In-Group and Out-Group Dynamics in Federal–State Relations: A Literature Review Focused on Sarawak vs. Peninsular Malaysia

*Mahazan Muhammad[1], *Mohamad Fauzi Sukimi[1], Novel Lyndon[1] and Helme Heli[2]

[1]Center for Research in Development, Social and Environment, Faculty of Social Sciences & Humanities, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Selangor, Malaysia, [2]Faculty of Education and Humanities, UNITAR International University, Selangor, Malaysia
Email: mahazanmuhammad@gmail.com, fauzi@ukm.edu.my

Abstract
Ethnic relations in Malaysia remain a central concern in academic, political, and social arenas. Territorial federal-state dynamics in Malaysia, exemplified by Sarawak vs Peninsular Malaysia shape in-group and out-group boundaries. This study synthesizes peer-reviewed literature to examine the dynamics of interactions between Sarawak–Peninsular Malaysia via a systematic review of historical and contemporary research on perceptions, discrimination, and narrative formation, highlighting persistent knowledge gaps. The results indicate four themes emerge, marginalised sentiments linked to development and infrastructure disparities; sarawakian national identity consistent with in-group favouritism; stereotypes regarding the inhabitants of the Peninsula (dominance/sensitivity, cultural (mis)recognition) that harden symbolic boundaries; and social-media amplification that accelerates diffusion of prejudicial narratives. Sarawak–Peninsular integration requires equitable development, stronger state-level representation, culturally responsive education and communication, targeted media literacy and platform/content governance, and civil-society partnerships to reduce entrenched stereotypes and prejudice.
Keywords: Ethnocentrism, Stereotypes, Prejudice, Social Identity Theory, MA63, Sarawak for Sarawakians

Introduction

Malaysia is a diverse country with a wide spectrum of complex and dynamic ethnic, cultural, and religious communities. These unique demographics provide a strong foundation for studying interethnic relations, particularly among numerous ethnic groups, in social and political contexts. Establishing a secure and progressive nation-state entails viewing ethnic integration as a continuous process that presents ongoing obstacles rather than a destination.

The link between ethnic groups and provinces is critical for sustaining social stability and enabling inclusive, sustainable development across the country. Cooperative contacts between ethnic groups and regions contribute to societal stability while also promoting inclusive and sustainable national development.

Various expressions of ethnic and regional influences persist, both subtly and overtly, potentially complicating the effort of national integration. Ethnocentric sentiments, along with prejudices and stereotypes among communities from various regions, particularly Sarawak and Peninsular Malaysia, present considerable obstacles to the establishment of inclusive and resilient societies (Shamsul, 1996; Chin, 1997). The issue arises when the dimensions of states and their geographical contexts substantially affect social perceptions. The differences in understanding, interpretation, and historical context.

Sarawak is characterised by its geographical limits with the South China Sea and possesses a distinctive historical and socio-political landscape. Analyse the complexities of British colonial rule in peninsular Malaysia, particularly through the lens of the Brooke dynasty, highlighting Sarawak's exceptional administrative autonomy and its unique cultural identity. The distinctions foster a profound sense of identity within the populace of Sarawak. This identity is deeply intertwined with the local essence, embodying a profound respect for regional culture and a resolute commitment to preserving the autonomy established in the Malaysia Agreement of 1963 (Jayum, 2016). A multitude of discussions regarding political and social issues consistently highlight the perspective that Sarawakians face marginalisation in the realm of national development, receive inadequate acknowledgement in cultural matters, and lack the requisite autonomy to manage local affairs (Chin, 1997; Hazis, 2018).

This phenomenon is not isolated from its surroundings. It has originated from a lengthy history. The relationships exhibit a hierarchical structure originating from the centre and extending to the region, bolstered by media narratives and restricted social interactions. The prevailing stereotypes that characterise peninsular Malaysian society as "modern colonists" and portray Sarawak society as less evolved or inefficient serve to reinforce social and political divisions between these two regions. The analysis of shape and structure stereotypes, along with the prejudice that has developed, is crucial for uncovering the root of the issues and determining a strategy for solutions, which involves empathy and inclusivity.

This article brings the analysis of current literature that addresses the facets of ethnocentric prejudice and stereotypes prevalent between the society of Sarawak and that of the peninsula. This research aims to systematically identify the patterns and underlying factors of sentiment, offering recommendations and suggestions for enhancing national integration through a critical and contextual understanding of ethnic relations.

Literature Review
The Concept of Ethnocentrism, Prejudice and Stereotypes
The ethnocentric idea, developed by William Graham Sumner in 1906, refers to the tendency of individuals or groups to assess and interpret foreign cultures through the lens of norms, values, and lifestyles. Ethnocentrism, the inclination to assess other cultures or groups through the lens of one's own cultural norms and values, frequently engenders bias and stereotyping of perceived out-groups (Bizumic, 2014; Awang Pawi et al., 2016).

In essence, ethnocentrism refers to the tendency to regard one's own culture as the supreme standard, often resulting in a dismissive attitude towards others. This notion serves as a foundational element of the multi-discrimination culture prevalent in multicultural societies. Within the Malaysian context, characterised by its diverse ethnicities and provinces, ethnocentrism frequently manifests when one ethnicity or province perceives itself as more legitimate or dominant in aspects such as history, economy, or political influence.

This concept has been clarified within the theoretical framework via the lens of Social Identity Theory as proposed by Tajfel and Turner in 1979. This theory posits that all individuals possess a psychological tendency to categorise themselves within a social group (in-group) while simultaneously distinguishing themselves from other groups (out-groups). This process serves not merely to forge individual identity but also to enhance collective cohesion. Nevertheless, beyond his circle, there exists a peril of being perceived as inferior, serving merely as a benchmark for others to bolster their own esteemed collective. The dynamics of relations between Sarawak and the Peninsula reveal that the identity of Sarawakians is shaped by the belief that the society of the Peninsula lacks an understanding of their cultural nuances, consequently fostering a sense of isolation and tension.

Prejudice is an attitude or negative perception held by a group, rooted in beliefs that are not founded on real or firsthand experience. Allport (1954) defined prejudice as "an antipathy based upon faulty and inflexible generalisation," which leads to systematic discrimination against another group. Prejudice commonly negative evaluation shaped by prevailing social norms (Crandall, Eshleman and O'Brien, 2002). In the context of provincial relationships, biases may manifest in perceptions such as "peninsula inhabitants" being viewed as power-hungry, or conversely, "Borneo inhabitants" being regarded as outdated and unsophisticated.

A stereotype is a widespread and unchanging perception about certain features that are common to a particular social group. Fiske et al. (2002) defines stereotypes as cognitive representations that simplify and holistically clarify group attitudes and features. Though a stereotype may contain factual features, it must be a generalisation that does not account for individual variance within the group. Stereotypes about Sarawak and the Peninsula can be found in narratives like "the snobbish peninsula" and "Sarawak people not competitive", which add to the understanding gap between groups.

When not meticulously addressed, these preconceptions and stereotypes can precipitate significant ethnic friction and social discord. Therefore, to comprehend the operation of these notions within psychological and sociological frameworks, it is essential to examine the structural interaction between provinces and ethnic groups in Malaysia.

Ethnic Relations in Sarawak and the Peninsula in Prior Research
The historical connection between Sarawak and the Malaysian Peninsula is extensive and serves as a significant area of inquiry within the fields of sociology, anthropology, and political science in Malaysia. Since the establishment of Malaysia in 1963, numerous academics have scrutinised the intricate relationships that have often been marked by disparities in power, developmental discrepancies, and variations in historical and cultural contexts. Chin (1997) was emphasised that historical narrative significantly contributed to the

formation of the identity that distinguished the people of Sarawak from those of the Peninsula.

Jayum (2016) emphasised that the distinct experience of colonisation in Sarawak, characterised by the Brooke administration and British colonial governance separate from Malaya, along with significant autonomy in state administration, has influenced a unique cognitive framework within the Sarawakian community. This experience established a psychological divide, leading the people of Sarawak to perceive themselves distinctively in relation to the history, culture, and values of those from the Peninsula.

Moreover, this distinction is not solely rooted in history; it can also be illustrated through contemporary interactions. Chin (1997) and Hazis (2018) demonstrated that the populace of Sarawak tends to perceive the Peninsula as possessing a predominant influence over political and economic dimensions. The current policy and development programme appear to concentrate in Peninsular Malaysia, reinforcing the notion that Sarawak is consistently marginalised in the policy-making process. The ramifications include the prevailing belief that the voices and needs of the Sarawakian populace are not receiving the appropriate attention at the national level.

Furthermore, the discourse shaped within both mainstream and social media perpetuates the existing social divide. Ting (2020) noted that the representation of Sarawakian society in national media often emphasises an exotic, rural, and non-modern image, resulting in disillusionment and a diminished sense of dignity among its constituents. Peninsula societies are frequently viewed as exhibiting a sense of superiority, demonstrating a limited understanding of their own cultural context, and displaying tendencies of hegemony. This understanding arises from genuine experiences and is additionally bolstered by the spread of skewed information, which is sometimes driven by political motives.

All of these factors played a role in strengthening social barriers and cultural divides between the two provinces, ultimately impacting the efforts towards national integration. Therefore, understanding the ethnic relations between Sarawak and the Peninsula within their historical context is crucial for stimulating a national unity that is both inclusive and culturally sensitive.

Factors that Contribute to the Formation of Stereotypes and Prejudice
Previous studies have identified several key factors that contribute to the formation of stereotypes and prejudice in the relations between Sarawak society and Peninsular Malaysia. The initial issue is the developmental disparity between the two provinces. Numerous studies indicate that Peninsular Malaysia receives greater attention and a larger development budget in comparison to Sarawak. The disparities in infrastructure, education, healthcare facilities, and transportation networks indicate to the society of Sarawak that their state is experiencing depreciation. This imbalance ultimately influences the perception that peninsular society possesses privileges not shared with others, fostering jealousy and prejudice within Sarawak society (Tey et al., 2019; Horn, Gifford and Ting, 2021).

Secondly, there is the matter of political autonomy and Sarawak's role within the Malaysian federalism framework. The discussion surrounding the Malaysia Agreement 1963

(MA63) frequently serves as the foundation for the extensive autonomy demands expressed by leaders and the people of Sarawak. The belief that central political authority has surpassed state power in local issues fuels the "we vs them" narrative, which splits Malaysians into two primary factions based on province. In this context, Peninsula society is frequently viewed as a symbol of "central power" that imposes its identity and priorities on the people of Sarawak, leading to the stereotype of Peninsula individuals as rulers who lack comprehension of local realities.

Thirdly, the impact of social media significantly contributed to the establishment and spread of stereotypes accompanied by prejudice across different provinces. Del Vicario et al. (2016) noted that digital platforms such as Facebook, TikTok, and Twitter serve as the predominant mediums for the expression of ethnic narratives and regional identities. Content on social media that is laden with emotion and lacks a factual basis can readily incite animosity and reinforce pre-existing negative perceptions. Algorithmic functions within social media platforms also manifest as echo chambers that reinforce existing beliefs. It has constrained the dialogue process and understanding across cultures.

The three factors (unbalanced development, the fulfilment of autonomy demands, and the significant influence of social media) are interrelated in shaping a perceptual framework grounded in disparities and mistrust. It has served as the basis for the development of collective stereotypes, which subsequently manifest as distorted social relations and institutional bias.

Methodology
This paper employs a systematic literature review methodology (Visic, 2022) to gather and analyse prior research pertaining to ethnocentric concerns, prejudice, and stereotypes between Sarawak and Peninsular Malaysia. The SLR technique allows the researcher to pinpoint gaps in current knowledge, facilitating the development of a robust framework for comprehensive exploration in sociology (Page et al., 2021; Snyder, 2019).
It is as follows: the following are the primary steps that are being carried out in the process of SLR:

1. Search for relevant literature: The first step is to conduct a search using specific keywords, such as "federal-state relation", "ethnocentrism in Malaysia", "ethnic stereotypes in Malaysia ", and "in-group versus out-group in Malaysia". All of the most important academic databases, including Scopus, Google Scholar, and MyJurnal, were utilised in the search process. This research is currently in its preliminary stages, and there are currently 97 publications being recognised.
2. Inclusion Criteria: The study must have been published during the last two decades (2004-2024). It must pertain directly to the ethnic relationship between Sarawak and Peninsular Malaysia, employ sociological, anthropological, and psychological social methodologies, and be published in a peer-reviewed academic publication.
3. Exclusive criteria: The articles that discussed ethnic relations generally without explicitly referring to Sarawak-Peninsula dynamics, or in editorial form, book review, or peer-reviewed working paper, were excluded. Final results: 41 documents have been chosen for comprehensive analysis.

4. Filtration and thematic analysis: Articles have been chosen and categorised based on key themes such as history, economic development, political discourse, provincial autonomy, and the impact of social media. Thematic analysis is being conducted to identify patterns and consistencies, as well as contradictions, in the findings of the literature that has been examined. Out of 41 articles, only 7 are utilised directly in the thematic analysis. These articles provide concrete empirical data, explicitly employ theory or a sociological model, and contribute directly to the research objective, particularly in the areas of stereotype analysis, ethnocentrism, and prejudice across provinces.

The remainder of the article indirectly contributes, most notably in the literature review section, which elucidates the primary concept, ethnocentric social identity or historical context, with secondary data support. However, the discussion section does not provide a comprehensive examination of the concept.

This study prioritised articles that are quality-driven, focused, and direct in their research objectives over mere quantity. The articles chosen for analysis in the discussion offer substantial contributions to conceptual understanding and critical discourse. SLR emphasises the synthesis of empirical studies within sociological theory, incorporating political discourse and pertinent cultural elements that elucidate the dynamic structural relationship between the province of Sarawak and Peninsular Malaysia. It has involved not merely the systematic organisation of the current outcomes but also the proposition of enhancements in the realms of policy, scholarly discourse, and interprovincial social relations.

Systematic Review Reporting (PRISMA 2020)
We reported our systematic review following PRISMA 2020. Search sources included Scopus, Google Scholar and MyJurnal. Keywords combined ethnocentrism/prejudice/stereotype with Sarawak, Borneo, Peninsular Malaysia, and intergroup relations. The time window was 2004–2024. Inclusion criteria covered peer-reviewed journal articles focusing explicitly on Sarawak–Peninsula relations with sociological/psychological approaches; exclusion criteria omitted editorials, non-peer-reviewed outputs, and studies without territorial focus. Screening proceeded in two stages (title/abstract, then full text). We identified 97 records in total; 41 studies met inclusion criteria for full-text assessment; 7 articles were retained for thematic analysis. Figure 1 shows the PRISMA 2020 flow diagram.
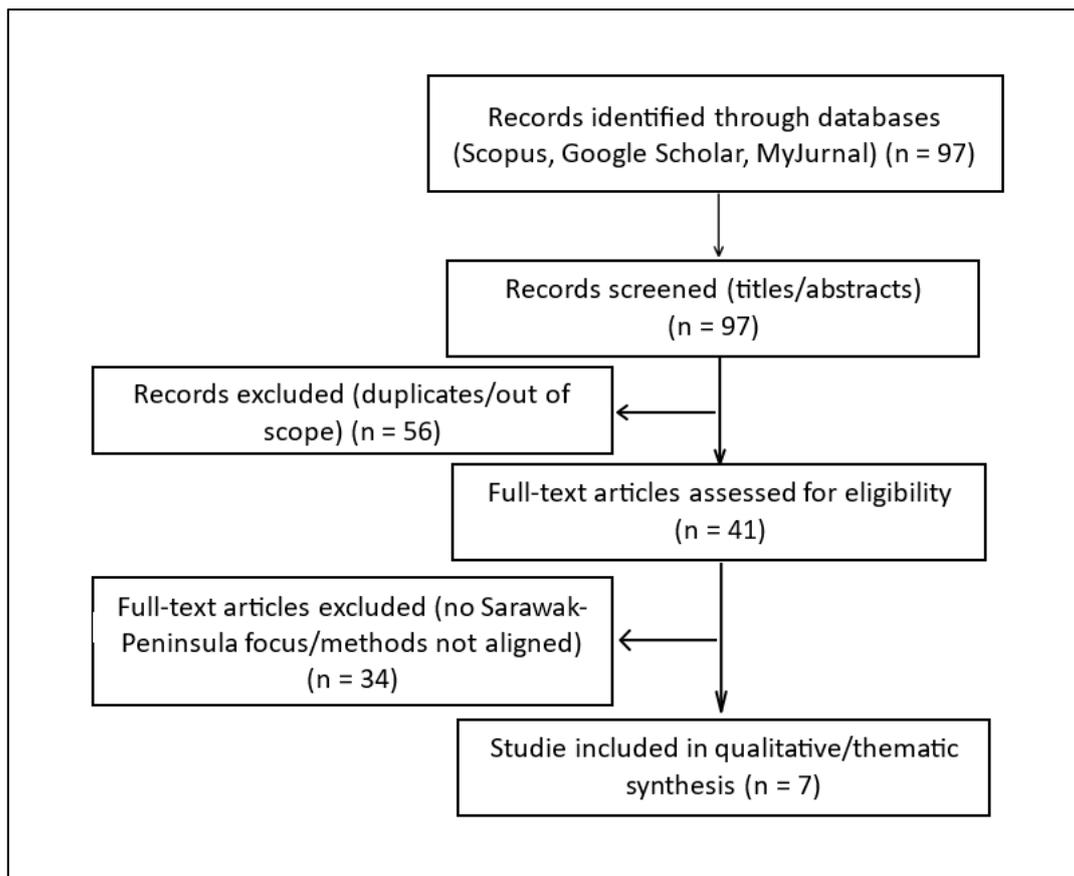
Figure 1: PRISMA 2020 flow diagram (adapted)

Findings

The literature review reveals that several factors have contributed to the development of ethnocentric perceptions and stereotypes within the Sarawak society regarding the Peninsular Malaysia society. The table indicates that four themes have been derived from the SLR process conducted.

Table 1
Themes that influenced Sarawakian culture's development of ethnocentric prejudice and prejudices about Peninsular Malaysian society.

Theme	Details of findings	Source of Articles
Marginalized sentiments	Perceived developmental imbalance against Peninsular Malaysia fosters discontentment toward the centre	Horn et al., 2021; Tey et al., 2019
Sarawakian national identity	The formation of identity states and in-group favouritism is significantly influenced by historical context, distinct cultural characteristics, and demands for autonomy.	Hazis, 2018; Jayum 2016
Stereotypes regarding the inhabitants of the Peninsula	Perceived dominance and limited cultural sensitivity shape two-way stereotypes and social distance.	Hazis, 2018; Chin, 1997
Role of Social Media	Negative perceptions are strengthened by facilitated of the social media platforms, which promote the rapid dissemination of prejudices and stereotypes.	Akobiarek and Puyok, 2024; Horn & Gifford, 2022

Marginalized Sentiments
Firstly, there is a prevailing sentiment of marginalization within the society of Sarawak. A considerable body of research indicates that the people of Sarawak believe they ought to be prioritized in terms of economic development and national infrastructure (Horn et al., 2021; Tey et al., 2019). The evident aspect arises from fundamental necessities; transport infrastructure and employment prospects are predominantly concentrated in the central region, namely Peninsular Malaysia, leading to the perception that the central government is defining the Borneo province (Horn et al., 2021; Tey et al., 2019). This perception extends to a sense of dissatisfaction, ultimately inciting prejudice against society, which can be regarded as the primary beneficiary—namely, the society of Peninsula Malaysia.

The National Identity of Sarawak
Secondly, the findings indicate a heightened sense of Sarawakian national identity among local communities (Hazis, 2018; Jayum 2016). The national policy reaction appears overly focused on Malaya, while the people of Sarawak are increasingly asserting their local identity as a source of pride and defence (Hazis, 2018). This phenomenon parallels the concept of "in-group favouritism" within social identity theory, as local groups differentiate themselves from external groups to protect cultural identity and territorial rights. The sentiment "Sarawak for

Sarawakians" reflects a narrative that is becoming increasingly prevalent in local media and political discourse (Hazis, 2018).

Stereotypes Regarding the Inhabitants of the Peninsula
This study aims to confirm the absence of negative stereotypes regarding peninsula society, particularly the perception that they align with dominant groups and lack sensitivity to the unique culture and needs of the Sarawak community (Chin, 1997). This stereotype encompasses labels such as exhibiting intelligence, exerting control over central politics, and lacking comprehension of Borneo culture (Hazis, 2018; Chin, 1997). This perception is shaped by historical experience and reinforced by restricted social interaction and the unique communication style between the two groups (Shamsul, 1996; Fiske et al., 2002).

Role of Social Media
Finally, social media is identified as a reinforcer of the narrative stereotype and bias (Cinelli et al., 2021; Del Vicario et al., 2016). Platforms such as Facebook and Twitter allow society to vent unhappiness and exchange biased or emotional tales (Rashid and Saidin, 2023). Though there is a voice speaking out against stereotypes, the virality of the mainstream narrative is more likely to perpetuate the psychological gap between Sarawak and the Peninsula (Cinelli et al., 2021; Del Vicario et al., 2016). Social media has surpassed mainstream media as a shaper of community perception, with far-reaching ramifications for interregional ethnic relations (Akobiarek and Puyok, 2024; Horn and Gifford, 2022).

Discussion
Findings must be interpreted within sociological theoretical frameworks pertinent to comprehending the effects on ethnic relations and nation-building. Social identity theory, as articulated by Tajfel and Turner (1979), posits that society categorises individuals into "in-groups" and "out-groups", hence reinforcing self-identification and perpetuating a sense of group supremacy; these processes also intersect with stereotype content and intergroup evaluations (Fiske et al., 2002). In the Malaysian context, identity debates and boundary drawing are long standing features of public discourse (Shamsul, 1996). The development of national identity and preconceptions of "Malaya people" in Sarawak and Peninsular Malaysia is somewhat influenced by these mechanisms.

The study findings reveal that marginalised sentiments indicate a disparity in power dynamics across different territories. Throughout the development and progress, particularly concentrated in the Peninsula, the society of Sarawak cultivated the perception of unequal treatment (Chin, 1997; Hazis, 2018; Osman and Ali, 2017). The imbalance not only fostered dissatisfaction but also elicited responses characterised by prejudice and stereotype, thereby reinforcing the psychological boundaries separating the two communities (Allport, 1954; Fiske et al., 2002). This gap has the potential to hinder the process of national integration in the long term (Chin, 1997; Hazis, 2018).

The rise of national identity among Sarawakians can be understood as a response to the perceived biases within the federalism structure. The greater the central pressure for national uniformity, the more pronounced the Sarawakian people's inclination to protect their local identity (Jayum, 2016; Osman and Ali, 2017; Hazis, 2018). This phenomenon suggests that ethnocentrism is present not only within the ethnic majority but also within

communities that perceive their status as threatened or marginalised (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Bizumic, 2014). This presents a potential threat to the development of a comprehensive and universal national identity (Shamsul, 1996; Jayum, 2016).

Moreover, the prevailing stereotype regarding peninsula society is characterised by a perception of dominance, a lack of cultural awareness, and a controlling influence over the nation's political structures, which in turn impacts interpersonal relationships and institutional dynamics between regions (Shamsul, 1996; Chin, 1997; Hazis, 2018). This stereotype engenders a sense of isolation among the citizens of Sarawak and simultaneously cultivates a populist and divisive political narratives and discourse (Osman and Ali, 2017; Hazis, 2018). In the absence of proactive measures, stereotypes possess the potential to erode and hinder endeavours aimed at fostering national unity (Fiske et al., 2002).

Social media further promotes prejudices and stereotype dynamics. Unlike mainstream media, which is controlled by official organisations, social media platform architectures enable rapid, large-scale diffusion of emotionally charged content and identity-laden narratives (Del Vicario et al., 2016; Cinelli et al., 2021). The quick dissemination of unfiltered information allows for faster collective perception construction, particularly among the youthful population. The algorithm's effect in providing content that is consistent with users' opinions fosters the echo chamber, which hampers cross-cultural interaction.

Therefore, when fostering harmonious ethnic relations, relying solely on the integration approach and symbolic elements such as unity slogans is insufficient. There is a necessity for policy reform that emphasises equitable resource allocation, acknowledges local cultural contexts in education and administration, and enhances the political representation of Sarawak's populace at the national level (Osman and Ali, 2017; Hazis, 2018; Tey et al., 2019; Horn et al., 2021). In parallel, it is essential to outline communication strategies that incorporate local media and digital influence to clarify inter-regional narratives and foster mutual understanding while mitigating echo-chamber dynamics (Del Vicario et al., 2016; Cinelli et al., 2021; Rashid and Saidin, 2023; Akobiarek and Puyok, 2024).

Conclusion

In Sarawak society and Peninsular Malaysia, ethnocentric issues, prejudice, and stereotypes arise from the intricate interplay of colonisation history, uneven development, and cultural disparities, shaped by narratives propagated through media and social experiences. This phenomenon encompasses not only the dynamics between ethnicities but also the interactions between territories that possess history, political structures, and distinct identities. The belief that Sarawak is overlooked in terms of development and policymaking has strengthened the state's identity and fostered negative stereotypes of peninsular society as a prevailing force.

This finding indicates that urgency must be addressed in an inclusive, just, and sensitive manner when formulating public policy. This initiative to enhance national unity must not depend solely on rhetoric; rather, it should focus on distributing development equitably and elevating the political representation of the people of Sarawak at the national level, while acknowledging the distinct culture and history of the region. Exploring the education between cultures, incorporating Sarawak's historical context into the national

curriculum, and fostering active civil society engagement in territorial dialogue are essential steps that warrant thorough examination.

Furthermore, it is essential to develop initiatives rooted in community engagement that bridge the psychological divide between Sarawak and Peninsular Malaysia. The cultivation of a programmatic exchange culture and collaboration among NGOs throughout the territory, utilising alternative media that ensures a more equitable and nuanced approach to reporting sensitive issues, has the potential to restore perception. In the contemporary digital landscape, the significance of social media is undeniable. Consequently, it is imperative to enhance content regulation policies and media literacy education to mitigate the proliferation of stereotypes and prejudices that exacerbate inter-regional relations.

References
Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.

Akobiarek, G. C., & Puyok, A. (2024). Patterns of social media choice and use and their impacts on online political participation in Sarawak. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 40(4), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2024-4004-01

Awang Pawi, A. A., Abdul Rahman, Z., Fauzi, R., & Mansor, S. (2016). The rise of politic ethnonationalism in the state of Sarawak Borneo. *Journal of Scientific Research and Development, 3*(7), 78–85.

Bizumic, B. (2014). Who coined the concept of ethnocentrism? *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 2*(1), 3–10. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v2i1.264

Chin, J. (1997). Politics of federal intervention in Malaysia, with reference to Sarawak, Sabah and Kelantan. *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, 35*(2), 96–120. https://doi.org/10.1080/14662049708447747

Cinelli, M., Morales, G. D. F., Galeazzi, A., Quattrociocchi, W., & Starnini, M. (2021). The echo chamber effect on social media. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 118(9), e2023301118. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2023301118

Crandall, C. S., Eshleman, A., & O'Brien, L. (2002). Social norms and the expression and suppression of prejudice: The struggle for internalization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*(3), 359–378. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.3.359

Del Vicario, M., Bessi, A., Zollo, F., Petroni, F., Scala, A., Caldarelli, G., Stanley, H. E., & Quattrociocchi, W. (2016). The spreading of misinformation online. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 113(3), 554–559. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1517441113

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*(6), 878–902. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878

Hazis, F. S. (2018). Domination, contestation, and accommodation: 54 years of Sabah and Sarawak in Malaysia. *Southeast Asian Studies, 7*(3), 341–361. https://doi.org/10.20495/seas.7.3_341

Horn, C., & Gifford, S. M. (2022). ICT uptake and use and social connectedness in rural and remote communities: A study from Sarawak, Malaysia. *Information Technology for Development*, 28(4), 721–746. https://doi.org/10.1080/02681102.2021.2021844

Horn, C., Gifford, S. M., & Ting, C. Y. P. (2021). Informal, essential and embedded: Transport strategies in remote Sarawak. *Journal of Transport Geography, 96*, 103181. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2021.103181

Jayum, A. J. (2016). Understanding political contestation in Malaysia. *SUVANNABHUMI, 8*(2), 51–77. https://doi.org/10.22801/svn.2016.8.2.51

Osman, M. N. M., & Ali, R. (2017). Sarawak state elections 2016: Revisiting federalism in Malaysia. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 36*(1), 31–55. https://doi.org/10.1177/186810341703600102

Page, M. J., McKenzie, J. E., Bossuyt, P. M., Boutron, I., Hoffmann, T. C., Mulrow, C. D., … Moher, D. (2021). The PRISMA 2020 statement: An updated guideline for reporting systematic reviews. *BMJ, 372*, n160. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n160

Rashid, N. Z., & Saidin, M. I. S. (2023). '#SayNoToRohingya': A critical study on Malaysians' amplified resentment towards Rohingya refugees on Twitter during the 2020 COVID-19 crisis. *The Round Table, 112*(4), 386–406. https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2023.2244287

Shamsul, A. B. (1996). Debating about identity in Malaysia: A discourse analysis. *Southeast Asian Studies*, 34(3), 476–499. https://doi.org/10.20495/tak.34.3_476

Snyder, H. (2019). Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines. *Journal of Business Research, 104*, 333–339. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2019.07.039

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Brooks/Cole

Tey, N. P., Lai, S. L., Ng, S. T., Goh, K.-L., & Osman, A. F. (2019). Income inequality across states in Malaysia. *Planning Malaysia, 17*(10), 12–26. https://doi.org/10.21837/pmjournal.v17.i10.625

Ting, S.-H. (2020). Ethnic identity and other-group orientation of ethnic Chinese in Malaysia. *International Journal of Society, Culture & Language, 8*(2), 75–89.

Višić, M. (2022). Connecting puzzle pieces: Systematic literature review method in the social sciences. *Sociologija, 64*(4), 543–562. https://doi.org/10.2298/SOC2204543V