

KampOng Campus, 26-28th May 2025

RELATIONAL COMMUNITY ORGANISING LEADERSHIP



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Relational Community Organising (RCOL) Mountaintop is adapted from a core Community Organising Leadership Training (COLT) module developed and shared by PACOS Trust. The RCOL Mountaintop was co-facilitated with Forever Sabah Institute (FSI) on 26–28 May 2025 at KampOng Campus, Tenghilan, while a first iteration of the modules were presented in the Community Organising Leadership Training Mountaintop held in November 2022.

PACOS Trust | PACOS Trust is a community-based organization dedicated to supporting indigenous communities in Sabah. PACOS is an acronym for 'Partners of Community Organizations in Sabah'.

The organization sees itself as striving to empower indigenous communities through systematic building and strengthening of community organizations, which can act collectively on its own, alongside working to revitalize indigenous systems and ways of being.

FSI | Forever Sabah Institute is an integral part of Forever Sabah (FS): the transition towards a diversified, equitable circular economy in the Malaysian Borneo state of Sabah.

A significant suite of activities for FSI is "Forever Sabah Institute For Forever Sabah" (FSI4FS), under which FSI designs and offers learning activities for staff, teams and partners from the Forever Sabah web. Other programs are generated through formal and informal partnerships, requests or relevance for specific learning and offers of teaching/sharing.

FSI extends our thanks to PACOS Trust for their trust in allowing us to co-facilitate this programme, as well as to all fellows and changemakers who participated in the Mountaintop.

Programme co-designed by: PACOS Trust & Forever Sabah Institute (FSI)

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Do you have any questions or reflections? Do get in touch.

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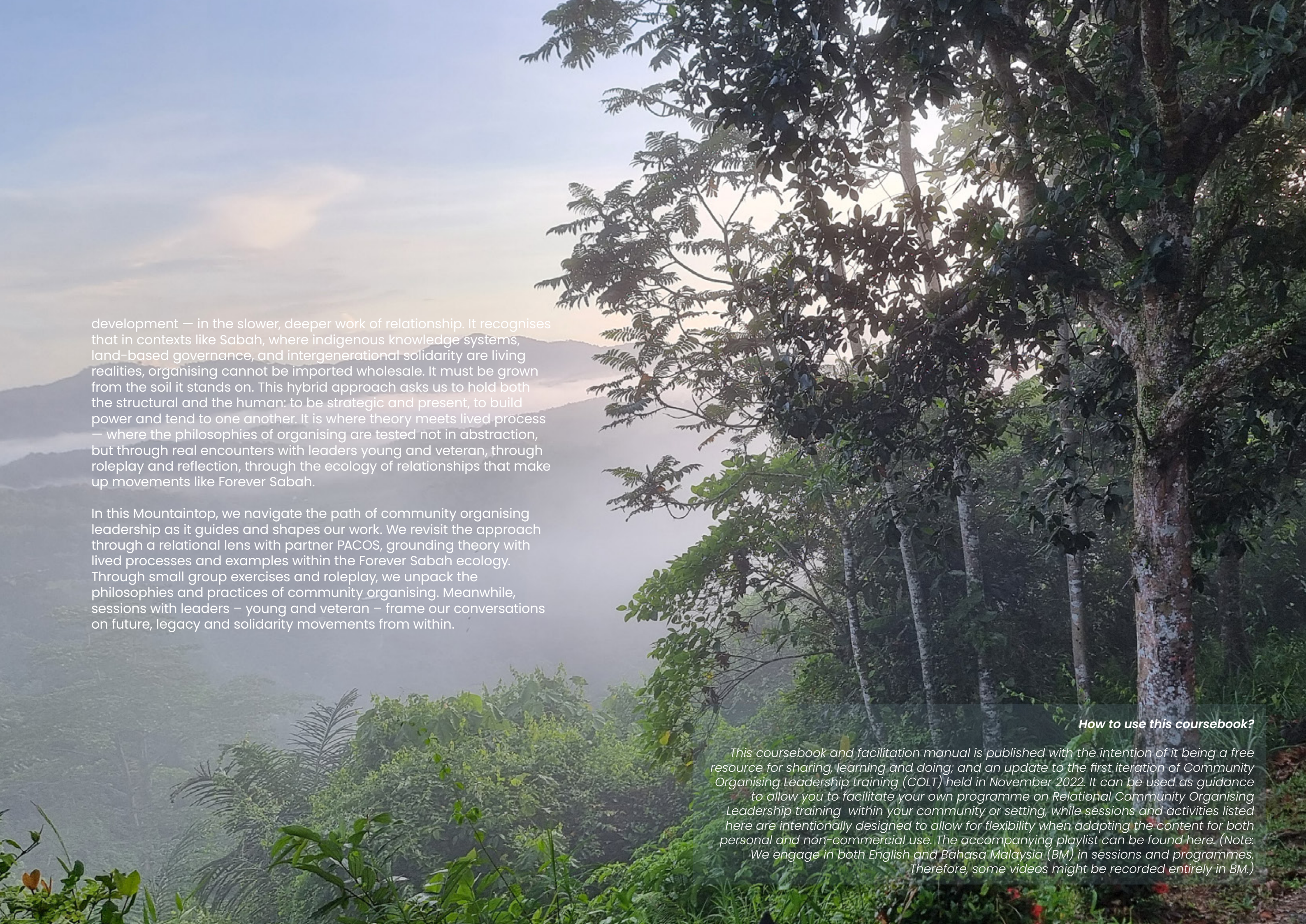
OVERVIEW

Community organising leadership is the practice of building collective power from within. It is not about a single voice directing from above, but about cultivating the conditions for many voices to rise — identifying shared concerns, developing local leaders, and moving together toward action. At its core, it is a discipline: a set of philosophies, strategies, and lived practices that equip people to shape the decisions that affect their lives. Training in community organising is therefore not instruction in the traditional sense. It is formation. It develops the capacity to listen deeply, to read power, to hold space for others to step forward, and to sustain movements over time. It asks: *Who is affected? Who is not yet in the room? And how do we build the relationships necessary to act together?*

These questions lead us, inevitably, toward relationality — the understanding that we do not exist in isolation, that who we are, what we know, and what we can do is always shaped by our connections to others, to place, and to the living systems around us. Relationality foregrounds interdependence over individualism, process over product, and trust over transaction. In the context of community work, it means that the how matters as much as the what — how we enter a space, how we hold disagreement, how we honour what came before us. A relational approach insists that strong movements are built not on strategies alone, but on the quality of the bonds between people — bonds tested, repaired, and deepened over time.

When we bring these two streams together, something shifts. Relational community organising leadership grounds the rigour of organising — its frameworks for power analysis, campaign strategy, and leadership





development – in the slower, deeper work of relationship. It recognises that in contexts like Sabah, where indigenous knowledge systems, land-based governance, and intergenerational solidarity are living realities, organising cannot be imported wholesale. It must be grown from the soil it stands on. This hybrid approach asks us to hold both the structural and the human: to be strategic and present, to build power and tend to one another. It is where theory meets lived process – where the philosophies of organising are tested not in abstraction, but through real encounters with leaders young and veteran, through roleplay and reflection, through the ecology of relationships that make up movements like Forever Sabah.

In this Mountaintop, we navigate the path of community organising leadership as it guides and shapes our work. We revisit the approach through a relational lens with partner PACOS, grounding theory with lived processes and examples within the Forever Sabah ecology. Through small group exercises and roleplay, we unpack the philosophies and practices of community organising. Meanwhile, sessions with leaders – young and veteran – frame our conversations on future, legacy and solidarity movements from within.

How to use this coursebook?

This coursebook and facilitation manual is published with the intention of it being a free resource for sharing, learning and doing; and an update to the first iteration of Community Organising Leadership training (COLT) held in November 2022. It can be used as guidance to allow you to facilitate your own programme on Relational Community Organising Leadership training within your community or setting, while sessions and activities listed here are intentionally designed to allow for flexibility when adapting the content for both personal and non-commercial use. The accompanying playlist can be found [here](#). (Note: We engage in both English and Bahasa Malaysia (BM) in sessions and programmes. Therefore, some videos might be recorded entirely in BM.)

PROCESS INVITATION

We invite participants to be part of an ongoing journey of dialogue, learning, collaboration and transformation, signalling that the experience we share will be co-shaped by everyone involved. We describe this approach as a process invitation, to have participants look, feel and sense beyond the topic or subject we are engaging with.

We draw from the practices and approaches of the Courage of Care Coalition, Theory U, Plum Village and Work That Reconnects (WTR), amongst others, as a way to ground deeper in the circle we co-hold. These practices are interspersed throughout the program and create a rhythm through which we move into main sessions.

Throughout the three days, we were guided by the following **Community Practice Agreements**:

- Be on time for each session.
- Say your name before you speak.
- Speak personally and specifically, using “I” statements.
- Be inclusive; avoid exclusivity.
- Express displeasure in the group, not outside the circle.
- Commit to “hang in there.”
- Speak when moved to speak; don’t speak when not moved to speak.
- Be responsible for your success.
- Participate verbally and nonverbally.
- Be emotionally present with the group.
- Respect confidentiality.
- Listen for The Bell
- Noble Silence after Dinner, during Breakfast & 20 minutes during Lunch
- Like you are on retreat, Devices are on retreat
- Photos & recording only with permission

Intention Setting

Intention setting is a ritual of commitment and saying it aloud allows participants to form an understanding of why they have shown up, as well as a reciprocal relationship with the circle and space that is being held.

At the start of the programme, participants acknowledge their presence with each other by setting their intentions for the programme. The prompt was: *What is your intention around relationships?*

Guided Sitting & Walking Meditation: We begin each day of the programme with a 30-minute seated meditation, followed by another 30-minute walk with Nature. These are inspired by Plum Village monastic practices and resourced through these materials.

- [How To / Enjoy Sitting Meditation | Plum Village](#)
- [Walking Meditation | Plum Village](#)

Deep Relaxation Meditation/ Rest is Resistance: After lunch, we took rest for an hour. Following the Rest is Resistance framework created by Tricia Hersey, aka The Nap Bishop, we were encouraged to connect to the liberating power of rest, daydreaming, and naps as a foundation for healing and justice.

Circle Time & Sharing Reflections: After a full day of sessions, we were prompted to converse and unpack the topics we explored throughout the day in assigned groupings. These formations allowed us to chat through bubbling insights, thoughts and feelings, and honour the co-learning journey we all collectively moved through.

Sunset Yin Yoga: We end each day by reconnecting and integrating with our bodies in yoga sessions, bathed in the glow of sunset.

SESSIONS & ACTIVITIES



SESSION 1

WHAT IS COMMUNITY ORGANISING?

In this session, we will be introduced to the concepts, principles and skills of Community Organising, and to be able to incorporate these learnings into their core work with their teams and/or organisations. By the end of this session, we should be able to understand the core principles of community organising.

In this session:

1. The Concept of Community Organising
2. Brief History of Community Organising
3. Principles of Community Organising
4. Skills of Community Organising

“To be a community organiser is to be like the wind. The impact is felt but not seen.”

- Dr Felix Tongkul



THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Broadly speaking, community organising is the process in which people gather to take action on a common issue and to overcome a social concern. There are [different types of organising](#), with the four key characteristics of community organising being:

1. Community organizing is the collaboration among people affected by a particular social problem.
2. People affected by the problem are the ones to address that problem.
3. Community organising focuses on the development of power, and/or process of empowerment.
4. It emphasises systems change.

BRIEF HISTORY OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Saul Alinsky (born 30 January 1909–12 June 1972) was credited as originating the term “community organiser.” Meanwhile, one of Alinsky’s associates, Presbyterian minister Herbert White, became a missionary in South Korea and the Philippines and brought Alinsky’s ideas, books and materials with him.

In the 1970s, White helped start a community organization in the Manila slum of Tondo in the 1970s. The concepts of community organizing spread through the many local NGO and activist groups in the Philippines.

In Sabah, PACOS began community organising training after taking inspiration from the community organising movement in the Philippines. Thus, community organizing spread throughout Sabah and became a means to empower rural communities in the state.

Since the late 1980s, community organisers have campaigned against the Babagon Dam development, Coal Power Plant, Kaiduan–Papar Dam development, etc.



PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

The five principles of community organising are:

1. Oppression is an opportunity to create awareness.
2. Tactic to counter oppression must be within i) people’s experience but ii) beyond the anticipation of the oppressor.
3. People act based on self-interest.
4. Community organising process begins from simple, concrete, short term and personal issues to complex, abstract, long term and issues related to the system.
5. People make decisions throughout the community organising process

SKILLS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

1. Listening

Listening within a community organising context is an act that requires sensitivity and empathy towards the community involved. However, it also involves candid dialogue that means organisers will have to be skilled in challenging others during the listening process.

2. Building relationships

Organizers have to be capable of building relationships that entail honesty, trust, sharing, empathy, challenge, and acceptance. Building relationships is what organizers do. Listening is a key piece of building relationships but being a good listener will not organize a community.

3. Challenging

In this context, “challenging” refers to the skills required by the organiser to be able

to challenge the understanding of the community that they work with.

By challenging an individual or a community, they are able to advance their understanding of causes behind the issues they face, as well as deepen reflection on their own values and place in relation to those issues.

The skill of “challenging” is based upon the **“Spiral Reflection Action”** framework whereby an individual will have to reflect and plan, before taking informed action and observing outcome.

4. Clarifying self-interest

In organising, self-interest is understood as what a person believes is important to themselves. Therefore, organisers discern self-interest of a community by listening to their stories, experiences, values and priorities that they share.

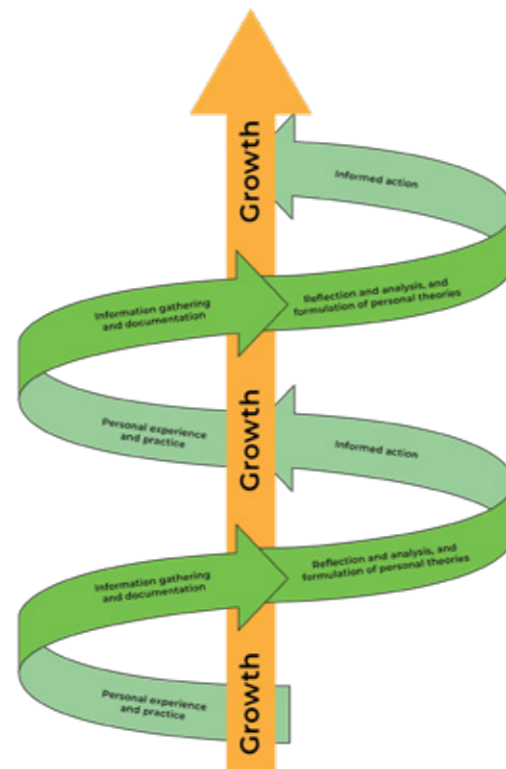


Image 1: The “Spiral Reflection Action” framework is a pattern of continued growth through the steps of Reflect, Plan, Act and Observe.

Deep Listening is the process of listening to learn. More importantly, it is an intentional activity that requires you to suspend judgement and receive information whether good, bad or neutral in a calm manner. Remember that by listening to others, that would help others to listen.

Try it Out

If you are alone: Find a comfortable position in your room or environment. Take a moment to pause and breathe, then begin to take notice of the sensations in your body and listen to the sound of your breath as you inhale and exhale.

If you are with others:

Step 1 - Assign the speaker and listener(s).

Step 2 - Listen attentively when the speaker is talking without interjection. Be comfortable with the silence.

Step 3 - Focus on acquiring the information including non-verbal cues from the speaker.

Step 4 - During the listening process, avoid planning out your next response. Instead, the goal is to simply understand.

Step 5 - Acknowledge what you have heard from the conversation with “if I’m hearing correctly...” or “sounds like you’re saying that...” statements.

Step 6 - Switch roles between the speaker and listener until everyone in the group has a turn at least once.

Watch: [The Value of Deep Listening by Judy Atkinson](#)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES AND MATERIALS

1. [What is Community Organising? By Dr Felix Tongkul](#), presented 26 May 2025. [slides]
2. [Tujuan dan Langkah-langkah Membina Masyarakat](#), presented 26 May 2025. [slides]
3. [What is Community Organising? By Jason Whelan and James MacLeod](#). [website]
4. [The Citizen’s Handbook](#) [website]
5. Rules for Radicals by Saul Alinsky [book]
6. Pedagogy of the Oppressed by Paulo Freire [book]

SESSION 2

THE PURPOSE AND PROCESS OF COMMUNITY ORGANISING WITH DR FELIX TONGKUL & JHERRICA JUSTIN

After learning about the principles of community organising, this session introduces participants to the “why?” and “how?” of community organising, in particular taking in the context of Sabah. Jherrica Justin shares her experience as a youth community organiser, weaving in lessons as a young person paving the way for the next generation to take on the work in organising communities. The session will introduce us to the context of community organising in Sabah, as well as provide an understanding of the purpose and processes involved in community organising.

In this session:

1. The Importance of Listening
2. The Purpose and Process of Community Organising
3. The 10 Steps of Community Organising



THE IMPORTANCE OF LISTENING

In a community organising context, listening is an act of paying attention to the cultural and social nuances between individuals and the community you are involved in. The practice itself requires empathy and compassion. Aside from just hearing the words of another person, one must hear with both eyes and heart.

THE PURPOSE AND PROCESS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

The purpose of community organizing is to build awareness amongst people who are oppressed. Through organising, a new kind of “people’s first” structure in the community emerges where the community itself is involved in the process of planning, decision-making and implementation.



THE 10 STEPS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

There are a number of important steps to consider when first organizing a community in order to make a positive long-term impact.

Step 1: At the first step, community organisers need to understand the core issues that they are working with, thus they will have to conduct a **preliminary social investigation**. This process involves research and dialogue with the community.

Step 2: Integration requires a commitment to stay with the community and live as they do to begin an understanding of the dynamics of the community. It is also important for the community organiser to network in this process.

Step 3: The third step is when a community organiser is there to **identify core issues** faced by the community. Typically, the issues are already quite apparent, so the community organiser’s role is to facilitate discussion that will **expand on the issues**.

Step 4: After a discussion on issues take place, community organisers are to seek their network and make **detailed plans of action** which will involve the entire community. Achieving consensus, as well as holding space for all voices to be heard is important.

Step 5: The **groundwork** to begin taking action is set after consent from the community is acquired and a plan of action is made. At this step, setting the groundwork also means preparing the community by addressing concerns.

Step 6: The purpose of **roleplaying** before taking action is to help the community visualise and imagine the scenarios which will take place. For example, meeting with a government officer.

Step 7: Finally, it’s time for **action!** The purpose of action is to mount pressure for change. However, mobilising action must be based on the community’s capacity and resources available. The tactics used, too, must take place within an appropriate social, economic and political context.

Step 8: Once action has happened, it’s time to **assess** the achievement, strengths and weaknesses of said action (for example: protest, court battle, etc). What could have been done better?

Step 9: The purpose of **reflection** is to strengthen the struggle of the community and form the values like cooperation, courage, patience and collective leadership.

Step 10: Finally, through assessment and reflection, the community is able to **form its own people’s organisation** that will be able to partake actively in tackling issues and improving the community’s capacity, as well as participate in associations outside of the village.

“The 10 Steps of Community Organising” is adapted from the book “Community Organising Training Manual” published by PACOS Trust.

Try It Out: Lagu Membangun Masyarakat / The Community Organising Anthem**Follow Along:** [A Guiding Tune | The Rhythm of Community Organising.](#)**Producer/Credits to:** PACOS Trust**Song Lyrics:**

Mulakan dengan cerita

Sehingga rakyat rasa panas

Bila panas bolehlah berkumpul

Membuat rancangan tindakan

Sebelum buat tindakan

Jangan lupa buat persediaan

Pastikan jelas matlamat

Kalau boleh buat lakonan

Kalau sudah ada tindakan

Jangan lupa buat persediaan

Renunglah semua pelajaran

Nanti boleh buat kumpulan

Bila sudah ada kumpulan

Jangan lupa buat penilaian

Rajinlah membina pemimpin

Eratkan jaringan sokongan

Lihat-renung-rancang-bertindak

Lingkaran yang sangat penting

Dalam proses membangun masyarakat

Supaya masyarakat maju

(Repeat the song once again)



ACTIVITY 1 CLUSTERING THEMES & CHALLENGES

Aim: The objective of this activity is for you to reflect on some questions and challenges that emerge in your field of work in relation to community organising after learnings from Sessions 1 & 2.

Tools: Sticky notes, marker pens and large board or mahjong paper

Facilitation Instructions:

1. Hand out the sticky notes and marker pens to everyone in the room.
2. Instruct participants to write down a challenge on one piece of sticky note paper.
3. Divide the board into halves. Alternatively, use two large pieces of mahjong paper placed side-by-side.
4. After that, get participants to place their questions on one side of the board, while sticky notes with the questions go on the other side.
5. Have a few or one participant give a read through of all the questions and challenges that were submitted in the activity.
6. Invite participants to read through all the responses from Activity 1.
7. In groups, get participants to match similar responses under one theme.

Participants ought to name the theme themselves.

8. By the end of the activity, participants will be able to see several themes emerge from clustering the different questions and challenges.



ACTIVITY 2

“PUTTING YOURSELF IN THE SHOES OF...”

As part of our learning process, we engaged in roleplay exercises rooted in the **Theatre of the Oppressed** — a methodology developed by Augusto Boal that uses participatory theatre as a tool for exploring power, conflict, and collective action. Rather than performing for an audience, participants become both actors and authors of the scene, stepping into real scenarios of tension or injustice drawn from lived experience.

The boundaries between "stage" and "room" dissolve — anyone can pause the action, enter the scene, and try a different approach. In this way, the exercise becomes a rehearsal not for performance, but for life: a space to practise navigating power dynamics, testing strategies, and finding voice in situations where voice is often suppressed. For us, it grounded the philosophies of community organising in the body and in the room — making visible the dynamics we often only talk about in the abstract.

Tools: Costumes or props are optional

Facilitating Instructions:

1. Depending on how large the group is, facilitators may want to divide participants into two or three groups.
2. Participants are then given the scenario to act out. The scenario can be made up, or based on a real-life situation.

Facilitation note: For this roleplay activity, facilitators will have to spend some time thinking of the scenarios beforehand. Take particular notice on whether participants are able to act out the community organizing principles they've learned when they perform the scene.

Example scenario: The government has decided to take over a large section of land at a village to establish a palm oil estate.

3. Provide up to an hour for participants to prepare the scene and roles that they would like to enact.
4. When setting instructions, some themes to consider facilitating around this roleplay are power dynamics, systemic or legal hurdles, and individual or institutional privileges etc.
5. Once the groups are ready, provide up to 15 minutes for each group to act out their play.
6. In a second stage, the scene is acted out again. But this time, audiences are invited to “disrupt” the pace, delivery or actions of the characters in the play.
7. Once all groups have performed, set up the space for a dialogue between the groups to share what they've learned through the performance.



8. After the roleplay, open up a conversation with the circle, where you might consider asking:

- How did you feel when you played the role that you chose?
- What type of struggles or challenges emerge depending on the roles that you were in?

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES AND MATERIALS

1. [Community Organising Manual by PACOS Trust](#)
2. [Panduan Proses Membangun Masyarakat by PACOS Trust](#)

SESSION 3

INTERPLAY OF COMMUNITY DYNAMICS WITH ANNE LASIMBANG & CYNTHIA ONG

Community organising provides us a framework to move towards deeply collaborative relationships with the communities we are involved in, as well as help us redress dynamics of “follow a single leader.” Community organising can also give us the opportunity to bridge gaps between oppressed communities and policymakers. Sharing from decades of leadership, Puan Anne Lasimbang of PACOS and Cynthia Ong of Forever Sabah talk about their experiences and challenges along the way in building the foundations of their respective organisations. What does responsible eldership look like? What does relationship building look like before versus now? What kind of leadership emerges when a community is organised? In this conversation, we listened for lessons and qualities we can seek for ourselves as emerging leaders in our own communities.



BRIEF HISTORY OF PACOS TRUST

PACOS Trust was founded in 1986 and began its work with communities across Sabah with a trading license. By 1991, the organisation was registered as a trustee. At present, PACOS works in 25 geographical areas and 23 districts in Sabah. It has reached out to 148 villages that cover a population of around 50,000 people, of which 95% are Indigenous from the Sungai, Murut, Rungus, Kadazandusun and other sub-ethnic groups.

Throughout the years, PACOS has developed 25 Community Learning Centre (CLC)

throughout Sabah and at present comprises 34 office-based staff, and 55 field-based staff.



Photo credit:
PACOS Trust

What is a Community Learning Centre (CLC)? A center built by the community to increase capacity in community organising.

Trainers go a specific community area and teach the principles of community organising whilst living with the community themselves to immerse and get to know the root problem of a particular issue in the area

The collaboration between PACOS Trust and communities has built eight main learning centers for community organising that are located at: Kg. Tampasak, Kg. Buayan, Kg. Liu, Kg. Lakang, Kg. Minusuh, Kg. Kuamut, Kg. Dalit and Kg. Singkalaban.

- [Watch a video on Community Learning Centres \(CLCs\) – with Anne Lasimbang](#)

SESSION 4

COMMUNITY ORGANISING: REFLECTIONS AND PATH AHEAD

Youths are an integral part of community organising. As the adage goes, “youths are the leaders of tomorrow.” Youth movements exist to resist archaic power structures, and bring about social change. And now, more than ever, [youths](#) are taking their rightful place in the world. In this final session, we invited Alias Aiqa and Betroychiper Hongsui representing their respective communities of Kampung Abai and Kampung Tinuhan, respectively and Junia as she works within the wider PACOS network to share their experiences as young folks building solidarity movements. This peer-learning session invites us to reflect on our voice and agency as young people, and what responsibility looks like as a generation moving forward.





APPENDIX

List of resources shared and mentioned in the coursebook:

Dr Tongkul, Felix. *What is Community Organising?* As presented on 18 November 2021, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1uaBptkJS_a4LBwisAZrVsZFJ0iqUSWmO/view?usp=sharing

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