

The Role of Female Opposition Representatives in the 13th Parliament

Amirul Azam Asri, Rosyidah Muhamad

¹Faculty Business, Economics, and Social Development, Universiti Malaysia Terengganu,
21300 Kuala Terengganu, Terengganu, Malaysia.

Correspondence: Amirul Azam Asri (email: p3769@pps.umt.edu.my)

Received: 27 March 2023; Accepted: 11 July 2023; Published: 30 August 2023

Abstract

The traits associated with the two genders recognized as men's and women's personality, behavior, value, power, and influence are referred to as gender. However, gender inequality is widespread, affecting various areas, including society, the economy, education, medicine, and politics. Women's political participation in society has not received as much attention from researchers as that of men in the political sphere. This is because men are generally more involved in politics than women are in many nations. But there is a significant disparity in the participation of men and women in politics in Malaysia as well. This article will therefore concentrate on the participation of female opposition lawmakers in the 13th parliament from 2013 to 2018. This study aims to uncover the topics that the female opposition in the 13th parliament discussed. The second goal is to examine how the opposition behaved during the 13th parliament, and the third goal is to determine how the female opposition participated during that session. Document analysis from the parliamentary Hansard serves as the primary method in this study's qualitative methodology. The empirical findings show a relationship between the number of parliamentary seats and Pakatan Harapan's victory in the previous General Election. The opposition took an active part in acting as a legislative and representative force. It's interesting to think that this study will interest and inform many parties more. The public, policymakers, and researchers are a few among them. Besides, this study will introduce the opposition party community, particularly in Malaysia. It is anticipated that the researcher will be able to share expertise and information on the opposition through this study, particularly female opposition.

Keywords: Female opposition, Hansard parliament, parliamentary behavior, political involvement, 13th parliament

Introduction

Malaysia is renowned for having a parliamentary democratic government. In a democracy, citizens are given the opportunity to influence the creation of laws. The separation of Power, often known as the theory of separation of powers, is more important in Malaysia's Parliamentary democratic system. The separation of powers system is crucial for nations that utilize a democratic system since it runs parallel to and is directly tied to the idea of parliamentary democracy, according to Che and Zulkafli (2014). The Western world was the first to implement the concept of separation of powers as a replacement for the widely used monarchy and iron-nail form of government.

Nonetheless, Talib et al. (2018) and Ufen (2009) define Malaysia as a pseudo-democratic nation. Malaysia is known for its semi-democracy because of the country's somewhat constrained pattern of civil liberties. Despite using the GE system, Malaysia currently has few civil rights.

Additionally, Malaysia is a semi-democratic nation. Malaysia continues to hold elections every five years. GE is more competitive in Malaysia. Moreover, GE is a crucial component of the democratic system. Elections are a crucial component of the political system in a democracy since they can serve as a conduit between the government and the populace, claims Ali (2015). Also, it may have an impact on the formulation of policies and decision-making. Political parties also have a significant impact on a nation's political structure. According to Azlan (2017), a political party will be created, and it will either serve as the government or the opposition.

The presence of the opposition is a reliable political landscape indicator. Without opposition, Potrafke (2020) contends, there is no democracy. Examining and evaluating the government's actions and policies is one of the many roles that opposition to a nation's political system can play. Additionally, (Chung, 2021; Samarjani, 2021) urges, they keep an eye on the government and are not oblivious to the demands of the populace. During the parliamentary session, the opposition will question and criticize the administration's actions to examine the transparency of the government.

As common knowledge, the opposition is free to comment on and monitor government actions both inside and outside of parliament. In Malaysia, there are several significant opposition groups, including the Democratic Action Party (DAP), the People's Justice Party (PKR), and the Parti Se-Islam Malaysia (PAS). Due to their perceived importance in the GE14 triumph, these three parties were chosen as study data. This page has three main goals, one of which is to list the issues that the female opposition representative debated. Other than that, to investigate the opposition's actions during the 13th parliament and the third goal is to determine how the opposition's female members participated during that time.

Literature review

Pitkin's (1967) representational theory is employed as the core theory to describe this study's empirical findings, which is backed by Robert's theory (1966). His interpretation of democratic representation is the basis of this idea. Citizens' voices, opinions, and participation in the process of establishing policies are all part of political representation. Meanwhile, Celis and Gale (2012) assert that political aid, sometimes referred to as political proposal, political criticism, and acting as a spokesperson of the people, is a sort of representation that takes place in the political sphere. There are various varieties of representative concepts, including formal, symbolic, descriptive, and substantive ones. Furthermore, there is a big contrast between these ideas. Dobson and Hamilton (2016) urge discuss how gender affects political representation and whether men or women are better. Meanwhile, Verma et al (2019) assert that each gender has a place and a stake in the political system. Moreover, resistance and democracy are frequently linked to this representation paradigm. Fudge and Leith (2021) concentrate on democracy and resistance. According to Fudge and Leith, democracy is a significant concept that has evolved into the fundamental framework for most nations worldwide. Democracies are forms of government where citizens are given direct access to the legislative branch. In other words, the people could make their own decisions, which is very important to a nation that upholds the right to individual freedom. Wolkenstein (2021) has frequently outlined the opposition's function as a check and balance on the nation's political

system. However, the opposition still has trouble being involved in the political system in other nations, nevertheless, because these nations do not implement and practice the democratic system. Poertner (2022) asserts that it is challenging for the opposition in sparse words. The fact is, as every nation is different, the power and function of the opposition in parliament also vary.

Meanwhile, according to Hoppen & Vanz (2022), women's participation in national policymaking varies in terms of proportion. While Brazil and Hungary continue to fall short of the required percentage of women legislators, which is 10%, other European nations like Finland show high statistics showing approximately 45% of MPs in parliament are women. This percentage is at a vital level according to the principle of democratic representation, which touches on inclusivity and representation for all people. The subject of why women aren't nominated for and don't get elected as MPs in most countries' parliaments frequently comes up. A similar thing happens in Malaysia as well, and Rosyidah et al. (2021) claim that patriarchal cultural characteristics are highly prevalent in Malaysia and provide evidence of this. The Eastern culture, which gives men priority in terms of leadership and administration, is more important to Malaysian society. Political systems that make it difficult for women to participate in politics also have an impact on how women are viewed in that arena (Mechkova et al., 2022). According to Nazneen (2023), less of opportunities are given by political institutions to women which influence them not to become representatives. This is because most political parties do not put a quota system for women in electoral candidacy can avoid gaps in terms of the number of women's representation and further strengthen the legitimacy of the political system.

Method

As the primary tool for gathering data for this study's qualitative approach, document analysis also known as content analysis is used to examine parliamentary Hansard documents. In addition to ethnography, phenomenology, and historical studies, document analysis is one of the research techniques that is used to examine interview transcripts and document data in the form of text (Mokmin, 2012). In other words, document analysis is a method used by academics to draw reliable conclusions from the context of the data. There are some researchers who employ a qualitative methodology in their studies that frequently use the document analysis method. One common method for conducting qualitative research is content analysis. Aspers and Corte (2019) claim that document analysis is a phrase used in science that refers to specific techniques that are intended to develop and provide new insights, and better comprehension, add information to researchers about phenomena, and clarify practical activities.

Meanwhile, Mattimoe et al. (2021) urge that document analysis can also result in the generation of accessible information. Researchers can also compare the data they've collected to spot potential changes (Anas and Ishaq, 2022). Because of this, the Hansard of the 13th Parliament, which covers terms one through six, is used in this study. The first meeting of each term was selected as the research data. The opposition is the only thing that receives attention, particularly the female opposition, to observe how much of an active or passive role they play. Moreover, this study wants to see how they participate in the discussion on various problems during the question to the minister and known as the parliamentary question.

Results and discussion

The role of women parliamentarians in Malaysia

In Malaysia, the selection and appointment of a member of parliament are dependent on each candidate who runs for office in the GE. Successful candidates in the main election often hold office for terms that don't last longer than five years. According to Malike (2014), the majority number will be used to determine how many votes are counted. Even if there is only a one-vote difference, the contesting candidates will prevail. The candidate will be regarded as having won the representative seat and designated as the area's representative in Parliament. Also, the First-Past-The-Post (FPP) system, which is based on a simple majority rule, determines the victory of candidates running in the GE. Besides, according to Azlan et al. (2021), as opposed to ranked voting or score voting, FPP electoral system, sometimes referred to as single-member plurality voting, is used in single-member districts or informally chosen candidate voting. Regardless of whether they represent the administration or the opposition, all members of parliament have duties to the country, its citizens, and their own party. There are numerous duties, such as reviewing and approving state spending, taxes, and expenditures, as well as passing legislation and debating important issues.

Since 1945, Malaysian women have actively participated in politics. According to Wan Azizah (2002), in 1995, it was believed that less than 5% of women were formally participating in politics and running for state and federal officials. Before, women's involvement in politics had been restricted to voting and campaigning. Women are more involved in politics, as seen by the rise in their representation in parliament from 1959 to 2018. The biggest obstacle in Malaysia is the issue of the still-low political representation of women. Every time an election is held, the question of women running for office is frequently a contentious one. Aboo Talib et al. (2021), remarked that despite the government's assurances that the number of female candidates will rise in the elections, women remain an underrepresented demographic in politics. This is supported by research by Okpe et al. (2021) who discovered that women in Malaysia have far fewer formal political representation opportunities than men. Based on the table 1 showing the difference in the number of female and male political representatives in the Malaysian Parliament from 1957 to 2018.

Table 1. Number of parliamentarians by gender (1959-2018)

Election year	Male representation	Female representation	Number of seats in parliament
1959	101	3	104
1964	101	3	104
1969	142	2	144
1974	149	5	154
1978	147	7	154
1982	146	8	154
1986	170	7	177
1990	169	11	180
1995	177	15	192
1999	173	20	193
2004	196	23	219
2008	198	24	222
2013	199	23	222
2018	190	32	222

Sources: Malaysia Parliament Portal, 2018

Role of legislation

As is well known, when viewed from outside of parliament, they serve as the people's representatives. In contrast, if seen from the perspective of parliament, they participate in the process of drafting, debating, and supporting the bill that is presented in the parliament. According to Malaysian law, the opposition is free to do anything that is in the best interests of the nation after consulting with the minister and other members of parliament. Yet, according to Ufen (2008), the opposition can take part in the decision-making process but not the actual decision-making itself. The opposition can observe and assess how transparently the government makes decisions. The members of parliament must be effective and skilled in formulating recommendations and revisions to the law since they are familiar with a policy that can be used to address any problem at the local or regional level. One of their responsibilities in the legislative arena involves how they resolve issues that pose difficulties for the nation and the community.

According to Meyer and Wagner (2021), members of parliament are also involved in the process of passing laws, individuals participate in the creation, debate, and endorsement of bills submitted to parliament. The opposition is likewise free to make decisions that they deem to be in the best interests of the country. Additionally, they must be adept at drafting legal revisions and proposals. However, according to Aziz (2013), Malike (2014) and Muhamad (2016), Malaysian's cabinet partisan influence makes legislators there execute comparatively meager work in that function,

Role as a representative

The opposition is viewed as a representative of the people outside of parliament and the cabinet in this country since it operates under a parliamentary democratic system. From a parliamentary perspective, elected officials serve to represent the interest of the parties they join as well as the citizens in their constituency. They also speak for the people who elected them. Indirectly, they will be held in high regard as a representation and must carry themselves with integrity and discretion. Additionally, they have a wide range of responsibilities because their primary duty is to serve as the people's representatives (Malike et al., 2013). The opposition needs to be able to maintain the public's confidence in and support for the party. The opposition must understand how to consistently win the public's confidence and support as a representative. To create a government, they need also strengthen the party's performance, particularly when contesting in the GE. Shamrahayu (2015) asserts that neither the administration nor the opposition can accomplish any political objectives without the backing of the populace.

According to Aziz (2013), the formal task and unofficial duties that come with being a representative of the public are separated into two categories. Their function in the legislature, when they act on a proposal made or enacted by the government to safeguard the interest of the people, is one of their formal responsibilities as a member of parliament. Besides, they also serve to represent public opinions that the government and basic procedural rules prevent from being discussed in parliament.

Yet, it also differs from unofficial work because it occurs when they volunteer their time to improve the community's everyday existence, a problem that should be resolved by the ruling party. In this context, the term "Volunteer Workers" refers to those who perform duties related to local government and welfare that are offered by the ruling party to the public. They'll also

consistently perform their social work tasks to make sure they don't lose votes in the forthcoming elections.

14th general election and opposition

The results of Malaysia's 14th GE successfully changed the country's political landscape. The 14th GE was the most contentious in Malaysian politics. It was a significant shock to Malaysian politics when the opposition party Pakatan Harapan (PH) beat the incumbent party Barisan Nasional (BN). After nearly 60 years or more, the opposition PH finally took over the government of Malaysia. The result from the 14th GE also shows a considerable change in voter support for the opposition. According to Abdul Razak (2019), the opposition coming together to devise strategies, weakness in the BN apparatus, some instances of power abuse, and faults in the BN machinery all contributed to BN's defeat in the 14th GE.

A significant indicator of Malaysia's democracy and government's development, in addition to the elections, is parliament. The extent of a political party's positive impact and the interconnections between various political parties ultimately determine the political outcome for the next five years. According to Huridi et al. (2021), a political election is an official group decision-making process in which a portion of the populace chooses one or more people to hold public office in a way that gives them the responsibility to boost the economy, address citizen concerns, and work strategically for the welfare of the populace. Moreover, the information indicates that female politicians, especially those in the opposition, have their roles and actively play them. The opposition's active behavior during the 13th Parliament is also reflected in the topics it debates in the legislature, such as environment, health, international, welfare, education, and more. Table 2 show the percentages of female parliament members in the 13th GE based on the party represented.

Table 2. Percentages of female parliament members in the 13th GE based on the party represented

Political parties	Number of female parliamentarians	Percentages
BN	15 out of 22 candidates contested	68.2%
DAP	4 out of 4 candidates contested	100%
PKR	3 out of 11 candidates contested	27.3%
PAS	2 out of 7 candidates contested	28.6%
Total	21 seats	42.9%

Sources: Malaysia Parliament Portal, 2018

The involvement of female opposition in the 13th parliament

In general, several female oppositions appeared engaged during the question session in parliament. As table 3 shows, they have discussed a wide range of topics, including the economy, education, welfare, international, and so forth. Only a select few of the topics that they frequently dispute will be examined; not all topics.

Table 3. Summary of the issues debated by the female opposition during the question session to the minister.

Bil	Issues	Economy	Education	Welfare	International	Health	Development	Environment	Total
1	Alice Lau	2		1	1		2		6
2	Fuziah Salleh	1						1	2
3	Kasthuriraani Patto			1					1
4	Nurul Izzah Anwar	1	2				3		6
5	Siti Mariam Mahmud	1				1		1	3
6	Siti Zailah Mohd Yusoff	1	1				2	1	5
7	Teo Nie Ching	1	3	1					4
8	Teresa Kok Suh Sim				1	1	2		4
9	Wan Azizah Wan Ismail	1			3				4
10	Zuraida Kamaruddin		2	3	1		1		7

Sources: Malaysia Parliament Portal, 2018

Members of parliament seen to be active during the question session include Zuraidah Kamaruddin, a member of the PKR opposition, is seen as being involved in discussion about women’s welfare problems. The topic of careers and the state of the female labor market is one that she discusses. Zuraidah also has requested an explanation of the efforts the government has done to ensure an increase in the labor force, particularly women, in the job market in Malaysia during the first term of the 13th parliament. Zuraidah’s efforts do not stop there; during the second term, she also asked the government to provide statistics on the number of women who are unemployed. Zuraidah also challenged if the community, particularly women, favored the part-time work programmed.

Other than that, Zuraidah also questioned the government during the session about the availability of accessible public transportation for users outside of the city. In addition, she expressed doubts about the number of disabled persons who were employed from 2008 to 2011. This is because these disabled persons are one of the crucial societal groups with their own potential and dynamics. she also wants to know how successful the current policy is at recruiting people with disabilities to the national labor force. This issue was also discussed by Teo Kok Seong who is one of the DAP members who touched on the issues of welfare for the disabled. She has requested specific information about the funding provided to NGOs, groups, or people who run facilities that provide care for the elderly, the disabled, and other groups. She also contested the rights and situation of the crippled individuals, who drew the government’s attention.

Besides, Teo Nie Ching also highlighted concerns about the Goods and Services Tax (GST). She inquired during the same session about the quantity of eateries that currently collect service tax and the quantity that will do so starting in April 2015. The following are excerpts from the questions raised by several oppositions on economic issues:

...ask the Minister of Finance to state number of restaurants that collected service tax so far and the number of restaurants that have collected GST after 1 April, 2015...

...ask the Minister of Finance to state the number of BR1M application in 2013 by household category and how many applications were approved...

...Inquire about 1Malaysia Development Berhad's (1MDB) performance in terms of expanding strategic investment for the nation, especially those from foreign partners, as well as its prospects and possibilities in a difficult global economy...

...ask the Minister of Finance how much direct tax was collected in 2015 and is anticipated to be collected in 2016, how much has been collected in fines from tax audits and investigations over the past five years, and why the IRB targets doctors and attorneys for tax audits but not politicians...

... inquire about the measures the minister of finance will do to lower people's rising costs of life...

The study's findings make it abundantly clear that the female opposition actively engages in the legislative process by posing inquiries to the executive branch during ministerial question periods, also known as parliamentary questions. The parliamentary question has the potential to serve as a useful tool for coalition party friends to keep an eye on how they treat one another.

The themes

Based on the analysis of the study, it was found that four themes were formed based on the results of the question session to the minister shown in table 4.

Table 4. The theme

Bil	Theme
1	Critizing the government's action
2	Urging the government to act
3	Exposing the government's action
4	Giving recommendations to the government

Sources: Malaysia Parliament Portal, 2018

During the parliamentary question session, Wan Azizah Wan Ismail spoke as PKR president and denounced the government's TPPA-related acts. The member of parliament and the opposition kept asking the administration to clarify why it intended to sign the agreement and what effect it would have in Malaysia. The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPPA) is a free trade agreement involving a few nations, including the United States and 11 other nations in the Pacific region. On March 8, 2018, Donald Trump, the President of the United States, a major power, announced his withdrawal from the TPPA pact. The opposition condemned the government's action in parliament because of that action. This is due to the opposition and the general public's growing concern about increased corporate dominance, effects on the environment, restricted access to medicine, and harsh competition for local SMEs. Wan Azizah further emphasized that the Malaysian local sector will suffer because of the TPPA. This is due to the TPPA's exclusive focus on international corporations that will harm local industries' interests, particularly their legal rights. The fact is TPPA's exclusive concentration on foreign corporations that will jeopardize local businesses, particularly the rights of ethnic Malaysian.

In addition, the opposition also keeps pressing the government to act on a few issues. Wan Azizah asked the government to reevaluate its decision to sign the TPPA considering the US's withdrawal as well. Siti Zailah, a member of PAS's opposition, encouraged the government to concentrate on issues affecting women rather than just the TPAA and 1MDB problems. She presented a suggestion for the creation of childcare facilities like TASKA to assist working women

at the first conference in 2013. She frequently brought up the subject of TASKA provisions in the workplace in parliament. But the government has yet to take any action. Siti Zailah believes that the creation of TASKA will be beneficial, particularly in terms of the productivity of women. Other than that, Siti Zailah asked the government to boost the number of children's facilities under government control during the fourth term. She asked the government to concentrate on child childcare facilities, such as TASKA by including the health curriculum and supervising those facilities.

Apart from criticizing, urging, and exposing the actions of the government, the opposition also gave suggestions to the government during the question Minister session. According to a study by Kiprono (2020), the opposition's role should include making recommendations for enhancing the nation's administrative structure. One member of the opposition who actively makes recommendations to the government is Nurul Izzah. She has spoken on the GST issues and the government's response. She claims that the GST is one of the government's failings because it has no beneficial effects on the nation. Because the GST is a burden on the populace, its adoption does not aid the government in reducing waste and improper management of national resources. The GST which is placed on practically all industries, including health and education, burdens the populace.

It is evident that the opposition is not hesitant to criticize, insist upon, and bring to light the wrongdoings of the government during the administration by asking questions during the question Minister session. They continue to criticize the government, particularly when it comes to topics that are passionately debated by the public. This might convey the appearance that the government lacks administrative skills and is, as a result, engaged in wrongdoing and corruption in the government. This further demonstrates that the opposition has carried out its mission and has improved its standing. The presence of women in politics in Malaysia demonstrates the significance of this demographic for the country's development. Men continue to rule the nation's government, not just in Malaysia but in other nations as well. Women's participation in the governance of this nation can help to maintain stability and balance. For the demands of society, female legislators' attitudes that prioritize responsibility and care for women are crucial (Nylund et al. 2022). This also shows a complete and convincing picture of who influences groups, notably women. There are some advancements in the largest percentages of women in the federal legislature, especially during GE14, even though the minimum aim of 30% women is still unmet. This is amply demonstrated by the fact that Malaysia has acknowledged the status of women as legislators through the appointment of the Deputy Prime Minister and through the presence of women in ministries often held by men, such as local government, housing, and rural development (Malaysian Parliament Portal, 2018).

Conclusion

In conclusion, it demonstrates unequivocally that problems with gender equality are prevalent throughout a range of industries. In the political landscape, a lack of researchers frequently concentrates on the study of female parliaments in the political sphere. This is because women are frequently perceived as people who do not receive the opportunities and rights, they are due. Moreover, opposition research, particularly that of female opposition, is uncommon. The presence of the opposition is a reliable political landscape indicator. There can be no democracy without opposition because it is the major player in the democratic concept. The political party that opposes

the government and has a different set of ideals can be thought of as the opposition in the political system. Additionally, there are a few functions that opposition to the political system can play, like analyzing and critiquing the government's decisions and policies. They also keep tabs on government operations, look out for abuses of authority, and make sure that the government is not ignoring the demands and interests of the populace. During the parliamentary session, the opposition will examine the administration's operation by posing inquiries and making criticisms to assess the transparency of the government. This study provides a clear picture of the strength of women's representation in the Dewan Rakyat specifically from an empirical standpoint. Women's representatives in parliament will make sure that women's concerns or interests are brought up and further create a woman-friendly policy that most likely won't exist. Discussion in the House of Representatives might reveal the issues and concerns these women have. As a result, it's critical to have women's representatives in parliament or other legislative bodies to ensure that female-related issues are not neglected and that these topics take center stage in parliamentary deliberations.

References

- Abdul Razak, et al. (2019). Pilihan Raya Umum Ke-14 di Malaysia: Berakhirnya era regim authoritarian. *Malaysian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (MJSSH)*, 4(2), 90-101.
- Ali, M. (2015). Governance and good governance: A Conceptual perspective. *The Dialogue*, 10, 66-77.
- Aboo Talib et al. (2021). Women and politics: The contestation for visibility. *Akademika* 91(2), 105-116.
- Anas, N., & Ishaq, K. (2022). Qualitative research method in social and behavioral science research. *International Journal of Management, Social Science, Peace, and Conflicts Studies (IJMSSPCS)*, 5(1), 90-93.
- Aspers, P., & Corte, U. (2019). What is qualitative in qualitative research?. *Qualitative Sociology*, (42), 139-160.
- Aziz, N. (2013). *Deliberative practices in and outside the Malaysian parliament* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Auckland).
- Azlan, A. (2017). *Parliamentary behavior of the opposition Pakatan Rakyat in Malaysian Politics, 2008-12*. (Doctoral dissertation, Universiti Malaya).
- Azlan, A. A., Shahidah Abdul Razak, & Zouhair Mohd Rosli. (2021). Gelagat berparlimen pasca-regim authoritarian: Satu tinjauan awal dalam politik Malaysia. *Malaysian Journal of Social Science and Humanities (MJSSH)*, 6(9), 49-59.
- Celis, K., & Gale, A. (2012). Hanna Pitkin's concept of representation revisited introduction. *Politics and Gender*, 8(4), 508-512. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X12000517>
- Che, B., & Zulkafli, F. (2014). Pengasingan kuasa menurut perspektif Barat dan Islam: Amalannya di Malaysia. *Shariah Journal*, 22(1), 21-56.
- Chung, Y. (2021). Party politics and civil society. The role of policy entrepreneurs in nuclear power politics in Taiwan. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 31(2), 94-103. <https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.1920>
- Dobson, A., & Hamilton, L. (2016). Representation and political theory. *European Political Science*, 15(4), 570-578.

- Drago, Z. (2016). Role of opposition in contemporary parliamentary democracies-the case of Slovenia. *Journal of Comparative Politics*, 9(1), 19-35.
- Fudge, M., & Leith, P. (2021). Rethinking participation in commons governance: Political representation and participation. *An International Journal*, 34(8), 1038-1055.
- Hoppen, N. H. F., & Vanz, S. A. D. (2022). The development of Brazilian women's and gender studies: a bibliometric diagnosis. *Scientometrics*, (128), 227-261. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11192-022-04545-w>
- Huridi, M. H., Abdul Hadi, A. R., & Hashim, M. H. (2021). Malaysian politics after 14th general election: Do the number of parliamentary seats matter for Bn's victory?. *Croatian International Relations Review*, 27(87), 95-111.
- Kiprono, C. Z. (2020). The role of opposition political parties in enhancing good governance: A case of selected countries in Africa. *International of Research and Innovation in Social Science*, 4(6), 2454-6186.
- Malike, B. (2014). Peranan dan tanggungjawab wakil rakyat dalam sistem politik Malaysia. (Doctoral dissertation, Universiti Utara Malaysia).
- Malike, B., Mohd, F., & Musliza, M. (2013). Peranan wakil rakyat dalam parti politik: Isu dan cabaran. *Malaysian Journal of History, Politics & Strategy*, 40(1), 91-115.
- Mattimoe, R., Hayden, M. T., Murphy, B., & Ballantine, J. (2021). Approaches to analysis of qualitative research data: A reflection on the manual and technological approaches. *Accounting, Finance & Governance Review*, 27, 1-25.
- Mechkova, V., Dahlum, S., & Petrarca, C. S. (2022). Women's political representation, good governance, and human development. *An international journal of Policy, administration, and Institutions*, 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12742>
- Meyer, T., & Wagner, M. (2021). Issue engagement across members of parliament: the role of issue specialization and party leadership. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 46(3), 653-678.
- Mokim, B. (2012). Model Polisi Maklumat: Kes Malaysia. (Doctoral dissertation, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia).
- Muhamad, R., Ahmad Zakuan, U. A., Aziz, N., Saat, S. A., & Ahmad, R. (2021). The nature of political representation: Voters' perception towards the role of political representation. *Geografia-Malaysian Journal of Society and Space*, 17(3), 260-272.
- Muhamad, R. (2016). Political deliberation on the internet: The Malaysian political parties' web sphere. *The Social Sciences*, 11(19), 4734-4744.
- Nazneen, S. (2023). Women's political agency in difficult settings: Analysis of evidence from Egypt, Nigeria, Mozambique, and Pakistan. *Development Policy Review*, 41, <https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12685>
- Nylund, et al. (2022). The transformative potential of feminist foreign policy: The case of Sweden. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 44(3), 257-273. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2022.2113662>
- Okpe, V. V., Othman, M. F., & Osman, N. (2021). An assement into women's political participation in Malaysian democratic governance. *E-Bangi: Journal of Social Science and Humanities*, 18(5). 21-36.
- Pitkin, F. (1976). Wittgenstein and Justice by Hannah Fenichel Pitkin. *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, 6(4), 755-771.
- Poertner, M. (2022). Does political representation increase participation? Evidence from Party Candidate Lotteries in Mexico. *American Political Science Review*, 1-20.

- Potrafke, N. (2020). General or central government? Empirical evidence on political cycles in budget composition using new data for OECD countries. *European Journal of Political Economy*, (63), 101860.
- Robert, A. (1966). Democratic and opposition. *Jstor*, 1(4), 560-562.
- Rosyidah, M., Ahmad Zakuan, U. A., & Aziz, N. (2021). Peranan perwakilan substantif ahli parlimen wanita dalam Parlimen Malaysia ke-13. *Kajian Malaysia* (Early View).
- Samarjani, H. S. (2021). Political relations between Iran and Britain from the beginning of the reign of Faith Ali Shah of Qajari until the end of the First Iran-Russia war. *Journal of Historical & Cultural Studies an Academic Magazine*, 1(47), 12.
- Shamrahayu, A. (2015). The continuing debate on death penalty: An exposition of international, Malaysian and the Shari'ah perspective. *IIUM Law Journal*, 23(1), 61-84.
- Talib @ Khalid, K. A., Shamsul, A. B., & Ishak, S. (2018). Elections in Malaysia and Indigenization of Democracy. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 14(1), 181-191. <https://doi.org/10.3844/jssp.2018.181.191>
- Ufen, A. (2008). Political party and party system institutionalization in Southeast Asia: lessons for democratic consolidation in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand. *The Pacific Review*, 21(3), 327-350. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512740802134174>
- Ufen, A. (2009). The transformation of political party opposition in Malaysia and its implication for the electoral authoritarian regime. *Democratization*, 16(3), 604-627.
- Ufen, A. (2019). Opposition in transition: pre-electoral coalitions and the 2018 electoral breakthrough in Malaysia. *Democratization Journal*, 167-184. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2019.1666266>
- Wan Azizah (2002). Women in politics: Reflections from Malaysia. *International IDEA*, 191-202.
- Wan Hamedi, W. H., & Hassan, A. (2015). Hubungan perdagangan Malaysia-China 1980-2013. *Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture*, 3(1), 63-80.