

*Article*

## **The Involvement of Male Opposition Parliamentarians in the 13<sup>th</sup> Parliament, 2013-18**

Amirul Azam bin Asri\* & Rosyidah bt Muhamad

Faculty Business, Economics, and Social Development (FBESD), Universiti Malaysia Terengganu, 21300 Kuala Nerus, Terengganu, Malaysia

\*Corresponding Author: [p3769@pps.umt.edu.my](mailto:p3769@pps.umt.edu.my)

**Abstract:** Gender is defined as personality, behavior, value, power, influence, and the role played by the two genders known as men and women. However, the problem of gender inequality often occurs in any country and occurs in various sectors such as society, economy, education, medicine, and politics. Many previous scholars made studies on women's involvement in the political arena, but a lack of previous researchers focused on men's involvement in the political arena. This is because in many countries the involvement of males in politics is quite high compared to women. While in Malaysia too, there is a huge gap between the involvement of men and women in the political landscape. Therefore, this article will focus on the involvement of male opposition parliamentarians in the 13<sup>th</sup> Parliament starting from 2013 until 2018. The objective of this study is to identify the issues debated by the male opposition in the 13<sup>th</sup> Parliament. The second objective is to study the behavior of the opposition in the 13<sup>th</sup> parliament and the third objective is to identify the involvement of the male opposition in the 13<sup>th</sup> parliament. This study uses a qualitative approach by using document analysis as the main method obtained from the parliamentary Hansard. According to the empirical result, there is a connection between the number of parliamentary seats and Pakatan Harapan (PH)'s victory in the previous general election (GE). The opposition acted actively in playing their role as a legislative, and representative. Interestingly this study will provide additional interest and information to several parties. Among them are the community, politicians as well as researchers. This study will give exposure to the community of the opposition parties, especially in Malaysia. Through this study, is expected that the researcher will be able to provide knowledge and information related to the opposition, especially male opposition.

**Keywords:** gender, Hansard parliament, opposition, political involvement, the role of opposition, 13<sup>th</sup> parliament

---

### **Introduction**

Malaysia is known as a country that practices a parliamentary democratic system. Democracy is a system where the people are allowed to participate in the law-making process. The parliamentary democratic system that is practiced in Malaysia is more about the doctrine of separation of powers known as the Separation of Power. According to Che Pa & Zulkafli (2014), the separation of powers system is important for countries that practice a democratic system because it is parallel and closely related to the concept of parliamentary democracy itself. The system of separation of powers was first introduced in the West as an alternative to stopping the widespread monarchy and iron nail-patterned government system. However, Ufen (2009), has called Malaysia a pseudo-democratic country, and Talib Khalid & Ishak (2018) classify Malaysia as a semi-democratic country. Semi-democracy is associated with Malaysia because it involves a relatively limited pattern of civil liberties. Although Malaysia uses the General Election (GE) system, civil liberties are still limited.

Furthermore, even though Malaysia is categorized as a semi-democratic country. Malaysia still conducts GE every five years. GE in Malaysia is more competitive. Moreover, GE is an important element in

the democratic system. According to Rahim (2015), elections are an important element of the political system in a democratic country because they can be a connection between the government and citizens. Besides, it can influence the decision-making process and policy formation. In addition, political parties play an important role in the political system of a country. A political party will be formed either as a government or they will act as an opposition.

The existence of the opposition is a good indicator of the political landscape. Potrafke (2020) argues that there is no democracy without opposition. There are several roles of opposition to the political system of a country such as examining and reviewing actions and policies made by the government. In addition, they also observe and monitor the activities of the government, eradicate the abuse of power, and ensure that the government does not ignore the needs of the people. The opposition will scrutinize the government's activities by asking a question and criticizing the government's actions during the parliamentary session to see the government's transparency (Chung, 2021). As known, the opposition has the right to criticize and observe the government's activities inside and outside parliament. There are several dominant opposition parties in Malaysia such as Democratic Action Party (DAP), People's Justice Party (PKR), and Parti Se-Islam Malaysia (PAS). These three parties were selected as research data because they were seen to be very significant with the victory in the GE14. There are three main objectives in this article namely to identify the issues debated by the male opposition in the 13<sup>th</sup> parliament, to study the behavior of the opposition in the 13<sup>th</sup> parliament and the third objective is to identify the involvement of the male opposition in the 13<sup>th</sup> parliament.

### Literature Review

Representational theory processed by Beehler (1967) which is taken from the ideology of Pitkin is used as a basic theory to describe empirically this study which is supported by the theory by Dahl processed by Fabbrini (2003). This theory is from his understanding of democratic representation. Political representation is an activity that involves the citizen's voice, their opinion, and involvement in the policy-making process. According to Celis & Mazur (2012), representation will occur when there is a process of proposing, criticizing, and acting as a representative of the people in the political arena which is known as a form of political assistance. There are several types of representative concepts such as formal, symbolic, descriptive, and substantive representations. Besides, there is a significant difference between these concepts. Dobson and Hamilton (2016) also explain the difference in political representation involving gender and classifying whether men or women are better. According to Verma (2019), both genders have their roles and interest in the political system. This representation theory is also often associated with opposition and democracy.

Meanwhile, Maree and Peat (2021) focus on democracy and opposition. According to Maree and Peat, democracy is an important ideology that has become the basic reference of most countries in the world. The term democracy refers to a system of government where the people are allowed to participate directly in the law-making process. In other words, the people have the freedom to make choices and it means a lot to a country that gives the right to individual freedom. Wolkenstein (2021) has often explained the role of the opposition as a check and balance on the country's political system. However, in some countries that do not apply and practice the democratic system, the opposition is still experiencing the issue of limitations to involve themselves in the country's political system. According to Poertner (2022), it is quite difficult to distinguish the majority and minority in the classical view about the opposition in terms that are not extensive. Furthermore, each country is not the same involving the strength and role of the opposition in parliament also differs.

### Methodology

This study applies a qualitative approach that uses document analysis (content analysis) as the main method that uses analyses parliamentary Hansard documents to obtain data. According to Sakyi et al., (2020), document analysis is one of the research methods other than ethnography, phenomenology, and historical studies that are used to analyze document data and interviews in the form of text. In other words, document analysis is a technique researchers use to make repeatable and valid conclusions from the data context.

Furthermore, the document analysis method is often used by researchers who use a qualitative approach in their studies. Content analysis is a widely used qualitative research technique. In addition, document analysis

is a scientific term that involves certain procedures that aim to build and produce new insights, improve understanding, and add information to researchers related to certain phenomena as well as clarify practical actions (Aspers and Corte, 2019). Meanwhile, according to Mattimoe et al., (2021), document analysis can also produce the formation of accessible information. Researchers can also compare the information obtained to identify possible changes (Anas & Ishaq, 2022). For that reason, this study uses the Hansard of the 13<sup>th</sup> Parliament, which is from term one until term six, and the first meeting in each term is chosen as the research data. It only focuses on the opposition, especially the male opposition to see how far they play their role whether active or not. Besides, want to see how they involve themselves in the debate on some issues during the session in the parliament.

## Findings and Discussion

### 1. Role of the Opposition in Parliament

In Malaysia, appointment of a member of parliament is made and selected based on any candidate who contests during the general election to win a seat in parliament. Generally, those who are successful when competing in the general election will serve for a period not exceeding five years for each term. The counting of votes will be done based on the number of the majority. Contesting candidates will win even if there is only a difference of one vote. Automatically, the candidate will be considered to have won the representative seat and will be appointed as the member of parliament representing the area. Moreover, the victory of candidates contesting in GE is determined based on a simple majority system according to the *First-Post-The-Post* method. In first-past-the-post, the electoral system also known as a single-member plurality voting is used in single-member districts or informally choose one voting in contrast to ranked voting, score voting, and voters their votes for a candidate of their choice Azlan et al., (2021). In general, member of parliament whether from the government or the opposition have their roles towards the country, citizens, and the party itself. There are several roles such as reviewing government activities, making laws, debating important issues, reviewing, and approving state spending including expenditure and taxation.

### 2. Legislative Role

As known, they act as representatives of the people when seen from the outside of parliament. Whereas if viewed from the aspect of parliament, they play a role in enacting laws. Their involvement in the process of drafting, discussing, and supporting the bill presented in the parliament. Within the framework of Malaysian Law, the opposition is free to make decisions based on joint discussions with the minister and other members of parliament in making any decision in the interest of the country. However, according to Ufen (2008), the opposition cannot participate in decision making but they can participate in the process to make decisions. The opposition can see and evaluate the government's transparency in making any decision.

Because the member of parliament knows a policy that can be used to deal with any issue at the local or regional level, they must be efficient and skilled in drafting proposals and amendments to the law. This is one of their roles in the legislative field which involves how they overcome issues that cause problems for the country and the community.

### 3. Role as a Representative

As a country that practices a parliamentary democratic system, the opposition's role is also seen as a representative of the people not only in parliament and the cabinet. From a parliamentary point of view, representatives of the people not only represent the voice of the people who elected them, but they also represent the interest of the parties they join and represent the people of their constituency. Indirectly, as a representative, they will bear great trust and must be shouldered honestly and wisely. Other than that, they also have an extensive role and responsibility because their real job is to represent the people (Malike et al., 2013). As a representative, the opposition must know how to keep the people's trust and support for the party continuously. In addition, they should improve the performance of the party, especially when competing in GE so that they can form a government. According to Abdul Aziz (2015), all political goals cannot be achieved by the government or the opposition without the support of the citizens.

#### 4. 14<sup>th</sup> General Election and Opposition

The 14<sup>th</sup> General Election (GE) results successfully altered Malaysia's political climate. The 14<sup>th</sup> GE was the most heated in Malaysian political history. When the opposition party PH defeated the ruling party BN it came as a major surprise to Malaysian landscape politics. The opposition PH ultimately took control of the Malaysian government after nearly 60 years and above. The results of the 14<sup>th</sup> GE also reveal a significant shift in voter support for the opposition. The defeat of BN in the 14<sup>th</sup> GE was brought on by several elements, including the opposition banding together to develop tactics, flaws in the BN apparatus, some instances of power abuse, and deficiencies in the BN machinery (Abdul Razak, 2019). Besides the GE, parliament serves as a crucial gauge of how Malaysia's democracy and government are progressing. The eventual political outcome for the next five years is ultimately determined by the degree of a political party's favourable influence and the interactions between different political parties. Huridi et al., (2021) say that a political election is an official group decision-making procedure in which a part of the population selects an individual or more than one individual to hold public office in such a way as to give them the responsibility to strengthen the economy, resolve citizen's issues and strategically work for the welfare of the public. The data show that male politician especially the opposition have their role and actively play the role. The opposition's active conduct during the 13<sup>th</sup> Parliament is also indicated by the topics it debates in the legislature including education, economy, welfare, security, development, and so on.

#### 5. The Involvement of Male Opposition in the 13<sup>th</sup> Parliament

Table 1 shows, several male oppositions seemed active during the question session in parliament. Various issues have been debated by opposition including economic, education, welfare, international, health, development, environment, and more. However, not all issues debated by them will be analyzed. This article will focus on the dominant issues discussed by the male opposition. Among the opposition, who were seen active during the question session was the member of parliament from Bachok, Ahmad Marzuk Shaary who a member of the PAS party is also. He has focused on welfare issues four times and other issues such as national issues, health, development, and the environment.

At the first meeting of the third term, he asked the Minister of Women, Family, and Community Development to state the increase in allocation and changes in priorities by Jabatan Kebajikan Masyarakat (JKM) in the face of the natural disaster that occurred in 2014. In the meantime, he also asked for evidence showing that JKM cares about the welfare of the flood victims involved. This is because, according to Rahimah (2018), after the flood incident, no initiative was taken to prevent the flood and the welfare of the flood victims who were affected following the major flood that caused thousands of residents to move due to the destruction of property and residences.

Apart from welfare issues, he also touched on health issues at the fourth term meeting. At the session, he asked the Minister of Health to state the status of the hospital construction project in Bachok. This is because what he can see is the project has not yet shown any signs of progress. He also questioned how long the project would be completed before the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> parliamentary term at that time. On the other hand, in the fifth term of the conference, he also asked the Minister of Energy, Green Technology, and Water about the latest report related to the dam construction project in Lebir and Nenggiri.

Besides, a member of parliament from Bukit Katil, Shamsul Iskandar Mohd Akin, asked the Minister of Women, Family, and Community Development to state the number of disabled employees in the public and private sectors by groups such as support and management groups and by physical, vision, hearing and learning disability categories. He also questioned whether the amount complies with the 1% policy involving the disabled in the employment sector. Malaysia is a country that practices equality of rights regardless of gender, religion, race, and ethnicity. Therefore, according to Fitri (2019), this group of disabled people is eligible to obtain the right to equality so that there are no issues of abuse of the rights of disabled people that are often reported.

This issue was also discussed by Teo Kok Seong who is one of the DAP members. He focused on the issues of welfare for the disabled. he asked the Minister of Women, family, and Community Development to state in detail the aid or allocation given to Non-Government Organizations (GNO), associations, or

individuals who run welfare homes that help the elderly, the disabled, and so on. He also disputed the rights and fate of the disabled given attention by the government.

Meanwhile, the opposition who is seen to be active in debating economic issues is Lim Kit Siang. Among the economic issues that he spoke about were finances and national spending. At the session, he asked the Prime Minister (PM) about the amount allocated for the recovery works in the states of Kelantan, Terengganu, and Pahang because of the post-floods at the end of 2014 by state. This is because, according to reports by Fathil (2014), the government has allocated as much as RM500 million for flood victims in the states affected by natural disasters. Next, he also questioned the allocation that was distributed to indigenous villages, especially in Kelantan.

In contrast to the opposition PKR from Bagan, Lim Guan Eng is more focused on the country's financial issues. He has asked the PM to state a list of the status of assets and liabilities of GLC financial institutions following Bank Negara's disclosure that Tabung Haji (TH) does not have sufficient assets compared to liabilities. He also raised questions to the PM about the public audit conducted by the government against TH. This is because TH differs from other banks and insurance companies. After all, TH does not have shareholders and operates entirely from depositor funds (Raziatul, 2018).

In addition, the opposition who looked so active during the question session was a member of parliament from Pengkalan Chepa, Izani Husin. He raised questions related to education three times, health, and development issues twice throughout the question sessions. He has criticized the actions of the government in monitoring and emphasizing the quality of medicines supplied to government hospitals to provide the best health services to the people. Parallel to his profession as a doctor and as chairman of the local government committee, housing, and health in the Kelantan. He is not the only one who focuses on the health sector, several other oppositions are seen to be active in raising issues related to health. Among them are Manivanna a/l Gowindasamy and Kamarul Bahrain Abbas both from PKR, Wong Tien Fatt@Wong Nyuk Foh representing DAP, and Nik Mazlan Nik Mohamad from PAS.

Meanwhile, Izani Husin also raised issues related to the education sector. In the session, he questioned the Minister of Education about whether the government can create a specific program to produce genius scientists in certain fields for the benefit of the nations. Besides, he also asked the Minister of Education to explain the problem related to the ministry did not approve the Sultan Ismail Petra International Islamic College's (KIAS) application to make KIAS a college with university college status. This is because, from 2012 to 2016, KIAS was still in the phase of obtaining approval to upgrade to a university college (Muhammad, 2016). Furthermore, Zairil Khir Johari was also active by raising issues related to education four times in the question session. He has asked the Minister of Education to show the result of the 1Student 1Laptop Scheme. This program was first launched in 2014 and this program is different from the Chromebook Program which was just launched well before the 1Student 1Laptop scheme was launched (Letchumy, 2013). At those sessions, he also asked the Minister of Education about the amount of cost taken to launch the program. It is one of the Barisan Nasional (BN) manifestoes promises before the 13<sup>th</sup> GE.

Lastly, opposition from Nibong Tebal who is also one of the members of PKR namely Mansor Othman has raised questions related to the education sector. He posed a question to the Minister of Education regarding the amount of expenditure to finance the study of English language learning and teaching carried out by a group of experts from Cambridge English who had been appointed by the ministry. The program was first introduced by the government in 2011. He also asked the ministry to state the findings study from the program in more detail. This is because the purpose of this program is to strengthen and improve the quality of the use of the English language among teachers and students. British teachers are one of the group mentors or trainees selected to be sent to local schools in each state. They will collaborate with the school's teachers regarding more effective and creative learning methods. This program is a new learning method for most students.

Table 1. Summary of the amount discussed by the male opposition by the issue at the question session.

Bil	Issues Mp	Economy	Education	Welfare	International	Health	Development	Environment	Total
1	Ahmad Marzuk			4	1	2	1	1	9
2	Azman Ismail		1			1	1	1	4
3	Idris Ahmad	2	2						4
4	Izani Husin		3			2	2		7
5	Kamarul Bahrin Abbas	1		1		2	1		5
6	Khalid Abdul Samad	1				1	1		3
7	Lim Guan Eng	2			1			1	4
8	Lim Kit siang	2					1		3
9	Manivannan a/l Gowindasamy	2	1	1		2			6
10	Mansor Othman	1	3	1					5
11	M.Kulasegaran	2	1					1	4
12	Mohamed Azmin Ali	1		1				1	3
13	Mohd Khairuddin Aman Razali			1	1		1		3
14	Mohd Rafizi Ramli		1			1			2
15	Mujahid Yusof Rawa				1			2	3
16	Nik Mazian Nik Mohamad	2	1	2		1			6
17	Nik Mohamad Abduh				1		1		2
18	Oscar Ling Chai Yew	1		1				1	3
19	Shamsul Iskandar@Yusre		2	1	1	1			5
20	Su Keong Siong					2			2
21	Wong Tien Fatt@Wong Nyuk Foh	2				2		1	5
22	Zairil Khir Johari	1	4					1	6

Sources: Malaysia Parliament Portal

## Conclusion

In conclusion, it clearly shows that gender equality issues often occur in various sectors and fields. In the political landscape, researchers usually focus on the study of female parliaments. This is because women are often seen as individuals who are not given the opportunity and get the rights they deserve. But the facts are, they are still being given the opportunities and rights they deserve. In addition, researchers rarely do research on the opposition, especially male opposition. The existence of the opposition is a good indicator of the political landscape. The opposition is the main actor in the concept of democracy and there is no democracy without opposition. The opposition in the political system can be seen as a political party that has different ideologies and is opposed to the government. Besides, there are several roles of opposition to the political system such as examining and reviewing actions and policies made by the government. In addition, they also observe and monitor government activities, root out abuse of power, and ensure that the government does not ignore the needs and interests of the people. The opposition will scrutinize the government's activities by asking questions and criticizing the government's actions during the parliamentary session to see the government's transparency.

**Acknowledgment:** Many thanks to Prof Madya, Dr. Rosyidah Muhamad as co-author who have worked hard to prepare this article's journal publication. She also gave many views, shared ideas, and helped in analyzing the data of this study.

**Conflicts of Interest:** The author has no conflict of interest with any party. The purpose of this article is published for graduate studies at the master's level.

## References

- Abdul Aziz, S. (2015). The continuing debate on death penalty: An exposition of international, Malaysia and the shari'ah perspective. *IJUM Law Journal*, 23(1), 61-84. <https://doi.org/10.31436/iiumlj.v23i1.156>
- Abdul Razak, S. Azlan, A. A. & Abdul Jalil, A. F. (2019). Pilihan raya umum ke-14 di Malaysia: Berakhirnya era regim autoritarian. *Malaysian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (MJSSH)*, 4(2), 90-101. <https://doi.org/10.47405/mjssh.v4i2.191>
- Anas, N. & Ishaq, K. (2022). Qualitative research method in social and behavioural science research. *International Journal of Management, Social Science, Peace and Conflicts Studies (IJMSSPCS)*, 5(1), 89-93.
- Aspers, P. & Corte, U. (2019). What is qualitative in qualitative research. *Qualitative Sociology*, 42, 139-160. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-019-9413-7>
- Azlan, A. A., Abdul Razak, S. & Rosli, Z. M. (2021). Gelagat berparlimen pasca regim autoritarian: Satu tinjauan awal dalam politik Malaysia. *Malaysian Journal of Science and Humanities (MJSSH)*, 6(9), 49-59. <https://doi.org/10.47405/mjssh.v6i9.1017>
- Beechler, R. (1976). review of Wittgenstein and justice, by H. F. Pitkin. *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, 6(4), 755-771.
- Che Pa, B. & Zulkafli, F. (2014). Pengasingan kuasa menurut perspektif barat dan islam: Amalannya di Malaysia: The separation of power between western and Islamic perspective. The application in Malaysia. *Jurnal Syariah*, 22(1), 21-56. <https://doi.org/10.22452>
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.1057/eps.2016.1>
- Fabbrini, S. (2003). Bringing Robert A. Dahl theory of democracy to Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 6(3), 119-137. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.6.010302.115514>
- Fathil, A. (2014, Disember 25). Peruntukan segera RM50 juta untuk negeri dilanda banjir, *Berita Harian*. <https://www.bharian.com.my/berita/nasional/2014/12/25204/peruntukan-segera-rm50-juta-untuk-negeri-dilanda-banjir>
- Fitri, N. (2019, Disember 1). Penyalahgunaan hak OKU perlu didakwa, *Berita Harian*. <https://www.bharian.com.my/berita/nasional/2019/12/633848/penyalahgunaan-hak-oku-perlu-didakwa-lam-thye>
- Huridi, M. H., Abdul Hadi, A. R. & Hashim, M. H. (2021). Malaysian politics after 14<sup>th</sup> general elections: Do the number of the parliamentary seats matter for Bn's victory. *Croatian International Relations Review*, 27(87), 95-111. <https://doi.org/10.2478/CIRR-2021-0004>
- Letchumy, T. (2013, Julai 9). Skim 1pelajar1laptop dilancar tahun 2014, *Astro Awani*. <https://www.astroawani.com/berita-malaysia/skim-1pelajar-dilancar-tahun-2014-17947>
- Malike, B., Foad, S., & Musliza, M. (2013). Peranan wakil rakyat dalam parti politik: Isu dan cabaran. *Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics and Strategic Studies*, 40(1), 91-115.
- Maree, F. & Peat, L. (2021). Rethinking participation in commons governance: Political representation and participation. *An International Journal*, 34(8), 1038-1055. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2021.1931592>
- 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), 54-69. <https://doi.org/10.523999/001c.22026>

- Muhamaad, R. (2016, Ogos 24). Pelajar cemerlang KIAS. *Metro*. <https://www.hmetro.com.my/mutakhir/2016/08/161379/pelajar-cemerlang-kias>
- Poertner, M. (2022). Does political representation increase participation evidence from party candidate lotteries in Mexico. *American Political Science Review*, 117(2), 537-556. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055422000533>
- 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, 0176-2680. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2020.101860>
- Rahim, A. (2015). Governance and good governance: A conceptual perspective. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 9(3), 133-142. <https://doi.org/10.5296/jpag.v9i3.15417>
- Rahimah, A. (2018, Disember 7). Banjir besar 2014 di Kelantan mungkin berulang. *Astro Awani*. <https://www.astroawani.com/berita-malaysia/banjir-besar-2014-di-kelantan-mungkin-berulang-1930100>
- Raziatul, A. (2018, Disember 30). Lebih RM22j dana tabung haji untuk politik. *Sinar Harian*. <https://www.sinarharian.com.my/article/1558/berita/nasional/gempar-lebih-rm22j-dana-tabung-haji-untuk-politik>
- Sakyi, K. A., Musona, D., & Mweshi, G. (2020). Research methods and methodology. *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal*, 7(3), 296-302. <https://doi.org/10.14738/assrj.73.7993>
- Talib Khalid, K, A., & Ishak, S. (2018). Election in Malaysia and indigenization of democracy. *Journal of Social Science*, 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 Philipines 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. <https://doi.org/10.1080/135103409028884804>
- Verma, V. (2019). A crisis of representation: Interests, identities and politics. *Journal of Social Inclusion Studies*, 5(1), 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2394481119849289>
- Wolkenstein, F. (2021). Revisiting the constructivist turn in political representation. *European Journal of Political theory*, 0(0), 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14748851211055951>