The Head of State, the political executive and the bureaucracy. The YDPA is the Head of State and also the head of executive branch. But under the Westminster system of government, the Head of State is a titular one (Saad and Jacob, 2012: p. 70; Singh, 2008: p. 219). In the case of Malaysia, although the executive authority of the Federation is conferred on the YDPA and he is the constitutional Head of State, the YDPA does not hold tangible political power. As an illustration, based on Article 40 (1) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the YDPA shall act in accord with the guidance or advise of the Cabinet. The head of government (chief executive) is the Prime Minister of Malaysia; the Prime Minister, Cabinet and the government administrative machinery are held accountable to execute executive functions in the country (Thomas, 2008: p. 1-2).

The Parliament of Malaysia is the ultimate legislative body in Malaysia. It is responsible for passing, revising and rescinding acts of law. Its membership comprises of the *Dewan Negara*, the *Dewan Rakyat* and the YDPA. The legislative branch functions as a lawmaker and has the authority to increase taxes and approve government's expenditure (http://www.parlimen.gov.my). Under Article 39 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the legislative branch is subordinate to the head of state (YDPA).

The Ninth Schedule of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia mentions that legislative power is disseminated between the Federal Government and the State Government and analytically distributes it in the Federal List, the State List and the Concurrent List (Mohamed Yusof, 2013: p. 68). The key areas of concern of the Federal List are: civil and criminal law; citizenship; commerce; shipping industry; communications; defence; education; external affairs; finance; health; internal security; and labour (Noordin and Lim, 2008; http://www.slideshare.net/mbl2020/the-malaysian-constit tution-2873614/58 - MALAYSIAN_CONSTITUTION_LEGISLATIVE_PROVISION_58Federal).

Meanwhile, the State List, here are the areas in which Parliament may create laws: Shariah law; local government; land, forestry; agriculture; and riverine fishing (http://www.slideshare.net/mbl2020/the-malaysian-constitution-2873614/59-MALAYSI AN_CONSTITUTION_LEGISLATIVE_PROVISIONS_59).

Placed under the authority of both, the Federal and State Governments, is the Concurrent List. The Concurrent List embraces social welfare, scholarships, protection of wildlife and town and country planning. Nonetheless, should there be any contrariety between a federal law and a state law, the prior supersedes the latter (Noordin and Lim, 2008; Noordin and Supramaniam, 2013; http://www.slideshare.net/mbl2020/the-malaysi an-constitution-2873614/60-MALAYSIAN_CONSTITUTION__LEGISLATIVE_PROVISIO

NS_60Concurrent).

Under Article 66(1) of Federal Constitution of Malaysia, a legislative authority is the power to sanction laws which are germane and applied to the Federation as a whole. The legislative power at the Federal level is vested in a two-tier Parliament. The bicameral Parliament is led by the YDPA and comprises of the *Dewan Negara* (Senate) and the *Dewan Rakyat* (House of Representatives).[23] The life span of the Parliament and State legislators is roughly five years respectively, and is divided into one-year sessions, after which the session is ended or suspended normally in September (Noordin and Lim, 2008).

The Malaysian judiciary is one of the government's three arms. The head of the judiciary arm is the Chief Justice of the Federal Court and its membership is selected by the YDPA, following the advice of the Prime Minister and consultation with *Majlis Raja-Raja Melayu* (The Conference of Malay Rulers). The main function of the judiciary arm is to ensure compliance with the Federal Constitution of Malaysia and that justice is carried out in conformity with the provisions of the laws in the country. Aside from the responsibility to adjudge and settle judicial affairs occurring between individuals as well as individuals and the state, the judiciary arm also attends to translate the laws of the country. The Malaysian judiciary arm assumes and performs these distinctive duties and responsibilities to validate, support and preserve the Federal Constitution of Malaysia. For the purpose of putting into execution of the judiciary functions, the Federal Constitution of Malaysia has stipulated all the relevant provisions in Chapter 9; from Article 121 to Article 131. For example, the judicial power of the judicial bodies in Malaysia is stipulated in Article 121 (1) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia (Attorney General's Chambers, 1 November, 2010).

The Malaysian Judiciary structure can be broken down in two parts: the Superior Court and the Subordinate Courts (Fadzel, p. 8 at http://www.academia.edu/304886/Malaysia _A_Case_Study). The Federal Court is the highest court within the hierarchy of legal jurisdictions in Malaysia (the YDPA serves as its Lord President), and followed by the Court of Appeal, the High Court and the High Court of Sabah and Sarawak. Meanwhile the Subordinate Court entails the Sessions Court, the Magistrates Court and the Children's Court. On 20th of March, 1993, the Federal Constitution of Malaysia established a Special Court that has jurisdictions to hold civil or criminal tribunals instituted by or against the YDPA and other Malay rulers (Office of the Chief Registrar, Federal Court of Malaysia, 25 May, 2011).

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[23] The *Dewan Negara* (Senate) has 70 members: 44 are appointed by the YDPA and 26 elected by the State Legislative Assemblies. Meanwhile the *Dewan Rakyat* (House of Representatives) has 222 members and it is a fully elected body (Choong, 2012: p. 19).

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There are two important features in the judiciary arm of Malaysia, which are: it is non-partisan and it has its own independence as provided by the Federal Constitution of Malaysia. Most importantly, according to the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the judiciary arm is not subjected to control, either by the legislative or by the executive arm. For example, a judge in the judiciary arm of Malaysia can only be removed by the formal and legal procedures which are stipulated in Article 125 (3), (4) and (5) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia; he cannot be removed from office by any other means.

The following **Image 4.5. (b)**, aims to illustrate the main components of the Malaysian government system.

Image 4.5 (b): A Summary of the Critical Players in Defining Malaysia's State Structure
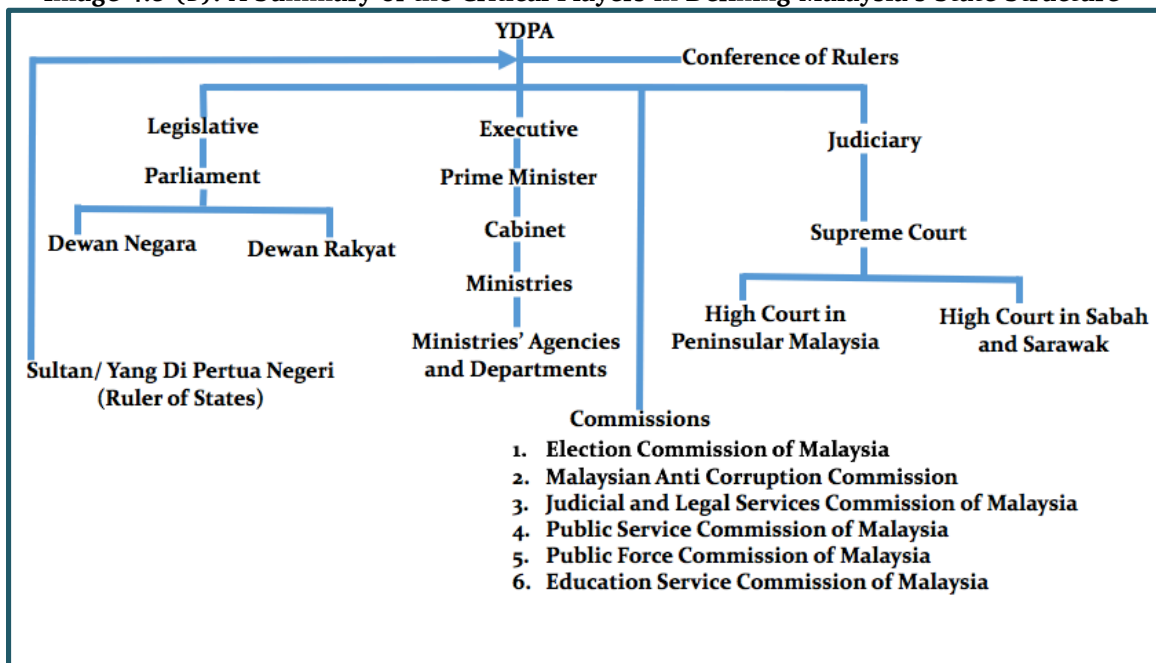
4.6 The Integration of Kitschelt's Analytical Framework into Malaysia's Political Structure.

4.6.1 The Limited Number of Political Parties, Factions and Groups Do Not Articulate Different Demands Effectively in Malaysia's Electoral Politics.

The components of Malaysia's National Government represent the demands of the multifarious ethnic groups in the country such as the Malays, the Chinese, the Indians, the indigenous tribes, the *Orang Asli*, and other minority ethnics which are found in Peninsular Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak. The preservation of racial harmony between different ethnic groups; the equal representation of political interests for every ethnic group; the sustenance of political stability; the longevity of national unity; and the fair opportunity to enjoy the national wealth have always been the dominant concerns that

moulded political dispute and fuelled difference of opinion in the state ever since Malaysia attained its independence in 1957.

The alliance between various parties - the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) and the Malaysian Chinese Association (MIC) - had created the Alliance Party and which later welcomed other political parties into its fold to form what is called the *Barisan Nasional* (BN) or National Front. The BN party represents the main ethnic communities in Malaysia and it rose to power on the manifesto of national unity and state paternalism (Tarling, 2004: p. 186; Lee, 2004: p. 70; Haque, 2003: p. 241-242). The Malaysian Bar, 3 August, 2009). According to Matthew Thomas and Luke Buckmaster, "the idea that governments may restrict the choices of individual citizens for their own good is commonly known as paternalism" (2010: p. 1). And Gerald Dworkin states that paternalism is "motivated by a claim the person interfered with will be better off or protected from harm" (Stanford Encyclopedia Philosophy, 2016). Having said that, the BN or National Front coalition was able to bridle the intense divisions in the Malaysian society and devise a successful policy of economic reforms; hence it has remained in power ever since independence in 1957 (Jomo, 2005: p. 185; Jesudason, 2005: p. 127-130; Munusamy, 2012; p. 128).

The Malaysian political system is extremely unchanging. It has been the same political parties in the system representing and articulating the same issues and concerns since before independence until the present day. Both the government and the opposition are constituted of political parties, which are ethnic based. While it can be fairly deduced that Malaysia has a multi-party political system they are all of a similar kind.

The political parties in the Malaysian political system represent the major ethnic groups in the country. As maintained by Noriyuki Segawa, "Malaysia's political structure has impeded the development of national integration. Malaysia has a political structure that is based on ethnicity (ethnic politics). The Malaysian government has been governed by the coalition party, the Barisan Nasional Party (BN), which consists of several ethnic-based parties, each ostensibly representing their own ethnic interests and identities" (2013: p. 211). Hence, it is evident that Malaysian politics is heavily associated with ethnic identity. As such, it has made it more strenuous and taxing for other issues unrelated to identity or ethnicity such as animal welfare and animal rights to be represented and heard.

Malaysian politics has always been described by and organised along a communal structure. Since its independence in 1957, Malaysia's ascendant political plot has been that of Malay dominance within the context of intercommunal negotiation between the leaderships of the Malay, the Chinese and the Indian communities. For example, the governing message of multi-ethnic comradeship within the framework of Malay hegemony has been preserved and fortified in electoral politics. This is done by maintaining UMNO and the BN as the unchallenged champions where voting for UMNO and the BN has become a conventional practice during election times. This is

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because, in Malaysian politics, voting for the opposition is viewed as an act of treason and anti-nationalism (Liow and Pasuni, 2010: p. 60).

As such, it is fair to say that the race-based politics practised by Malaysia signifies that Malaysia is still embracing what is called the *old politics*. This is because, the essence of Malaysian politics remains to have at its core ethnic, racial and religious denotations. As such, there is limited opportunity for those who are without identity or ethnicity to be represented.

For example, the preferential treatment of the Malays in the Malaysian political system is a trait of *old politics*. To explain, the ethnic riots of 13th May 1969, demonstrated that destitution and discrimination when unequivocally associated with a specific ethnic community could be politically, economically and socially subverting (Ariff and Nambiar, 2005: p. 113). The 1969, fatal racial riots exploded between the Malays and the Chinese in numerous cities, and the country was consigned under emergency rule (Munir, 1993: p. 136; Harding, 2012; Lee, 2010: p. 408). When the state of emergency was lifted in 1971, the government promulgated a new economic policy called the *Dasar Ekonomi Baru* (DEB). Under the DEB the Malays who are officially called *Bumiputeras* were conferred with privileged treatment in all spheres of public life (Heng, 1997: p. 262; Carstens, 2005: p. 158; Russel, 2007: p. 1278).[24]

To explain: senior positions in the civil service were reserved for Malays (ERT Country Report, 2012: p. VI; Ee, 2013: p. 9; Amoroso, 2014: p. 59); secondary schools - comprising *Sekolah Berasrama Penuh* (SBP - Fully Residential Schools), *Sekolah Menengah Sains* (Science Secondary Schools), *Maktab Rendah Sains Mara* (MRSM - the elite MARA Junior Science Colleges) - were constructed exclusively for the *Bumiputeras* (Ee, 2013: p. 6; Rock, 2016: p. 59; ERT Country Report, 2012: p. VI; The New York Times, 27 August, 2015); and it was decided *Bumiputeras* should control 30% of all corporate equity by 1990 (Heide, 2002: p. 150; Ee, 2013: p. 8; Ratuva, 2013: p. 208; Trang, 2013: p. 3; http://www.cpps.org.my). Also included were Malay home buyers; they were entitled to a discount of 5% to 15% on new developments (ERT Country Report, 2012: p. VI; Russel, 2007: p. 1278; Wei, 2003: p. 49).

It is also important to know political parties that represent other kinds of concerns such as labour rights, underprivileged groups, unemployment benefits, disaster reliefs, women's rights, environmental conservation, animal rights and welfare, sexual orientation and gender equality do not exist in the political system of Malaysia. The absence of left-wing parties in Malaysia's political structure inhibits the articulation,

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[24] Based on the translation by the *Pusat Rujukan Persuratan Melayu*, the word *Bumiputera* is used to describe and refer to the indigenous people who are the original inhabitants of a place (http://prpm.dbp.g ov.my/Search.aspx?k=peribumi). Therefore, based on Article 153 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, *Bumiputera* in Malaysia is all the *Orang Asli* tribe, the Malays and the natives of Sabah and Sarawak.

representation and implementation of better policies regarding such marginalised groups, which include animals.

Having said that, left-wing parties had successfully converted animal protection into an issue of national importance in Switzerland (1992, 2000) and Germany (2002). Each of these countries had integrated animal protection in their national constitutions in distinctive ways (Nattrass, 2004; Evans, 2010: p. 231). For example, animal protection has been incorporated in Article 80 of the Swiss Constitution, establishing the directive for federal legislation on animal welfare. This specifically covers "animal keeping and care; animal experimentation; the use of animals; the import of animals or animal products, animal trade and transport; and slaughter" (Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, 2016) In 1992, Switzerland, a non-European Union (non-EU) member, revised its constitution so that animals would be recognised and accepted as *beings* rather than things (Natrass, 2004; p. 283; Michel and Kayasseh, 2011; p. 4; Cao, 2013; p. 235; de Lavigne, 2014).

And on 18th May, 2002, Germany became the first country in the European Union (EU) to bequeath statutory rights to its animals. In 2002, after a lengthy campaign by the Green Party, Germany adjoined a clause to its constitution that is construed as immortalising the safeguarding of animals as a crucial state objective (Natrass, 2004: p. 283; The Guardian, 21 June, 2002; The Guardian, 18 May, 2002; CNN News, 21 June, 2002). It reads, "Mindful also of its responsibility toward future generations, the state shall protect the natural foundations of life and animals by legislation" (Bekoff, 2009: p. 362; Gruber, 2011: p. 124; Thomaz Jr and Michalson, 2014; p. 93). With a vote to insert *und die Tiere*, which means *and the animals* into the supreme law of the country, parliamentarians effectually ordered the state to safeguard the natural foundations of life not only for humans but for animals as well (Kolar, 2005: p. 147; Natrass, 2004: p. 283).

Therefore, it is fair to attest that the elements of identity-based politics and absence of left-wing parties are rather intimately fused together in Malaysia's political structure. This has resulted in inhibiting the animal concerns from being articulated and represented and thus stymieing the APM in the country from evolving as effectively as it might.

4.6.2 The Legislative Branch Does Not Have the Capacity to Develop and Control Policies Independently of the Executive Branch.

As reported by Kitschelt (1986), the legislative branch needs to be strong so that it will not be overridden by the executive branch. Fundamentally, there must be a clear separation of powers between these two so that the state can timely respond to or cater to new demands placed by the public and by interest groups. In Malaysia, there is no absolute separation of powers between these two branches of government, but there is a system of check and balance between them (Hashim, 1984). In order to examine the

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separation of power in Malaysia, the assessment between executive and legislative branches of government will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, there are overlies in the aspect of membership function and power in the executive and legislative branches of the Malaysian government. For example, according to Article 39 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the YDPA has authority in the executive branch. Meanwhile, according to Article 44 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the YDPA has authority in the legislative branch. Therefore, based on the interpretation of these two articles, the YDPA has authority both in the executive and legislative arms of the Malaysian government.

To illustrate further, under Article 40 (2)(a) and Article 43(1) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the YDPA appoints the Prime Minister of Malaysia and the Cabinet to counsel him in the implementation of his tasks as the head of state, respectively. Meanwhile, under Article 45(1) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the YDPA appoints members of the *Dewan Negara* (Senate) who is a part of legislative arm. Furthermore, under Article 66 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the YDPA must sanction a bill before the bill is authorised as an Act. And under Article 150 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the YDPA has the power to execute the role as a legislator when a crisis or emergency strikes the country.

Other than the YDPA, the Prime Minister and Cabinet also have overlays in both branches of the Malaysia government. For example, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet who are in the executive branch are required by Article 32(2)(a) and Article 32(2)(b) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia to be members from either House of Parliament – the *Dewan Negara* (Senate) and the *Dewan Rakyat* (House of Representatives). Furthermore, with respect to the delegated legislations granted by the Parent Act created by the legislative branch, the executive branch may also execute the task of the legislative branch. And as stated by Article 43(3) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the executive branch also is collectively answerable to Parliament during question sessions, debates and motions.

While both, the executive branch and the legislative branch, may interfere in each other's jurisdictions, a system of check and balance is in place. For instance, as stipulated in Article 40(1) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the YDPA who has extensive authoritative power over both the executive branch and legislative branch will act based on the counsel of the Cabinet and Ministers. And according to Article 43(3) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the Parliament may remove the government through a vote of no confidence (Mizan, 2013: p. 2). Under Article 43(3) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, the Parliament also may exercise political regulation over the executive branch through the procedure during question time, deliberations and select committees. Nevertheless, the Parliament is guided entirely by the Federal Constitution of Malaysia as to the authority to pass a law.

While the above explanation is just an example, it demonstrates the problem of overlaps between political power in Malaysia for the APM in the country. Even with a sympathetic legislature, the movement is moderately sluggish unless it also has the executive on its side. For example, despite having the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* prepared by the Ministry of Agriculture and Agro-Based Industry (MOA) and Department of Veterinary Services (DVS), and reviewed by the Attorney General's Chambers (AGC) on time, the Bill was delayed from being presented at Parliament and gazetted because of the overlapping membership, function and power between these two branches. This is because the legislative branch and executive branch are made up of the same components which are the YDPA, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet.

To explain further, even though the legislative branch felt pressure from the public and is sensitive towards the public demand to get the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* passed and gazetted as soon as possible, the head of the legislative branch (YDPA) can only act upon the advice of the Prime Minister. Even though the head of executive branch is the YDPA, he does not hold any real political power and is more symbolic. As such, the YDP is incumbent to act upon the advice of the Prime Minister. As the chief of the executive branch, the Prime Minister heads the Cabinet, which means that he holds the political power to run the government and controls the executive branch. Since animal welfare is not a priority for the executive branch, upon the advice of the PM, the legislative branch delayed the hearing and presentation of the Bill.
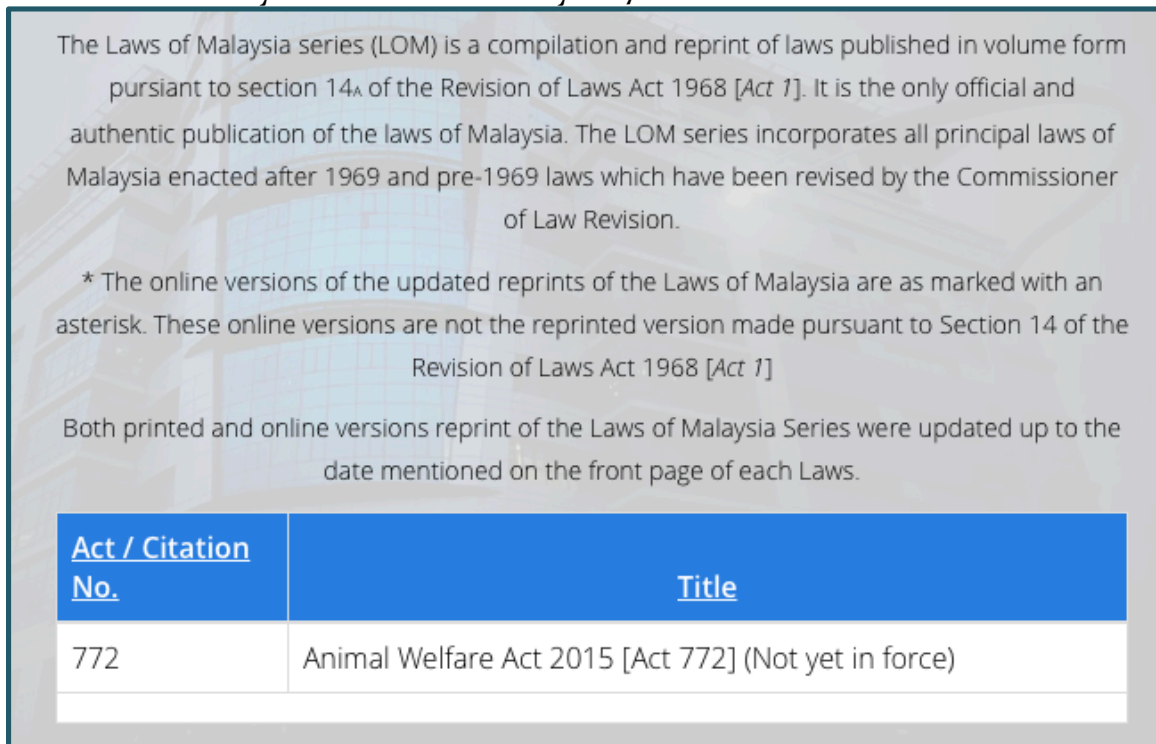
As a result, it is reasonable to claim that the legislative branch in Malaysia is unable to competently develop policies autonomously from the executive. It is possible to see the lack of importance given to the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* and the power the executive has over the legislative branch by noting how long it took the Parliament to pass the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*.

Ordinarily when a new law is introduced, it is debated immediately at Parliament so that both the House of Representatives (Dewan Rakyat) and Senate (Dewan Negara) can endorse it as the country's law. For example, the Security Offences (Special Measures) Act 2012 or Akta Kesalahan Keselamatan (Langkah-Langkah Khas) 2012, abbreviated as SOSMA, was introduced by Malaysia's current Prime Minister in 2012. The Act had its first, second and third hearings at the Parliament on the 10th of April 2012, 16th of April 2012 and 17th of April 2012 respectively. The Act was passed by the House of Representatives (Dewan Negara) on the 17th of April 2012 and followed by the Senate (Dewan Negara) on the 9th of May 2012. The Act was given the royal assent on the 18th of June 2012 and gazetted on the 22nd of June 2012. The law became effective on the 31st of July 2012 (Dhanapal and Sabaruddin, 2017: p. 600; Malaysia Civil and Political Rights Status Report, 2012: p. 1; UPR Submission, 2013: p. 3; Dhanapal and Sabaruddin, 2015: p. 4-5; The Star, 4 November, 2015; The Borneo Post; 27 May 2013; Free Malaysia Today, 22 November 2016; Suhakam Annual Report, 2013: p. 9; The Malaysia Out Look, 15 May 2017; Sinar Harian, 26 May 2013).

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This was not the case for the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*. The Bill was debated for four years (after its re-introduction in 2012 after being shelved away for almost a decade) in the Malaysian Parliament before it was finally passed by the House of Representatives (Dewan Rakyat) on 17th of June 2015 and followed by the Senate on 7th of July 2015 (Hassan and Hameed, 2015: p. 80; The Star, 17 June, 2015; The New Straits Times, 17 June 2015; Free Malaysia Today, 17 June, 2017; Astro Awani, 21 June, 2015; http://www.kualalumpurpost.net/dewan-negara-sitting-adjourned-12-bills-passed/).

Most importantly, despite passing the Bill in 2015, it has yet to be gazzeted, enforced and tested in the courts in Malaysia; in other words, the Bill is currently in a limbo situation. This is primarily because the draft of the Bill has yet to be delivered by MOA to the Attorney General's Chambers (AGC) for approval before it is forwarded by the AGC to the YDPA for the royal assent. **Image 4.6.2 (a)** below, is the evidence showing that the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* is still in a limbo state.

Image 4.6.2 (a) below, was obtained from the Official Portal of the Attorney General's Chambers of Malaysia on the 20th of May 2017.

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* The online versions of the updated reprints of the Laws of Malaysia are as marked with an asterisk. These online versions are not the reprinted version made pursuant to Section 14 of the Revision of Laws Act 1968 [*Act 1*]

Both printed and online versions reprint of the Laws of Malaysia Series were updated up to the date mentioned on the front page of each Laws.

Act / Citation No.	Title
772	Animal Welfare Act 2015 [Act 772] (Not yet in force)

Source:
**http://www.agc.gov.my/agcportal/index.php?r=portal2/lom&menu_id=b21XYmExVUhFOE4wemp
ZdE1vNUVKdz09**

From quite a number of articles in Malaysia's mainstream newspapers, animal welfare activists in the country are crying foul over of the delay to the Animal Welfare Bill 2015. Dissatisfaction is rife as there has been an escalation in animal abuse cases that may have been averted if severe penalties in the new Bill had been implemented. Having said that, the current Director General of DVS, Datuk Dr. Kamaruddin Md Isa, released a press statement indicating that *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* is scheduled to be gazetted and enforced in 2017.   (The New Straits Times, 28 June, 2016, The New Straits Time, 12 February, 2017).[25]

He further states that in the meantime, DVS is safeguarding the welfare of animals through the *Animals Act 1953.* According to him, "DVS is using the *Animals Act 1953* to take action against animal abusers" (The New Straits Times, 12 February, 2017). Nonetheless, as a result of the delay in the enforcement of the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015,* SPCA Selangor patron Tan Sri Lee Lam Thye says there is an increase in pet dumping and abandonment. According to him 60 to 70 pets, comprising cats and dogs, are abandoned at the Selangor SPCA shelter every month (The New Straits Times, 12 February, 2017).

Furthermore, the statements delivered by the Minister of MOA, Dato' Sri Ismail Sabri Yaakob, had certainly created confusion among the Malaysian public and the APM.[26] On several occasions in 2015 he released statements leading to the impression that the Animal Welfare Bill would finally be gazzetted in 2015 (Daily Express, 9 April, 2016; The Rakyat Post, 9 April, 2015; Bernama, 9 April, 2015; Astro Awani, 24 March, 2015; http://ml tic.my/general/news/animal-welfare-bill-2015-tabled-in-dewan-rakyat-MY12220.html). [27] Even SPCA Selangor was also under the false impression that the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* was gazetted on 29th December 2015 (http://www.spca.org.my/news/animal-welfare-act-2015-gazetted/; Daily Express, 9 April, 2016). This makes some wonder whether it will be gazetted in 2017 as promised.

It is certainly true that the passing of the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* by the legislative arm indicated that there were at least some legislators who were sympathetic to animal welfare and responsive to pressure from the public and APM. But the delay in gazetting the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* is a clear indication of its low priority within the

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[25] According to the Director General of DVS, even though regulations under the Animal Welfare Bill have been finalised by DVS, the new laws are pending for the authorisation from MOA. He further claims that DVS has synchronised all of the technical issues, but the "department is waiting for the final approval from the ministry for clauses in the bill to be put into action" (The New Straits Times, 12 February, 2017).

[26] Dato' Sri Ismail Sabri Yaakob was the Minister of MOA from 2013-2015. It was under his administration that MOA re-introduced the Animal Welfare Bill.

[27] Nonetheless, after further research and inquiry, the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* has yet to be gazetted. The gazetting of the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* is pending as a result of MOA delaying its approval of some of the clauses in the bill. The *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* is expected to be gazetted in the middle of year 2017.

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government. From a recent telephone conversation with a senior official from the finance department of MOA, it was revealed that the gazetting of the Bill is pending as a result of the absence of financial allocation for its execution (date of conversation: 18th May 2017).

The *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* is not an incoherent piece of legislation and it is not massively different or much weaker in terms of protection compared to other animal welfare bills around the world. But as a result of insufficient political will and a lack of resources, the desire of the Malaysian government to gazzette and enforce the Animal Welfare Bill 2015 is currently lacking.

4.6.3   Intermediation between Interest Groups and the Executive Branch.

As reported by Kitschelt (1986), a state with political openness allows intermediations between interest groups and its executive branch to take place easily. Intermediations are important for social movements because they will be able to help movements to secure unique traits in terms of "coalitional activities, inter-institutional relations, modes of financing, and representational activities" (Ruzza, 2011: p. 453). For example, according to Carlo Ruzza, in the case of formulating environmental policy in the EU, social movement groups can provide information through intermediations. He elaborates further that through "their scientists and their grassroots bases, social movement groups can provide information which counterbalances the information provided by lobbyists, and which can complement the understanding of social and territorial issues" (Ruzza, 2011: p. 465).

To explain, the evidence from the 2014 fieldwork suggests that the Malaysian government does allow for intermediations to transpire, but on a very limited scale. For example, in the effort of improving and re-drafting the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*, MOA and DVS had engaged the opinions and inputs from the Malaysian public and also the APM in the country.

From the interview sessions with MOA and DVS, I was informed that the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* was originally conceived in 2004. But then, it was shelved since it was not a priority of the Malaysian government; and MOA and DVS were understaffed and underfinanced. From the interviews with the animal protection SMOs, I was informed that they had relentlessly submitted memorandums and petitions, and held meetings and discussions with DVS and MOA demanding for the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* to be formulated, passed and gazetted as quickly as possible.

But, from the interviews with the personnel from the MOA and DVS, I gathered that the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* was put back on the agenda for two primary reasons:

1) Malaysia had the ambition of becoming recognised as a developed society. Thus the government thought that in order for Malaysia to be upgraded to a developed nation status, there was a need to inculcate an animal loving culture in the Malaysian public; and

2) The Malaysian government felt obligated to be the first member country of ASEAN to have an animal welfare law and set an example to be followed by other member countries.

The re-drafting of the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* was given further impetus in 2013. In 2013, the World Organisation for Animal Health (OIE) had its annual conference in Kuala Lumpur and it brought up the issues of animal welfare. As a member of OIE, Malaysia felt obligated to emphasise animal welfare in international trade and at the same time to comply with the requirements of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The WTO regulates husbandry animals' welfare for international trade in relation to five aspects: their treatment; their space; their health; the content of their food; and their care. As a result of that, the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* was re-drafted in order to comply with these incumbent regulations pertaining to husbandry animal welfare in international trade laid out by WTO.

These motivations had encouraged MOA and DVS to push for the re-drafting and formulating of the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*. From an interview session with a senior officer from MOA, he acknowledged that the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia were very proactive in pushing for the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* to be passed and gazetted as soon as possible by the Parliament. According to him, the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia are very knowledgeable and up-to-date with the animal welfare policies pursued by developed countries. He did acknowledge that the pressure received from the animal protection SMOs and public to a certain degree had an effect in getting the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* to be re-drafted.

A senior official from DVS further explained that the newly prepared draft of the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* was made available online to get feedback and pointers from the Malaysian public. As a result, there were more than 300,000 suggestions received from the public for the department to select and use to improve the draft. The draft was published online twice for further improvement and DVS perused each of the ideas and suggestions before formulating the final draft and submitting it to AGC before the legislation was tabled at Parliament.

While the interviews revealed that the animal protection SMOs and Malaysian public had some impact upon getting the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* back on the agenda, the interview sessions also revealed that the primary motivation was not intermediation

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with interest groups. Instead it was about securing developed nation status and cushioning the pressure from international bodies.

Another potential example of intermediation from the Malaysian government in relation to animal issues is by becoming a member both the OIE and the Regional Animal Welfare Coordination Strategic Groups (RAWCSG). Through these memberships, DVS collaborates with Australia, China, India, Korea and Thailand, and other member countries in the pursuit of improving the welfare condition of animals in the country. Nonetheless, this is not an intermediation with interest groups such as the animal protection SMOs or animal activists in the country. Thus, it does not seem to support the idea that the state structure of Malaysia is open in the relevant way.

DVS also had conducted a colloquium pertaining to animal welfare according to the Islamic perspective on the 12th July, 2012. The colloquium concerned issues such as the rearing and caring for livestock, the slaughtering of livestock, the control of the breeding of animals the and disposal of animals due to epidemics – and was based on Islamic viewpoints. Nonetheless, this colloquium catered only for those who were farmers, entrepreneurs, poultry farmers and cattle breeders. The colloquium was not an intermediation activity between DVS and the APM in the country. Instead, it was exclusively aimed at those who would help to expedite the process for Malaysia to secure the *halal hub* certification and set a better example for other Islamic countries to follow.

Another example of an intermediation effort by MOA and DVS has been to conduct workshops on encouraging responsible pet ownership by implanting microchips in pets and obtaining dogs license. DVS also distributed pamphlets pertaining to the *Five Freedom Concepts* for animals: the freedom from thirst and hunger; the freedom from discomfort; the freedom from pain, injury and disease; the freedom to exhibit natural behaviour; and the freedom from fear and suffering. Plus, at the back of the pamphlets, telephone numbers and email addresses were printed for the public to get in touch with when they wanted to lodge a report on animal abuse.

From the explanation above and what had been gathered from the interviews with the government agencies and animal protection SMOs, it can be fairly deduced that intermediation has played a role in the development of animal welfare in the country, but that other factors have proved to be more important. Those factors include: to become a developed society; to be an example for other ASEAN member countries and Islamic countries to follow; and to comply with WTO's mandatory requirements pertaining to husbandry animals in international trade.

Despite being passed as a law in 2015, the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* is still waiting to be gazetted by the Malaysian government.[28] Nonetheless, it is just to arrive at the conclusion that the Bill's eventual success was not a direct result of effective intermediations between the executive branch and the APM in Malaysia, nor the mounting pressure from the Malaysian public for an effective working animal legislation, nor was that the executive branch had finally classified animal welfare as a national priority. Cautiously, it can be understood that the Bill was recently passed because Malaysia had those three aforementioned ambitions to pursue.

Even though there are many examples demonstrating the efforts towards better animal welfare in Malaysia and these examples do show evidence of some links, they are insufficient to secure political opportunities. For example, the German parliament voted to give animal constitutional rights in 2002 because there were political actors and members of the executive branch who were sympathetic to animals. To explain, the reform was campaigned by Renate Knast, who was Germany's agriculture minister and also a member of the Green Party (The Guardian, 18 May, 2002). Meanwhile in Malaysia, the absence of Green Parties in the political structure has made the room for animal welfare negotiations to be constricted; as a result, the negotiations and efforts for animal welfare furtherance become sporadic and not dominant in any kind of formal procedure and rarely relate to the executive branch and the heart of the government.

4.6.4 *Lack of Mechanisms that Aggregate Demands and Procedures to Build Effective Policy Coalitions.*

As maintained by Kitschelt (1986), in order to ensure that the new demands of SMOs are articulated in electoral politics and are not easily dismissed, there must be sustainable procedures to build effective policy coalitions and effective mechanisms to aggregate the demands. In systems like those practised in the United Kingdom, they allow different groups to have direct access to policy-making; and because select committees are independent of government or executive and made up of representatives from across parties, they allow for policy coalitions to be formed.

In the UK, there is a government apparatus known as the Parliamentary Select Committees (PSCs) and they work in both Houses (House of Commons and House of Lords). A PSC is a committee comprised of a small number of Parliamentary members that are chosen to handle and manage a specific issue or area of issues. For example, Lords select committees are specialised in science and technology, economic affairs, the constitution, communications and the EU. Meanwhile, Commons select committees are tasked with scrutinising the work of government departments.

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[28] According to the Current Law Journal (CLJ), which is Malaysia's leading legal information provider, the recently passed animal welfare bill may be cited as the Animal Welfare Act 2015.

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To explain further, in the UK anyone can go to a PSC and place their demands and inquiries. For example, the Royal Society of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) and Animal Welfare Foundation (AWF) can go to a PSC and place their concerns and inquiries regarding animal issues. The pre-appointment hearings enable the PSC to collect evidence and gather information from RSPCA and AWF for certain key public appointments before candidates for a PSC are appointed. According to the UK Parliament "hearings are in public and involve PSC acquiring evidence from the candidate and disclosing a report setting out the committee's assessments on the candidate's suitability for the post. The government will normally present a report to a select committee, either publishing it itself as a Command Paper or sending a memorandum to the committee which can be published as a special report" (https://www.parliament.uk/about/how/committees/select/).

A PSC is a small legislative committee for a special purpose. Every PSC is designed to manage one specific issue thus making it very specific to one area of public policy. For instance, the Public Accounts Committee has a special responsibility to examine the spending of taxpayers' money by the government; the Environmental Audit Committee has the responsibility to evaluate the impact of government policies on the environment; and the Public Administration Select Committee, has a special responsibility to monitor the work of the civil service and screens the work of the Parliamentary Ombudsman (House of Commons Brief Guide, 2011: p. 2).

The main reason for the PSCs to be established is to inspect the diverse facets of public policy and society. Hence, part of their work is to summon and question witnesses with an assured degree of knowledge on the issue of investigation and produce their outcomes in reports. According to the House of Commons Brief Guide, PSCs have the authority to "force people (but not Members of either House), or organisations (but not the Government), to provide evidence" (2011: p. 5). But these seldom happen, the information requested is normally acquired without force. Essentially, the outcomes of these reviews are public and many compel a retort from the government. The PSCs are an imperative component of check and balance on the government and their investigations can precipitate crucial rectifications (House of Commons Brief Guide, 2011: p. 5).

PSCs exist in the British Parliament and also in other Parliaments based on the Westminster model such as Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, Malaysia and New Zealand (Maer and Sandford, 2004). To illustrate, in the Malaysian Parliament there are five PSCs (http://www.cpps.org.my/images/articles/factsheet%20PSC.pdf), which are:

1) **The Selection Committee:** It has a special responsibility to select the members of all PSCs. Its membership is comprised of the President of the Senate/ Speaker who acts as the Chairman of the Selection Committee, and six Council members who are elected by the Legislative Council (CPPS Fact Sheet, p. 2);

2) **The Committee of Public Accounts:** It has a special responsibility to appraise government's expenditure (CPPS Fact Sheet, p. 2);

3) **The Rules Committee Meeting:** It has a special task to deliberate regulations and report back to the Legislative Council on matters that the Legislative Council ordered for the committee to deliberate (CPPS Fact Sheet, p. 2);

4) **The House Committee:** It carries the responsibility as the advisor to the Head of the Parliament in matters relating to facilities and services for the Legislative Council members (CPPS Fact Sheet, p. 2); and

5) **The Committee of Privileges:** It carries the duty to weigh matters handed to them and then issues a statement to the Legislative Council (CPPS Fact Sheet, p. 2).

According to the CPPS Fact Sheet, the Prime Minister of Malaysia had made a public announcement on the 15th of August 2011 that a new PSC would be established to specifically assess and examine the likelihood of open and just elections in the country. Nonetheless, the Parliament and the PSC was immediately dissolved when the date of the 2013 general elections was foreseen (p. 2).

On the 26th of April, 2015 the Former Finance Ministry Secretary General of Malaysia, insisted for the Malaysian Parliament to establish more PSCs if the Parliament wants to be seen as a working institution rather than just a *rubber stamp.* He insisted that select committees need to be made a norm in the Malaysian Parliament and established to supervise various issues. He went further by adding that PSCs should be formed to discuss issues such as democracy, human rights and personal liberties. According to him, PSCs are common in all democracies including Indonesia, and the fact that Malaysia has only one such committee in the form of Public Accounts Committee makes Malaysia look like a poor practitioner of good governance (The Malay Mail, 2015). He articulated that PSCs must be a permanent Parliamentary Committee made up of qualified professionals.

Such a demand was verbalised because in Malaysia (CPPS Fact Sheet at http://www.cpps.org.my):

1) Only the Committee of Privileges and the Committee of Public Accountants have the authority to summon people for face-to-face questioning and send reports and statements to the Council. This means that the power of the PSCs in Malaysia are restricted; they do not have an avenue in place for them to articulate and establish their findings;

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2) Plus, the PSCs in Malaysia do not have a high degree of independence to be effective. This is because they do not have the freedom to select the type of issues to scrutinise and cover; the issues are given to them by the Legislative Council;

3) More importantly, the membership of these PSCs are not comprised of different parties and their appointment is not made be based on their expertise. This is because the selection of these PSCS membership is not selected by the Committee of Selection.

4) Currently, the selection of PSCs membership is made by the Legislative Council by appointing individuals based on their position in the Parliament.

However, I am not suggesting that because of the existence of PSCs, the political structures in Britain are completely open or more open compared to the political structures in Malaysia. The political system in Britain is similarly dominated by the executive arm and there is evidence from political science research that many policy areas are dominated by a small group of actors made up of politicians, civil servants and a selective number of pressure groups.

For example, according to Garner "no animal protection organisation (and few other pressure groups for that matter) has achieved the close relationship that exists between the National Farmers' Union and the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, and the privileged position given to farmers as a result obviously reduces the chances of significant reforms to factory farming" (1993: p. 344). And Dan Lyons' book, *The Politics of Animal Experimentation,* argues that policy networks in British politics are characterised by "exclusive membership, close integration between state actors and certain groups and consensus (policy communities)" which will gravitate towards generating results that will constantly favour network members (2013: p. 6). According to Lyons, animal welfare considerations are neglected by the government because policy outcomes are produced in favour of these elite interests and at the expense of excluded animal advocate groups (2011, 2013).

On the other hand, Malaysia does have other mechanisms in place to aggregate demands and procedures to build effective policy coalitions such as the Election Commission of Malaysia (ECM), Judicial Appointments Commission (JAC), Public Service Commission Malaysia (PSC), Education Service Commission Malaysian (ESCM) and the Public Complaints Bureau (PCB). But these bodies are under the purview of the Prime Minister's Department (http://www.eghrmis.gov.my/direktori/item/436-agensi-dibawah-jabatan-perdana-menteri.html), indicating that they are not as independent, objective and effective as they should be.

For example, the *Suruhanjaya Pencegah Rasuah Malaysia* (SPRM) is a single and independent body that handles incidents and activities associated with corruption and is the key stanchion of anti - corruption initiatives in Malaysia. It is a government agency that investigates and prosecutes corruption in both sectors: public and private. There are five independent bodies that oversee SPRM to secure its nobility and to safeguard citizens' rights. They are the Anti-Corruption Advisory Board; the Special Committee on Corruption; the Complaints Committee; the Operations Review Panel; and the Corruption Consultation and Prevention Panel (Suruhanjaya Pencegah Rasuah Malaysia, 2016). These five bodies are managed independently from other government offices in order to provide an autonomous perspective. Having said that, SPRM is currently under the purview of the Prime Minister's Department.

Therefore, despite being a single and an independent entity with five independent monitoring bodies, the SPRM is not as sovereign and effective as it should be. In the pursuit of investigating the most controversial case of corruption and money embezzlement by the current Prime Minister of Malaysia, SPRM is immobilised. In the course of investigating the *1MDB* case, the task force that was established by SPRM specifically for the case was abolished on August 5th, 2015 based on the advice of Malaysia's new Chief of Justice.[29] Plus, its Director of Special Operations and Director of Strategic Communications were immediately transferred out of SPRM and had to face disciplinary actions. The transferred Director of Special Operations was the backbone and brain to the investigation of the accounts of SRC International Sdn. Bhd., a subsidiary company associated with the *1MDB* scandal. The previous Chief of Justice was also removed from his office as a result of his advice regarding further investigations into the *1MDB* scandal (Astro Awani, 5 August, 2015; The Malaysian Times, 8 August, 2015; Free Malaysia Today, 8 August, 2015; MStar, 4 August, 2015; Harakah Daily, 6 August, 2015; Harakahdaily, 7 August, 2015; Buletin Online, 28 July, 2015; Astro Awani, 28 July, 2015; MStar, 9 August, 2015; Malaysia Kini, 8 August, 2015; Berita Harian, 8 August, 2015).

From this example, it can be understood that SPRM is an entity that is important for political openness. However, the positioning of SPRM under the purview of the Prime Minister's office has constricted its scope of independence and authority. As a result, SPRM has failed to be an independent body to effectively execute its tasks because it is being dictated by the Prime Minister's Office.

The Malaysian National Animal Welfare Foundation (MNWAF) is an example of a mechanism that can be used to create effective policy coalitions between the APM in Malaysia and the state. The MNWAF Council is under the patronage of MOA and its

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[29] 1Malaysia Development Bhd (1MDB) is a "state investment fund that came under investigation for alleged impropriety in July 2015, after reports emerged that investigators traced some US$700 million wired into Prime Minister Najib Razak's bank accounts. Both the fund and the premier denied wrongdoing, but the Attorney General launched an investigation into alleged graft. 1MDB was 42 billion ringgit (GBP 7.9 billion) in debt at the time of the scandal" (The Wall Street Journal, 2 July 2015).

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Chairman is the Director of DVS. But at the moment MNWAF is more focused to: "generate awareness and responsibility of all residents in Malaysia on animal welfare; develop strategies and programs to promote animal welfare; undertake projects that will promote understanding and the practices of animal welfare; disseminate information on animal welfare through various media to the public, schools, community centres and other target groups; collect and generate funds to undertake animal welfare projects; and undertake any other activities related to animal welfare" (MNAWF, 1998).

However, as a result of Malaysia's delicate but archaic political orientation, it is difficult for new interests to be articulated in the country's conventional political system. With MNWAF and DVS not independent of MOA's mandates and directives, it is believed that animal interests in the country are still largely overlooked and encumbered. This is because, the minister and deputy minister of MOA are senior members of UMNO and also the National Front *(Barisan Nasional – BN)*, and these are the oldest, most dominant, and most old-fashioned identity-based political entity and political coalition in Malaysia. Since animals are not associated with any identity nor do they belong to any ethnic group, it is therefore believed that their interests are still largely side-lined since MNAWF and DVS can only develop strategies and execute activities which are mandated by MOA.

We now know that one of the most effective ways that a political system can aggregate demands of different groups is through mechanisms such as select committees and independent bodies. But as we have seen, while Malaysia does have the tools and mechanisms for the aggregation of demands and procedures to build effective policy coalitions, these mechanisms are not as accessible or independent as they should be. The range of their authority, power, competence, responsibility, concern, vision, or intention is being restricted and tampered with.

While these are just some examples, we can see, then, that in comparison to so many other countries like the UK, Malaysia is indeed lacking effective and practical mechanisms that can aggregate demands and also procedures to build effective policy coalitions. These examples suggest that under Kitschelt's (1986) analytical framework, the state structure in Malaysia is deemed to be moderately *closed* in nature – indicating that the political opportunities for interest groups, including those who are concerned with animal protection and welfare are hampered and restricted.

4.7   Conclusion.

The four criteria outlined by Kitschelt (1986) demonstrate the nature of an *open state structure* that encourages NSMs to be effective and proactive. According to Kitschelt (1986), it is imperative for a state structure to be *open* in order for genuine political opportunities for interest groups to be available. In short, political opportunities are pertinent in facilitating or constraining a movement.

Conversely, according to Dryzek et al. (2003) a social movement can grow and thrive in *closed* state structures provided it becomes confrontational and eventually manages to link its defining interests with state's central policies. While it is true that both Malaysia and Germany have closed state structures where they have difficult access to state bureaucracies for everyone except corporate actors and political parties, there is still a crucial difference between the two. Crucially, Malaysia has restrictive statues in place limiting the activities of radical oppositional movements. This is because, Malaysia is an *actively exclusive state* compared to Germany who is a *passively exclusive state.*

As a result of this difference, the chapter adopted Kitschelt's (1986) analytical framework to explore Malaysia's state structure. This was to test the accuracy of the first hypothesis of the study whether the APM in Malaysia is stymied due to lack of political opportunities because of Malaysia's *closed state structure*. After Kitschelt's (1986) four criteria and Garner's (1999, 2004) analysis were incorporated into Malaysia's state structure, it was established that Malaysia has a *fairly closed state structure.*

After the integration of Kitschelt's analytical framework it was discovered that despite having a multi-party political system, every political party participating in the system is an identity based political party. It was also revealed that the absence of left-wing parties in the political structure has inhibited the articulation of demands for the marginalised groups, which also includes animal welfare and animal protection. It was also disclosed that the legislative branch in Malaysia does not have the capacity to develop and control policies independently of the executive branch. It was also unearthed that intermediations between the executive branch and animal protection SMOs are possible, but rare. Finally, it was also unveiled that Malaysia does have some apparatus and mechanisms to aggregate demands and procedures to build effective coalitions. But they are ineffective and partial because they are not as accessible or independent of the government as they could be.

Therefore, it is confirmed that Malaysia has a *fairly closed state structure* - or in Dryzek et al's (2003) term, Malaysia has a moderately *active exclusive state.* This is because in Malaysia there are laws constraining the public sphere. And this shows that Malaysia does take a stand to repress certain interests. As mentioned earlier, an *active* state "intervenes to try to affect the content and power of interests present in civil society" (Dryzek et al, 2003: p. 7). Most importantly, the lack of political opportunities has a detrimental impact on the advancement of the APM in Malaysia because of the paucity of intermediation channels between the movement and the political elites in the political system. As a result, the APM does not have sufficient opportunity to link the defining interests of the movement to the state's current and emerging imperatives.

As a result of this unfavourable circumstance, the APM in the country is *moderately repressed* from accessing and securing the much desired political opportunities and political support. This has negated and impeded the APM from being effective and

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proactive. The vibrancy of the APM in Malaysia is affected by the country's state structure. The success story of the anti-nuclear movement in Germany cannot be repeated in Malaysia's moderately closed state structure because, other than surviving in an environment that is deprived of political opportunities, the movement does not have the liberty to be radical because there are many laws in place to curb and regulate the public sphere in the country.

For example, the Majlis Keselamatan Negara (MKN) or the National Security Council (NSC) Act which was passed by the Malaysian Parliament, gazetted and enforced in Malaysia on 22nd December 2015, 18th February 2016 and 1st August 2016 respectively, is vehemently criticised for being the most controversial Act in the country (Malaysia Kini, 9 June, 2016; The Malay Mail, 20 September, 2016). Unusually, it was passed and gazetted without any amendments and most importantly without royal assent (Free Malaysia Today, 28 August, 2016; Free Malaysia Today 10 June, 2016).

According to Asia One, the MKN Act gives the Malaysian Prime Minister absolute powers; with this Act he extended his policing powers (9 June, 2016). This is because, "the law, which Najib said was needed to combat terrorism, was pushed through on the final day of the parliamentary session in December, creating a National Security Council with broad powers to create *security areas* where police can conduct searches without warrants and impose curfews......The security council, which will include the prime minister and be majority controlled by members of his political party, won't be required to provide explanations or justifications for its decisions" (CNBC, 31 July, 2016). Above all, according to James Chin, "There's no way anyone can overrule the prime minister. Effectively, he will get what he wants. It sends a strong signal to the population of Malaysia and also the opposition that he's all-powerful"(CNBC, 31 July, 2016).

Some have claimed that the MKN Act was immediately enforced in tandem with the Malaysian government's attempts to curtail the Malaysian public sphere by preventing freedom of speech among Malaysians. In recent years, the Malaysian government administration under the current Prime Minister has used the Sedition Act 1969 and other laws to arrest critics, incarcerate opposition leaders and restrict media freedom by suspending newspapers permits and blocking internet web sites. According to the Executive Director of Suara Rakyat Malaysia (SUARAM), Sevan Doraisamy, "there is a high possibility that the NSC Act will be aggressively enforced on the Malaysian civil society and its movements each time the Prime Minister feels threatened and exposed" (Malaysia Kini, 3 December, 2015; Malaysia Kini, 3 December, 2015; Malaysia Kini, 29 June, 2016 ; The Malay Mail, 25 August, 2016; Malaysia Today, 25 August, 2016; Free Malaysia Today, 9 June, 2016; The Malaysian Times, 9 November, 2016; Sinar Harian, 27 June, 2016; Free Malaysia Today, 27 July, 2016; Free Malaysia Today, 10 June, 2016).

Furthermore, according to Ei Sun Oh, in an email interview with CNBC, "under the current oppressive political climate, there is legitimate fear that the law may be abused to

stifle dissents, such as expressed in peaceful street protests which should have been a fundamental right to assemble" (CNBC, 31 July 2016). As a result, the Act is being translated to have negative and detrimental effects on Malaysia's civil society and its society's fundamental freedoms (The Rakyat Post, 9 December, 2016).[30]

Another example of a law restricting the activities of radical SMOs is the SOSMA Act. It is a controversial law "to provide for special measures relating to security offences for the purpose of maintaining public order and security and for connected matters" (The Malay Mail, 21 November, 2016). The Act is to replace the 1960 Internal Security Act (Malaysia). Human Rights Watch claim that there are provisions in SOSMA that diminish human rights protections, including "an overly broad definition of a security offense, allowing police rather than courts to authorize interception of communications during investigations, and permitting prosecutors to conceal the source of evidence and to keep the identities of witnesses' secret, thereby preventing cross-examination. Even if a suspect is acquitted under SOSMA, the law permits a series of appeals, with bail disallowed, that could result in a suspect's indefinite detention" (Human Rights Watch, 2013: p. 1). As emphasised by Mickey Speigel, "unfortunately, this new bill does not go far enough to protect the fundamental rights and freedoms of Malaysians" (2012: p. 1).

Nonetheless, things are different in Germany; it has a very strong set of political and civil liberties because it has a strong set of fundamental rights. Fundamental rights in the German Constitution (*Grundrechte*) are a set of rights promised to the German people through their Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*). For instance, Germany's constitutional court had abrogated segments of a security law amplifying police powers to combat terrorism at a time when law enforcement agencies throughout the continent were pressing for more instruments to cope with the escalating peril. The court invalidated the terrorism laws which expanded police powers because there were issues with the way some of the powers were framed, such as the use of secret surveillance measures to counteract international terrorism (Financial Times, 20 April, 2016).

With these factors in mind, it is reasonable to claim that the laws in Malaysia constrain radical groups more than the laws in Germany do. As a result, we can reasonably say that while Germany represents a *passively exclusive state*, Malaysia represents a moderately *active exclusive state*. As stated by Dryzek, "an active exclusion implies that a state that attacks and undermines the conditions of public association in civil society" and "passive exclusion implies a state that simply leaves civil society alone (1996: p. 482). This could be the most important difference between Germany and Malaysia and the

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[30] Suara Rakyat Malaysia or better known by its abbreviation *SUARAM*, (Malay for "Voice of the Malaysian People") is a human rights organisation in Malaysia created in 1987 after *Operation Lalang,* when 106 opposition, unions, activist leaders were detained without trial under the Internal Security Act. In 1989, the detainee support group, ISA detainees and other activist groups decided to form SUARAM, whose primary object was to campaign for the abolition of the ISA and detention without trial. SUARAM later evolved into other areas of human rights and environmental rights.

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answer as to why the historical achievement of the anti-nuclear movement in Germany is impossible to be replicated by the APM in Malaysia.

Chapter 5: Hypothesis III
The Animal Protection Movement (APM) in Malaysia is Stymied due to Low Levels of Post-Materialist Value and Overpowering Cultural Beliefs in the Country

5.1   Introduction.

The previous chapter found that political opportunities have an important effect on the animal protection movement (APM) in Malaysia. While there are some but limited opportunities for access and influence, the basic state structure was found to be *closed*, and thus stymieing the ability of the APM to achieve its goals and core aims. Another factor which has been argued to affect the success of social movements, is the types of value and belief within a society. Indeed, as we have seen, Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997) has famously proposed the theory that new social movements (NSMs), such as APMs, require post-materialist values within a society in order to thrive.

If Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997), is correct, we should not expect Malaysia to have a large and powerful APM because, as an industrial country and a non-post-materialist society, it is assumed that there is a lack of post-materialist values and other powerful cultural attitudes within the society. And indeed, a survey by the World Values Survey (WVS), which was carried out for the period 2010-2014, showed that only 5.6% of the Malaysian population held post-materialist values The data of this survey was collected in 2011 involving 1,300 participants from Malaysia.[31] The survey employed Inglehart's 4-item index in measuring materialism or post-materialism in Malaysia. The following survey question was the starting point: "If you had to choose among the following things, which are the two that seem most desirable to you?" (http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org /WVSOnline.jsp):

1) Maintaining order in the nation;

2) Giving the people more say in important political decisions;

3) Fighting rising prices; or

4) Protecting freedom of speech.

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[31] The survey by WVS for the period 2005-2009, indicated that only 7% of the Malaysian population held post-materialist values. The data of this survey was collected in 2006, involving 1,200 participants from Malaysia (http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp).

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Even though the 4-item index is only a rough measure for values and value changes, it not only taps into a vast range of inclinations, but is also perceptive to short-term influences. For example, according to Inglehart, "temporarily high inflation or unemployment may lead to decreasing shares of post-materialism, while high rates of economic growth may enhance the trend towards post-materialism" (1997: p. 58-59).

It is the critical aim of this chapter to ascertain whether the lack of post-materialist values in Malaysia is stymieing its APM from progressing and making positive changes regarding the treatment of animals in the country. The second hypothesis will be tested by exploring Inglehart's three contributing factors to post-materialism: economic growth, level of education and age (Inglehart 1977, 1990, 1997). The chapter will also explore whether long-standing cultural beliefs are withholding the adoption of post-materialist values and thus inhibiting the APM itself.

Therefore, this chapter will argue that elements such as Malaysia's economic status and development, the inferiority of Malaysia's youth towards their older age cohorts, the level of education among Malaysians and the intense of influential cultural beliefs in Malaysia are negating the permeation of post-materialist values in the country.

This chapter is divided into six main sections. The first main section elaborates on the very idea of post-materialism based on Inglehart's three premises. The second main section offers a brief prelude of the type of documents and data examined. The next three sections are dedicated to each of Inglehart's contributing factors to post-materialist values: economic development; age; and level of education. In each case, the factor's prevalence in fostering or hindering the adoption of post-materialist values in Malaysia will be examined. The final section examines the impact of long-standing cultural beliefs on the adoption of post-materialist values in Malaysia. A brief concluding section addresses the hypothesis as to whether the lack of post-materialist values has encumbered the APM in Malaysia.

5.2   Post-Materialism.

Inglehart first conceived the term post-materialism in 1977 in his book, *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Inglehart postulated that Western societies were undergoing value orientation in the 1970s, refocusing from economic and material security to freedom of expression and quality of life (Inglehart, 1977).

There are two ideas that clarify the logic of the transferal in individual and societal preferences from survival-based needs to needs related to values. First is the *scarcity hypothesis*, that holds "one's priorities reflect one's socioeconomic environment so that one places greatest subjective value on those things that are in relatively short supply"

(Inglehart, 1990: p. 56). Second is the *socialisation hypothesis*, where "one's basic values reflect the conditions that prevailed during one's pre-adult years" (Inglehart, 1990: p. 56).

Inglehart (1990), explicates that the transference from materialist to post-materialist ideals especially among Western citizens mirrored an adjustment from a setting in which subsistence was perilous, to a post Second World War where most failed to properly appreciate survival. To illustrate, as a result of the exceptional wealth and the absence of war, those who were born in post-industrial countries post Second World War, placed reduced importance on economic, material and physical security compared to their older age cohorts. This is because, the post Second World War generation had the opportunity to experience their developmental years in reasonable wealth and stability. Not only that, the welfare state strengthened the impression that survival was tamper-proof. Inglehart also sees that the increasing status of education contributed to the transference to post-materialist ideals and also the changes in political doctrine and behaviour (1990: p. 6).

For Inglehart (1990), economic affluence and better education are the reasons why younger generation gravitate to and give higher priority to non-material needs such "as sense of community and quality of life". And according to Inglehart the shift from material to non-material needs contributes to an "intergenerational value change" that had progressively transformed the political and cultural standards of these post-industrial societies (1990: p. 56).

Inglehart (1990), claims that the rise of the NSMs owes much to the gradually increasing level of political proficiencies among "mass publics", as edification becomes more prevalent and "political information" more universal. But he elaborates further that the prominence of new value priorities has also been a pertinent factor. For instance, the upsurge of the environmentalism movement is not purely due to the fact that the environment is at peril. This progress, partly, happened because the public has become more alert and perceptive to the quality of the environment that is gradually degenerating. And the same goes for the women's rights movement today. It exists not because women are more disadvantaged today than they were a few decades ago. But it exudes the idea that women in advanced industrial societies place a greater importance on self-fulfillment and on the opportunity to have a career outside the house. Inglehart asserts that the rise of new values constitutes a "key element in any explanation of why a new ideological perspective has risen" (Inglehart, 1990: p. 374).

Post-materialism is crucial to NSMs because Inglehart (1977, 1990,1997) asserts that it brings about new ideals and ideologies through the younger age cohorts, which are then expressed through NSMs (Klandermans, 1990; Kreisi, 1989; Offe, 1990). For instance, according to Hans-Georg Betz (1990: p. 239-241) and Ferdinand Muller-Rommel (1985), the rise of post-materialism seems to be particularly significant in contributing to environmental movements and parties in post-industrial countries. This is because, people in post-industrial countries started to challenge the "representation of nature as

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resources for economic exploitation and progress" (Dwivedi, 2001: p. 14). According to Tarrow (1985) and Offe (1985), the emergence of environmental movements in the 1960s and 1970s were in contrast with the old class based politics of labour movements from the industrial era. With the influence of post materialism, the environmental movements were perceived as new movements trying to accomplish drastic or radical changes by altering the culture rather than taking over the economy and the state (Offe, 1985).

To reiterate, Inglehart's (1977, 1990, 1997) research claims that post-materialist values which are accentuated "on quality of life, community, self-expression and human and political rights, rather than issues of sustenance and security", have become more prominent in Western societies since the latter's basic needs have apparently already been achieved for the majority. As such, NSMs based around environmentalism, animal activism, gender rights and women's rights, which are less class or economically based than past movements, have also appeared and ascended to prominence within those societies (Schlosberg, 1999: p. 30).

5.3   Post-Materialist Values in Malaysia.

The survey by WVS for 2005-2009 revealed that only 7% of the Malaysian population held post-materialist values. As such, Inglehart's (1977, 1990, 1997) theory would suggest that any NSMs which have risen to reflect such values – such as animal protection groups – are unlikely to be prominent and widely supported within a country such as Malaysia. One key aim of this thesis is to test whether this hypothesis is correct. As such, thorough fieldwork was conducted from August 2014 until October 2014 to gather and collate evidence.

In order to confirm if the hypothesis was accurate or inaccurate, statistical documents from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), and Department of Statistics Malaysia (DSM) were studied and analysed. The data from IMF and WB was pertinent in translating the level of economic growth and education in Malaysia. Meanwhile the statistical data from DSM was relevant to observe and study the breakdown of the total population between the older and younger citizens in the country. Interviews with the officials from the Ministry of Agriculture and Agro-Based Industry (MOA) and Department of Veterinary Service (DVS), animal protection social movement organisations (SMOs), animal shelter and sanctuary operators, animal activists and rescuers and officials from the Local Authority agency were also used to gain a richer picture of the cultural beliefs and attitudes of Malaysia as a whole. Such interviews were particularly invaluable in addressing whether such beliefs were holding back the adoption of post-materialist values in Malaysian society, a question that is addressed in **Section 5.8** of the chapter.

5.4   Economic Development in Malaysia and Post-Materialist Values.

The term Newly Industrialised Countries (NIC), is employed to describe countries whose economic development have not yet arrived at the *advanced* or *developed* status but have outperformed their developing counterparts (Bozyk, 2006: p. 164; Mittal, 2014: p. 2; https://www.britannica.com/topic/newly-industrialized-country)[32].

The NICs started to be acknowledged when countries such as those of Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan experienced expeditious industrial development throughout the second half of the 20th century (Fujimoto, 2006: p. 1; Berger, 2004: p. 3; Schmiegelow, 1991: p. 134). Several other countries such as Argentina, Brazil, China, India, Malaysia, Mexico, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey and Russia, industrialised during the late 20th and early 21st centuries (Aykut and Goldstein, 2006: p. 8, 2007: p. 87; International Egg Commission Review, 2015: p. 4).

Malaysia belongs in the NIC category together with Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey and South Africa (Colombijn, 2005: p. 86; Singh, 2008: p. 221; Siddiquee, 2013: p. 18; Lim, Ghazali and Ho, 2011: p. 2683-2684; Ricken and Malcotsis, 2016). However, the IMF categorised these countries as NICs as of June 2011 (Mittal, 2014: p. 2; International Egg Commission Review, 2015: p. 4; Kuepper, 2016; Investopedia, 2016; https://www.britannica.com/topic/newly-industrialized-country). **Table 5.4 (a)** on the next page illustrates the newly NIC classified countries by the IMF in 2011.

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[32] Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) are countries that have not arrived at the robust level of economic achievements that Japan, the US and countries in Western Europe have. But the standards of living in NICs are significantly higher and better compared to the living standards in developing countries. NICs are basically economies that have transformed from agriculture based to construction, mining and manufacturing based industry and they have more trade affairs and negotiations with foreign countries (https://www.thebalance.com/what-are-newly-industrialized-countries-nics-1978978).

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Table 5.4 (a):
Countries Classified as NICs as of June 2011 by the International Monetary Fund (IMF)

Region	Country
Europe	Turkey
North America	Mexico
South America	Brazil
Africa	South Africa
East Asia	China
South Asia	India
South East Asia	Indonesia Malaysia Philippines Thailand

Developing countries are customarily identified as those with a low living standard, weak industrial base, and low Human Development Index (HDI) relative to others (Hammond *et al* 2014: p. 172). NICs possess some of these economically unfavourable characteristics, but are distinctly moving into the economic path to gradually become countries with freer, stronger and developed economy. NICs are characterised to have "increased economic freedom, increased personal liberties, transition from agriculture to manufacturing, the presence of large national corporations, strong foreign direct investment, increased free trade with other nations in the world and rapid growth in urban centres as a result of migration into cities from rural areas"(Kuepper, 2016; http://www.infoplease.com/cig/economics/world-economies.html; http://www.investop edia.com/terms/n/newly-industrialized-country.asp).

In economic terms, Malaysia is an upper middle-income country (World Economic Situation and Prospects 2012: p. 137). An economy, which was primarily based on the exports of its agricultural products at the time of its independence, has evolved into a growingly broad-based and diversified economy with an expanding industrial base.

In the early phase of independence, Malaysia's economic activity was based primarily on commodities. Malaysia placed high economic dependence "on rubber and tin which contributed 70% of its total export earnings, 28% of government revenue and 36% of total employment. In the period 1957 to 1970, the economy grew by 6% per annum with the private sector acting as the main contributor to Malaysia's economic growth" (Economic Planning Unit, 2015).

As a result of the progress achieved in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors, Malaysia emerged with a richer, wider and stronger economic base towards the end of 1960s. Therefore, by the beginning of the 1970s, the first phase of the transformation of the Malaysian economy began when manufacturing sector assumed an increasingly important role in the expansion of the Malaysian economy. Nonetheless, the country's economic growth "began to slow down in the early 1980s mainly due to a prolonged recession", followed by the collapse of oil prices for the second time in 1979. The fall in export commodity prices had a negative impact on Malaysia's economic growth and export earnings (Economic Planning Unit, 2015).

Following the economic crisis in the early 1980s, the Malaysian government initiated several measures for economic restructuring in 1983. The following are the three examples of the many measures executed by the Malaysian government in restructuring its economy (Economic Planning Unit, 2015):

1) Reducing the government's fiscal deficit by controlling the public sector expenditure;

2) Allowing the private sector to drive Malaysia's growth strategy. For this purpose, the government introduced the liberalisation and deregulation of the economy and improved the investment policies and incentives to encourage private sector involvement to become more dynamic and robust; and

3) In order to accelerate growth, the efficiency of the public sector was enhanced by reforming the government administrative and institutional systems; by privatising some of the public sector agencies and enterprises.

Throughout the early and mid-1990s, Malaysia experienced rapid economic growth; its gross domestic product (GDP) grew constantly by 8.5% per annum with per capita income doubled. Such a favorable macroeconomic environment had attracted a large influx of investment and contributed to the growth of the (Economic Planning Unit, 2015).

Malaysia has experienced a momentous structural transformation to emerge as a leading exporter of manufacturing products to the international market. Now Malaysia ultimately focuses on export-oriented industrialisation. The metamorphosis of its economy conjointly with its governmental efforts to promote exports has earned Malaysia the NIC status (Siddiquee, 2013: p. 18)

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5.4.1 Malaysia's Economic Growth in Comparison to the UK and the US's.

The heart of Inglehart's (1977, 1990, 1997) post-materialism theory concerns the level of economic development within a society. According to Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997), advanced industrialised societies adopt post-materialist values due to robust economic growth, which means that the size of its middle-income group becomes very large, which in turn indicates that the society has achieved economic and physical security. Furthermore, with steady economic growth comes improved levels of education. The combination of steady economic growth, steady physical security and improved level of education, according to Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997), contributes to the birth and practice of post-materialist ideals.

The following **Graph 5.4.1 (a)** exhibits the annual GDP growth rate for the UK.

Graph 5.4.1 (a): The Annual GDP Growth Rate for the UK
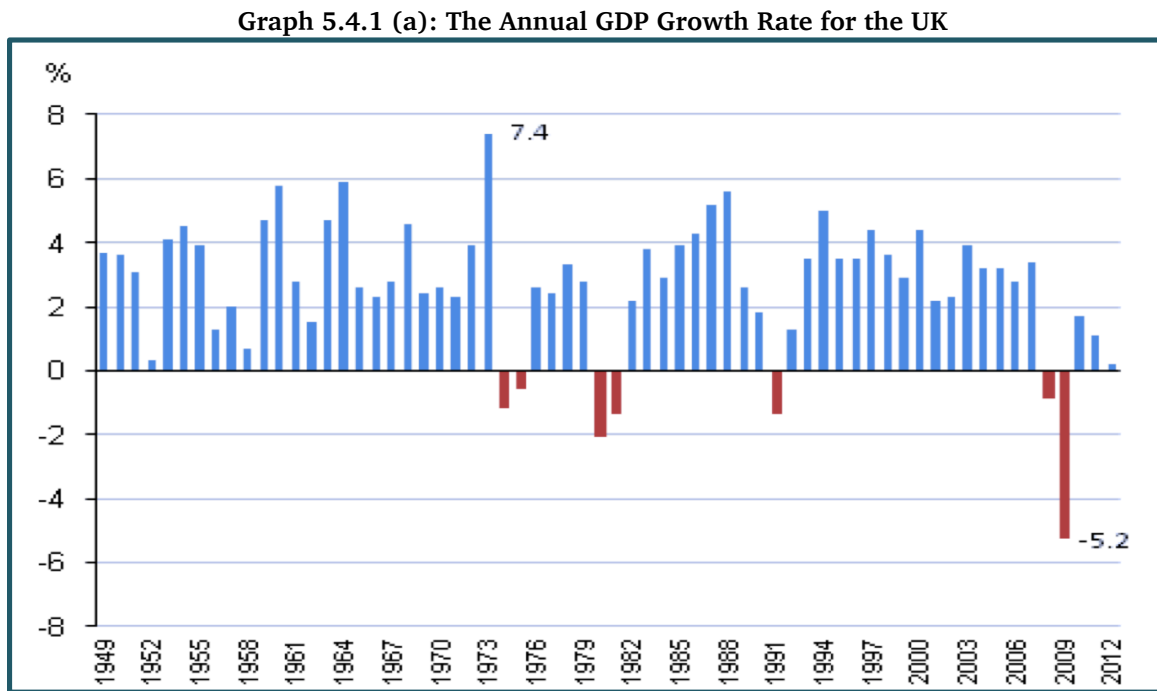
Source: Office for National Statistics (ONS), 2013.

According to the Office of National Statistics (ONS), the annual GDP growth for the UK was averaged at 2.60% from 1948 until 2013 (23rd August 2013). Malva Govori added that the IMF documented that the UK annual growth rates "averaged 2.68% between 1992 and 2007" (2014: p. 16). This indicates that if the economy grew at a "constant 2.6% every year since 1948, the growth rate would be at the same level as it is now" (http://www.tradingeconomics.com/united-kingdom/gdp-growth-annual). Referring to **Graph 5.4.1 (a)** above, it can be seen that "the highest annual rate of growth for the UK was 7.4% in 1973, while the sharpest downturn in a single year was -5.2% in 2009" (Office of National Statistics, 23 August, 2013).

Meanwhile, the annual GDP growth rate for the US "averaged 3.23% from 1948 until 2015, reaching an all-time high of 13.40% in the fourth quarter of 1950 and a record low of -4.1% in the second quarter of 2009" (http://www.tradingeconomics.com/united-state s/gdp-growth-annual). Referring to the following **Graph 5.4.1(b),** we could estimate that in the 1950s and 1960s the average growth rate of the US economy was above 4%. And in the 1970s and 1980s its GDP growth rate dropped to around 3%. The US economy entered a double dip recession from 1980 until 1982 (Elkwell, 2012) and its GDP growth "slid back to negative after a quarter or two of positive growth. A double-dip recession refers to "a recession followed by a short-lived recovery, followed by another recession" (Brown, 2013; p. 22; Navarro, 2012: p. xxx; Srote, 2010: p. 23).

Graph 5.4.1 (b): The Annual GDP Growth Rate for the US

UNITED STATES GDP ANNUAL GROWTH RATE

SOURCE: WWW.TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | U.S. BUREAU OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

Source: http://www.tradingeconomics.com/united-states/gdp-growth-annual
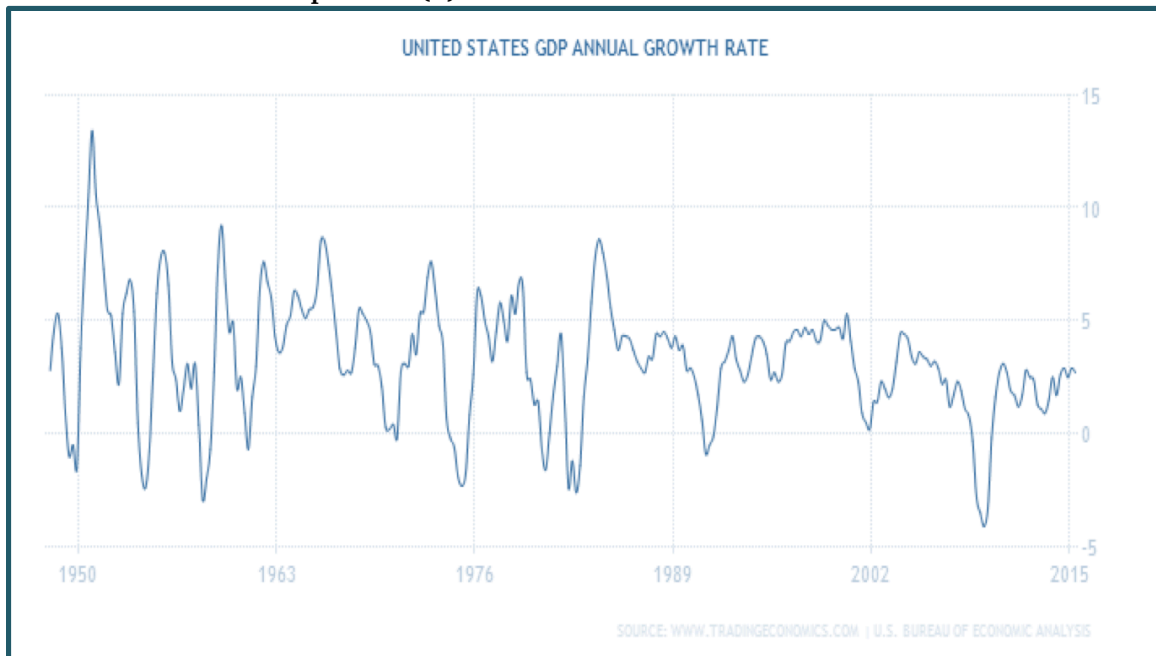
The literature reviews in Chapter 2 presented academic evidence and findings, which showed the rise of NSMs in advanced industrial societies in the 1970s. Confirming Inglehart's argument, NSMs grew in societies with steady and robust economic growth. Therefore, from the GDP growth rate graphs, **Graph 5.4.1 (a)** and **Graph 5.4.1 (b)**, of the UK and the US, we can see vividly that both of these countries had the highest economic growth in the 1970s. Such robust economic growth became the impetus to the birth of massive NSMs in the UK and US.[33]

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[33] The economic growth comparison is measured based on the gross domestic product (GDP) of each country. This is because the GDP "measures the national income and output for a given country's economy. The GDP is equal to the total expenditures for all final goods and services produced within the country in a stipulated period of time. The comparison is based on GDP instead of Gross National Product (GNP) because GDP is one of the primary indicators that is used to gauge the health of a country's economy. It represents the total dollar value of all good and services produced over a specific time period; it reflects the size of the economy" (http://www.investopedia.com/ask/answers/199.asp; http://www.inves

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However, it is a different picture when it comes to Malaysia. From the following **Graph 5.4.1 (c)**, we can see unequivocally that Malaysia had a dreadfully slow economic growth since independence until the late 1960s.[34]

Graph 5.4.1 (c): Malaysia GDP Growth (1957-2013)

Source: http://www.tradingeconomics/malaysia/gdp
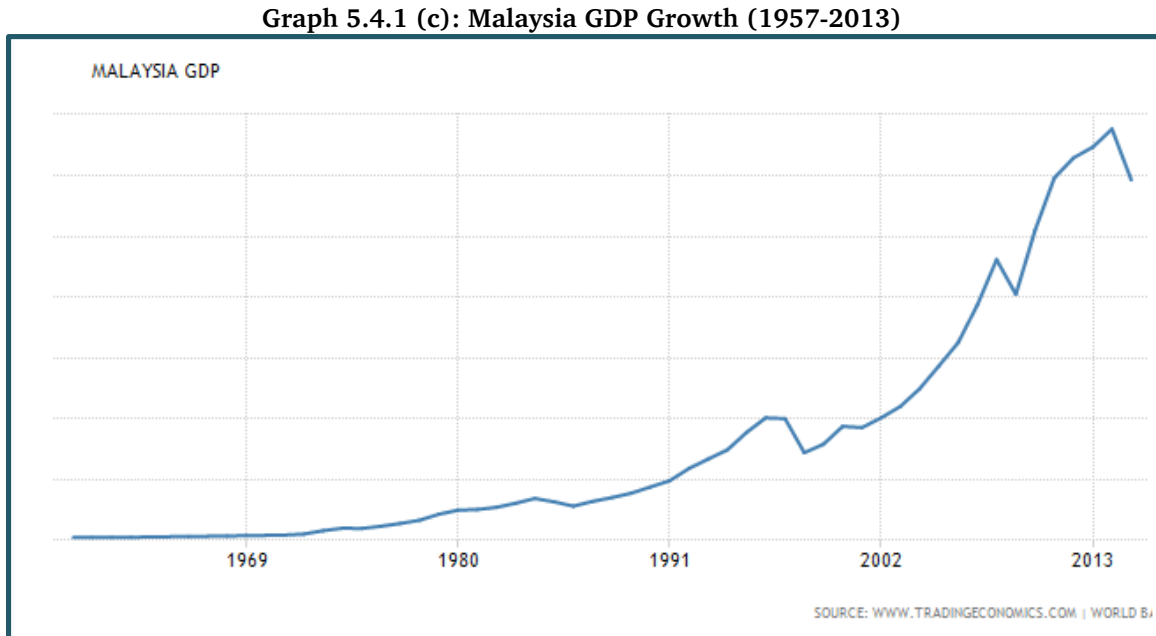
As exhibited in **Graph 5.4.1 (c)** above, the Malaysian economy began to progressively pick up momentum in the 1970s. That was the period when Malaysia switched from an agricultural economy to a manufacturing industry. Such transformation enabled Malaysia to inaugurate its own oil-drilling corporation (PETRONAS) in the 1970s and national car manufacturer (Proton) in the 1980s.

The 1990s witnessed exceptional growth in Malaysia's economy with an annual growth rate of 9.6% during the period 1991-1996 (Ang, 2007: p. 252; Munir and Mansur, 2009: p. 4) Nonetheless, the Asian Financial Crisis, a crisis that was awakened on the 2nd of July 1997, punctuated Malaysia's GDP growth performance.

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topedia.com/terms/g/gdp.asp).

[34] According to the World Bank (WB), the GDP in Malaysia was worth "296.22 billion US dollars in 2015. The GDP value of Malaysia represents 0.48% of the world economy. The GDP in Malaysia averaged 79.67 USD Billion from 1960 until 2015, reaching an all time high of 338.10 USD Billion in 2014 and a record low of 2.42 USD Billion in 1961" (http://www.tradingeconomics. com/malaysia/gdp).

As exhibited in the following **Graph 5.4.1 (d)**, in 1998, Malaysia's economy recorded a negative growth rate of -7.4% (Ahmad Din and Krishna, 2007: p. 306; Goh and Lim, 2010: p. 3; World Trade Organisation, 5 December, 2001; http://www.tradingeconomics.com/malaysia/gdp-growth).

Graph 5.4.1 (d): Malaysia's GDP Growth Before, During and After the Asian Financial Crisis
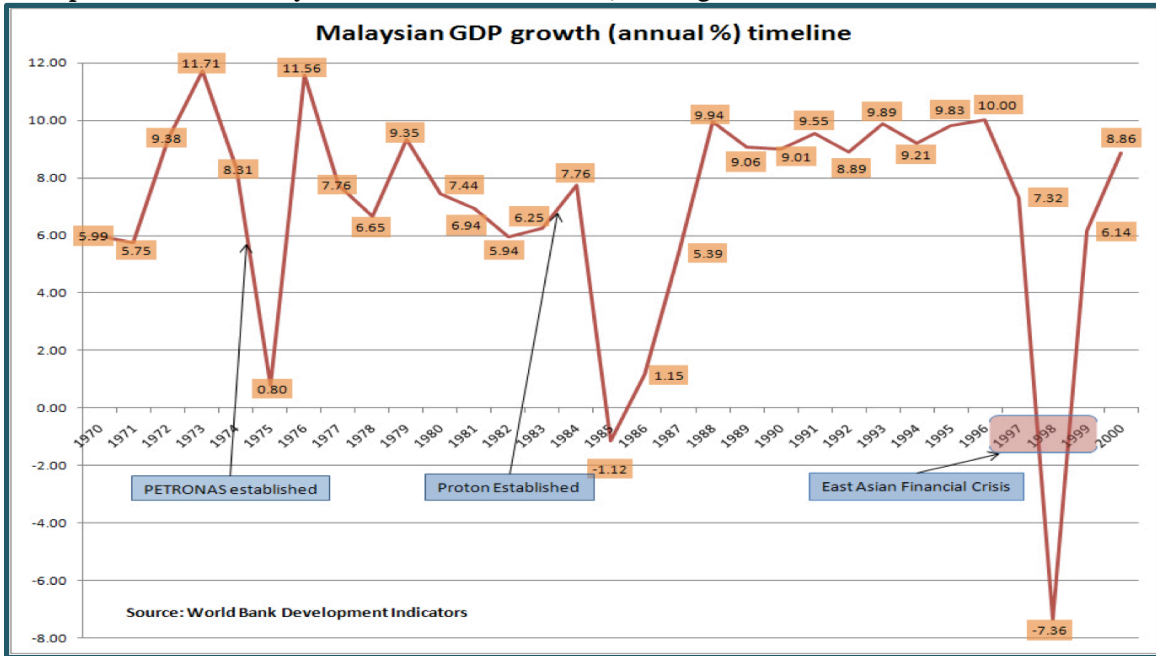
Retrieved from: The Malaysian Developmentalist, 24 February, 2011

As a result of the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997, Malaysia's average annual growth rate was much lower at 3.8% from 1998 to 2005, (Ang, 2007: p. 4, 2008: p. 143). Its economy convalesced quickly, with GDP growing by 6.1% in 1999 and by 8.3% in 2000 (World Bank, 2 June, 2016; World Trade Organisation, 5 December, 2001; Razak *et al,* 2015: p.10; Ang, 2007: p. 4). However, the growth rate was weakened to 0.3% due to the world trade recession in 2001. In the subsequent four years, Malaysia's economy grew at an average 5.6% (Ang, 2008: p. 44).

Graph 5.4.1 (e) on the next page, illustrates the recovery of the Malaysian economy post the Asian Financial Crisis (1997) and world trade recession (2008-2009).

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Graph 5.4.1 (e):
Malaysia GDP Annual Growth Rate Post Asian Financial Crisis and World Trade Recession

Source: http://www.tradingeconomics.com/malaysia/gdp-growth-annual
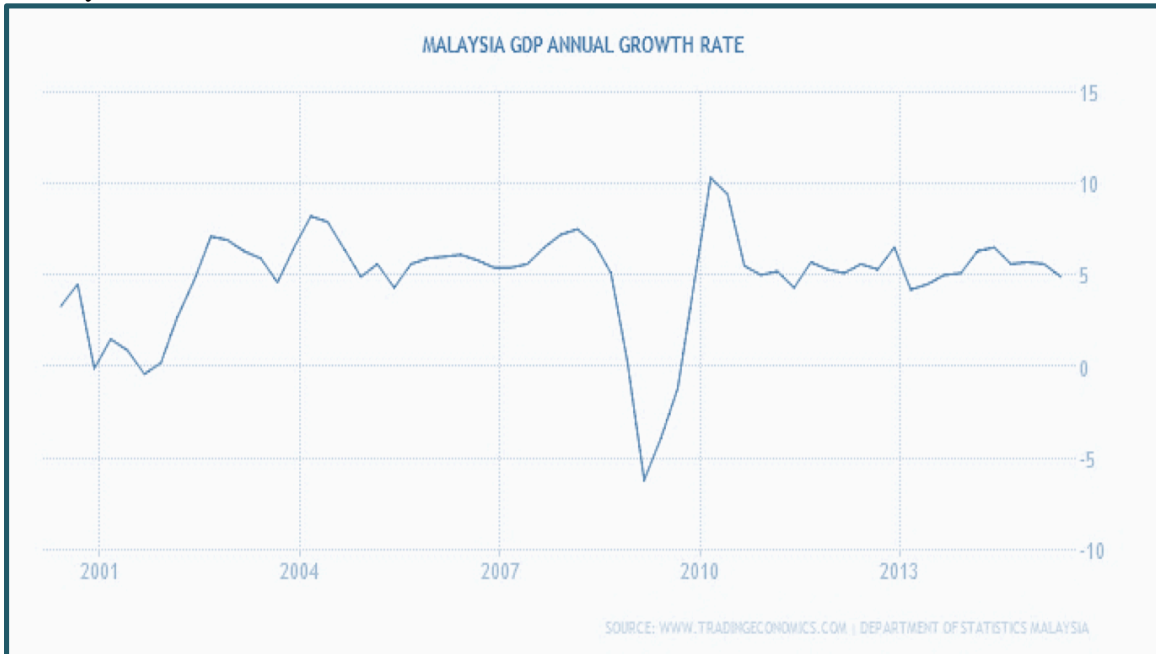
After making a comparison in terms of economic growth (GDP) between Malaysia, the UK and the US it can be fairly concluded that even though Malaysia has been experiencing a healthy economic maturation since the 1970s, its economic expansion is not as vigorous and as expeditious as the growth experienced by advanced industrial economies such as those two countries mentioned. However, the gradual but healthy economic growth that Malaysia has been experiencing has contributed to its classification as a middle-income country.

The following **Table 5.4.1 (f)**, illustrates the different GDP growth levels between Malaysia, UK and the US.

Table 5.4.1 (f): Comparing GDPs between the UK, US and Malaysia (1956-2016)

Country	Average Annual GDP	Highest GDP Growth	Lowest GDP Growth
United Kingdom	2.2%	9.8%	-6.1%
United States of America	1.1%	16.9%	-10.0%
Malaysia	0.7%	5.9%	-7.6%

Source: http://www.tradingeconomics.com

Countries can be clustered as "high-income, upper middle income, lower middle income and low income" (World Economic Situation and Prospects, 2012: p. 132, 2016: p. 158). To sustain congruity with comparable categorisations used elsewhere, the threshold levels of the Gross National Income (GNI) per capita are those established by the WB. Countries with "less than USD 1, 045.00 GNI per capita are classified as low-income countries", those with "between USD 1, 046.00 and USD 4, 125.00 as lower middle income countries", those with "between USD 4, 126.00 and USD 12, 735.00 as upper middle income countries", and those with incomes of "more than USD 12, 736.00 as high-income countries" (World Economic Situation and Prospects, 2012: p. 132).

Consequently, the World Economic Situation and Prospects (WESP), which was prepared, by the Development Policy and Analysis Division (DPAD) of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat (UN/DESA) categorised Malaysia as an upper middle-income country based on Malaysia's 2014 GNI (World Economic Situation and Prospects, 2016: p. 162; The World Bank, September 2016). Such a classification of income bracket for Malaysia, implies that there is some likelihood for post-materialist values to be sprouting in the country and hence that there is the opportunity for NSMs such as the APM to exist, flourish and have some success.

But the fact that Malaysia's economic growth has been less than that of countries such as UK and the US would also suggest that we should see less post-materialist values within Malaysia. And indeed, according to the WVS latest analysis, the level of post-materialism in Malaysia was 7% in 2005-2009 and a mere 5.6% in the 2010-2014 survey. The following **Table 5.4.1 (g)** exhibits the level of post-materialist values in Malaysia for two waves of surveys: 2005-2009 and 2010-2014.

Table 5.4.1 (g): Post Materialist Index for Malaysia

Value Preference	2005-2009 (Data Collected in 2006)	2010-2014 (Data Collected in 2011)
Materialist	32%	39%
Mixed	59%	55%
Post-Materialist	7%	5.6%
Missing/Unknown	1%	1%
N	1,201	1,300

Source: www.worldvaluessurvey.org

The slight drop in the percentage in the post-materialist index for Malaysia for the period 2010-2014 could perhaps be explained by the backsliding in the GDP growth of the country.

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The following **Graph 5.4.1. (h)** illustrates a healthy and steady economic growth for the period 2006-2008 which is believed to have contributed to the 7% post materialist index for Malaysia since material and physical security was more assured then.

Graph 5.4.1 (h): Malaysia GDP Growth 2005-2015
The steady economic growth from 2005-2008 is believed to have contributed to the 7% of post-materialist index in Malaysia.

Source: http://www.tradingeconomics. com
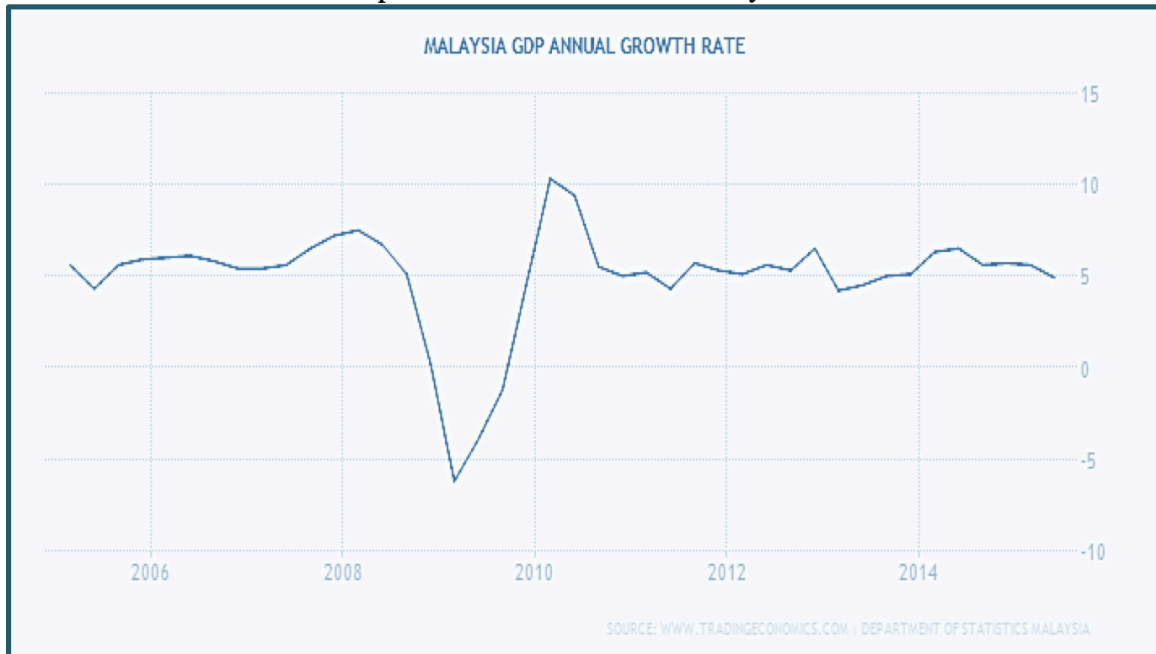
However, the global financial meltdown that took the world by storm in 2009 had affected the GDP growth ubiquitously including the UK, US and Malaysia. **Graph 5.4.1 (a) and Graph 5.4.1 (b)** earlier, clearly unveiled the steep decline in the GDP growth for the UK and US economies in 2009. The -7.6% drop in Malaysia's GDP growth in the first quarter of 2009 as presented in **Graph 5.4.1 (h),** above, had taken a toll on the stability of Malaysia's economic growth for the coming years. **Table 5.4.1 (i)** below displays the fluctuations of Malaysia's GDP growth for 2010-2014**.** The details from the following **Table 5.4.1 (i)** will later be illustrated by **Graph 5.4.1 (j).**

Table 5.4.1 (i):
Malaysia's Economic Growth (2010-2014)

Economic data	Year 2010	Year 2011	Year 2012	Year 2013	Year 2014
Economic Growth (GDP in %)	7.4%	5.2%	5.6%	4.7%	6.0%

Sources: http://www.focus-economics.com;
http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG

The following **Graph 5.4.1 (j)**, points out the sheer decline in the Malaysian economy in 2011 and it was then trailed by continuous economic volatility for the following years. It is justifiable to surmise that such volatility in the Malaysian economy negatively affected the level of post-materialism in the country.

Graph 5.4.1 (j): Malaysia GDP Annual Growth 2010-2014
The volatile economic growth is believed to have affected Malaysia's post-materialist index.

Source: http://www.tradingeconomics.com
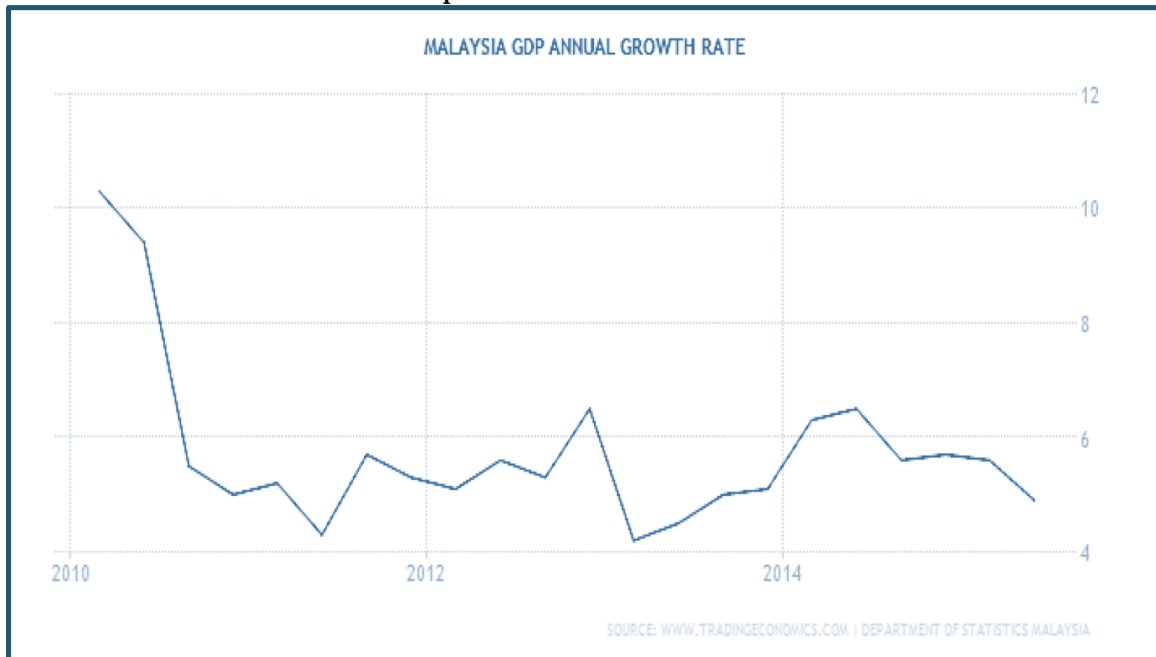
But, the post-materialist surveys engineered by WVS for the periods of 2005-2009 and 2010-2014 have unquestionably testified that post-materialism does exist in Malaysia. And these surveys have also confirmed that the levels of post-material values in advanced industrial societies are similarly vulnerable to economic volatility.

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The following **Table 5.4.1 (k)**, exhibits the findings of the two surveys (2005-2009 and 2010-2014) on the post-materialist values in Malaysia, the UK and the US, which were carried out by the WVS.

Table 5.4.1 (k): Comparing Post - Materialist Index for the UK, US and Malaysia

Value Preference	Country	Year 2005-2009	Year 2010-2014
Materialist	United Kingdom	9.5%	-
	United States of America	21.1%	23.2%
	Malaysia	32.4%	38.6%
Mixed	United Kingdom	63.5%	-
	United States of America	59.4%	57.7%
	Malaysia	59.5%	54.9%
Post-Materialist	United Kingdom	22.8%	-
	United States of America	17.4%	16.7%
	Malaysia	7%	5.6%
Missing/Unknown	United Kingdom	4.7%	-
	United States of America	2.2%	2.4%
	Malaysia	1.2%	0.8%
(N)	United Kingdom	(1,041)	-
	United States of America	(1,249)	(2,232)
	Malaysia	(1,200)	(1,300)

Source: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org

Referring to **Table 5.4.1 (k)** above, even though the percentage of Malaysia's post-materialist index is notably lower compared to the advanced industrial societies', it is believed that Malaysia's gradual and steady economic growth has created a healthy size of its middle-class population, which embraces and practices post-materialist values in the country. This would help explicate the emergence of the APM in the country, but also its difficulties in gaining widespread support and realising its core aims.

Moreover, it has been Malaysia's ambitions to be upgraded to a developed country and classified as a high-income country by the year 2020. In the pursuit of these goals, the Malaysian public and government are firmly focused on accumulating and developing economic wealth and eradicating poverty. For example, according to the WB, there has been a dramatic reduction in poverty from 49.3% in 1970 to 1% in 2014 (http://www.worl dbank.org/en/country/malaysia/overview).

The focus on such goals could perhaps offer one answer as to why the Animal Welfare Bill 2012 was not regarded as a priority. In some way, this is because the legislation was not associated with infrastructure development, monetary gain or poverty reduction, which would be beneficial for the country's economic growth. This could also tentatively

explain as to why the APM in the country faces difficulties and rejections in establishing cooperation with government agencies. And this could also perhaps illuminate why post-materialist values in Malaysia are very marginal compared to the UK, the US and other post-industrial countries.

Despite being classified as an upper middle-income country, it is justifiable to assume that post-materialist values are considered relatively low in Malaysia because the country is still very much focused on material and economic ambitions. And this contributes to the quandaries experienced by its APM in establishing a strong presence in the country.

5.5   Education in Malaysia and Post Materialist Values.

Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997), claims that whether or not individuals have materialist or post-materialist values is closely related with their level of educational attainment. He finds a strong correlation between education and post-materialist values and he attributes this relationship to the tendency for more educated Europeans to come from more affluent families. He claims that education is a strong indicator of how secure respondents were during their formative years since education is completed during the pre-adult years and since education is strongly related to parental socioeconomic evidence. According to Paul R. Abramson and Inglehart (2009), education is pertinent in exhibiting post-materialist values because it is an indicator of the degree of prosperity (Abramson and Inglehart, 2009: p. 76). Hence, Inglehart sees education as one of the contributing factors to the shift towards post-materialist values and he further elaborates that as education becomes more prevalent, NSMs will arise.

Inglehart (1990, 1997) underlined that post-materialist social movements are made up of those who are highly educated and have secured a comfortable level of affluence and at the same time participate within that movement without being driven mainly by the potential of direct economic or political or social benefits. Because of the level of material and physical security relished by post-materialists, these members can pursue post-materialist values, as exemplified by freedom of expression, gender equality and quality of life issues. Such pursuit is possible if the economy of the nation is vibrant and resilient.

The data in the following **Table 5.5 (a)**, was acquired from the World Bank (WB) regarding government expenditure on education; the data is presented in the form of percentage from the total GDP. The table presents the data for Malaysia, the UK and US.

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Table 5.5 (a): Government Expenditure on Education, Total (% of GDP)
The table represents the highest expenditure incurred for the specific time period.

Country	1980 until 1984	1985 until 1989	1990 until 1994	1995 until 1999	2000 until 2004	2005 until 2009	2010 until 2014
Malaysia	6.9% (1982)	7.1% (1986)	5.1% (1992)	5.7% (1999)	7.7% (2002)	6.0% (2009)	5.9% (2011)
UK	5.3% (1981)	4.6% (1985)	4.9% (1994)	4.9% (1995)	5.1% (2003)	5.3% (2009)	5.9% (2010)
US	NA	4.8% (1989)	4.9% (1991 & 1994)	4.9% (1995)	5.6% (2003)	5.4% (2006)	5.4% (2010)

Data Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org

Despite several economic downturns, it is palpable from the data exhibited in **Table 5.5 (a),** countries like Malaysia, the UK and the US place significant importance on education development. Even though Malaysia has yet to be classified as a developed nation, it has placed high expectations and efforts in upgrading the level of education of its citizens.

From the same table, **Table 5.5 (a),** it is evident that Malaysia has allocated more expenditure commitment on education than the UK and the US. It can be suggested that Malaysia has been putting extra commitment into the enhancement of its education development for three reasons: because Malaysia is complying with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); to meet all nine strategic challenges outlined in its *Wawasan 2020* policy (Vision 2020); and to be elevated as a high income country by 2020.

The eight MDGs are the world's time-bound and quantified targets which were drawn from the UN's Millennium Declaration. Leaders from 189 countries signed the UN's Millennium Declaration in year 2000 as a promise to address the many dimensions of extreme poverty. The goals are aimed to "eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equality and empower women, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development" (The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2005: p. 4-5). As one of the countries that signed the declaration, Malaysia is committed to fulfill all of the MDGs,

especially education. For example, the Malaysian government is dedicated to ensure that all boys and girls in the country complete a full course of primary schooling (Malaysia EFA Status Report, 2011: p. 2 – 6; ERT Country Report, 2012).

In 1991, *Wawasan 2020* (Vision 2020) was introduced by Malaysia's fourth Prime Minister, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, with the objective of becoming a developed nation by the year 2020. *Wawasan 2020* calls for Malaysia to be a developed country based on its own formula. Malaysia is to become a developed country that has the following characteristics: a nation that is united; a Malaysian society that is confident; a society that is infused by strong ethical values; a society that is democratic, liberal, tolerant and caring; a just economic opportunity and wealth distribution; and an economy that is competitive, dynamic and resilient.

Nonetheless, according to *Wawasan 2020*, to become a developed country, Malaysia needs to surmount nine strategic challenges that have been disrupting its social, political and economic stability since its independence in 1957. For example, in terms of education wise, the sixth strategic challenge is to establish a scientific and progressive society. A society that is innovative and forward-looking, that is not only a consumer of technology but also a contributor to the scientific and technological civilisation of the future (Wawasan 2020, 1998; Economic Planning Unit, 30 September, 2016).

Table 5.5 (b) below (continued on the next page), illustrates the development of education in Malaysia.

Table 5.5 (b):
The Development of Education in Malaysia: Highest Educational Level Attained

Level of Education	2005-2009 (N: 1,201)	2010-2014 (N: 1,300)
No formal education	1.8%	4.3%
Incomplete primary school	2.0%	3.7%
Complete primary school	11.7%	12.2%
Incomplete secondary school: technical/vocational type	4.6%	12.3%
Complete secondary school: technical/vocational type	36.7%	40%
Incomplete secondary school: university-preparatory type	1.4%	3%
Complete secondary school: university-preparatory type	28.0%	12.1%
Some university-level education without degree	2.9%%	6.7%
University - level education, with degree	2%	5.7%

Data retrieved from: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp

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Table 5.5 (b) above, confirms that there is continual increase in the percentage of Malaysians attaining a better and higher level of education. And UNESCO adds that the literacy rate in the country is also escalating considerably. Its literacy rate was recorded at 88.69% in year 2000; at 93.12% in year 2010; and at 94.64% in year 2015, which signifies that the percentage of people attaining higher education is growing steadily in Malaysia (UNESCO, 2016; Index Mundi, 2016).

The growing number of highly educated citizens and the increasing literacy rate demonstrate that Malaysia is materialising its commitments in terms of education. As time goes by, the improvement in education is becoming more noteworthy. This is because education is considered to have a strong correlation with social and economic development.

As we have seen, the level of post-materialist values is expected to increase in tandem with the increase in the level of education. Disappointingly, that is not the case in Malaysia. The following **Table 5.5 (c)** and **Table 5.5 (d),** illustrate the relationship between the level of post-materialist values and the level of education in Malaysia.

Table 5.5 (c):
Post-Materialist Values Broken Down by Highest Educational Level Attained (2005-2009)

N: (1200)	No Formal Education	Incomplete Primary Education	Complete Primary School	Incomplete Secondary School	Complete Secondary School	Incomplete University-Preparatory	Complete University-Preparatory	Some University-Level Education Without Degree	University Level Education with Degree
Materialist	31.8%	50.0%	40.7%	50.9%	33.6%	52.9%	24.1%	22.9%	29.8%
Mixed	50.0%	45.8%	52.9%	41.8%	58.3%	47.1%	66.1%	68.6%	64.1%
Post-Materialist	18.2%	4.2%	6.4%	3.6%	7.7%	-	7.4%	5.7%	5.3%
Missing Unknown	-	-	-	3.6%	0.5%	-	2.4%	2.9%	0.8%
(N)	(22)	(24)	(140)	(55)	(441)	(17)	(336)	(35)	(131)

Retrieved from: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp

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Table 5.5 (d):
Post-Materialist Values Broken Down by Highest Educational Level Attained (2010-2014)

N: (1300)	No Formal Education	Incomplete Primary Education	Complete Primary School	Incomplete Secondary School	Complete Secondary School	Incomplete University-Preparatory	Complete University-Preparatory	Some University-Level Education Without Degree	University Level Education with Degree
Materialist	44.6%	45.8%	45.3%	46.9%	36.5%	33.3%	34.4%%	32.2%	31.1%
Mixed	46.4%	47.9%	48.4%	50.0%	57.5%	59.0%	55.4%	60.9%	59.5%
Post-Materialist	8.9%	4.2%	5.7%	1.9%	5.0%	7.7%	8.3%	5.7%	9.5%
Missing Unknown	-	2.1%	0.6%	1.9%	0.6%	-	1.9%	1.1%	-
(N)	(56)	(48)	(159)	(160)	(520)	(39)	(157)	(87)	(74)

Retrieved from: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp
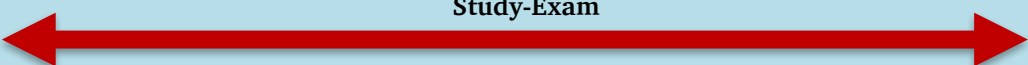
The rows, which are highlighted in red, as exhibited in **Table 5.5 (c)** and **Table 5.5 (d)** above, indicate that the level of post-materialism is not in tandem with the level of education in Malaysia. For example, from the 2005-2009 survey, we can vividly see that the level of post-materialist values among those who had a university degree was much lower than those who did not even have a formal education. Meanwhile, for the 2010-2014 survey, the level of post-materialist values between university graduates and those who did not receive proper education was more or less in the same range. Even though the level of post-materialist values for university graduates was higher by 0.6% than the latter, this unique phenomenon undermines somewhat Inglehart's claim regarding the positive relationship between level of education and post-materialist values.

Without any doubt, Malaysia is making heavy investments in improving the type, quality and level of education for every Malaysian. And it is firmly believed that with better levels of education, higher post-materialist values are supposed to ensue. But this is not the case in Malaysia. It is plausible to explain this phenomenon by studying the table below.

Table 5.5 (e) below, demonstrates the stark difference between the education in Malaysia and Europe.

Table 5.5 (e):
The Stark Difference between the Education in Netherlands, Malaysia and the UK

Country	Kindergarten	Primary School	Secondary School	Pre-University	University
Netherlands					
United Kingdom	Self Management	Environment Exploration	Passion Finding	Future Career Planning	Hard & Soft Skills Development
			Study-Exam ← →		
Malaysia		The Malaysian national education system starts to expose its students to these attributes only at the university level of education.			

Sources: **The Malaysian Education System Described and Compared with the Dutch Education System (EP-Nuffic, 2008); Education for Students Aged 16 and Under (http://www.educationuk.org/global/articles/16-and-under-education-path/).**

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Table 5.5 (e) on page 137, reveals that the examination-oriented education system is exercised in Malaysia, whereby students view education as nothing more than merely passing examinations. This is possibly because the education system in Malaysia predominantly emphasises on examinations as a tool to evaluate academic achievements. In Malaysia, students are mainly evaluated by their ability to score good results in major examinations (Abas *et al*, 2013: p.200). It is believed that as a result of such a system, students tend to lose interest in matters outside of their academic subjects as a result of endless homework assignments and continuous assignments. As mentioned by Gurnam and Chan, "Some felt that teachers were giving too much homework due to a lack of effective co-ordination among various subject teachers while others declared that some homework assignments given by teachers were rather pointless and mind-numbing. Yet there were others who felt that the amount of time spent on homework should be better utilised doing activities that engage the minds of children in meaningful learning" (2010: p. 63). Plus, in a recent article, *Lessen Homework Burden,* by the New Straits Times, students in Malaysia are reported to be still "struggling to finish the mountain of homework diligently dished out by teachers. In the context of teaching and learning in national schools, homework is an accepted phenomenon — the more, the better, and no questions asked" (10, June, 2016).

Equally important, in 2013, the WB made a blunt assessment of the state of Malaysia's public education system. The WB revealed that the quality of education does not bode well for achieving high income status by 2020 (The December report - Malaysia Economic Monitor: High Performing Education, 2013; The Malay Mail, 3 December, 2013). Perhaps one of the most shocking points is that not only Malaysia is trailing behind high-performing education systems in East Asia; Malaysia is also lagging behind lower-income countries like Vietnam by a significant margin. This is illustrated in **Image 5.5 (f)** on the next page.

Image 5.5 (f):
Malaysia's Education Quality is Trailing behind other East Asian Countries
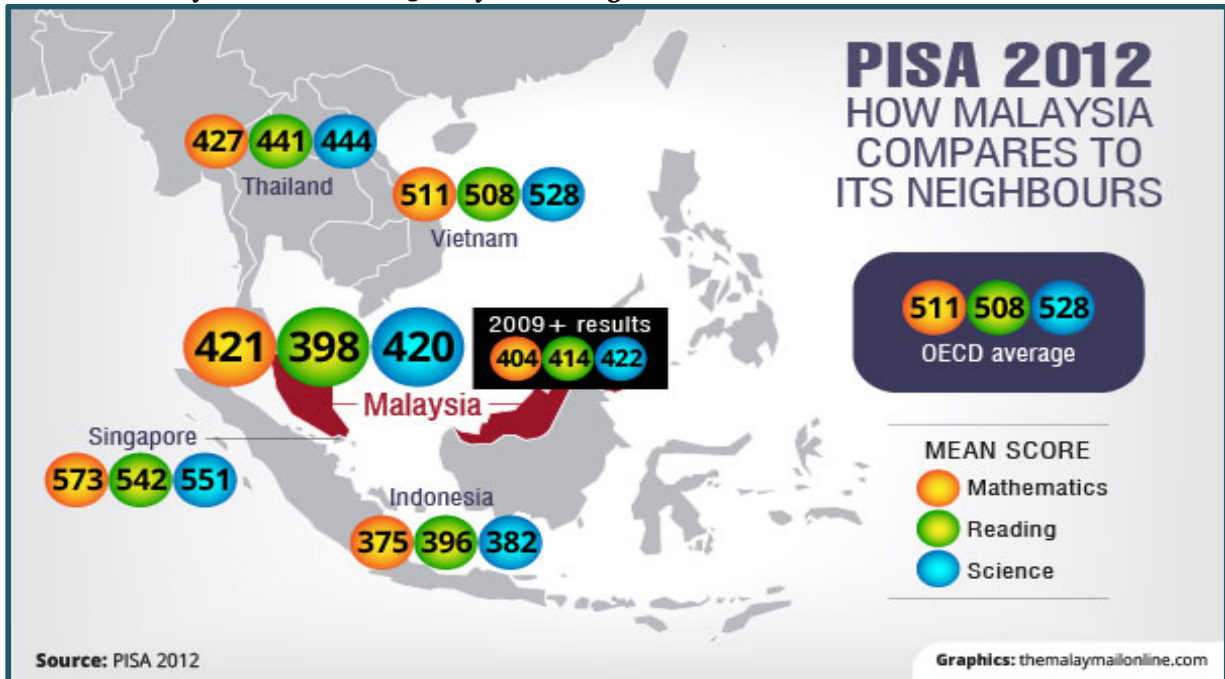
Source: Programme for International Student Assessment: How Malaysia Compares to Its Neighbours (PISA, 2012; The Malay Mail, 3 December, 2013)

Therefore, it is fair to say that such a narrow and regimented approach by the Malaysian education system could possibly explain why post-materialist values have failed to reach to every Malaysian. It can be tentatively assumed that the absence of early exposure and early encouragement to live by post-materialist values, including concern for animals. And this has indirectly dampened the growth and effectiveness of the APM in the country.

After all, the education system in Europe, tends to be rather different. Often, it is a system that encourages productive learning and supports the unceasing enhancement of individual, communal, psychological and economic well-being. This could possibly explain why post-materialist values are significantly prevalent – precisely because students are often encouraged to think beyond their future economic roles.

However, we cannot refute the fact that there was a minor increase in the level of post-materialist values among those who had a university degree. From the university - level education with degree column in both, **Table 5.5 (c)** and **Table 5.5 (d),** which is marked in red, between the 2005-2009 and 2010-2014 surveys, we could see that there was an increase of 4.2% of post materialist values among those who attained the highest educational level in Malaysia. But we can surmise that this increase is too insignificant in terms of overall population to have much of a positive influence on the country's APM.

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Plus, there is another factor that could sensibly justify the negative relationship between the levels of education and post-materialist values in Malaysia. That is the dominance of Malaysia's older age cohorts - both in terms of its size and political influence - who did not benefit as much from Malaysia's educational reforms. This fascinating factor will be explained further in depth in the following **Section 5.6**

5.6   Age and Post – Materialist Values in Malaysia.

The 2012 fact sheet on *Youth Political Participation* by the United Nations (UN) stresses that global standard age of parliamentarians is 53; and only 1.6% and 11.86% of them are in their 20s and 30s, respectively (Malaysian Digest, 27 March, 2015; Inter-Parliamentary Union, 16 March, 2016: p. 3).

Furthermore, recent studies on political participation have also shown that young people in western countries have become gradually disconnected from conventional politics (White *et al*, 2000: p. 1; Norris, 2003: p. 2-6; Benedicto, 2008: p. 13-15; Henn *et al*, 2002: p. 168-170). Traditional means of participation have been declining, but young people are moderately mobile and involved in civic spheres and they have become more acclimated to engage in extra-institutional forms of political participation (Mycock and Tonge, 2011: p. 65; Henn and Foard, 2011; Martin 2012; Fahmy, 2006).

It is believed that one of the causative influences to this change in political participation inclinations is the rise of post-materialist values. And as maintained by the post-materialist theory, young people have the proclivity to prioritise values such as freedom of expression, equality and quality of life, rather than values associated to material sustenance and safety because they are raised in periods of robust economic growth and strong physical security, enfolded by better chances for education (Inglehart 1990, 1997). This is because, as mentioned earlier, as a result of high degree of security and comfort in life, new paradigms and philosophies are introduced by post-materialist values through the younger generation. The young people will then express the new ideologies through NSMs.

But for industrial countries, Malaysia in particular, there are valid institutional and societal obstacles that avert young people from being politically participative. As reported by Djorina Velasco, in South East Asia politics is seen as the domain for seasoned policy-makers and campaigners. She elaborated further that young people are dismissed as being too amateurish or inexperienced to make significant contributions to politics and they are labelled as *naive* by senior officials (2005: p. ix-xiii). Nevertheless, the Malaysian government has finally recognised the importance to begin engaging young Malaysians in a significant manner; distinctive attentiveness is intensely given to youth in the *Gen Y* category, which makes 12 million people in Malaysia (Malaysian Digest, 27 March; Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2011).

The term *Gen Y* is applied globally. Nonetheless, describing the birth dates it represents triggers much debate internationally. Australia, Canada and the UK all use different boundaries when statistically analysing the Gen Y generation. For example, the Australian Bureau of Statistics categorises *Gen Y* as a child born between 1983 – 2000, while the UK and the US tend to classify the generation as between 1980-1990's (Generation Y, 2015; CREDO, 2016). However, many other studies have recognised *Gen Y* to be individuals born between 1978 and 1994 (Robbins *et.al,* 2014: p. 557; Dunne et.al, 2010: p. 85), which is also widely used in the Malaysian context (Lim *et.al*, 2015).

Although there is a multitude of platforms provided by the Malaysian government to accommodate the *Y* generation to be politically participative, there are some limitations. Platforms such as the *Parlimen Belia* (Youth Parliament) offers a sturdy training platform for the young leaders. But they are circumscribed from touching on certain issues such as *hak istimewa orang Melayu (*special rights of the Malays - Article 153 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia) and the preferential treatment of Islam as the Federal religion of Malaysia and official religion for every state in the country (Article 3(1) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia). Apart from that, some Acts place limits on Malaysians' freedom of speech.

The Sedition Act in Malaysia, for example, indirectly dampens the courage of young Malaysians, thus making them unlikely to speak out freely (Malaysian Digest, 27 March, 2015). Initially the act was used as a mechanism to bring down communist guerrillas in Malaya. It was introduced in 1948 by the British colonial government. Nonetheless, human rights groups are condemning the BN government of intensifying the scope of the Sedition Act in the country, since independence from the British five decades ago (BBC, 27 November, 2014; Amnesty International, 23 September, 2014; Human Rights Watch, 14 September, 2014; Global Legal Monitor, 15 July, 2014).

According to Joseff Benedict, Amnesty International's South East Asia Deputy Campaigns Director "Speaking out in Malaysia is becoming increasingly dangerous. The government has responded to challenges to its authority in the worst possible way, by tightening repression and targeting scores of perceived critics" (Amnesty International, 11 March, 2016). Currently, the law proscribes any action, discourse or printing that produces or creates abhorrence and disrespect against the government or Malaysia's nine royal sultans. It also inhibits Malaysians from rousing detestation between different races and religions in the country, or questioning preferential treatment of the ethnic Malay majority and the natives of Sabah and Sarawak (Global Legal Monitor, 19 July, 2014; ABC News, 8 January, 2016; U.S Department of State, 14 April, 2015).

Therefore, it is reasonable to claim that even when post-materialist values do exist in Malaysia and its younger population believes in such values they prefer not to be politically participative in both the civic and political arenas due to such limitations.

Graph 5.6 (a) below, exhibits the total population of Malaysia from 2006 until 2015.

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Graph 5.6 (a): Population of Malaysia 2006-2015

Source: http:// www. tradingeconomics.com

From **Graph 5.6 (a)** above, the total populace in Malaysia was approximately 31.2 million people in 2015, based on the up-to-date figures from Statistics Malaysia. Looking back, in the year of 1960, Malaysia (then Malaya) had a population of 8.2 million people, changing 271% during the last 50 years (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2014; http://www.tradingeconomics.com/malaysia/population).

In 2016, total population of Malaysia is "estimated at 31.7 million persons with 0.5 million increased as compared to 31.2 million persons in 2015 with 1.5 % population growth rate for the same period" (Press Release Current Population Estimates, Malaysia, 2014-2016, 22 July, 2016: p. 1).

The following **Table 5.6 (b)**, illustrates that the Malaysian youth is largely outnumbered by their older age cohorts. For instance, in 2010 the total population of Malaysia was 28.3 million and 42.5% of the population size was constituted of 12 million youth. But it is important to take note that the 12 million youth was inclusive of adolescents aged 15 to 17 - those who were still in school and not at the employable and voting age.

Year	Youth: Age 15-39 ('000)	%Out of Total Population	Total Population in Malaysia ('000)
2005	10,762.2	41.2%	26,127.7
2006	10,929.9	41.0%	26,640.2
2007	11,096.3	40.8%	27,173.6
2008	11,263.0	40.6%	27,728.7
2009	11,434.8	40.4%	28,306.7
2010	12,015.0	42.5%	28,250.0
2014	13,730.0	45.76%	30,000.0
2015	13,880.0	45.8%	30,260.0

Sources: The Department of Statistics, Malaysia (2005-2010) and
Indeks Belia Malaysia (2015: p. 16)

Malaysian children are governed by *Contracts Act 1950 (Act 136)* which prohibits any individual who is "below the age of 18 (the age of the majority) to enter into any valid contract". The *Age of Majority Act 1971 (Act 21)* "specifies the age of majority as 18 years, therefore permitting only those who are 18 years and above to enter into a valid employment contract" (http://myhos.mohr.gov.my/eAkta/perburuhan.php).

And according to the Election Commission of Malaysia, the voting age is 21 years old (http://www.spr.gov.my). Therefore, by excluding those who are between the age 15-20 years old, this literally means that the actual number of practical youth in Malaysia is much smaller than 12 million; hence the youth in Malaysia is outnumbered by their older age cohorts.

Plus, it is widely believed that Asian culture highly values seniority, which refers to "both age and length of service in an organisation" (Chen and Chung, 2002: p. 41). The importance of age has been ascendant in Asian politics and culture because traditionally, the seniors are deemed as the locus of knowledge, supremacy and authority. For example, Palmore (1975) pointed out that in Japan the elderly are not only highly appreciated in the family, but also rank highly both in the social and professional hierarchy. The seniority-honouring culture is also practiced in everyday life of Malaysians.

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[35] The youth category in Malaysia is between 15-40 but the data provided by the Statistics Department of Malaysia was 15-39.

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The following **Table 5.6 (c)** and **Table 5.6 (d)** will illustrate the breakdown of age and value preference in Malaysia.

Table 5.6 (c):
The Breakdown of Age and Value Preference in Malaysia (2005-2009)

Value Inclination	Total	Age			
		Up to 29 years old	30-49 years old	50 and above	No Answer
Materialist	32.4%	30.0%	35.4%	31.7%	-
Mixed	59.5%	61.7%	56.4%	60.8%	100%
Post-Materialist	7.0%	7.1%	7.0%	6.7%	-
Missing; Unknown	1.2%	1.2%	1.2%	0.8%	-
(N) – Collected in 2006	(1,201)	(580)	(500)	(120)	(1)

Retrieved from: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp

Table 5.6 (d):
The Breakdown of Age and Value Preference in Malaysia (2010-2014)

Value Inclination	Total	Age		
		Up to 29 years old	30-49 years old	50 and above
Materialist	38.6%	32.8%	38.7%	45.0%
Mixed	54.9%	59.4%	54.2%	51.4%
Post-Materialist	5.6%	7.2%	6.0%	3.1%
Missing; Unknown	0.8%	0.6%	1.1%	0.6%
(N) – Collected in 2011	(1,300)	(360)	(613)	(327)

Retrieved from: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp

Table 5.6 (c) and **Table 5.6 (b)** revealed that the youth in Malaysia have over double the number of adherents of post-materialist values compared to the over 50s, which is significant.

From the interview sessions with the animal activists, animal rescuers and animal SMOs, it was discovered that the movement is experiencing serious difficulties in establishing connection and gaining support from policy makers. It could be that part of the problem is the discrepancy in values between generations.

It is certainly true that the younger birth cohorts are propelling the APM in Malaysia. For instance, the majority of the activists and rescuers interviewed were between the ages of 25 and 49 years old. The subjects of the interviews were selected discreetly and the interviewer was not aware of their age group until the day of the interview. Only three of the subjects were between the ages of 43 and 49. These three subjects included teachers and an experienced veterinarian. Meanwhile all of the public officials who were interviewed for this research were between the ages of 50 to 58 years old. Thus, it is possible that a lack of congruence of values is acting as a constraint on the APM in Malaysia.

For example, during the interview sessions with the APM and government agencies, the researcher realized that those who were with the APM used a more dignified term when they were referring to animals. They used the term *haiwan* (non-human animal sentient being) instead of *binatang* (beast) throughout the interview sessions. As we know, the term beast is a more negative and violent reference directed more towards wild and ferocious animals. But the public officials from the Ministry of Agriculture (MOA), Department of Veterinary Services (DVS) and Local Authority agency were using the term *binatang* comfortably and widely, such as *Akta Binatang 1953* (Animals Act 1953), *binatang peliharaan* (companion animals), *binatang ternakan* (farm animals), *menzalimi binatang* (animal cruelty) and *kebajikan binatang peliharaan* (the welfare of companion animals).

There is a particular striking example that further supports the claim that the policy makers in Malaysia are incongruent with the values promoted by the APM in the country due to discrepancy in values between generations. In 2010, the Deputy Director General of DVS, Dr. Ahmad Suhaimi Omar, suggested that the consumption by exotic meat eaters can actually help to curtail the overpopulation problem of captured stray dogs at municipal dog pounds. He released a statement saying "people with a penchant for exotic meat should be allowed to buy dogs from dog pounds for consumption". The suggestion was announced at a forum on effective animal pound management which was organised by the Petaling Jaya City Council's Canine Advisory Team (The Sun, 7 March 2010).

It can be proposed, then, that post-materialist values are present in Malaysia. But these values are not equally shared and held by the entire population in Malaysia. In particular, they are held far more strongly by younger than by older generations. Since the older age cohorts have a stronger presence in positions of political power than its younger counterparts, the political priorities in Malaysia are propelled generally towards the values of these generations. For example, Malaysia is presently facing some

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challenges, on top of cheap oil prices, the depreciating value of the *Ringgit Malaysia* (Malaysian currency) and a decline in the economic growth.

However despite these problems, Malaysia's incompetence to resolve perennial issues that go to the crux of the country's framework, following 2013's controversial election, is leading to a fresh conflict within the government (Hunt, 2014) And this is critically overshadowing Malaysia's ability to deal with important concerns pertaining to race and creed, economy and the leadership in the country.

Central to the newest stint of unrest is the political feud between the fourth and the current Prime Ministers of Malaysia. The fourth Prime Minister is determined that the current Prime Minister must step down. He firmly believes that United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) and the *Barisan Nasional* (BN) will lose the next general election, scheduled for 2018, if the current Prime Minister remains as the leader of UMNO and BN. Also at the same time, Malaysia's social harmony is also disturbed by the racially charged but politically motivated ban of the use of word "Allah" by non-Muslims.

From these examples, we can see that older age cohorts in Malaysian politics are pushing for the continuation of traditional practice and status quo such as the incumbency that UMNO and BN have at their disposal come election and the word Allah is preserved to be used only by Muslims. It is critically important to note that those who are 50 years old and above are holding the critical senior-decision making posts in the Malaysian civil service and forming the Malaysian Cabinet. For example, the current Prime Minister of Malaysia and his deputy are both 63 years old and the Chief Secretary to the Government of Malaysia is 61 years old.

We can say that the values promoted by Malaysia's older age cohorts do not conform with post-materialist ideals. According to Oddbjorn Knutsen (1990), Inglehart (1977) conceptualised post-materialism dimension as a *silent revolution*; there "is a gradual value change from materialist to post-materialist values, from giving greatest priority to values which reflect preoccupation with physical sustenance and safety values towards a heavier emphasis belonging, self-expression, and quality of life values" (Knutsen, 1990: p. 85). It is quite obvious now that the values promoted by Malaysia's older age cohorts in the country's political and administrative systems do not embrace post-materialist ideals such as freedom of speech, gender quality, environmental protection, animal rights and welfare, homosexuality, personal freedom, citizen input in government decision and fighting hiking prices.

5.7   Cultural Beliefs and Post-Materialist Values in Malaysia.

As well as economic development, education and age, the study unearthed a further factor which can be shown to be holding back the adoption of post-material values in Malaysia, which is influential longstanding cultural beliefs. Time and again interviewees

reported that one of the biggest stumbling blocks to more humane attitudes towards animals – and thus progress for the movement – is the prevalence of certain traditional values. Interestingly, such values are often in conflict with and stronger than the relevant religious doctrines concerning animals in Malaysia.

The animal activists who were involved in this research strongly believed that there is a serious clash between what a religion requires and what traditional cultural beliefs prescribes in Malaysia. It is sensible to say that post-materialist values are present in Malaysia and there is a possibility for the APM in the country to have the opportunity to evolve into a stronger movement. Nevertheless, due to certain prevailing traditional cultural beliefs about animals, the activists, animal protection SMOs, animal sanctuary operators and animal rescuers claim that their opportunities for success are being constricted.

For example, several activists reported the widespread belief amongst sections of the Muslim community in Malaysia that dogs are regarded as unclean, impure and that it is sinful to come into contact with dogs. As a result of such negative stigma toward dogs, a particular ethnic group in the Muslim community in Malaysia treats dogs poorly; dogs are a taboo according to their culture. Such a cultural belief persists in spite of the fact that Islam strongly prescribes humane and compassionate treatment of all animals, including dogs and pigs.

The *I Want to Touch a Dog* event which was organised on 19th October 2014 is a very good example to support the claim above (The Star, 2014; The Malay Mail, 2014). The event was opened to all Malaysians, regardless of creed and race. It was aimed at increasing awareness of the treatment of dogs in the country. The event had special segments discussing: the position of dogs in Islam; the circumstances that call and do not call for Muslims to cleanse or *sertu* their body parts after coming into contact with dogs; the situations that allow and prohibit Muslims to keep and manage dogs; and there was also a practical demonstration of the accurate Islamic technique of cleansing after coming into contact with dogs. As a result, the event was a big hit with Malaysian Muslims. (Straits Times, 19 October, 2014; Today Online, 20 October, 2014)

Since the event was also focused on challenging the myths about dog cleanliness, it drew interest among the Muslims in Malaysia because it answered a lot of the taboo questions about the animal (The Malaysian Insider, 2014; The Malay Mail. 2 January, 2015). For example, according to Time Magazine an NGO worker by the name of Siti Sakinah informed the Malaysian Insider that she and her family took part in the event because they wanted not only to master their apprehension of dogs, but also to understand that dogs are too beings created by Allah that require love, compassion and care (Campbell, 2014)

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More than 1,000 people attended the *I Want to Touch a Dog Event* in the wealthy Bandar Utama neighbourhood. Unfortunately, the event caused uproar amongst the Malays and Muslim clerics in Malaysia (The Star, 22 October, 2014; The Independent, 22 October, 2014; The Malay Mail, 26 October, 2014; Asia News, 21, October, 2014). Some of them brazenly attacked and accused the organiser of the event to be a part of a Zionist plot. On top of that, the Malaysian Insider reported that one Facebook user's comment "illustrates the level of paranoia in the hardline camp where the user said the dog-familiarisation event was part of a Jewish agenda to Christianise Muslim-Malaysians through subtle measures" (Campbell, 2014). The event's planner, was forced into hiding after hardliners persisted that he "should be stoned to death" (New York Times, 26 October, 2014; Front Page Magazine, 24 October, 2014).

Engrossed in a cultural belief that depicts dogs as taboo, the Muslim clerics and other Muslims in the country missed the part where the event had the *sertu* ritual, as exhibited by the following **Image 5.7 (a)** - showing Muslims who had come into contact with dogs at the event guided on how to perform the cleansing ritual accurately. [36]

Image 5.7 (a):
Muslim Participants Performing the *Sertu* Ritual After Touching Dogs at the event

Source: http://observers.france24.com/en/20141031-malaysia-dog-pet-muslim-islam-scandal

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[36] Conservatively, dogs are regarded *haram*, or prohibited, in Islam as they are viewed as unsanitary creatures. But while conservatives prescribe absolute eschewal, moderates openly state that Muslims should not touch the animal's mucous membranes — which are regarded as unhygienic. Even if that happens, the moderates inform that, there is a special sanitising ritual that can be performed. The cleansing ritual is called *sertu*.

The primary aim of the *I Want to Touch a Dog* event was to how to interact with and touch dogs in the Islamic way. Though dogs are formally *haram* in Malaysia, most Malaysians keep dogs for safety due partly to the worsening national crime wave. In Islam, it is not permissible for Muslims to keep dogs as pets; but Muslims are allowed to keep dogs for specific purposes such as hunting, guarding live stock, guarding crops and security (https://islamqa.info/en/69777).

Criticism of the dog event has led to a backlash by a small but vocal group of moderate Muslims in the country who viewed the strictures of the religious authorities as oppressive (The Huffington Post, 28 October, 2014). From this example, it can be seen that in spite of what religion commands, dogs are a taboo subject amongst certain ethnic groups in Malaysia.

The following **Image 5.7 (b)** illustrates the conclusion pertaining to animal treatment in Malaysia based on the negative feedback received from the controversial *I Want to Touch a Dog* event.

Image 5.7 (b):
Conclusion Derived after the *I Want to Touch a Dog* event

Source: https://www.facebook.com/malaysiansformalaysia

Another notable event demonstrating the strength that long standing cultural beliefs have over education, material wealth and age would be the *One Dog for RM 10 Campaign* which was launched by the Tanjong Malim District Council (The Rakyat Post, 2 June, 2015; The Star, 4 June, 2015). The campaign was initially planned to commence from the 3rd until 12th of June 2015, to accept dogs at the district council's Bandar Behrang office, most likely referring to strays, in exchange for RM10 (GBP 1.90) each. The campaign, depicting pictures of hostile dogs, stated that it was open to all Tanjong

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Malim and Slim River residents. As a result of such a barbarous campaign, the Tanjung Malim District Council was swamped with criticisms. The Ipoh Society for The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ISPCA), with the help of a State Executive Councilor, managed to stop the campaign before it started (The Star, 3 June 2015, The Malaysian Times, 3 June, 2015; The Sun Daily, 3 June, 2015; Ipoh Echo, 16 June, 2015; Asia One, 4 June, 2015).

According to the Council President, all stray dogs caught were to be handed over to the Veterinary Department. But an officer from the Veterinary Department headquarters, who declined to be named because he was not authorised to speak to the media, said the strays captured would be put down according to procedures. The anonymous officer explained further that the dogs will be euthanised in a humane way if the dogs have diseases or injuries that cannot be treated. He however, could not provide the answer when asked what would happen to strays that are found to be healthy. He said that local councils would usually keep captured strays for a week to allow their owners to claim them, after which they will be sent either to their own veterinarians or to the Veterinary Department to be euthanised (The Malay Mail, 3 June, 2015; The Malay Mail, 4 June, 2015).

**Image 5.7 (c):
Poster of the *One Dog for RM 10* Campaign by the Tanjong Malim District Council**

Dogs portrayed as vicious and dangerous

The *One Dog for RM10 Campaign* demonstrates how cultural beliefs can overpower other factors which might encourage post-materialist values. Animal activists and animal protection SMOs suggest that the campaign was engineered in such a way by the Tanjung Malim District Council because its Council President, officials and staff are Malays.

It is well known in Malaysia, that most Malays in the country have pronounced hostile cultural beliefs and attitudes towards dogs. The animal protection SMOs and animal rescuers who were interviewed for the study were suggesting that such hostility could be the result of the *sertu* requirement. The Muslim animal rescuers explained that they believed that most Malays treat the *sertu* requirement as a powerful warning that dogs are rejected and repugnant animals in Islam. It is believed that as result of combining personal interpretation of *sertu* and cultural beliefs, dogs are viewed to be taboo animals in the Malay community in Malaysia. This could explain why the dogs for the *One Dog for RM 10* campaign were portrayed as vicious. This could perhaps be a tactic by the Tanjung Malim District Council to create more fear and instill deeper hatred towards dogs among the local residents.

Most importantly, such an approach adopted by the Tanjung Malim District Council validates the claim that government agencies exclude the involvement of animal SMOs and NGOs, in spite of the fact that these organizations are experts in animal welfare matters. Such alienation of the animal SMOs and NGOs by the Tanjung Malim District Council also justifies the earlier claim that the animal activists and SMOs find it problematic to establish connection and cooperation with government agencies in communicating the welfare issues of non-human animals in the country.

The hostility of Malays towards dogs in the country is very pronounced until it was turned into an artwork by a famous street artist in Malaysia. As exhibited by **Image 5.7 (d)** on the next page, the artist's artwork vividly and successfully depicted the animosity between Malays and dogs in Malaysia.

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Image 5.7 (d):
The artwork depicting the inimical relationship between Malays and dogs in Malaysia by Khor Zew Wey, better known as Bibichun, one of Malaysia's most prominent street artists.

Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/2LoVK5tMRx/

5.8   Conclusion.

Even though the level of post-materialist values in Malaysia is small, we need to admit that there are post-materialist values in Malaysia. And there is good reason to believe that as long as the level of post-materialist values in Malaysia climbs, the APM in Malaysia will have the opportunity to evolve into a stronger NSM. This is because, according to Inglehart (1981, 1990), post-materialist values will proliferate as the population that "originally organised around them" continue to age and pass down these values to their adherents and children.

However, several issues are curtailing the adoption and influence of post-materialist values in Malaysia. The first issue revolves around Malaysia's economic growth. Even though, Malaysia's economic health is steadily progressing, its economy is not as robust and as tenacious as the economies of the advanced industrialised societies. As a NIC, Malaysia retains a growing middle-income class (Asian Development Bank, 2010: p. 6; Felipe, 2012; p. I; https://www.adb.org/countries/malaysia/main), which according to Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997), is responsible for the birth of NSMs and post-materialist values.

The second issue concerns the level of education in Malaysia. And from the data obtained from the WB, IMF and WVS, it is evident that Malaysia is committed to developing the level of education in the country. Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997) sees

education as an important factor in the creation of new social movements. As years go by, more Malaysians are well educated, and this has enabled them to progress economically and socially. With the improvement on the education level amongst Malaysians, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that new social movements and post materialist values will become more influential in the country. However, at this moment post-materialist values are dampened from being transmitted on an overall scale in Malaysia, in part because of the inferiority that its youth has in terms of age and political presence.

The third issue involves the generation gap. Malaysia is a country where its seasoned citizens outnumber its younger generation. When these two concerns are combined, it is fair to say that the younger generation in Malaysia does not hold a solid presence in the society. But this does not mean that the younger generation in the country is totally dismissed. They are allowed to voice their interests, opinions and concerns. But at the end of the day their older age cohorts tend to overrule them.

The final issue that needs to be taken into account in assessing the presence of post-materialist values in Malaysia is its long-standing cultural beliefs, which are deeply rooted in the country. Post-materialist values such as protecting non-human animal welfare and rights face a difficulty in being embraced by all Malaysians. This is because every ethnic group in Malaysia has its own set of cultural beliefs when it comes to non-human animals, regardless of the type of faith it embraces. And this has somewhat stunted the growth of the animal protection movement and limited such post-materialist values from reaching and resonating to every Malaysian.

Therefore, with cautious optimism it can be established that post-materialist values are present in Malaysia, albeit, these values are in their infancy. This presence helps to explain the emergence of the animal protection movement in Malaysia and the obstacles to their widespread adoption also helps to explain the challenges that the movement faces in realising its aims.

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Chapter 6: Hypothesis III
The Animal Protection Movement (APM) in Malaysia is Stymied due to the Stalled Bureaucratisation of the Animal Protection Social Movement Organisations (SMOs)

6.1   Introduction.

In the previous two chapters, it was demonstrated that the animal protection movement (APM) in Malaysia is held back to a restricted access to political opportunities and a scarcity of post materialist values amongst Malaysians. These two elements are claimed to be germane by Tilly (1978) and Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997) for NSMs to thrive. However, there is another indicator which is also believed to be a contributing factor to the stymied APM in Malaysia. Though there is a substantial number of social movement organisations (SMOs) within the APM in Malaysia, they are not as effective as they might be on the basis that they are not fully bureaucratised.

The primary aim of this chapter is to test the final hypothesis: the APM in Malaysia is stymied due to the stalled bureaucratisation of the animal protection SMOs. In order to do so, the discussion of this chapter will explore the factors which are regarded within the literature as crucial for the bureaucratisation of SMOs such as resources, people, fund, organisational structure, leadership, and clear chain of command. The *Resource Mobilisation Theory* (RMT) will be integrated into the discussion with the intention of ascertaining the reasons as to why the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia are mired at the bureaucratisation phase.

The chapter finds that the lack of resources, especially in terms of monetary funds and professional individuals, is stalling the bureaucratisation of the animal protection SMOs, and thus is stymieing the APM in the country. However, it also finds that there is not a clear link between bureaucratisation and success, since some of the most significant animal welfare successes in Malaysia have been achieved by smaller poorly bureaucratised SMOs.

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first two sections explain the four stages of a social movement and bureaucratisation, and their importance for a social movement's success. This is followed by a section that presents the evidence of stalling bureaucratisation of the APM in Malaysia. The fourth section explores the factors that might be responsible for the APM in Malaysia stalling due to lack of resources. This section touches on the type of leadership and organisation within the APM in Malaysia and investigates the horizontal links within the movement. The final section will be a summary of the tested hypothesis.

6.2   The Stages of a Social Movement.

From the academic works of Touraine (1985) and Della Porta and Diani (1999, 2006), it is clear that social movements arise to serve a threefold purpose: to challenge the current preeminent ideas as to how society should function or be coordinated; to gravitate attentiveness to needs which are not currently attended to under present social arrangements; and to change existing traditions, customs or cultures within a society. Hence, it is fair to assume that social movements do not unassumingly emerge out of nowhere, but instead, they demand a multitude of resources and have to endure myriad stages of development.

Herbert Blumer (1969), Armand L. Mauss (1975) and Tilly (1978) each established the four stages of social movements' maturation. The four stages they characterised were: social ferment; popular excitement; formalisation; and institutionalisation. However, more recent researchers have polished and rebranded these stages (Della Porta and Diani 2006: p. 150). Today, according to Jonathan Christiansen (2009), the four social movement phases are identified as:

1) Emergence;

2) Coalescence;

3) Bureaucratisation; and

4) Decline.

6.2.1 Stage 1: Emergence.

This phase can be regarded as the diffusion of discontent, whereby latent movement activists may be discontented or troubled with existing policies, current social conditions or on-going cultures or practices. Nonetheless, at this stage, the latent adherents have yet to engage in any action to compensate for their resentments. But, if they had, the effort is more likely to be individual rather than collective (Hopper, 1950; Macionis, 2001). There is also a distinct possibility for such discontentment to be prevalent and diffused widely at this stage, provided there is a popular media coverage on the issues causing disapproval (Staggenborg, 2015: p. 180).

According to Christiansen (2009), the *emergence stage* of a social movement involves "little to no organization at all". This is because, emergence stage refers to the beginning or starting phase of social movements. Evidently, from the works of McAdam (1982, 2004), Aldon Morris (1984), Fred D. Gray (2002) Jasper (2006, 2011) and Doron Shultznizer (2010, 2013), social movements always begin with a general feeling among a number of individuals that something is not right and that such an uneasy feeling can

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be associated with economic, political or social predicaments. These scholars further elaborated that such a perturbed feeling engenders anxiety, stress or even knowledge of relative destitution. Christiansen further elaborates that at the emergence phase, leaders could surface to coordinate partakers, or a particular figure might be able to re-construe individual feelings of dissatisfaction as social concerns (2009: p. 14). There are two examples that can illustrate the emergence stage of a social movement.

The first example would be the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa that took place from the 1960s until early 1990s. The social, economic and political persecution non-white South Africans experienced during apartheid became the impetus for the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa to emerge and Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela to surface as the charismatic leader and strong figure to lead and coordinate the movement.[37] Throughout apartheid, it was imposed on the "non-white South Africans (a majority of the population) to live in disparate areas from whites, use separate community amenities and the interaction between the two groups was restricted" (History.com Staff, 2010).

The second example of this stage would be the Civil Rights movement in America. The social oppression experienced by the African Americans in the 1950s was the impetus for to the Civil Rights movement to transpire. And Martin Luther King surfaced as the strong figure who led the movement in the US from the mid-1950s until his death by assassination in 1968 (Moris 1984, 1999; McAdam, 1982).

6.2.2 Stage 2: Coalescence.

The second stage is where the "unrest is no longer covert, endemic, and esoteric; it becomes overt, epidemic, and exoteric. Discontent is no longer uncoordinated and individual, it tends to become focalised and collective. *Coalescence* is the stage when individuals participating in the mass behavior of the preceding stage become aware of each other" (Hopper, 1950: p. 273). Rex D. Hopper (1950), goes on to claim that there is a distinct probability for mass demonstrations to occur at this stage. This is to demonstrate the movement's influence and to make strong claims against those in power. He also adds that at this juncture, leadership starts to emerge and stratagems for achievement are worked out. Above all, at this point, a movement becomes more than just a haphazard collection of distressed individuals, instead they are now systematised and tactical in their outlook.

The second phase is depicted by a more vividly elucidated perception of discontentment. It is no longer just a typical or normal feeling of agitation, but now a feeling of what the apprehension is regarding and who or what is accountable for the

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[37] After the National Party secured power in South Africa in 1948, "its all-white government instantly began imposing existing policies of racial separation under a system of legislation that it called *apartheid*" (History.com Staff, 2010).

uneasy feeling. At this stage, participants begin to marshal themselves and to promote public cognizance vis-à-vis the issue. In order to synchronise and configure their endeavours, SMOs might be instituted. Such configuring entails alliances, governance and stratagems and to amplify the competence of the movement. Amplifying public cognizance of the issue also involves assuming tactics to utilise mass media, which is a "potentially powerful recruiting tool" (Christiansen, 2009: p. 17). In order to entice media attentiveness, participants "might engage in collective behaviors such as marches, demonstrations and sit-ins" (Christiansen, 2009: p. 18).

6.2.3 Bureaucratisation.

The second stage of a social movement life cycle represents collective action such as demonstrations and the like, whereas the third phase of a movement's life sequence represents the formation of organisations to tackle issues of interest. This is because at the *bureaucratisation phase*, social movements have had some triumphs in that they have nurtured cognizance to a point that a synchronised stratagem is essential across all of the SMOs (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). Fundamentally, it means that at the bureaucratisation stage, social movements are identified by an advanced degree of coordination and affiliation-based stratagems (Blumer, 1969: p. 2-5).

According to Frederick D. Miller (1999), bureaucratisation is the phase where social movements have vastly more political power compared to the first two stages. This is because at this stage, social movements are predicted to have captured steady rapport with political elites. He further adds that, at this stage, social movements are no longer reliant simply on mass assemblies, motivating leaders and volunteers in rolling towards the goals of the movement and constructing constituencies. Above all, at this phase, social movements begin to trust qualified and competent staff to execute the tasks of the organisations. John J. Macionis (2001) and Hopper (1950) further point to that the role of paid staff at this stage may be necessary when volunteers are not available.

The full bureaucratisation of the environmental protection movement is evident when numerous established and international SMOs such as Greenpeace, The Nature Conservancy (TNC), Rainforest Foundation, International Conservation Union (IUCN), The Forest Trust, the Rainforest Alliance, Conservation International (CI), the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS), the Sierra Club, The Nature Conservancy (TNC), and the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) coordinate strategies to achieve a shared objective, such as to protect the Amazon rainforest and preserve the rights of the indigenous people who live in there (http://www.rainforests.mongabay.com).

For instance, the environmental protection movement in countries such as the UK and the US is an illustration of a movement that has traversed through the bureaucratisation stage. It has evolved from tension and sit-ins to having numerous official organisations that now work towards the targets of environmental conservation. Some of these organisations include the Sierra Club, National Audubon Society, Earth First,

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Greenpeace, National Wildlife Federation and 1% for the Planet. In all likelihood, if these bureaucratic organisations did not take shape, the environmental movement would have lost its importance, become weaker and slowly disappear; their objectives and demands would have gone unmet.

While it is clear that the APM in Malaysia has passed through the first and second stages, we can question how far it has moved through the bureaucratisation stage. Clearly, there are SMOs within the APM in Malaysia, which are addressing and working on animal issues in the country. These SMOs such as F.F.F, Noah's Ark Ipoh, G.O.E, M.I.A.R, S.C.R.A.T.C.H are doing what other animal protection SMOs in developed countries are doing. However, these SMOs in the APM in Malaysia are: very small in size; run by irregular volunteers; inadequately funded; under resourced; and have little to no affiliations with bigger and established international animal protection organisations.

So, the APM in Malaysia is in the bureaucratisation phase due to the fact that there are named organisations that are working towards changing the status quo of animals in the country. It is just that these animal protection SMOs are not yet fully bureaucratised; they just have not become akin to the fully bureaucratised equivalents of the People of the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), Compassion in World Farming (CiWF in the UK) or the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS).

6.2.4 Stage 4: Decline.

The final stage in the social movement life cycle is *decline*. Nonetheless, decline does not essentially indicate collapse or defeat for social movements. At the decline stage, a social movement begins to lose forte and may expire based on the following reasons:

1) It might have accomplished its objective and therefore does not have carry other purposes to continue; or

2) It might also have failed for numerous reasons. For instance, it might have ineffective leaders who are incompetent to run the SMOs effectually, or there might have been internal conflict within the movement and SMOs.

Therefore, according to Miller (1999), Moj (2015: p. 18), David Imhonopi *et al* (2013: p. 84) and Ali Sarihan (2014: p. 44), there are four ways in which social movements can regress:

1) Repression;

2) Co-optation;

3) Success; and

4) Failure

The following **Table 6.2.4 (a)** illustrates the modes in which social movements will degenerate.

Table 6.2.4 (a): Modes in which Social Movements Decline

Mode of Regression	Description
Repression	Repression ensues when authorities or agents acting on behalf of the authorities use procedures and occasionally violence to control or extinguish a social movement. This could possibly mean that governments will usually pass laws proscribing specific movement activities or organisations, or validate confrontations on them by asserting that they in someways are a threat to the public and public order. Miller claims that "repressive actions may be defined as legitimate by the state…but they are never legitimate from the perspective of the movement" (1999: p. 305). This type of repression makes it exceptionally problematic for social movements to execute their activities and recruit new members.
Co-Optation	Co-optation surfaces when those who proclaim solidarity or camaraderie start to "speak for the movement, assume leadership positions within the movement, promote their particular agendas as the agendas of the entire movement, and effectively steer it into their preffered directions" (Christensen, 2009: p. 6).
Success	Social movements with very exclusive targets decline because they have successfully achieved their goals. As maintained by Miller (1999), not all social movements end in downfall through repression or co-optation; several degenerate because they are successful.
Failure	However, as a result of insufficient resources, loss of ethusiasm among a movement's members, factionalism, strong division of opinion within a movement, most social movements decline and finally breakdown.

Summarised from the *Four Stages of Social Movements* (Christiansen, 2009).

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6.3   Bureaucratisation and its Value for a Movement's Success.

Zald and Garner-Ash (1996) interpret bureaucratisation as a process whereby a SMO develops into becoming a socially and economically established organisation. It is also a process whereby a bureaucratic structure will gently supersede the SMO's original charismatic leadership. If at the start, movement leaders were chosen based on aura or personality, now "leadership is based more on rational-legal authority" (Zald and Ash, 1966: p. 327). Rational-legal authority is a form of governance in which the authority of an organisation is essentially entwined with legal rationality, legal legitimacy and bureaucracy (http://oyc.yale.edu/sociology/socy-151/lecture-20). Subsequently, Suzanne Staggenborg supports this interpretation by Zald and Ash by elaborating that bureaucratisation usually indicates the formalisation of SMOs in terms of record maintenance, decision-making practice and policy, and distribution of activity. Although SMOs rarely become as multifaceted in their structures as business enterprises, conglomerates or government agencies, movements frequently create SMOs that meet the basic requirements of bureaucratic organisations (2013: p. 1).

The extent of bureaucratisation in a movement can be demonstrated by APM SMOs such as the HSUS, CiWF and PETA. These animal protection SMOs have reached full bureaucratisation with offices located in huge cities; they are led, managed, operated and marketed by paid professionals; they have strong and clear chains of command and organisational structures; and they are engaged with world-renowned figures such as celebrities and sports stars as their spokespersons. For example, Paul McCartney and Ricky Gervais are among the many famous celebrities who support and become the spokespersons for HSUS's *Be Cruelty Free* campaign (http://www.hu manesociety.org/iss ues/cosmetic_testing/becrueltyfree/. The campaign is a worldwide effort to cease animal experimentation or animal research or in vivo for beauty products and personal care products.

Evidently, at this phase, an organisational structure develops and a paid staff rather than volunteers starts to lead the group. As a result, it is fair to assume that bureaucratisation is the phase through which a movement will have its SMOs develop a semi-permanent organisational structure that is absolutely vital to the materialisation of its goals.

Therefore, if a movement fails to bureaucratise to at least some degree, it might lose its essence and have insufficient resources to secure its subsistence and prospect. This is because, when social movements fail to bureaucratise "they will end up fizzling out because it is difficult for members to sustain the emotional excitement necessary and because continued mobilisation becomes too demanding for participants" (Christiansen, 2009: p. 3).

Nonetheless, some might argue that as SMOs bureaucratise, they may well in fact reduce their efficiency by evolving from truculent to more conformist activities by working "within the system instead of outside it" (Piven and Cloward, 1979). This is because, it is believed that at this stage, SMOs might shed the movement's most radical and extreme members. There is possibility that such a move might aid the movement to capture respectability; but such a managerial deviation might also offend or mortify original members and there might be a dissipation of zeal for the cause. This is because, according to Diana Kendall, when a movement arrives at this phase, administrators will take over the management of the SMO and this might weaken the initial ardour and idealism of the members. She further expounds that early grassroots enthusiasts might become disappointed and withdraw; they could also start an alternative movement to concentrate and address some of the unsolved aspects of the original problem (2008: p. 554). For instance, the National Audubon Society, the National Parks and Conservative Association and the Sierra Club, are some of the national environmental SMOs that were introduced as grassroots conservation movements. These SMOs are currently observed by many people to be impassive and ineffective in the face of local environmental issues (Cable and Cable, 1995). Correspondingly, new movements have surfaced.

Hence, it can cautiously be assumed that bureaucratisation does not necessarily make or guarantee that a movement and its SMOs will be effective in achieving objectives, carrying out activities, accumulating resources, recruiting new adherents and mobilising constituents. As a result, this supposition will be applied as a constant reminder and guideline in determining if it is true or not true that the APM in Malaysia is stymied because of stalled bureaucratisation.

6.4 Evidence of Interrupted Bureaucratisation of the Animal Protection SMOs in the Malaysian APM.

It was claimed earlier that animal protection SMOs such as the F.F.F, G.O.E, M.I.A.R, Noah's Ark Ipoh, S.C.R.A.T.C.H in the APM in Malaysia have yet to fully bureaucratise. The previous chapters indicated a number of reasons as to why these SMOs may not have fully bureaucratised including: a lack of opportunities in the Malaysian political structure for them to thrive; and a shortfall of sufficient post-materialist values within Malaysian society to fully support these organisations. However, the evidence acquired from the political opportunity and post-materialist theories have been demonstrated in depth in the previous chapters. Therefore, the following paragraphs will present evidence drawn from ideas within the RMT to further help explain the stalled bureaucratisation.

6.4.1 Animal Protection SMOs in the APM in Malaysia – At a Glance.

The animal protection SMOs in the APM in Malaysia can be classified as partially or minimally bureaucratised. The information that was collected from fieldwork in

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Malaysia back in 2014 suggested that there is little or minimal of the following: professionalisation; professionalism; formalisation; standardisation; and career stability of paid staff in the SMOs in the APM. As a result, volunteers run these SMOs with little and minimal pretense of professionalism, doing the best they can, not worrying about professional standards of leadership or non-profit management.

The following **Table 6.4.1(a)** presents a clipped summary (from fieldwork and interviews) of the ways on which the SMOs were lacking in the core features of a bureaucratised organisation.

Table 6.4.1 (a):
Core Features Lacking in the Animal Protection SMOs in Malaysia

Core Features of a Bureaucratised SMO	Status	Evidence to Support
Record Keeping on Membership	Absent	1. The SMOs do not practice keeping membership lists; 2. The SMOs do not practice distributing membership cards; and 3. The SMOs do not have individuals who are tasked to approve new members.
By Laws and Charters	Extremely Limited	1. The SMOs do not have members but supporters; 2. The SMOs have less than the usual 4 elected officers (President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer); and 3. The SMOs neither have board members, committee members nor officers.
Man Power	Extremely Limited	1. Instead of having members, the SMOs have supporters and volunteers; and 2. The number of supporters and volunteers is huge, but the size of committed individuals is very small.
Resourceful Avenues for Income & Monetary Means	Extremely Limited	The main source of income and monetary means for the SMOs in the APM in Malaysia is irregular contribution from the Malaysian public.

From **Table 6.4.1 (a)** above, we can confirm that the animal protection SMOs in the APM in Malaysia are experiencing *stalled bureaucratisation*. Nevertheless, in order to fully test the hypothesis of this chapter a more detailed analysis of the levels of bureaucratisation these animal protection SMOs have reached is required. RMT will be employed to provide just such an analysis.

6.5 Using Research Mobilisation Theory (RMT) to Explicate *Interrupted* or *Stalled Bureaucratisation*

RMT was formulated by Anthony Oberschall (1973) to focus on the structural and social factors that affect a social movement's future - success or failure. He claims that the primary element in determining the success or failure of a social movement depends on the movement's competency to efficiently marshal and manage its resources. It basically explains how members of a movement acquire resources, from inside and outside of the movement, and mobilise the resources towards accomplishing its goals (McCarthy and Zald, 1977: p. 1236).

According to Staggenborg (1988), bureaucratisation is important to provide stability to a movement and make it easier to maintain. Nonetheless, she adds that the path to bureaucratisation involves the development of professional social movement actors and the professionalisation of SMOs, which is assumed to be viable if there is access to adequate resources. Meanwhile for Oncu, social movements are "sets of actors with claims to solidarity and common purposes and have the capacity to generate coordinated and sustained social mobilisation that involves the use of protest or disruptive action in order for bringing social and political change" (2008: p. 4).

The RMT indicates that resources such as money, organisations (SMOs), people, the application of scientific knowledge for practical purposes, means of communication, mass media, conformity to the law, allegiance, validity, social relationships, networks, personal connections, public attention, ascendancy, moral commitment and camaraderie are important for a social movement (Fuchs, 2006). According to David L. Miller (2013), these resources are normally amassed and dealt efficiently by the movement's SMOs. The SMO's efficiency in managing and mobilising such resources is crucial in determining the future of a social movement (Miller, 2013: p. 499).

As stated above, resources are the central defining concept in RMT. Resources are the mandatory link between the aspiration (disappointment, grievance or distress) to change and the aptitude to mobilise around that desire (McCarthy and Zald, 2001). Bob Edwards and Melinda Kane claim that there are five different types of resources, which are relevant for social movements: material, human, social organisational, cultural and moral (2014: p. 212-217). And from these broad types of resources, there underline three fundamental resources that are critical in determining the development, strategies and outcomes of a social movement: *money; people;* and *organisations* (Buechler, 2015: p. 249).

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Since the study is using RMT to seek an explanation as to why the bureaucratisation of animal protection SMOs in Malaysia stalled, the third intrinsic resource (organisations) cannot and will not be used. Instead, the study will focus on the other two intrinsic resources, which are *money* and *people* to explain the stalled bureaucratisation of animal protection SMOs in Malaysia. The following sections will discuss these two intrinsic resources individually and relate their importance to the APM in Malaysia.

6.6   Resource 1: Money and the APM in Malaysia.

RMT studies how SMOs such as Greenpeace, Operation Rescue, Promise Keepers or the Tea Party Nation assemble or acquire resources to encourage their efforts. These resources comprise a substantial and effective membership, well-attended demonstrations, assemblies, the ability to recruit campaign staff, gravitate support for candidates and so forth. A significant resource is money, acquired from donations from individual benefactors and members, as well as money secured from the fundraising efforts (Miller, 2013: p. 499).

Monetary resources determine the manoeuvre employed by SMOs (Olzak and Ryo, 2007), the level of media attention received (Barker-Plummer, 2002) and the prospect for a movement to realise its anticipated outcomes (McCammon *et al.* 2001). The monetary means for a movement can be determined by the overall economic health of the society in which it operates (Soule and King, 2008; Fetner and Kush 2008), member contributions (Olzak and Ryo, 2007), state and federal grants (Larson and Soule, 2009), as well as corporate or foundation sponsorship and fundraising (McCammon *et al.* 2001; Andrews *et al.* 2010).

But, since the Malaysian animal protection SMOs are operating in a comparatively less wealthy society, they have less and restricted access to monetary resources than animal protection SMOs in more developed nations. Such a claim will be substantiated by the following **Table 6.6 (a)** and **Table 6.6 (b)**, where the comparison of monetary availability between the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia and post-materialist societies such as the UK and the US is demonstrated.

The information on the monetary availability for the animal protection SMOs in the UK and the US was acquired from the organisations' respective websites. Meanwhile, the information for the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia was acquired from their websites and interview sessions.

Table 6.6 (a): Monetary Avenues for SMOs in Post-Materialist Societies (UK and US)

SMO	Regular Giving	Appeals/ Donations	Raffles/ Events / Fundraising	Gift Aid/ Sponsoring an Animal	Investment/ Other Incomes	Trusts/ Foundations	Legacies/ Will	Membership Fees
HSUS	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✗	✔
PETA	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✗	✔
CIWF	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✗
Arictocat Rescue	✔	✔	✔	✔	✗	✗	✔	✗
Margaret Green Animal Rescue	✔	✔	✔	✔	✗	✗	✔	✗
Stray Aid Rescue Kennel	✔	✔	✔	✔	✗	✗	✔	✗

Table 6.6 (b) Monetary Avenues for SMOs in Malaysia

SMO	Regular Giving	Appeals/ Donations	Raffles/ Events / Fundraising	Gift Aid/ Sponsoring an Animal	Investment/ Other Incomes	Trusts/ Foundations	Legacies/ Will	Membership Fees
SPCA Selangor	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✗	✗	✗
FFF	✗	✔	✔	✔	✗	✗	✗	✗
GOE	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✗
MIAR	✗	✔	✔	✔	✗	✗	✗	✗
NAI	✗	✔	✔	✔	✗	✗	✗	✗
S.C.R.A.T.C.H	✗	✔	✔	✔	✗	✗	✗	✗

From **Table 6.6 (a)** and **Table 6.6 (b)** above, it can be seen that animal protection SMOs in post-materialist societies such as the UK and the US have access to different types of income compared to animal protection SMOs in Malaysia. It can be cautiously surmised that because animal protection SMOs in the APM in Malaysia are tethered from getting access to a wider variety of monetary streams, they are more deprived of

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money. This is mainly because they are operating in an environment, which is lacking of four criteria that are deemed critical for movements to be supported monetarily. Those four criteria as are as follows: high level of economic growth; substantial resources within the aggrieved group; access to grants and government funds; and organisational budget and fundraising (McCammon et al. 2001; Andrews *et al.* 2010; Larson and Soule, 2009; Olzak and Ryo, 2007; Soule and King, 2008; Fetner and Kush, 2008).

In order to provide a richer picture, a comparison between the animal protection SMOs in post-materialist societies with the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia can be made based on these four criteria. It should be noted that the monetary figures for the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia are hard to come by compared to the animal protection SMOs in post-materialist societies such as the HSUS, PETA and CiWF. And yet from what can be discovered, the animal protection SMOs in the APM in Malaysia are less well-resourced monetarily than their counterparts in post-materialist societies. The comparison is as follows:

6.6.1 Comparing the Economic Health between Malaysia and Highly Developed Economies.

Malaysia is a Newly Industrialised Countries (NIC), which means that it is an industrial country whose economic wellbeing is generally healthy but not as resilient as the highly developed economies. A *developed country* is a country that has a "highly developed economy and technological and infrastructural advancement" in relative to other less industrialised nations (http://listovative.com/top-15-most-highly-developed-countries-in-the-world/). A lot of variables are taken into consideration to appraise the extent of development in a specific country. Meanwhile, it persists a subject of deliberation as to which yardstick is most convenient and fitting to designate countries for their level of development, the commonly analysed factors are "gross domestic product (GDP), per capita income, level of industrialisation, life expectancy, standard of living and literacy level" (http://listovative.com/top-15-most-highly-developed-countries-in-the-world/).

Another acclaimed indicator to ascertain the development size of a country is the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI fuses economic measures and national income with "life expectancy and education to devise well grounded rating" (Human Development Report, 2015; http://listovative.com/top-15-most-highly-developed-countries-in-the-world/). These HDI classifications divide the countries into four tiers of human development: "very highly developed, highly developed, medium developed and low developed" (Human Development Report, 2015; http://listovative.com/top-15-most-highly-developed-countries-in-the-world/).

Table **6.6.1 (a)** on the next page, illustrates the Malaysian economic health based on the HDI and GDP per capita measurements, in comparison to the economic health of highly developed economies.

Table 6.6.1 (a): Comparing Malaysia with Highly Developed Economies
GDP, GDP per Capita and HDI in 2014

Country	GDP Value	GDP per Capita (thousand)	HDI
USA	USD 15.7 trillion	USD 49,922	0.914
Germany	USD 3.2 trillion	USD 39,028	0.911
UK	USD 2.3 trillion	USD 36,941	0.892
Sweden	USD 393 billion	USD 41,191	0.898
Malaysia	USD 338.10 billion	USD 10,876.73	0.779

Sources: Human Development Report (2015: p. 4); http://www.tradingeconomics.com/malaysia/gdp

From **Table 6.6.1 (a)** above, we can see that Malaysia's GDP (value and per capita) and HDI indicate that Malaysia is an upper middle-income country.[38] Therefore, it is fair to say that on both of these common measures, Malaysia is less developed, and thus will have fewer resources upon which the SMOs in Malaysia can draw.

6.6.2 Resources within the Aggrieved Group.

The second criteria to judge the monetary resources available to social movements is the level of resources within the aggrieved group. Based on the data collected from the 2014 fieldwork and my personal experience from being involved in the APM in Malaysia, clearly many of those who are involved in the APM in Malaysia are upper and middle class professionals such as the: animal activists; animal protection SMOs; independent animal rescuers; and the independent animal feeders.

These individuals have monetary resources and that is why they managed to establish animal welfare organisations and shelters such as Noah's Ark Ipoh, Malaysian Dogs Deserve Better (M.D.D.B), M.I.A.R, G.O.E, Animal Care and S.C.R.A.T.C.H and many more. Nonetheless, based on the interviews with M.I.A.R, G.O.E, Noah's Ark Ipoh and

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[38] The Human Development Index (HDI) is a very convenient method of differentiating the level of development of countries. It presents a means of appraising economic development in three broad areas: per capita income, health and education. Meanwhile, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita evaluates economic growth only (http://www.economicsonline.co.uk/Global_economics/Economic_development.html).

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S.C.R.A.T.C.H, the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia do not have strong and steady funding streams and they have not mobilised funders. Their resources are not extensive; as a result, the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia are not as big and as well-resourced as the SMOs in post-industrial countries.

For example, S.C.R.A.T.C.H was established by an architectural designer with a small group of friends. The group was created to help like-minded individuals to rescue, neuter and re-home stray animals, especially stray cats; G.O.E is an animal sanctuary that was established by two tuition teachers; Noah's Ark Ipoh was established by a veterinarian; M.D.D.B was created by a famous mainstream newspaper reporter in Malaysia; M.I.A.R was created by a Chartered Accountant; and Animal Care was founded by a Mathematics expert (PhD) who is also a motivational speaker. In an interview with G.O.E, the founders informed the researcher that they dedicate 80% of their combined monthly income from teaching music and chemistry to the operating expenses of the shelter and medical bills of the animals. According to them, the shelter is a three-man show. The two teachers are the founders and primary benefactors of the shelter, and at the same time they also manage the daily tasks at the shelter with the help of a ground keeper.

And from the interview sessions with the individual and independent animal rescuers and feeders in Malaysia – those who are not associated with the animal protection SMOs, it was revealed that they are also from the upper and middle class professional groups: a university lecturer; a medical doctor; public officials; an engineer and a pet food entrepreneur.

But as a result of the striking imbalance between the large number of abandoned companion and stray animals and the limited monetary resources, I was informed by these independent animal rescuers and animal feeders that they do not have a choice but to be selective in choosing rescue and rehabilitation cases. For example, from an interview session with a lecturer from the National University of Malaysia (UKM), I was informed that he can only manage three to four rescue and rehabilitation cases a year. He will set aside 5% of his monthly salary for his rescue and rehabilitation work. This is because the medical treatment and veterinary medicines are extremely expensive in Malaysia. Plus, it takes quite a while to rehome a rehabilitated rescue cat or dog in Malaysia.[39]

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[39] From the interviews with the animal protection SMOs, animal rescuers and animal activists, I became aware that the culture of adopting rescue animals has yet to be fully embraced and understood by Malaysians; Malaysians prefer to buy their pets from pet shops. As a result, almost all of the animal shelters are overcrowded and rescuers end up with rescue animals as their pets.

6.6.3 *Access to Grants and Government Funds.*

The third criterion by which to judge the resources available to a social movement is their access to grants and funds. For example, in the UK there are several grants which are available for animal work. An example is those provided by the *The Marching Animal Welfare Trust*. Its objectives are "to protect animals, to promote and encourage practical work in preventing animal cruelty, and the relief of animal suffering" (http://www.marchigtrust.org).

The Trust pursues its objectives by releasing grants and awards to organisations and individuals who are carrying out activities which conform to the Trust's objectives. The grants and awards are released to successful applicants (organisations and individuals) to fund the: procurement of mobile spay or neuter clinics; research for alternatives to the use of animals in research, anti-poaching programs, construction of veterinary hospitals and clinics; and the construction of animal sanctuaries and refuges (http://www.marchigtrust.org).

Similarly, in the US, there are monetary resources available for animal work. One example is the *American Humane Association Second Chance Fund.* The fund is a partnership between American Humane and Bayer Animal Health to provide aid to animal victims of cruelty or negligence a second chance at life. The fund was created through an endowment by Bayer Animal Health - the makers of Advantage and K9 Advantix - to help compensate the medical costs of rescuing displaced animals or animals who become victims of human cruelty or negligence. The monetary relief is issued for selected cases, to animal welfare organisations in charge of the temporary care of animals as they are prepared for adoption into permanent and loving homes (http://www.americanhumane.org/initiative/second-chance-grants/).

Furthermore, the Irish government, through its Department of Agriculture, Food and the Marine (DAFM), confers what is called the *DAFM ex-gratia funding* to animal welfare organisations in Ireland. For example, in 2015, the grant released £2,541,000 to 140 animal welfare organisations in Ireland, including 20 SPCAs (http://www.agriculture .gov.ie/animalhealthwelfare/animalwelfare/fundingtoanimalwelfareorganisations/).

Meanwhile in Malaysia, the evidence collected from fieldwork and interview sessions with the animal protection SMOs suggests that the APM in Malaysia is not strongly supported by grants, trusts or awards.

Having said that, there is a conglomerate in Malaysia, the *Berjaya Corporation Berhad* that allocates sponsorship and fund for animal works in Malaysia. For example, the conglomerate donated RM 50,000 (£ 10,000) each to M.D.D.B and Animal Care for the medical fund of rescued companion and stray animals, RM 220,000 (£ 44,000) to PAWS Malaysia for its mobile animal clinic, RM 80,000 (£ 16,000) to S.P.C.A Selangor for its

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education program, and RM 65,000 (£ 13,000) to F.F.F to improve the condition of its shelter (Berjaya Corporation Berhad, Annual Report, 2013: p. 13-15).

Nonetheless, the evidence and information collected form fieldwork and interviews suggest that the APM in Malaysia does not receive financial support from the Malaysian government.

6.6.4 Organisational Budget and Fundraising.

The final criterion by which to judge the financial resources available to a social movement is the organisation budgets and plans of its SMOs. Fundraisers are accountable for "meeting donation marks by approaching private individuals, statutory bodies, major donors, trusts and corporations as well as organising money-raising events" (https://knowhownonprofit.org/people/your-development/future/fundraising-jobs). Fundraisers also work with charitable trusts, businesses, communities and individuals to raise understanding and appreciation of the charity's mission, objectives and work. Most importantly, a fundraiser's task is to grow the size of donations of those individuals and groups by constructing relationships and exploring new fundraising tactics and ideas.

The *Best Friends Animal Society* in the US for example, has a fundraising plan and fundraising strategies. The Society is dedicated on ceasing the extermination of approximately four million pets in shelters all over America. According to the Society, there are a number of ways to raise money for animal welfare purposes such as: "appeal letters and newsletters targeted to donors; individual donations; membership dues (annual fund drive); telemarketing; walk or other pledge-driven event; corporate gifts; corporate partnerships; matching gifts; income from sale of merchandise or services and auction" (Best Friends Animal Society, 2016).

Having said that, PETA managed to raise USD 150,000 in two months for its campaign against animal testing in 2012. To achieve the targeted amount, the fundraising team of PETA approached its supporters using both direct mail and email, to ask for contribution. The fundraising team made appeals which were personalised by acknowledging PETA supporters' substantial commitments and built on them in a sensitive way, using categorisation. PETA categorised the supporters based on "how long it was since a supporter took action, how many actions they have taken, and if they donated, how much their last gift was" (http://www.peta.org/donate/ways-to-support-peta/fundraise/). According to PETA this was one of its most successful fundraising campaigns.

Similarly, the following **Image 6.6.4. (a)**, shows HSUS had approximately USD 194 million as its revenue and USD 191 million as its operating expenses in 2015. The balance of approximately USD 3 million (end of year revenue) is set aside by HSUS; this to be

carried forward into 2016 financial year as revenue. It is fair to say that HSUS has an immense organisational budget to: raise more money for future animal welfare work; meet its operating expenses; and carry out its animal welfare programs.

Image 6.6.4. (a): HSUS's Financial Operations Report, 2015 – End of Year Revenue

Financial Operations Report
For the Year Ending December 31, 2015

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION

Assets		Liabilities	$45,883,076
Cash and cash equivalents	$13,543,337	**Net Assets**	
Receivables	22,334,601	Unrestricted	$155,478,597
Prepaid expenses, deferred charges, and deposits	2,087,927	Temporarily restricted	46,502,429
Investments, at market value	209,861,110	Permanently restricted	30,740,204
Fixed assets, net of depreciation	30,777,331	**Total Net Assets**	**$232,721,230**
Total Assets	**$278,604,306**		
		Total Liabilities and Net Assets	**$278,604,306**

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES AND CHANGES IN NET ASSETS

Support and Revenue	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted	Total
Contributions and grants	$119,824,216	$43,595,600	—	$163,419,816
Bequests	22,261,927	5,265,827	—	27,527,754
Investment income	1,788,706	121,646	—	1,910,352
Other income, net	1,184,038	179,404	—	1,363,442
Net assets released from restrictions	43,518,885	(43,493,885)	(25,000)	—
Total Support and Revenue	**$188,577,772**	**$5,668,592**	**($25,000)**	**$194,221,364**
Operating and Supporting Expenses				
Animal Protection Programs				
Education and awareness	$58,071,448	—	—	$58,071,448
Direct care and service	45,845,880	—	—	45,845,880
Public policy and enforcement	38,204,900	—	—	38,204,900
Corporate policy	10,697,372	—	—	10,697,372
Supporting Services				
Management and general	4,906,029	—	—	4,906,029
Fundraising	33,321,480	—	—	33,321,480
Total Operating and Supporting Expenses	**$191,047,109**	**—**	**—**	**$191,047,109**
Change in Net Assets from Operating Activities	**($2,469,337)**	**$5,668,592**	**($25,000)**	**$3,174,255**

Source: HSUS Annual Report 2015

It is very difficult to obtain the amount of annual revenue acquired and expenses made by the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia; this is because they lack annual financial review statements. However, from the interview sessions with the animal protection movement SMOs in Malaysia, the evidence suggests that they do organise fundraising events.

For example, in conjunction with the *World Animal Day* that is annually celebrated globally on 4th of October, Noah's Ark Ipoh held a carnival in Ipoh on the 4th of October 2014. One of the main aims of the carnival was to raise money for the organisation and also I.S.P.C.A (IPOH Echo, 1 October, 2014).

Meanwhile, for fundraising purposes, SPCA Selangor uses the approach by asking the Malaysian public to make a monthly credit card pledge of RM10 (£2) and above through an annual appeal on its website. The Society also encourages people to circulate its brochures to directly raises awareness about its existence and mission and also to help the organisation raise much-needed funds to continue its work (http://www.spca.org.m

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y/get-involved/donate/annual-appeal/).

As a result of the unavailability of information pertaining to the size of the organisational budgets of the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia, the information acquired through interviews suggest that their organisational budget is very limited, if there is any. What I realised after interviewing the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia, was that, the SMOs are *fire fighting*; the animal protection SMOs deal with animal cruelty and animal neglect cases as they arise rather than planning strategically to avoid them. Such an approach is problematic because instead of understanding and addressing the factors causing the animal cruelty and animal neglect problem in Malaysia, the animal protection SMOs are either short-term fixing the problem or suppressing the symptoms of the problem.

Therefore, a fixed and predictable organisational budget is not available for them and they heavily rely on ad hoc public donations; this has a deleterious impact upon the effectiveness of the animal protection SMOs in the country. For example, M.I.A.R experiences constant flooding due to its location on low ground. As a result of not having an organisational budget to accommodate and mitigate such a hazardous issue, 40 of its rescue dogs which were deposited at its shelter perished in a devastating flash flood in 2014 (The Malay Mail, 28 December, 2014; The Rakyat Post, 22 December, 2014; The Star, 28 December, 2014).

6.6.5 International Funding.

From the analysis so far, we can clearly see how the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia are deprived of monetary resources. RMT holds that SMOs with weak or resource-poor beneficiaries need external backing and income; that is, international funding (Paulsen and Glumm, 1995) – a fifth criterion to judge the monetary resources available to a social movement. Animal protection SMOs in other nearby countries, such as the Soi Dog Foundation, the Animal Asia Foundation (AAF) and Bali Animal Welfare Association (BAWA), located in developing countries like Thailand, China and Indonesia, are acquiring monetary support from such international streams.

Soi Dog Foundation Thailand, BAWA and AAF are animal protection organisations like the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia in that they depend greatly on donations and public contributions. But what differentiates them from the SMOs in Malaysia is that their major monetary contributors are conscientious constituents from abroad such as the US and Europe. Therefore, despite being located in developing countries, these animal protection SMOs have successfully tapped into the international monetary streams.

Despite operating in Thailand without any support or funding from the Thai government, the Soi Dog Foundation Thailand receives substantial monetary support from conscientious constituents mostly from Europe and the US.[40] As a result, it manages to maintain the welfare of dogs rescued from the meat trade in Thailand and successfully constructed a bigger shelter to accommodate the growing number of rescues. For example, Soi Dog Foundation USA solicits financial donations from the American public that are forwarded to Soi Dog Foundation Thailand in support of their mission. According to the Soi Dog Foundation Thailand's annual financial review for 2015, its revenue was valued at USD 4,133,816.00, where the majority of the contributions came from international conscientious constituents (http://www.soidog.org/en/about-soi-dog/annual-reviews).
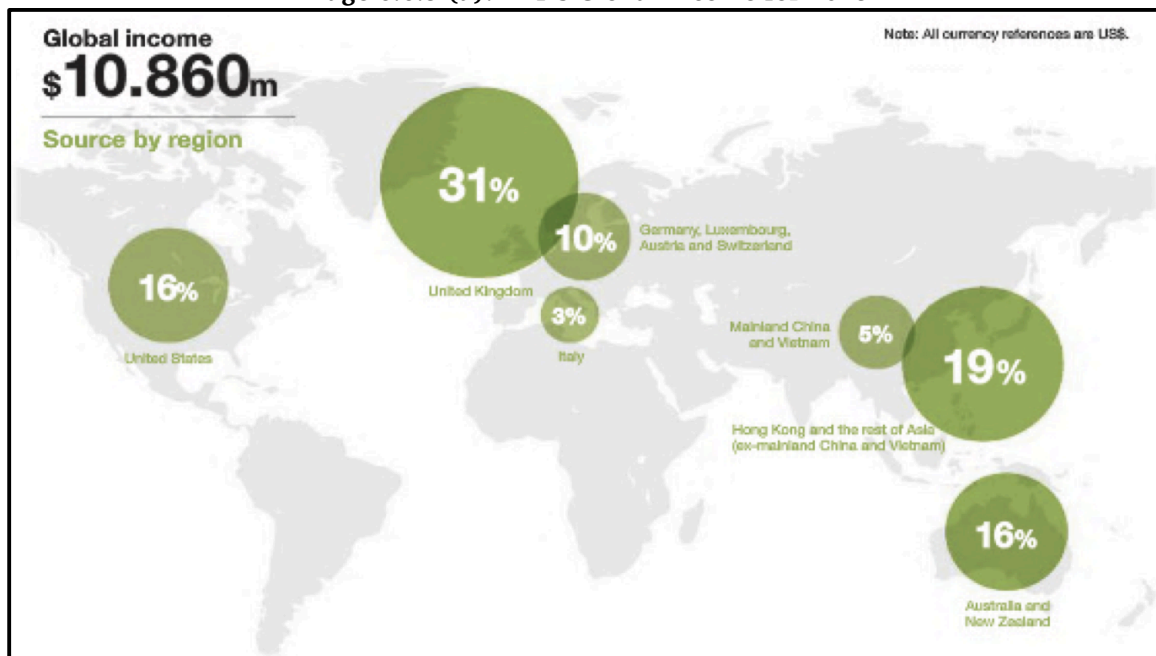
Similarly, BAWA receives generous monetary support from the US, Australia and Western Australia to spay, neuter and protect the welfare of *Kintamani* dogs - *Kintamani* dogs are Bali's heritage dog, the island's genetically unique street dog that is under threat (http://bawabali.com/donate-to-bawa/). In 2011, BAWA received assistance from the World Society for the Protection of Animals (WSPA) to save dogs from being culled by the Balinese government as a result of rabies. With the help from WSPA, BAWA had successfully vaccinated more than 300,000 dogs in Bali against rabies (WSPA, 2011: p. 14).

From Image **6.6.5 (a)** on the next page, we can see that AAF receives substantial monetary support from international donors to support its mission and work to end bear bile farming in China (primary) and also Vietnam.

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[40] Soi Dog is a legally recognised charity in the United States, Thailand, Australia, France and Holland. Soi Dog's primary objective is the elimination of unnecessary suffering endured by street dogs and cats in Thailand.

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Image 6.6.5 (a): AAF's Global Income for 2015

Source : http://www.animalsasia.net/upload/AAR2015/flipbook_EN/#p=26

From the total income of USD 10.860 million collected by AAF in 2015, 76% of the income contribution came largely from international conscientious constituents from developed countries, 31% from the UK alone. However, the amount of income collected from China alone (Mainland and Hong Kong) is unknown. This is because the figures, 5% and 19%, were arrived at after combining the income collection from Vietnam and other countries in Asia. Therefore, there is a possibility that the actual size of income collected from China (Mainland and Hong Kong) is much smaller.

It is likely that one of the reasons why these animal protection SMOs have been able to tap into such international resources is because their founders are individuals from developed countries. The founders of Soi Dog Foundation Thailand, AAF and BAWA are from the Netherlands, Britain and America respectively. As such, these organisations automatically have close links with developed and wealthy societies from which to draw monetary resources.

The animal protection SMOs in Malaysia have not reached into these international conscientious constituents. This is most probably because of their indigenous status; that is, they are propelled and founded by local Malaysians. As a result of that, only those within Malaysia are aware of their existence. The one exception, however, is the F.F.F which has an international affiliation with AAF. This is because, AAF selected F.F.F in 2007 to be its representative in Malaysia to execute its Dr. Dog Program. But, F.F.F receives monetary support from AAF only to run and develop its Dr. Dog Program, nothing else.

In personal communications with G.O.E and M.I.A.R, they were not aware that international animal welfare organisations such as WSPA and RSPCA International do provide funds, veterinary expertise and medical aid for animal protection SMOs in Europe and also East Asia. For example, in 2009 Malaysia was identified as one of the countries eligible to receive proactive aid (RSPCA International, 2016). These animal protection SMOs assumed that the fund by RSPCA International was meant only for SPCAs. This evidence suggests that the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia are inexperienced and not well informed of the monetary facilities that are made available by international animal welfare bodies.

In sum, it is reasonable to assume that one of the reasons why the bureaucratisation of the animal protection SMOs in the APM in Malaysia has stalled is due to insufficient monetary resources. Furthermore, without sufficient financial resources it is believed that the APM in Malaysia encounters great difficulty in recruiting the right people with the right skills to manoeuvre the movement and maintain effective animal protection SMOs.

6.7   Resource 2: People and the APM in Malaysia.

Receptive Population, Organisational Membership, Effective Leaders and Skills.

In a series of surveys carried out by Zald and McCarthy in 1987 on the competition among SMOs, especially on resources, it was revealed that SMOs classify people as either their first or second most important resource (Hall, 1995: p. 61). For example, this category of resource is crucial for SMOs because it provides elements such as labour, experience, skills, expertise, leadership, and so forth (Edwards and Kane 2014: p. 213; Becker 1964).

6.7.1 Receptive Population.

Tina Fetner and Kristen Kush (2008), add that the size of the population that might be receptive to mobilisation is also a category of people resource. The following **Table 6.7.1 (a)**, attempts to point out the estimated fraction of the population that is receptive to mobilisation in Malaysia, the UK and the US.

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Table 6.7.1 (a): Estimated Size of Receptive Population in Malaysia, the UK and the US

Country	Population (2014)	Post-Materialist Values	Estimated Size of Receptive Population	Ratio	Not Receptive	Receptive
UK	61.6 million	22.8%	14,044,800	1:4.4	4 to 5 individuals	1 individual
USA	318.9 million	16.7%	53,256,300	1:5.9	5 to 6 individuals	1 individual
Malaysia	30.0 million	6%	500,000	1:0.06	60 individuals	1 individual

Translated from the World Values Surveys' Collected Data

Table 6.7.1 (a) above exhibits clearly the estimated ratios between individuals who are unreceptive to mobilisation and those who are. In the UK and the US for example, the ratio of those who are unreceptive towards mobilisation to those who are is 1: 4.4 and 1: 5.9 respectively. Equally important, the table also clearly illustrates that Malaysia has a much smaller population who are receptive to the kinds of values and ideas being proposed by the APM.

6.7.2 Organisational Membership.

According to Susan Olzak and Emily Ryo (2007) and Kenneth T. Andrews (*et.al.,* 2010), actual organisational membership as well as participative and active leaders are a people resource which is equally important for a bureaucratised SMO. In this light, it is useful to examine the size of HSUS, Greenpeace and PETA memberships as exhibited in the following **Table 6.7.1 (b)**.

Table 6.7.2 (a) The Size of Membership for Animal Protection SMOs in Developed Countries

Social Movement Organisation (SMO)	Volume of Membership
Humane Society of the United States (HSUS)	11,000,000
People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA)	3,000,000
Greenpeace	180,000 in the UK 2,800,000 all over the world

Sources: : http://www.humanesociety.org/about/leadership/executive_staff/wayne_pacelle.html; http://www.peta.org/about-peta/; http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/about/

HSUS, PETA and Greenpeace are some of the most notable examples of well-established and fully bureaucratised animal protection SMOs in the world. The mammoth size of their memberships exhibit the importance of having participative and active leaders, members and supporters. These individuals are responsible for energising the movement to accomplish its mission and achieve its objectives so that the number of supporters, potential adherents and membership will increase.

Greenpeace for example, started off as a small team of activists from Vancouver, Canada in 1971, but currently has 2.8 million members worldwide and a presence in 41 countries, including 180,000 members in the UK. This example exhibits the importance of having active leaders, members and supporters where the mission and objectives of the organisation are successfully shared with constituents all over the world. This expands the pool of resources of *human capital* with such goods as experience, knowledge, talents, and proficiency (Becker, 1964). SMOs like Greenpeace, HSUS, PETA and CiWF often require expertise of different kinds and having access to professionals like lawyers, web designers, dynamic speakers, organisers, or outside experts can be crucially imperative.

As presented in **Table 6.4.1 (a): Core Features Lacking in the Animal Protection SMOs in Malaysia** earlier, the animal protection SMOs in the APM in Malaysia do not keep a record of their organisational memberships. This is mainly because the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia do not have memberships, but have supporters and volunteers instead.

6.7.3 Effective Leaders.

Ellen M. McGurty (2009) asserts that leadership skill is an important part of people resource. Morris and Staggenborg too view movement leaders as "strategic decision-makers who inspire and organise others to participate in social movements" (2002: p. 1). Within the movement, they function as the mobiliser to inspire participants and to link

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the movement to the larger society. Leaders can thus be regarded as critical to social movements because they: stimulate loyalty and dedication; deploy or organise resources; construct and identify opportunities; conceive stratagems; structure demands; and affect or transform outcomes. As maintained by Marshall Ganz (2010), leaders are also the agent in helping others to develop a personal story that connects and commits them to the movement.

As claimed by Oberschall, leadership skills "have to be learned through education and the trial and error experience of activists as the movement unfolds" (1973: p. 158). Colin Barker, Alan Johnson and Michael Lavalette believe that by going through such processes, the leaders in a social movement will develop important skills such as making clear judgments when under fire (2001: p. 104). Therefore, it is believed that due to the lack of experience as lobbyists and spokespersons, the leaders of the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia are insufficiently equipped to devise the most effective approach to inspire potential adherents, acquire resources, execute effective campaigns and seize opportunities to impose demands.

This could explain why the size of supporter and volunteers displayed on their web pages is large, but the actual number of committed individuals is very small. Based on the Facebook pages of G.O.E, M.I.A.R, F.F.F and M.D.D.B for example, they have 1,740, 94,136, 14,490, and 72,504 virtual supporters respectively. But based on the interview sessions with the animal protection SMOs in 2014, I was informed that they do not have the man power to run the SMOs and sanctuaries because volunteers are irregular and rarely available.

It is believed that the absence of organisational membership could be the result of the way the animal protection SMOs are led and promoted. The leaders of the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia are a mixture of individuals from different professions, with different expertise, skills and knowledge; with little to no experience as a lobbyist or spokesperson for animal related issues. For example, the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia are led by professionals, but even that is not much use for running an SMO. Since the size of their physically available volunteers and supporters meagerly reflect the large quantity of their virtual supporters, it is fair to say that they are quite ineffective as leaders. This is because according to Morris and Staggeborg, the RMT views leaders as "political entrepreneurs who mobilise resources and found organisations in response to incentives, risks, and opportunities; supporters are seen as rational actors who follow effective leaders" (2002: p. 5).

With 11 million registered members in the US, HSUS possesses a large number of committed adherents and also a fixed monetary source in the form of annual membership fees. Its current Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Wayne Pacelle, has been playing an active role in promoting the organisation in the APM in the US. Pacelle has stimulated extensive growth in the value and importance of the organisation. Under his

leadership, the HSUS is now the "nation's largest animal protection organisation with eleven million members and constituents, annual revenue of $160 million, and assets of more than $200 million" (http://www.hum manesociety.org/about/leadership/executive _staff/wayne_pacelle.html). As a result of his 10-year experience as the organisations' Chief Lobbyist and spokesperson, according HSUS, Pacelle has become the most active, proactive and effective leader of the organisation.

Many scholars, for example Hopper (1950), Macionis (2001) and Miller (1999), claim that at the bureaucratisation phase, social movements employ experienced and proficient staff to realise the responsibilities of the SMOs and achieve the goal(s) of the movement. And yet, money is needed for this kind of bureaucratisation to take place. Therefore, the restricted and limited financial resources for the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia have severe consequences leaving them to be heavily dependent on irregular volunteers and supporters to propel the APM since they lack the financial capacity to have paid leaders and staff.

6.7.4   Skills.

The information obtained from interviews with the APM in Malaysia strongly suggests that as a result of not being equipped with adequate money (organisational budget and revenue) and monetary resources, the APM in Malaysia is largely managed and operated by irregular volunteers instead of full-time paid professionals. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the APM in Malaysia might have skilled volunteers running its SMOs, but they are not as skilled and well-trained as the full-time paid professionals who are running SMOs such as the HSUS, PETA, Greenpeace and CiWF.

For example, the ability to compromise and cooperate is one of the important skills that a movement needs. Unlike the HSUS, the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia do not have the means to engage professional individuals to be its General Counsel, Senior Vice President of Programs & Innovations, and Senior Vice President of Campaigns. At the HSUS, each of these roles entails establishing cooperation with other animal SMOs and participating in negotiations involving animal welfare and cruelty issues.

From the interviews with the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia, I realised that horizontal links do exist among them, but very fragile. According to the interviewees, it was difficult for the smaller animal protection SMOs to establish links with the older and bigger SMOs in the APM; even the links among the major players are deemed to be weak. The evidence from the interviews suggest the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia prefer to work alone or establish cooperation ties with other SMOs which are not-antagonistic. This is because, I was informed by the interviewees that some of the major players in the APM in Malaysia are hostile towards SMOs that are new and do things differently. The terms *bully* and *bullied* were used when they were describing what the antagonistic SMOs had done to some of the smaller animal protection SMOs. For example, G.O.E and M.I.A.R choose to work alone, but they prefer to work with each

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other if they have cases of animal cruelty which are severe. I was informed by M.I.A.R's founder, that G.O.E gave her the moral support when her organisation and personal life were attacked by a bigger and older animal protection SMO.

Evidently, the APM in Malaysia is not equipped with strong horizontal links and members who are highly skilled, but some of the animal lovers and activists in Pulau Pinang managed to compromise with one another and collaborate. They established a coalition of animal welfare group called the *Stop The Killing Group* urging the Pulau Pinang state government to retract its order to cull stray dogs to stop the spread of rabies. The group raised RM400,000 (£80,000) in donations from the public for rabies vaccination. The coalition's effort was supported by Save Our Strays, SPCA Seberang Perai, SPCA Kulim, Fur Kids Farm from Kuala Lumpur and Noah's Ark Ipoh (The Malay Mail, 19 September, 2015).

However, it is believed that as a result of weak horizontal links between the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia, the APM in Malaysia does not have a pool of great resources such as talent, skill, money, knowledge, technology, committed individuals and equipment. This has caused the APM not to be able to create new campaigns and new programs to address its major concerns, which are animal cruelty and abandonment effectively.

But the most important skill that is found to be lacking from the SMOs in the APM in Malaysia, is the *framing* skill. *Framing* is an important skill for a movement to thrive, pool its resources and achieve its objectives. Since social movements are transporters of philosophies and ideas, *framing* is a process where people of collective goal and identity remodel the way they discern a particular social movement to make it suitable and competent with common lifestyles and traditional rituals (Snow and Benford, 1988).

There are three prominent examples of the ways in which Malaysian APM SMOs fail to frame their objectives as well as they might. First, given the lack of skills and personnel with the SMOs, they are prone to so-called *fire-fighting,* as opposed to strategic planning. This can create obstacles to their broader objectives taking hold amongst the public.

For example, many people in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur are aware that the Kuala Lumpur City Hall (DBKL) has a high-animal-kill turnover at its pound. It was even reported and revealed by TV3's prime time documentary show, *360*, in 2009 that DBKL has been engaging in horrifying acts of savagery to cats and dogs at their pound in Setapak, Kuala Lumpur (The Malay Mail, 5 February, 2009; Malaysia Kini, 12 March, 2009; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1hfgsxRcUGg; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rmj478VVZGM).

M.I.A.R became the first animal protection SMO in Malaysia to rescue animals almost every week from being put to sleep at overcrowded pounds in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. In 2013, the organisation and the Malaysian public rescued 48 dogs from DBKL's animal pound in Setapak. The dogs were scheduled to be euthanised when M.I.A.R was alerted about the matter by a concerned member of the public through its Facebook page. M.I.A.R shared the alert on its Facebook page so that it would be seen by its supporters and members of the public. As a result, more than 20 people turned up with cages, leashes, water and food for the animals while M.I.A.R rented a lorry to transport the dogs to a safer environment (The Star, 1 March, 2013).

However, it is believed that M.I.A.R did not take the aspects of resonance and scope of collective action into account when it framed the rescue mission. This is because, adopting animals (rescues/strays) has yet to become a culture that is fully understood by Malaysians. Even though the animals were rescued, it was difficult to find them a home and most of them ended up at M.I.A.R's shelter in Kajang, Selangor.

In another important example, *Pak Mie Shelter* was established by a Malay man in Tanjung Bendahara, Alor Star as a result of the ongoing ill treatment of strays especially dogs in that district of Kedah state. The main intention of the late Muhammad Azmi Ismail or better known as Pak Mie was to provide a sanctuary for stray dogs and also to enlighten the locals that Islam demands humane treatment to all creatures. According to V. Devi from SPCA Kedah "a Muslim taking care of dogs without being biased is out of this world when it comes to Malaysia" (A Stray Hero at https://vimeo.com/59077214). His work received support from animal lovers across the country.

However, until to this day, the locals in Alor Star do not approve of his unconventional sanctuary for stray animals. Even though his effort, to a certain extent, enlightened the public that as Muslims things are to be done based on Islamic teachings instead of perception, he still encountered difficulties with the local authorities and local community (The Star, 29 March, 2015). For example, the relocation of the shelter failed even though Pak Mie had found a plot of land in Padang Terap and donors had raised enough money to purchase it. This is because the local community in Padang Terap was against the idea of having a shelter full of dogs in the area (The Star, 11 September, 2013). As a result, *Pak Mie's Shelter* still sits on a Temporary Occupation on Land (TOL) government land that belongs to Indah Water Consortium (The Star, 29 March, 2015). The fear is that the shelter that currently houses 700 stray animals might be asked to vacate at any time (The Sun Daily, 11 Feb, 2016; The Sun Daily, 24 February, 2016; New Straits Times, 21 September, 2016).

Thirdly, and in addition to *fire-fighting*, the animal protection SMOs are believed to be rather inexpert in framing activities which take cultural-sensitivity into account. For example, the *I Want to Touch a Dog* was an event to campaign for compassion and empathy towards dogs. The event was the brainchild of a Malay youth who realised that dogs were being mistreated by certain sections of the Muslim community in Malaysia.

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The event also taught the right way of performing the *sertu* ritual to Muslims who attended the event. The event was a success to a limited extent where it elucidated some of the controversial issues about dogs and Islam and decreased the fear of dogs among those who were not familiar about dogs' nature and handling. But a majority of the Muslim community and clerics in Malaysia perceived the event to be offending Islam and was culturally insensitive. As a result, the founder went into hiding because he was receiving a lot of death threats right after the event.

The thesis believes that the failure of the event was avoidable if only the organiser and animal protection SMOs had consulted the Muslim clerics on how to carry out the event beforehand. It is believed if the event was carried out based on the guidelines released by the Muslim clerics, the event would have received tremendous support from the Malay ethnic and Muslim community in Malaysia.

6.8 <u>Discussion of Hypothesis</u>.

Much of the above analysis strongly supports the hypothesis examined in this chapter: the APM in Malaysia is stymied as a result of the stalled bureaucratisation of its SMOs.

Indeed, it would seem that a lack of financial resources is the main reason for this stalled bureaucratisation. Money is a fungible resource that can be exchanged for skilled people and effective organisations. The shortage of money as a result of limited and restricted financial avenues for the APM in Malaysia has actually prevented the accumulation of other resources such as skilled and knowledgeable staff, experienced leaders, assets such as buildings and vehicles, trained recruits, equipment and established networks. All of these non-monetary resources are helpful in furthering the aims of the APM in Malaysia; but all of them require money in order to be established.

Having said all of that, the Malaysian example gives us reason to doubt that there is a direct correlation between the levels of bureaucratisation and success. This is because, it is the smaller and less bureaucratised animal protection SMOs which appear to be more successful at executing their goals compared to the larger ones. In particular, the less bureaucratised ones such as F.F.F, Noah's Ark Ipoh and M.I.A.R seem to have achieved more successes than the most bureaucratised ones such as SPCA Selangor.

First of all, the less bureaucratised animal protection SMOs claimed from interviews that if S.P.C.A Selangor had competently executed its duties and tasks as the biggest and most effective animal welfare organisation in the country, there would not be the need for so many animal sanctuaries and shelters created and operated by the smaller animal protection SMOs.

If SPCA Selangor was effective in the pursuit of changing the lives of animals in the country, the number of animal cruelty cases would not be increasing as years go by. Before the other animal protection SMOs started to mushroom, SPCA Selangor was the sole and primary place for the public to surrender unwanted pets and strays. Due to the snowballing number of animal cruelty cases, the smaller animal protection SMOs started to proliferate in the country. For example, organisations such as Animal Care, Save a Stray, NAI, M.D.D.B, F.F.F, G.O.E, M.I.A.R, S.C.R.A.T.C.H and I.S.P.C.A, are some of the many smaller SMOs, which absorb the burden and responsibilities of SPCA Selangor.

However, not only are these smaller animal protection SMOs taking up duties that fall upon SPCA Selangor, but they are also achieving successes of their own. For instance, M.I.A.R is responsible for exposing the abusive treatment of strays by the dogcatchers hired by city and municipal councils in the country (The Star, 20 July, 2013). In September 2013, M.I.A.R uploaded a gruesome video showing dogcatchers hired by the Kajang Municipal Council (MPKj) dragging and eventually strangling a stray dog, disregarding all the recommended protocols for the humane handling of strays (The Malay Mail, 23 September, 2013). The seven-minute video spoke of the acts of council related abuse of strays all over the country. This was one of the most controversial non-human animal cruelty cases in Malaysia (The Star, 4 October, 2013) Such exposure by M.I.A.R. had the public writing to the *Menteri* Besar of Selangor (Minister) to end the cruel culling of strays and protesting for the removal of stray dogs to be humane.

The *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* is a big stepping stone for Malaysia as the heightened of moral values and advancement of animal welfare in the country have long been overdue. During the interviews with the senior officials of Ministry of Agriculture and Agro-based Industry (MOA) and Department of Veterinary Services (DVS) in 2014, they both acknowledged that animal protection SMOs had played an important role in shaping the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*. To a certain extent, it is reasonable to believe that SMOs such as M.I.A.R, Noah's Ark Ipoh, M.D.D.B, Save a Stray, F.F.F and G.O.E and many more had played an important role in addressing and highlighting the plight of stray dogs in Malaysia.

In another important example, in 2011 the Ipoh City Council conducted the shooting of stray dogs as a *covert operation* after it had assured to outlaw shooting in 2010 (The Star, 16 November 2010) and to assume more humane means to overcome the problem. As a result, led by Noah's Ark Ipoh, all the animal related SMOs including the Ipoh Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ISPCA), The Sanctuary Ipoh, S.P.C.A Selangor and the Malaysian Animal-Assistant Therapy for Disabled, Elderly Association (Petpositive) converged at Ipoh City Council for the second time to protest the shooting of stray dogs by the council (Ipoh ECHO, 16 October, 2011; Ipoh ECHO, 1 October, 2011).

On the 5th of April, 2012 for the third time, Noah's Ark Ipoh organised a protest (a silent protest) against the shooting and maiming of dogs by the Ipoh City Council. The protest

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was organised because some members of the public discovered stray dogs which were shot but not killed. The badly wounded dogs were left where they were shot, together with those that had died. At a tip-off, one of the members of Noah's Ark Ipoh went to rescue the alive but severely wounded dogs to be treated at the veterinary clinic that belonged to Noah's Ark Ipoh's founder (Animal Care, 4 April, 2012).

Image 6.8 (a) below, shows one of the dogs shot by Ipoh City Council getting veterinary treatments for its gunshot wound at Noah's Ark Ipoh's founder's clinic.

Image 6.8: One of the shot dogs getting medical attention

Source: https://myanimalcare.org/2012/04/04/calling-for-animal-lovers-in-ipoh/

In a further prominent example, in April 2009, the founder of F.F.F, the late Sabrina Yeap was alerted about dogs being dumped on deserted islands off *Pulau Ketam*, near Port Klang from a newspaper article (The Sun Daily, 7 May 2009). A group of independent animal rescuers complained about the plight of the abandoned dogs to a local newspaper. It was discovered that the *Pulau Ketam* residents were collecting stray dogs by the hundreds and transferred them by force to *Pulau Selat Kering* and *Pulau Tengah* (Malaysia Kini, 7 May, 2009). The dogs were expected to experience a slow and painful death on these uninhabitable islands: food was scarce, there was no source of drinking water, the islands were populated by venomous snakes and there was no dry land but only branches of the mangroves (The Guardian, 7 May, 2009; NBC News, 7 May, 2009; Fox News, 7 May, 2009). According to The Star newspaper, "Yeap shared her

concerns with fellow activist and blogger, Terence Victor Smith, better known as TV Smith". He promptly went on an expedition to investigate the matter (30 May, 2009).

Image 6.8 (b) below, shows a dog eating the remains of another dog on *Pulau Selat Kering*, a small, uninhabited island off Malaysia's western Selangor state.

Image 6.8 (b): Starving dogs dumped on Malaysian islands turn to cannibalism

Source: http://english.sina.com/world/p/2009/0507/239547.html

Smith's findings stunned Malaysia, the dogs were "struggling to survive in the mangrove swamps, the larger dogs cannibalised the weaker, smaller ones. Others held on for dear life on twigs, branches and mangroves which were also home to venomous snakes" (The Star, 30 May 2009; The Sun Daily, 7 May, 2009; Malaysia Today, 7 May, 2009; The Guardian, 7 May, 2009; NBC News, 7 May, 2009). Equipped with a soul-stirring photograph of a wet puppy grueling to balance itself on fallen branches, **Image 6.8 (c),** Smith and F.F.F exposed the cruelty to the mass.

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**Image 6.8 (c): The Photo Used by Smith and F.F.F to Expose the Cruelty of
Pulau Ketam Residents and Klang Municipal Council in 2009**

**Smith turned the haunting photo of the wet puppy into a poster which he
uploaded on his blog site at: http://www.mycen.com.my/rescue/updates.html**

The poster by Smith which was shared on his blog site and F.F.F's official page at http://furryfriendsfarm.wix.com, had wide ramifications. For this particular case of animal cruelty and abandonment, ad hoc donations and volunteers came in from Australia, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, the UK and the US, which allowed Yeap and Smith to undertake a rescue mission at once. Yeap and Smith organised the *Rescue Mission Secretariat* which was managed and operated by volunteers who were all independent animal rescuers (The Star, 30 May, 2009; Animal People, 2009: p. 1 and 16-17; http://www.mycen.com.my/rescue/updates.html).

Then, The Star newspaper made an alarming exposé that the *Pulau Ketam* residents had caught and abandoned the dogs on *Pulau Selat Kering* and *Pulau Tengah* starting early of March, with allocations apparently provided by Klang Municipal councillor (MPK), Mr. Tee Beng Lee (The Star, 11 May, 2009; The Star, 30 May, 2009).

These actions by the smaller animal protection SMOs such Noah's Ark Ipoh and F.F.F were not just important in terms of the short term publicity and impact that they had. There is also reason to believe that they had some influence on policymakers; and in particular in the shaping of the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*. For example, the Minister of MOA, Dato' Sri Ismail Sabri Yaakob, gave his word that dogs would be catalogued as among those animals that cannot be shot by local authorities as one way of managing their populace. In his reply to points raised during the debate on the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* he stated that "If the local authorities continue to shoot dogs, they can be punished and fined up to RM100,000 under this Bill" (The Malay Mail, 17 June, 2015; The Star, 17 June, 2015; The Daily Express, 19 June, 2015). Furthermore, during the interviews with the senior officials of MOA and DVS in 2014, they both acknowledged that animal protection SMOs had played an important role in shaping the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015*.

It is certainly plausible that these smaller and less bureaucratised animal SMOs have had more success stories than SPCA Selangor because they are led and operated by grassroots enthusiasts. For example, referring to the dogs abandoned on *Pulau Selat Kering* and *Pulau Tengah* case in 2009, F.F.F started to spring into action and mobilise volunteers and pull in resources in May. It launched the first stage of the rescue mission on the 2nd of May 2009 where 21 dogs were brought to safety and deposited in its shelter in Kundang, Selangor. Meanwhile, the SPCA Selangor team only started to investigate the case by visiting one of the islands, *Pulau Selat Kering*, in July 2009 and rescued two dogs (NBC News, 7 May, 2009; Daily News, 7 May, 2009).

Therefore, it is reasonable to claim that these smaller animal SMOs are the alternative organisations that focus, concentrate and address some of the unsolved aspects of the original problem – animal cruelty. New animal SMOs surfaced because they observed that many people are still impassive towards animal cruelty and animal welfare despite of having the SPCA Selangor as the oldest and most bureaucratised animal SMO in the country.

6.9   Conclusion.

Based on the discussion in this chapter, it is clear that in order for a movement to be properly bureaucratised, it needs to be in an environment that facilitates the bureaucratisation process. But, in order for the process to take place, the RMT states that a movement needs to have an abundance of tangible (money, equipment, property, people) and intangible resources (skill, knowledge, experience, talent). However, according to experts, money, people and organisations are the most important resources that a movement needs in order for it to bureaucratise.

Animal welfare organisations in developed and wealthy countries generally move through the bureaucratisation stage more easily than the SMOs in Malaysia. This is primarily because, Malaysia's economic and social environment does not fully support, encourage and facilitate the bureaucratisation of the SMOs of the APM in the country.

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As a result of being an industrial country with progressive economic growth but limited economic resources, the SMOs in Malaysia are deprived of adequate monetary support, professional people and the receptive population to achieve the goals of the movement on a bigger scale.

But despite lacking of all those resources (money and people), the APM in Malaysia is creating its own success stories. The smaller and less fully bureaucratised animal protection SMOs are the ones contributing to the success of the movement. The success stories of these smaller and not bureaucratised animal protection SMOs indicate that there is no direct correlation between bureaucratisation and success, except perhaps for the degree of success. It is reasonable to say that, a fully bureaucratised SMO achieves greater and bigger success; a smaller and not bureaucratised SMO achieves smaller success.

To explain, a fully bureaucratised SMO such as the HSUS, PETA, CiWF or Greenpeace achieves greater and bigger success because of its actions and ideologies have a bigger scale of influence and outcome. For example, in 1987, the UK government moved to discontinue the use of cruel veal crates for calves by phases after a court case and campaign from the CiWF. In 1990, the ban came into place in the UK. The perpetuated pressure from CiWF also engendered in legislation to ban veal crates across Europe from 2007. As a result of such a campaign by CiWF, veal crates are now prohibited in all countries in the EU (http://www.ciwf.org.uk/our-impact/).

Another important example of greater success as a result of being a fully bureaucratised SMO is HSUS's success in ending Canada's seal hunt and fur trade. HSUS is in the US and yet its actions have impacts on animal welfare and rights in other countries. To illustrate, HSUS's campaigns and trade bans have prompted seal fur prices in Canada to collapse, and more and more sealers have declined to participate in seal hunts. More than two million seals have been spared from seal-hunt-slaughter in the past 7 years (http://www.humaneso ciety.org/about/hsus- transformational-change.html?credit=we b_id93480558).

Meanwhile, a smaller and non-bureaucratised SMO achieves smaller success means that their actions may have a localised or segmented impact. For example, the APM in Malaysia campaigns mainly for the welfare and safety of the stray and companion animals in the country. And the pressure that MOA and DVS had been receiving from the animal protection SMOs for better treatment of stray dogs have had an impact on Malaysia's *Animal Welfare Bill 2015 (*passed by the Malaysian Parliament in 2015 and currently waiting to be gazetted) to a certain degree their concerns are translated in the Bill. Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that when an SMO is not fully bureaucratised, it will fail in achieving some of the objectives of the movement.

For the APM in Malaysia, it is clear that, despite lacking of all sorts of resources, the smaller animal protection SMOs are trying to execute its tasks and achieve the goals of the APM in the country. Perhaps some of the reasons behind their achievements are as follows: they are independent of all bureaucratic ties with government agencies; and they are manoeuvred by grassroots enthusiasts. As a result, they will take the lead to highlight, address and rectify animal cruelty cases in the country.

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Chapter 7
Conclusion

7.1   Introduction.

This is the final chapter of the thesis. In this chapter, the main findings pertaining to the research questions are presented. Furthermore, the strengths and limitations of this study are considered and suggestions for future academic research on new social movements (NSMs) in industrial countries are put forward for consideration. This chapter ends with a general conclusion of the entire study.

The study was engineered to examine NSMs in a country which is not post-industrial and does not have a society that is inclined towards post-materialist values. Its was specifically tailored to facilitate its three objectives, which were:

1)   To determine the factors and establish the logic that contributed to the materialisation of the animal protection movement (APM) in Malaysia;

2)   To identify and address the challenges and opportunities of the APM in Malaysia; and

3)   To determine the future prospects of the APM in Malaysia.

Methods such as a single closed case study, semi-structured interviews, documentary analysis and participant observation helped the study to capture evidence, construct arguments and arrive at academic findings which were pertinent to answering its research questions and testing its hypotheses.

To satisfy the fundamental ambitions of the study, the study was designed based on a framework that was built on concepts and theories that are crucial to theories of social movements generally, and new social movements in particular. Of particular importance were the theoretical insights drawn from discussions of *political opportunity*, *post-materialist value* and *resource mobilisation*. Indeed, these ideas helped to construct the three major hypotheses of the study.

7.2   Why is the Study Original?

Most importantly, what makes the study innovative is that there has yet to be any academic research available on the APM in Malaysia. This could possibly be because Malaysia is an industrial country. As mentioned earlier, studies of NSMs are more prevalent in relation to post-industrial countries.

Since there has been no study conducted on the APM in Malaysia, I can claim that my thesis is the first comprehensive study of the APM in Malaysia. My study presents original knowledge, new information and strong evidence regarding the emergence, development and possible future of the APM in Malaysia. The findings of my thesis can also be converted into tentative conclusions of other APMs in other industrial countries and non-post-materialist societies. Such new and original knowledge is consequential because NSMs such as the APM are unfolding and notable movements in Malaysia and other industrial countries. Therefore, the new knowledge acquired from this study helps to bolster the literature on NSMs as a whole.

Secondly, the study is original and important for contributing to that small amount of emerging literature on APMs in states that are not western democracies.

Even though there are other scholarly works on the APMs in China, Brazil, India and Thailand, they are primarily focused on explaining the cultural and historical aspects of animal treatment and also on the importance of having working animal legislation. Therefore, with cautious optimism I can claim that my study is the most detailed study of an APM in a country that is not a western democracy. This is because my study does not only look at the historical background of the movement and the entities involved in the movement or the legislations protecting the animals in Malaysia; my study also examines the factors contributing to its emergence, the level of its development, the type of obstacles its endures and the opportunities which are available for it to prosper. Importantly, my study also attempts to construct informed predictions of the APM in Malaysia.

Thirdly, my thesis is important because it does not only generate original and important findings, but also broadly supports the main theoretical assumptions of the literature. For example, my study uncovered that the APM in Malaysia is not as strong and well-resourced as the APMs in post-industrial countries and post-materialist societies. This is mainly because Malaysia has yet to experience the robust economic growth which will enable its society to enjoy high material and physical security. As a result, the post-materialist value level in Malaysia is low (5.6%-7%). In that light, the findings of the study correspond with the claims made by NSM theory and post-materialist theory, which is that NSMs are strongly driven by high levels of post-materialist values.

On the other hand, my study is also original because it challenges one of the prominent theoretical assumptions of NSMs. According to the literatures on NSMs, it is important for the social movement organisations (SMOs) of a movement to be fully bureaucratised in order to achieve success. However, my study shows that, in the APM in Malaysia, it is the smaller, less bureaucratised and under-resourced animal protection SMOs that are the most effective SMOs in advocating animal welfare and pushing animal concerns forward.

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Therefore, acquiring such fresh information of an NSM in an industrial country presents a fascinating application of NSM theory. There has been very little academic work applying NSM theory and its ideas to industrial countries and non-post-materialist societies. As a result, my thesis offers the intriguing and novel application of an established literature and set of ideas.

7.3   Findings of the Study's Research Questions.

The study was accompanied by a set of research questions, which were not only critical but also flexible enough to accommodate its objectives. The research questions were:

1) Why has the APM, a genre of NSM that is usually prevalent in post-industrial countries and post-materialist societies, transpired in Malaysia, an industrial country and a non-post-materialist society?

2) What does the APM in Malaysia campaign for?

3) What are the main challenges endured by and opportunities available for the APM in Malaysia?

4) What are the components of the APM in Malaysia?

5) What are the future trajectories of the APM in Malaysia?

6) What is the strongest factor stymieing the APM in Malaysia?

The following paragraphs will be discussing on the findings acquired by the thesis in answering its research questions.

7.3.1 Research Question 1:

Why has the APM, a genre of NSM that is usually prevalent in post-industrial countries and post-materialist societies, transpired in Malaysia, an industrial country and a non-post-materialist society?

To begin with, the *Animals Act 1953* was introduced by the British during its occupation in Malaya. The introduction and establishment of such legislation is believed to have influenced the locals to gradually pay attention to the welfare of animals in the country. But as Malaysia started to steadily climb up the economic and social ladder, more and more Malaysians started to pay more attention to animal welfare matters.

Malaysia's moderate but healthy economic growth has entitled it to be classified as a Newly Industrialised Country (NIC) by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in June of 2011 and also as an upper-middle income country by the United Nations (UN) in 2012.

Its economic progress has given adequate room for its middle-income populace to grow healthily. According to NSM scholars such as Parkin (1968), Duvyendak (1995) and Rootes (1992), NSMs are encouraged by middle-class professionals because they are the educated members of the society and therefore they aim for reforms which are basically moral in content. Therefore, it is believed that the APM in Malaysia has always been there, but the movement picked up its momentum as the size of Malaysia's middle-class professionals started to grow because the country's economy started to do well.

Even though the World Values Survey (WVS) indicated that post-materialist values in Malaysia were between 5.6%-7%, which is very low compared to the levels of post-materialist values in the UK and the US, the small group of post-materialist value oriented people in Malaysia is making the APM known to both the Malaysian public and government.

7.3.2 Research Question 2: What are the components of the APM in Malaysia?

The study unearthed that the APM in Malaysia is comprised of a variety of entities, which are:

1) A Bureaucratised Animal Protection Organisation.

The SPCA Selangor is by far the most bureaucratised SMO in Malaysia at the moment. It is an animal welfare society located in Ampang Jaya, Selangor – one of the most affluent communities in the richest state in Malaysia. The objective of the organisation is not only to safeguard animals but also to assuage their suffering. The organisation runs adoption programs, conducts investigations on reported animal cruelty cases, offers education on humane animal treatment, facilitates community animal caregivers and operates a dedicated, low-cost spay and neuter clinic. The organisation also campaigns for the Malaysian government and municipal councils for better animal handling and severe penalties for those who commit animal cruelty. The organisation claims that over the years, it has acquired "tremendous goodwill, recognition and support from animal lovers all over Malaysia" (http://www.spca.org.my/who-we-are/history-mission/).

2) Non-Bureaucratised and Smaller Animal Protection Organisations.

From the interviews with the rest of the APM's components, it emerged that new but smaller animal protection movements started to proliferate in Malaysia because SPCA Selangor was viewed to be inundated with too many animal cruelty cases. Not only that, but the interviewees also suggested that SPCA Selangor does not get its organisation involved in controversial animal cruelty cases. This is because, according to the interviewees, SPCA Selangor has a working relationship with the Department of Veterinary Services (DVS) and Ministry of Agriculture and Agro-Based Industry(MOA).

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Despite being poorly-resourced and not bureaucratised, the smaller SMOs are working to accomplish the mission and achieve the main objective of the APM in Malaysia: better animal welfare and protection.

3) *Shelters, Rescue Groups and Rehabilitation Homes.*

The APM in Malaysia is also constituted of animal shelters, rescue groups and rehabilitation homes. From most the interviews with the APM in Malaysia, the information suggests that Malaysians have yet to fully understand and embrace the novelty of adopting rescued animals, they prefer to get their pets from pet shops.

According to the interviewees, one of the reasons for this is that most Malaysians think that stray animals are vicious and not child-friendly. But according to G.O.E, Noah's Ark Ipoh and S.C.R.A.T.C.H, Malaysians prefer to buy their pets because it has something to do with showing off their social status. As a result of such a mind-set, the majority of the rescued animals do not have a place to go to. Animal shelters are established to house and protect these animals from going back to the streets.

There are also animal rescue groups which are usually made of a close-knit group of friends who rescue and rehabilitate rescue animals; some of the groups put their rescued animals up for adoption and some groups will release their rescues back to where they were found. The latter approach is known as the Trap-Neuter/Spay-Release Management (TNRM), and its main objective is to control the population of unwanted stray animals.

There are also animal rehabilitation homes in Malaysia (as listed in Chapter 2). These homes are responsible for rehabilitating wounded (physically or mentally) rescued animals before they are sent to shelters or being adopted.

4) *Independent Rescuers and Feeders.*

The APM in Malaysia is also comprised of independent rescuers and independent feeders. These individuals are not attached to any rescue groups, animal shelters or animal protection SMOs. From the interviews with the APM in Malaysia, these individuals either work alone or with a group of friends and they will select which animal cruelty cases that they can help with. These individual rescuers and feeders informed me that they would usually keep themselves updated by following the Facebook pages of M.D.D.B, M.I.A.R, G.O.E, Noah's Ark Ipoh and many more on animal cruelty cases which are being shared.

From the above examples, it is reasonable to say that the APM in Malaysia is made up of different types of entities; and that each aims for the betterment of animal welfare. In a nutshell, the APM in Malaysia is comprised of animal activists, animal rescuers (groups and individuals), animal feeders (groups and individuals), rehabilitation homes, animal

shelters, a bureaucratised animal protection SMO and many small and non-bureaucratised animal protection SMOs.

7.3.3 Research Question 3: What does the APM in Malaysia campaign for?

As we can see from the above, the APM in Malaysia is predominantly focused on the welfare and protection of stray and companion animals.

But based on the following examples, it would be reasonable to imply that the animal welfare and rights community in Malaysia is growing. This is because the APM is starting to slowly venture into campaigning for the welfare and protection of laboratory, recreational and zoo animals.

For example, in July 2009, a French pharmaceutical research company proposed to build an animal testing laboratory in a southern state in Malaysia known as Johor Darul Takzim. The research company proposed to the state government that they would not be using local animals for research purposes, instead they would be using imported macaques. Nonetheless, the project was deferred amidst a protest from environmental and animal protection groups in the country (http://www.saasa.org.za/live/activists-pro test-animal-testing-plans-in-malaysia/; Animals Australia: The Voice for Animals, 2009).

And in May 2010, animal groups and activists campaigned for the construction of an animal testing laboratory in Malacca to be stopped (The Telegraph, 30 May, 2010). The APM in Malaysia started to campaign for the safety and welfare of laboratory animals because at that time Malaysia did not have regulations on animal research, which could lead to test subjects being abused.

In Malaysia, not only are wild animals poached and smuggled by exotic pet traders but they are also killed by vehicles. In July 2012, animal rights activists in Malaysia campaigned for the Malaysian government to build an underpass on a stretch of highway near Ipoh and Terengganu (both states are in Peninsula Malaysia) to allow wild animals to pass through unharmed (Hassan, 20 July, 2012; The Star, 22 September, 2014). The passageway crossings will serve to provide safe route for peripatetic animals such as the Malayan tigers, Asian elephants, Malayan tapirs, deer, mouse deer, clouded leopards and leopard cats between two areas of protected forest dissected by a road. The exact locations for the crossings have yet to be determined along the highway (Clean Malaysia, 5 April, 2016; 15 July, 2016).

And in May 2016, after months of campaigning, animal activists in Sabah finally managed to rescue a couple of captive honey bears from a mini zoo in Tawau. The bears were held captive in small cages without any enrichment tools or facilities. The bears were transferred to the Bornean Sun Bear Conservation Centre (BSBCC). The bears are likely to remain at the centre for life because they will not be able to survive in the wild after long years in captivity (Clean Malaysia, 2 May, 2016).

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7.3.4 Research Question 4: What are the main challenges endured by and opportunities available for the APM in Malaysia?

The first challenge that is holding back the APM in Malaysia is the current positioning of animal welfare concerns within the executive arm of the country's administration. The study unearthed that animal welfare and rights are not on the country's national agenda as a result of the country's political orientation. After applying Kitschelt's and Garner's analyses, the study has uncovered that Malaysia has a closed-state structure whereby the architecture of Malaysia's state is built predominantly on an ethnic and identity-based political system. In addition, there are no left-wing political parties in Malaysia's political system which makes it extra strenuous for the articulation of animal interests and the aggregation of demands for animal concerns within the state structure.

The low level of post-materialist values among Malaysians poses a further challenge for the APM. As indicated by WVS, post-materialist values among Malaysians are between 5.6%-7%. Apart from having a very small number of individuals with post-materialist values, it is not known about the size of post-material value oriented individuals who have animal welfare concerns.

Furthermore, dominant long-standing cultural beliefs in the Malaysian community also pose a challenge to the APM in Malaysia. As such, post-materialist values find it hard to take root. Some cultural taboos about certain animals make it difficult for the APM in Malaysia to reach Malaysians at every level. Finally, the APM in Malaysia is also under-resourced as a result of operating in a country that does not have an abundance of economic wealth.

In terms of opportunities, the study did bring out some interesting findings. For example, the APM in Malaysia could create alliances or establish collaborations with internationally established animal protection organisations to secure resources from international conscientious constituents from developed countries. With a steady and substantial monetary support and an improved level of post-materialist values, the study is confident that the APM in Malaysia will have the ability to perform and function with a higher degree of dynamism and efficacy.

7.3.5 Research Question 5: What are the future trajectories of the APM in Malaysia?

The thesis strongly suggests that there are reasons to believe that the APM in Malaysia does have the opportunity to be stronger, more effective, better structured and well resourced. The thesis strongly believes that the APM in Malaysia will have the prospect to experience great improvements provided:

1) Malaysia's state structure is more open and flexible so that it will be able to provide some room for the articulation of animal concerns and aggregation of

demands for better animal welfare in the country. The thesis believes that if there are left-wing parties in Malaysia's political system, issues pertaining to animal welfare will have a better chance to be taken seriously;

2) Malaysia gradually reforms its approach to its national education system whereby it steadily moves away from a result-oriented system to effective learning that emphasises the unceasing development of personal, social, moral and economic well-being. If Malaysia's national education introduced a new teaching syllabus that promotes post-materialist values, NSMs would inevitably benefit.

3) The Malaysian youth is given the opportunity to engage in the country's policy making process. The thesis has found that the youth in Malaysia embrace post-materialist values more strongly than older age groups. Therefore, by allowing the youth to participate in formulating policies and depositing some weightage on their opinions, post-materialist values will have a better chance to permeate in Malaysia.

4) Malaysians are able to distinguish between what is prescribed by the religions practiced in the country from what is being promoted by cultural beliefs when it comes to animal treatment.

5) The animal protection SMOs in Malaysia establish affiliations with internationally recognised animal protection organisations such as the RSPCA International, Humane Society International, SPCA International and WSPA. This is important because the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia are facing difficulties to operate effectively as they are under-resourced. By establishing a strong rapport with these international animal welfare organisations, the animal protection SMOs in Malaysia will have a variety of avenues to tap into.

7.3.6 Research Question 6: What is the strongest factor stymieing the (APM) in Malaysia?

The study speculates that the poor levels of post-materialist values is the most influential factor holding back the APM in Malaysia This is because post-materialist values are crucial for the other two factors – political opportunity and the bureaucratisation of the animal protection social movement organisations (SMOs). Without post-materialist values being prevalent amongst the main actors in the Malaysian state, there are few political opportunities for the APM; and without post-materialist values there are fewer resources – monetary and otherwise – for the SMOs to use to achieve their goals.

To explain, it is reasonable to assume that a lack of post-materialist values explains in part why there are few political opportunities for the APM in Malaysia. After all, if these values are not widely endorsed by policymakers, and of course the government, the

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APM will always find itself without key supporters for its cause. Furthermore, it is also reasonable to assume that a lack of post-materialist values explains in part why there are few resources for the APM to draw upon. For example, being able to recruit and mobilise members to fund and organise campaigns requires a pool of individuals with high levels of concern for animal issues. Unfortunately, such a pool of individuals simply does not exist at present in Malaysia.

7.4   Findings of the Tested Hypotheses.

The main empirical findings of the study are chapter specific and were summarised within the respective empirical chapters that were developed based on three hypotheses as follows.

7.4.1 Hypothesis I:

The APM in Malaysia is Stymied as a Result of Malaysia's Moderately Closed State Structure.

The first hypothesis of the study was tested by incorporating Kitschelt (1986) and Garner's (1999, 2004) account of what comprises an *open* political system into an analysis of Malaysia's state structure. The outcome of the tested hypothesis revealed that Malaysia is of a *closed* state structure and this has stymied its APM from becoming more operational and competent in the country. To explain further, Malaysia's state structure is confirmed to be of a *closed* nature because of the following four reasons.

First, despite having a multi-party system, the political system in Malaysia persists in being constituted by the same political parties which represent and articulate the same economic and social issues from independence. Malaysia's political system is dominated by identity-based political parties, which makes it difficult for the articulation of political interests and issues that are not identity-based.

Also, the Malaysian political structure does not have left-wing political parties to articulate and represent demands and concerns or marginalised groups such as the environment and animals.

Second, its legislative branch is not entirely independent of the executive branch. Despite being sympathetic towards public demands and interests, the head of legislative only acts upon the advice of the chief of the executive branch, who is the Prime Minister of Malaysia. This is primarily because the former does not possess any real political power and holds more symbolic power. For example, the *Animal Welfare Bill 2015* was not gazetted as a law of the country as soon as it was passed by the Malaysian Parliament because the law is seen to be of a low salience by the Malaysian government.

Third, despite having intermediation opportunities with the executive branch, priority is given to groups and entities which will assist Malaysia to materialise other goals, such as: becoming a developed nation; obtaining the halal certificate; becoming an exemplary for other Islamic and ASEAN member countries to emulate; and complying with international standards in animal trade.

Fourth, the Malaysian political structure has a number of apparatuses and mechanisms in place to aggregate demands. Nonetheless, none of these demand aggregating instruments are as effective as they might be as a result of not being independent of the executive arm of the country.

As such, without any doubt, the state structure of Malaysia is definitely of a *closed* nature. This has definitely stymied the APM in the country from being as effective, robust and vibrant as it might have been. Although it was argued by Dryzek et al. (2003) that closed states structures can provide fertile platforms for social movements to thrive, this was not the case for Malaysia. Thus, the first hypothesis of the study has been shown to be largely correct.

7.4.2 Hypothesis II:

The APM in Malaysia is Stymied due to the Low Levels of Post-Material Values and Over-Powering Cultural Beliefs in the Country.

As illustrated by the following **Image 7.4.2 (a)**, NSMs are prevalent in post-industrial countries because the movements are supported by substantial amount of economic, material and social wealth. On the contrary, this is not the situation in Malaysia.

Image: 7.4.2 (a) Post-Materialist Values and NSMs in Post-Industrial Countries

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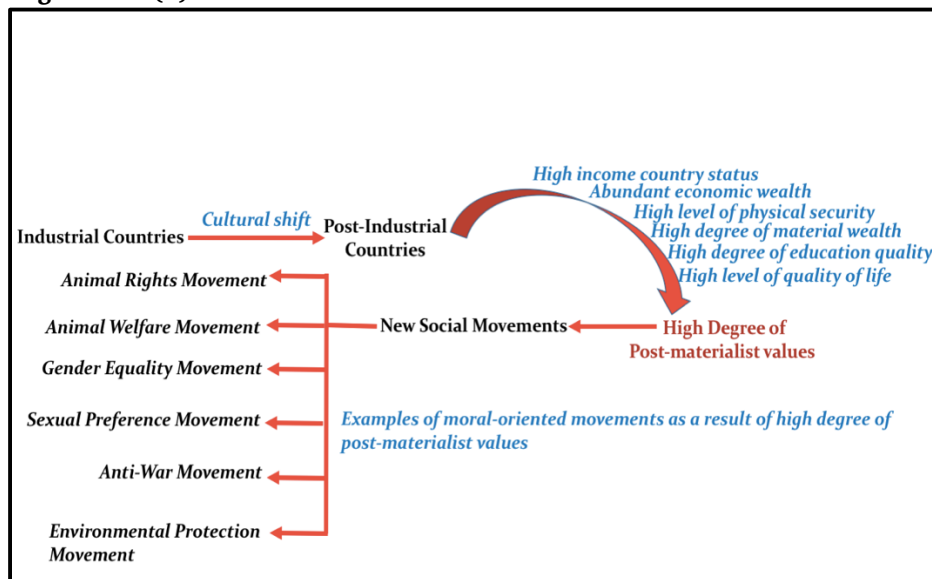
Post-materialist values are moral-oriented concerns which are expressed in the form of NSMs. These values are imperative for NSMs to thrive and they require certain significant factors which will enable them to be influential in making a movement proliferate and be successful. Post-materialist values are higher and NSMs are prevalent in western democracies because these countries and their citizens went through a phase called cultural-shift, where they have successfully relocated their concerns from material and economic wealth acquisitions to moral oriented endeavours.

The level of post-materialist values in Malaysia is poor as a result of a few factors. Firstly, as a result of Malaysia's economic status as a Newly Industrialised Country (NIC), Malaysia cannot provide an environment that is physically, economically, materially and socially healthy for such values to thrive and progress. Secondly, the current orientation of Malaysia's national education system is an obstacle to its youth cultivating interests outside of the examination context. Thirdly the combination of Malaysia's seniority-honouring culture with the overpowering cultural beliefs pertaining to animals is additionally discouraging the APM from further development.

Nonetheless, the emergence and existence of the APM in the country has shown that there are some post-materialist values in Malaysia, despite its status as an industrial country. As such, the second hypothesis of the thesis has also been shown to be accurate.

Most importantly, among these three factors in establishing why the APM in Malaysia is stymied, it has been identified that the poor levels of post-materialist values is the most important factor. This is because of the role post-materialist values play in creating political opportunities and in providing resources for the APM. Therefore, it is fair to conclude that the APM in Malaysia is most held back by the low levels of post-materialist values and the practise of over-powering cultural beliefs in the country.

7.4.3 Hypothesis III:

The APM in Malaysia is Stymied due to the Stalled Bureaucratisation of the Animal Protection SMOs.

From the academic works of social movement scholars, a social movement goes through several phases in its life cycle and the bureaucratisation phase is an important one. A fully bureaucratised social movement is considered to be fully equipped to achieve its goals and execute its tasks more successfully. The bureaucratisation of a social movement helps to determine whether it goes mainstream or fades away. Resources are important for the bureaucratisation of a social movement. As a result, in testing the accuracy of the final hypothesis of the study, the *Resource Mobilisation Theory* (RMT) was integrated into the study.

It was revealed that the APM in Malaysia went through the phases of emergence and coalescence just like APMs in post-industrial countries. Nonetheless, it has stalled at the phase of bureaucratisation in comparison to the APMs in post-industrial countries.

Fundamentally, the APM in Malaysia finds it difficult to bureaucratise because it is experiencing severe challenges in terms of pooling all the essential resources such as material, human, social organisational, cultural and moral. And from these broad types of resources, it was underlined by NSM scholars that three intrinsic resources are critical in determining the development, strategies and outcomes of a social movement: *money*; *people*; and *organisations.*

The following **Image 7.4.3 (a)** illustrates the reasons why the APM in Malaysia finds it arduous to acquire the three intrinsic resources.

Image 7.4.3 (a):
Why does the APM in Malaysia find it Challenging to Acquire the Three Intrinsic Resources?

Malaysia :
An Industrial Country (NIC) with a Closed State Structure and a Poor Level of Post-Materialist Values

Moderate level of economic growth;
Insignificant sources within APM;
Narrow access to grants for a animal welfare;
Non-existent government grants for animal welfare;
Little to No -organisational budget and fundraising.

The APM becomes severely challenged in terms of acquiring MONETARY RESOURCES.

Size of Malaysia's population that is receptive towards mobilisation is very poor.
The ratio of receptive to unreceptive individuals is 1:60

The APM is:
Run by irregular volunteers;
Lack of leaders skilled in animal welfare;
Lack of individuals with organisational skills;
Disorganised and not well-structured;
Fragile horizontal links among the SMOs.

The APM becomes severely challenged in terms of acquiring PEOPLE RESOURCES.

The APM ends with SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANISATIONS Which are not well structured and organised.

The previous **Image 7.4.3 (a)**, illustrates the contributing factors which are causing the bureaucratisation of the APM in Malaysia to be stalled. The study confirms that the third intrinsic resource – the animal protection SMOs - is presently stalled. Without money, the movement does not have the means to employ paid professional individuals to run the SMOs and push the APM forward. Concomitantly, without skilled staff, experienced leaders and paid professionals to run the SMOs, the APM is not as effective in pursuing its aims as it might otherwise be.

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7.5   Limitations of the Study.

Some of the methodological challenges to this study – such as language, time period, distance, unhealthy horizontal links among the animal protection SMOs, omitting photo-ethnography technique and data scrutiny by a government agency - were extensively explored in the third chapter of the study. However, the study came with a couple of additional research limitations that warrant further examination.

The first limitation comes from the study's decision to adopt single case study as one of its research techniques. The eminent criticism of a single case study analysis is the issue of its external validity or generalisability. Fundamentally, the limitation of the study as a consequence of using one case study is that its ability to reliably offer anything beyond the particular is questioned.

Nonetheless, the use of case study for the research is not a devastating limitation that undermines the analysis and contribution of the study. The single case study of the APM in Malaysia provides extensive, detailed and deep insights into the case of an NSM in an industrial country which has never before been studied. Not only are such insights valuable in and of themselves, but they also allow us to test some of the important claims made by social movement scholars about the contexts in which they thrive.

Furthermore, the findings acquired from the single case study also provide a useful springboard for future comparative work. For example, the experiences of APMs in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Phillipines, Indonesia, Thailand, the Phillipines, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam might be entirely different from the APM in Malaysia as a result of differences in: cultural beliefs; national education; economic growth; level of post-materialist value and scope of the movement.

The second limitation is not having a specific hypothesis on the *framing process* – which is much discussed in social movement scholarship. There are two reasons for the omission. Firstly, SMOs in the APM in Malaysia lack much chance to *frame* their activities in ways similar to those of SMOs in more developed countries. This primarily because, as explained in Chapter 6, the APM in Malaysia operates predominantly through *fire-fighting*, where they deal with issues as they happen, as opposed to coming up with mid to long term strategies to make animal protection goals appealing to the public and policy makers.

Secondly, the fieldwork was only for three months, meaning that there was not space to explore in detail all potential hypotheses. As such, the study picked the most pertinent hypotheses that emerged out of the dominant debates in the social movement theory.

Nonetheless, such a limitation is not detrimental to the findings and analysis of the study. Despite not having an exclusive chapter on the framing process, the study acknowledges its relevance and importance. The framing process was discussed in Chapter 6 as one of the most important skills that is missing from the APM in Malaysia.

7.6   Recommended Future Research.

The single case study on the APM in Malaysia has put forward the idea that NSMs in industrial countries face a different degree of success, scope, resources, opportunities and challenges compared to the NSMs in post-industrial countries. There is no doubt that future studies of additional APMs, in other industrial countries would help us to understand them more. Indeed, as pointed about further studies of APMs in South East Asia would also allow for some useful comparisons to be drawn.

However, there are a number of other NSMs in other industrial countries within the region which are worthy of being studied in the future. This is because, the findings acquired from these NSMs are believed to have the academic merit of expanding existing knowledge about NSMs as a whole.

7.6.1 The Environmental Protection Movement in Indonesia.

Environmental protection SMOs such as *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* (AMAN), APURA (Yogyakarta), BIKAL (East Kalimantan), Forest Watch Indonesia (FWI) and Communication Forum on Community Forest (FKKM) are some of the examples of environmental protection groups in Indonesia that started to became active during the administration of President Suharto (Aden, 1975: p. 987-990; Okamoto, 2001; 13-14). These environmental protection SMOs emerged because after 32 years under the Suharto's administration (1967-1998), Indonesia's forest declined rapidly as a result of immense "commercial logging and other forest development projects" which were "executed in the name of *development*" (Okamoto, 2001: p. 21; Palmer, 2000: p. 3-5; Dauvergne,2001: p. 158-160;). Diverse mitigation activities to counter forest fires, illegal logging, rapid expansion of oil palm plantations as well as efforts to achieve "fundamental reform of forest policy through community-based forest management in the country" were put into execution by these environmental protection SMOs (Okamoto, 2001: p. 21-23; Hapsari, 2001: p. 103-104).

This is a promising study because it is very interesting to identify the factors and comprehend the reasons as to how such a NSM emerged during the administration of brutal dictatorship.[41]

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[41] On February 22, 1967, all executive authority was abdicated to military dictator General Haji Mohammad Suharto by Indonesian President Sukarno. Suharto was the second president in Indonesian history and he came to power during a period of unprecedented crisis and violence. His predecessor, Soekarno, had hatched an extremely perilous and hostile government structure comprising of nationalists,

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7.6.2 *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Movement in Thailand.*

Thailand had its first lesbian movement group in 1986. The Anjaree Group was created by Anjana Suvarnananda, a veteran gender rights activist in Thailand to address the brutality, persecution, public stigmatisation and institutionalised discrimination directed towards lesbians in the country (Bangkok Post, 5 June, 2012; Bangkok Post, 16 July 2013; Bangkok Post, 13 July, 2015).[42] The Anjaree Group had changed its name to Anjaree Foundation, and it represents the LGBT community in Thailand (The Bangkok Post, 25 July, 2013).

In 1998, the foundation played an important role in lifting the ban that prohibited LGBT individuals from appearing on television. In 2002, the foundation triumphed in getting the Thai Ministry of Health to openly announce that homosexuality is not a condition which causes serious disorder in a person's behaviour or thinking – it is not mental illness (The Bangkok Post, 6 April, 2014). Between November 2006 and June 2007, the foundation and other LGBT groups pushed for the members of the Constitutional Drafting Committee (CDC) and Constitution Drafting Assembly (CDA) to guarantee that the clause pertaining to the protection for LGBT people in Thailand would be incorporated into the new Constitution.[43]

The LGBT movement in Thailand is a promising case for a future research because it demonstrates the main purpose of NSMs: to alter and challenge long-standing cultural attitudes. It is believed that by using this as a case study, we can discover how such an NSM frames its mission and activities to challenge the current status quo in the pursuit of achieving its objective – equal rights and opportunities for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered individuals. There is also a possibility of comparative study, as there are several LGBT movements in post-industrial countries.

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communists and religious fractions (http://www.indonesia-investments.com/culture/politics/suharto-new-order/item180).

[42] Religion is a significant component that renders to Thai society's comprehension and cognizance of sexual inclination and gender identity. As reported by the UNDP, USAID "The vast majority of Thais ascribe to *Theravada Buddhism*. This religion does have adverse perspectives on sexual inclination or gender identity that does not conform to social norms. It views the incongruence or irregularity either as a punishment for sins in past lives, or as a lack of ability to control sexual impulses and tendencies. Approximately, five percent of the Thai population ascribes to Islam and are largely clustered in the southern provinces. Attitudes towards LGBT people tend to be more orthodox and antagonistic in these areas" (Being LGBT in Asia: Thailand Country Report, 2014: p. 7)

[43] The Thai military organised a coup against the Thai government in September, 2006. As a result, the Parliament was suspended and the 1997 Thai Constitution was annulled. The Thai military appointed the Constitutional Drafting Committee (CDC) to draft new constitution for Thailand (Our Right International Organisation, 11 July, 2007)

7.6.3 Women's Rights in Islam Movement in Malaysia.

Sisters in Islam (SiS) is a society dedicated to upholding the integrity of women within the contexts of Islam and universal human rights. Its endeavours to advance the honour of Muslim women are constructed on the doctrines of non-discrimination, neutrality and freedom commanded by the Quran. SiS's tasks are steadfast on questioning legislations and customs made in the name of Islam that make prejudicial distinctions against women. As such it confronts and addresses topics covered under "Malaysia's Islamic family and *Syariah* laws, such as polygamy, child marriage, moral policing, Islamic legal theory and jurisprudence, the hijab and modesty, violence against women and *hudud"* (http:// www.sistersinislam.org.my).

This is a very interesting case to study because the SiS movement is operating in a country that practices Islamic laws. What makes it more interesting is that Islam and the Malay culture are intimately fused together in Malaysia. Therefore, it would be interesting to study how the movement separates the Malay cultural beliefs from the actual Islamic requirements; operates in a country that has orthodox Islamic clerics; and how well the movement is accepted by the Malaysian public.

7.7   General conclusion.

In summary, the case study of the APM in Malaysia has broadly supported claims made by NSM scholars. First, NSMs bloom and proliferate in countries with *open state structures*. Even though it was argued by Dryzek et al. (2003), using the anti-nuclear movement in Germany, that social movements can become vibrant in *closed state structures*, this was not the case for the APM in Malaysia. As an *actively exclusive* state, Malaysia does not allow its APM to be radical in nature. Plus, the APM in Malaysia has not successfully established powerful links between its defining interests and the state's crucial policies and ambitions.

Second, robust economic health and wealth is necessary for a society to embrace high levels of post-materialist values. And third, NSMs thrive in societies that have abundant economic wealth and high levels of post-materialist values.

Most importantly, among these imperative factors in establishing why the APM in Malaysia is stymied, it has been identified that the poor levels of post-materialist values is the most important factor. This is because with strong post-materialist values there will be more political opportunity and the political structure of the Malaysian state will become more accessible. This is primarily because having political elites with post-materialist values in animal welfare will provide easier and more channels of intermediation for the articulation of animal welfare interests. Additionally, with a society with high levels of post-materialist values in animal welfare, the animal protection SMOs will be able to tap into an abundance of monetary resources which will help them to have a smoother journey towards bureaucratisation**.**

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Given these points, the study has shown that Malaysia's position as an industrial country with a non-post materialist society is found to be relatively unhealthy and unconducive for its APM to thrive. As a result of the low levels of post materialist values in Malaysia we can draw three conclusions: low salience is placed on animal welfare; the APM is small and lethargic; and animal welfare is a low priority for the Malaysian government.

The following **Image 7.7 (a)**, illustrates the summary of the study's findings and conclusion.

Image 7.7 (a): A Summary of Thesis' Findings and Conclusion
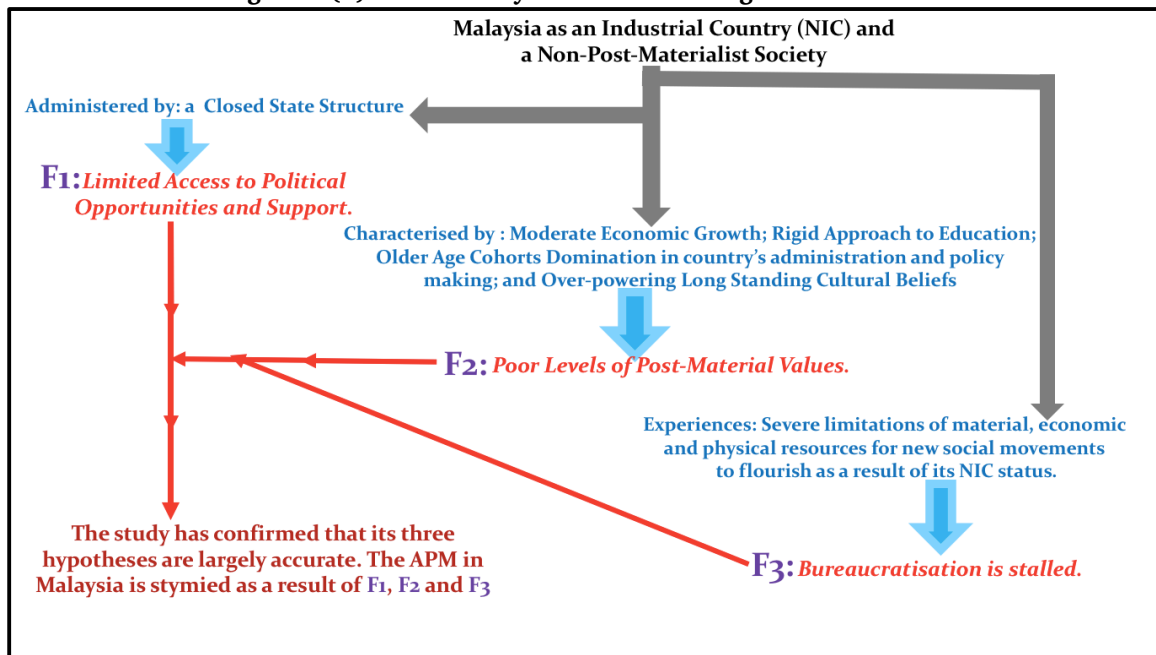
In sum, the study has demonstrated that all three of its hypotheses are largely accurate and that the APM in Malaysia is in fact stymied by lack of political opportunities, lack of post-materialist values and stalled bureaucratisation of its SMOs.

But most importantly, the study finds that the lack of post-materialist values is the strongest contributor to the stymieing of the APM in the country. On top of that, despite the strong argument by Dryzek et al. (2003), that *closed* state structures can become generative grounds for social movements to become vibrant and effective, this was not the case for the APM in Malaysia.

As was previously claimed, the APM in Malaysia is indeed stymied. But, despite being stymied, the APM still attempts to and has some success in protecting the welfare of animals in Malaysia.

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APPENDIX A:

A copy of the approved ethics application form and information sheet for
research participants

University Research Ethics Application Form
Part B – The Signed Declaration

Title of Research Project:

I confirm my responsibility to deliver the research project in accordance with the University of Sheffield's policies and procedures, which include the University's *'Financial Regulations'*, *'Good Research Practice Standards'* and the *'Ethics Policy Governing Research Involving Human Participants, Personal Data and Human Tissue'* (Ethics Policy) and, where externally funded, with the terms and conditions of the research funder.

In signing this research ethics application form I am also confirming that:

- The form is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

- The project will abide by the University's Ethics Policy.

- There is no potential material interest that may, or may appear to, impair the independence and objectivity of researchers conducting this project.

- Subject to the research being approved, I undertake to adhere to the project protocol without unagreed deviation and to comply with any conditions set out in the letter from the University ethics reviewers notifying me of this.

- I undertake to inform the ethics reviewers of significant changes to the protocol (by contacting my academic department's Ethics Administrator in the first instance).

- I am aware of my responsibility to be up to date and comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data, including the need to register when necessary with the appropriate Data Protection Officer (within the University the Data Protection Officer is based in CiCS).

- I understand that the project, including research records and data, may be subject to inspection for audit purposes, if required in future.

- I understand that personal data about me as a researcher in this form will be held by those involved in the ethics review procedure (e.g. the Ethics Administrator and/or ethics reviewers) and that this will be managed according to Data Protection Act principles.

- If this is an application for a 'generic' project all the individual projects that fit under the generic project are compatible with this application.

- **I understand that this project cannot be submitted for ethics approval in more than one department, and that if I wish to appeal against the decision made, this must be done through the original department.**

<u>Name</u> of the Principal Investigator (or the name of the Supervisor if this is a postgraduate researcher project):
Dr. Alasdair Cochrane

If this is a <u>postgraduate researcher</u> project insert the student's name here:
Suzianah Nhazzla Ismail

<u>Signature</u> of Principal Investigator (or the Supervisor):

<u>Date:</u>   *Alasdair Cochrane*

Email the completed application form and provide a signed, hard copy of 'Part B' to m.holder@sheffield.ac.uk (also enclose, if relevant, other documents).

OK – approved   JOHN HOBSON

No personal data will be collected in this study. Consent forms and information sheets will be kept under lock and key at home. All secondary data will be requested without names, contact numbers, dates of birth or addresses for the individual participating in the interview sessions. Anonymised transcripts will be kept in password protected files and in locked drawers.

A11. Will financial / in kind payments (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants? (Indicate how much and on what basis this has been decided)
None

A12. Will the research involve the production of recorded media such as audio and/or video recordings?

YES ☑   NO ☐

A12.1. This question is only applicable if you are planning to produce recorded media: How will you ensure that there is a clear agreement with participants as to how these recorded media may be stored, used and (if appropriate) destroyed?

The information sheet will contain details as to the storage and use of the recordings and whether subjects will be identifiable. Consent will be gained for the use of audio recording. Subjects will also sign that they understand that they will not be identifiable and that they understand the contents of the information sheet. Information sheets will be given to participants to keep after consent is gained and a record kept of this. Consent will also be requested to use the transcripts for future study.

Guidance on a range of ethical issues, including safety and well-being, consent and anonymity, confidentiality and data protection are available at:
http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/gov_ethics_grp/researchethics/policy-notes

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A6. What is the potential for physical and/or psychological harm / distress to participants?
None

A7. Does your research raise any issues of personal safety for you or other researchers involved in the project? (
No

If yes, explain how these issues will be managed.

A8. How will the potential participants in the project be:

i. Identified?
There will be two groups of interviewees. The first group will be made of individuals who are engaged with the animal rights movement in Malaysia. These individuals are animal activists, rescuers and animal sanctuary operators. They are women between the age of 30 to 55 years old.

The second group would be personnel who are engaged with the ministry and agency responsible in looking over the welfare and wellbeing of animals in Malaysia.

ii. Approached?
Subjects for the interview sessions are aware that they will be interviewed. The subjects will be reminded about the interview session by telephone call.

iii. Recruited?
Those agreeing to be involved will be chosen according to the desired balance of factors above. Informed consent will then be gained.

A9. Will informed consent be obtained from the participants?
Subjects will be invited into the study and given the information sheet to read before consenting to the study. They will also be encouraged to talk to the researcher and others prior to agreeing to be involved as necessary. They will then be requested to sign the consent form. They will also be advised that they can discontinue their involvement at any time without explanation.
YES ☑ NO ☐

If informed consent or consent is NOT to be obtained please explain why. Further guidance is at: http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/gov_ethics_grp/researchethics/policy-notes/consent

A9.1. This question is only applicable if you are planning to obtain informed consent:
How do you plan to obtain informed consent? (i.e. the proposed process?):
(please provide details of the process and attach to this form any forms that individuals will sign. Also please provide details as to whether the participants will be offered the choice to remain anonymous, to be quoted with attribution, or whether the interview will merely inform the research findings)

The details are attached with this form.
Appendix A

A10. What measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data, where appropriate?

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A2.2. Other key investigators/co-applicants (within/outside University), where applicable:

Please list all (add more rows if necessary)

Title	Full Name	Post	Responsibility in project	Organisation	Department

A2.3 Is this project funded by the ESRC?
(please answer yes in the case of ESRC funded studentships)

YES ☐ NO ☑

A3. ~~Proposed Project Duration:~~

Start date: 1ˢᵗ August 2014   End date: 30ᵗʰ September 2014

A4. Mark 'X' in one or more of the following boxes if your research:

☑	involves direct contact with participants

☐	involves adults with mental incapacity or mental illness

☐	involves prisoners or others in custodial care (e.g. young offenders)

☐	involves children or young people aged under 16 years

It is recommended that you familiarise yourself with the University's Ethics Policy before completing the following questions. Please note that if you provide sufficient information about the research (what you intend to do, how it will be carried out and how you intend to minimise any risks), this will help the ethics reviewers to make an informed judgement quickly without having to ask for further details.

A5. Briefly summarise:

i. The project's aims and objectives:
It is the primary aim of this research to explore the emergence of the animal rights new social movement (NSM) in developing industrial societies by taking Malaysia as the primary case study. The following will be the subsidiary aims of the research:

    1. To identify the challenges and opportunities of the animal protection movements in developing-industrial societies; and

    2. To identify the reasons causing the emergence of animal protection movements in a non-post-materialist society.

ii. The project's methodology:
It will be of qualitative method. The research strategy adopted is to take Malaysia as the primary case study in understanding the emergence, development and trajectories of animal rights NSMs in the developing democracies. Fieldwork will be conducted in Malaysia from August 2014 to September 2014 since a steady correspondence has been established with different animal rights social movement organizations. The main data collection techniques to be undertaken for this research are in-depth interviews, photo-ethnography, and documentation analysis and participant observations. This research will also take into consideration the historical and phenomenological contexts of the scenario in question.

2

The
University
Of
Sheffield.

<u>Postgraduate Research Study</u>

UNDERSTANDING THE EMERGENCE, DEVELOPMENT AND TRAJECTORIES OF THE ANIMAL RIGHTS NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT (NSM) IN DEVELOPING INDUSTRIAL NATIONS: THE CASE OF MALAYSIA

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

You are being invited to be involved in this research study. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with other members of staff from your organization, agency or ministry if you wish. Please contact me if anything is unclear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.
Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?

It is the primary aim of this research to explore the emergence of the animal rights new social movement (NSM) in developing industrial societies by taking Malaysia as the primary case study. The following will be the subsidiary aims of the research:

1. To identify the challenges and opportunities of the animal protection movements NSM in developing-industrial societies; and

2. To identify the reasons causing the emergence of animal protection movements NSM in a non-post-materialist society.

Why have I been chosen?
You are being invited to take part in this study because you are in a good position to offer insight into this topic, and express views on the animal rights movement in Malaysia.

What will participation involve?
The interview can be carried out within your organization, office, or animal shelter Kuala Lumpur or Putrajaya; whichever would be more convenient for you. The interview will be based around a semi structured interview pattern and will take approximately 30-40 minutes. It is intended as an opportunity for you to express your views on the appropriateness and adequacy of the animal rights movement in Malaysia, its challenges, its future and what could be suggested so that the animal rights movement can be more effective. The interview will be tape recorded, and later transcribed into text form. Recordings of interviews will be deleted upon transcription. You would be very welcome to a copy of the final report.

As part of the presentation of results, your own words may be used in text form. This will be anonymised, so that you cannot be identified from what you said. All of the research data will be stored as hard copy at the University of Sheffield. Please note that:

- You can decide to stop the interview at any point
- You need not answer questions that you do not wish to

- Your name will be removed from the information and anonymised. It should not be possible to identify anyone from my reports on this study.

It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw during the interview or any time up until 30th September 2014 and without giving a reason. If you withdraw from the study all data will be withdrawn and destroyed.

If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form.

If this study has harmed you in any way you can contact University of Sheffield using the details below for further advice and information:

Supervisor's name : Dr. Alasdair Cochrane
Department address : Room 2.01.Department of Politics.University of Sheffield
Phone : Telephone: +44 (0)114 222 1650
Fax : Fax: +44 (0)114 222 1717
Email : a.cochrane@sheffield.ac.uk

Contact for further information

Suzianah Nhazzla Ismail

Department address: Department of Politics. University of Sheffield
Email : snismail1@sheffield.ac.uk
Phone : +447721496072

Thank you

APPENDIX B:

A copy of consent form for research participants

Participant Consent Form

Title of Research Project:
Understanding the Emergence, Development and Trajectories of Animal Rights New Social Movement (NSM) in Developing Industrial Nations : The Case of Malaysia

Name of Researcher: ~~Suzianah Nhazzla Ismail~~
~~Date : 26 Nov 2013~~

Participant Identification Number for this project: **Please initial box**

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet/letter (delete as applicable) dated *[insert date]* explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. *Insert contact number here of lead researcher/member of research team (as appropriate).*

3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.

4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research

5. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Amy Gui
Ruth Chow
_____   24/8/14   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature
(or legal representative)

_____ _____ _____
Name of person taking consent   Date   Signature
(if different from lead researcher)
To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

_____ _____ _____
Lead Researcher   Date   Signature
To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Copies:

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/pre-written script/information sheet and any other written

Information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.

APPENDIX C:

A Copy on interview questions for entities involved in the animal
protection movement in Malaysia
(e.g rescuers, activists and social movement organisations)

Interview Questions For Entities Involved in the Animal Protection Movement in Malaysia
(Social Movement Organisations)

1. When did this animal organisation come into existence?

2. What made you created this organisation?

3. What are the objectives of this organisation?

4. How did it come about? What was the incident? What were your motivations to create this organisation?

5. What are your main obstacles in running this organisation?

6. What are your main obstacles in sustaining this animal shelter?

7. What do you campaign for? Welfare? Rights? Why?

8. Why do you think that there is an animal protection movement in Malaysia?

9. How do you attract attention or publicity for the case of animal issue that you are handling? Do you go on the social network; press; extreme demonstration or approach a political figure?

10. Is animal neglect/abuse/cruelty a pressing issue in Malaysia? Why?

11. What group of animals is the main target of abuse/neglect/cruelty in Malaysia? Why?

12. Why do you think that the Malaysian public are not that stray/community animal friendly?

13. What is the main obstacle in reaching out to the public concerning animal welfare and rights?

14. How do you get your financial support? Volunteers?

15. How effective is your organization? How many volunteers? Successful rescues, rehabilitation and rehoming?

16. There are many animal protection SMOs in Malaysia. Why is that? Why are there still pressing animal issues despite the huge number of animal protection groups? What is missing? What is not working?

17. What is the background of your operatives and volunteers? Race, religion, education background, type or employment.

18. What are the most rescued abandoned companion animals? Why?

19. Do you think that culture speaks louder than religion in Malaysia? Ever religion in Malaysia teaches to be benign towards animals but why are Malaysians malignant towards stray/community animals?

20. Do you advocate spaying/neutering and adopting (rather than buying)? Why?

21. The Islamic Faith Department released a fatwa saying that it is compulsory to neuter and spay pets (cats and dogs) for the sake of their welfare. However this fatwa was rejected and ridiculed by the Malays. What is your opinion on that?

22. How deep is culture embedded into the teachings of a religion when it comes to animal welfare and rights? Do you have any suggestion how we can overcome this?

23. Do you think that the Animal Acts 1953 (Revised 2013) would actually help to reduce this pressing issue of animal neglect/abuse and cruelty in Malaysia is it

was to be fully enforced? Why?

24. Do you think that the government is paying any attention to this plight and your struggle? Why?

25. What can you suggest to make the government care?

26. What sort of support and aid do you need from the government?

27. Do you think it would be a great idea if there was a political leader/label that champions animal issues in Malaysia? Why?

28. Do you think that a political party would actually champion animal issues in Malaysia? Why?

29. Do you think that the Malaysian government would actually give weight on animal welfare and rights if there is the slightest possibility that such action would gauge votes form the animal activists and animal lovers all over the country?

30. Would you cast your vote if there was such a political opportunity to help and aid the welfare of the stray and community animals in Malaysia?

31. Would you continue to support the political label that actually advocates and champions animal welfare and rights in Malaysia? Why?

32. What would the future of animal rights and welfare in Malaysia be if there was
support from the government?

33. What would the other future be without the government support?

34. What do you think is needed from the numerous animal protection groups/activists in order to mobilise the government into giving weight on animal welfare and rights?

Interview Questions For Entities Involved in the Animal Protection Movement in Malaysia
(e.g. Rescuers, Activists and Feeders))

1. Do you consider yourself as an activist? Rescuer? Animal lover? Why?

2. Why are you involved in rescuing/rehabilitating/rehoming animals?

3. Sympathy? Universal Obligation? No one is helping these animals?

4. Are you aware of the term "post-materialist" mentality/attitude?

5. Are you familiar with the term animal protection movement?

6. Are you aware that you are a part of a new social movement that only exists in advanced democratic countries?

7. What motivates you to be a part of this movement?

8. What are you main obstacles after rescuing an animal? Financial; shelter; rehoming?

9. What do you think of the level of animal neglect/abuse/cruelty in Malaysia?;

10. What group of animals is the main subject of neglect in Malaysia? Companion animals? Farm animals? Wild animals? Why?

11. Are you aware of the animal protection movement in Malaysia? How did you come to know about the movement?

12. Why do you think we have numerous animal protection groups in Malaysia?

13. Why do you think we have this type of movement in Malaysia?

14. Do you think that the existing animal protection groups and shelters in Malaysia are at full effect? Why?

15. What can you suggest to make them operate more effectively?

16. What does the animal shelters/rescuers need from the government? What sort of assistance?

17. Why do you think that there are many abandoned pets and strays in Malaysia?

18. Is animal abuse/neglect/cruelty/abandonment is a pressing issue in Malaysia? Why?

19. What do you think of mass neutering./spaying of community and stray animals? Would that help to level down the number of stray and community animals? Would that be humane – keeping them from procreating – the city and local councils would just euthanise stray and community animals based on the assumption that there are too many?

20. Should we include altruism in school syllabus? Will that be a good idea? Why?

21. What do you think of Malays rescuing and rehabilitating dogs? Good? Bad? Why?

22. Is the taboo because of the religion or more because of the culture? Why?

23. What do you think can be suggested to improve this macabre treatment of dogs by the Malays?

24. Do you think that the Malaysian government is paying attention to what is happening to the animals in Malaysia? Why?

25. What do you think the government should do to aid the current situation?

26. Do you think that by physically putting the Animasl act 1953 (Revised 2006) into motion and practise the animal neglect/abuse/cruelty cases in Malaysia will reduce? Why?

27. Do you think that the Ministry of Agriculture and DVS are actually playing their role effectively? Why?

28. Do you think that there should be a political party that would actually champion animal welfare and rights in Malaysia?

29. Do you think that will rejuvenate the current political scene? How? Why?

APPENDIX D:

A copy of interview questions for government agencies
(e.g Ministry of Agriculture and Agro-Based Industry, Department of
Veterinary Services and Sepang Local Authority Agency)

Interview Questions for Government Agencies
(e.g Ministry Of Agriculture and Agro-Based Industry, Department Of Veterinary Services And *Sepang* Local Authority Agency

1. What is the Ministry of Agriculture/ Department of Veterinary Services all about? Why was it created? What are its functions/roles/objectives?

2. Why did the Ministry and DVS decide to revise the archaic Animals Act 1953 in 2006?

3. Who was involved in revising this Act? Why was it revised? Who initiated for its revision?

4. How difficult was it to revise the Animals Act 1953? What were the main obstacles in revising the Animals Act 1953? Why were these the obstacles?

5. Why did the Ministry and DVS decide to formulate and introduce the Animal Welfare Bill 2015 despite the pending Animals Act 1953 (Revised 2006)?

6. How different are these two pieces of legislations from each other?

7. The Animals Act 1953 was revised in 2006 and was only gazetted on the 23rd September of 2013. What took so long for this legislation to be gazetted?

8. Is this act fully effective? How different is this Act before it was revised?

9. Do you think that this act would have been gazetted much earlier if there was a political support by a political label or figure? Why?

10. If this act was delayed because it had no political support, why was it revised and gazetted?

11. The Animal Welfare Bill 2015 became a hype in 2012 because the Minister of the MOA made a public statement that it would impose a penalty of GBP10,000 and jail time for animal cruelty offender. Why was this statement made when the Animals Act 1953 was still pending? Why was this statement made few months before the general elections date was announced?

12. Is the Animal Welfare Act 2015 now a piece of legislation? When will it be gazetted? Will it be able to compensate the Animals Act 1953 as announced by the Minster of MOA?

13. Did the Minister make that public statement to gauge votes from the animal groups/activists/lovers in Malaysia?

14. Does the government know that there is approximately 2 million animal lovers and activists in Malaysia? 7% of the total population.

15. Is the government aware that the animal protection movement in Malaysia has

a potential political mileage?

16.   What do you think that the animal protection movement should do in order to have a reciprocal relationship with the government?

17.   What do you think that the government must do in order to establish a mutual relationship with the animal protection movement in order to secure political support?