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**YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE MALAYSIA HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES**

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**MALEZYA TEMSİLCİLER MECLİSİNDE GENÇLERİN SİYASİ
KATILIMI**

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ABSTRACT

YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE MALAYSIA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

This paper aims to discover the youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives or the Dewan Rakyat which is the highest legislative body in the country. Specifically, this research paper will explore the reason behind the low youth political representation in the Malaysia Lower House and which ways that can overcome this problem. The qualitative research methodology using the case study approach was implemented in this study. Through the semi-structured interviews of 13 informants which comprised of young political elites, young NGO leaders and experts, the findings of this thesis revealed that political parties, socioeconomics, and political culture are the main reasons that led to the low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. In addition to that, this thesis also found out that, political parties, as well as political knowledge, are the ways that were recommended to improve the young people's political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

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ÖZET

MALEZYA TEMSİLCİLER MECLİSİNDE GENÇLERİN SİYASİ KATILIMI

Bu makale, Malezya Temsilciler Meclisinde veya ülkedeki en yüksek yasama organı olan 'Dewan Rakyat'a gençlerin siyasi katılımını araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu araştırma, ülkedeki Parlamento Üyesi (milletvekili) olarak gençlerin düşük siyasi katılımının arkasındaki nedeni ve bu zorlukların ve engellerin üstesinden gelmenin yollarını araştıracaktır. Spesifik olarak, bu araştırma makalesi, Malezya Alt Meclisi'ndeki düşük genç siyasi temsilinin arkasındaki nedeni ve bu sorunun üstesinden gelmenin hangi yollarını araştıracaktır. Bu çalışmada durum çalışması yaklaşımının kullanıldığı nitel araştırma metodolojisi uygulanmıştır. Bu tezin bulguları, genç siyasi elitler, genç STK liderleri ve uzmanlardan oluşan 13 bilgi kaynağıyla yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yoluyla, gençlerin siyasi katılımın düşük olmasının temel nedenlerinin siyasi partiler, sosyoekonomik ve siyasi kültür olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Malezya Temsilciler Meclisi. Buna ek olarak, bu tez aynı zamanda siyasi bilginin yanı sıra siyasi partilerin de Malezya Temsilciler Meclisi'nde gençlerin siyasi katılımını geliştirmek için önerilen yollar olduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AMANAH</i>	National Trust Party
<i>BA</i>	Alternative Front
<i>BERSIH</i>	The Coalition for Free and Fair Election
<i>BN</i>	National Front
<i>CVM</i>	Civic Voluntarism Model
<i>DAP</i>	Democratic Action Party
<i>FPTP</i>	First-past-the-post system
<i>IPU</i>	Inter-Parliamentary Union
<i>MCA</i>	Malaysian Chinese Association
<i>MIC</i>	Malaysian India Congress
<i>MPs</i>	Member of Parliaments
<i>MUDA</i>	Malaysian United Democratic Alliances
<i>NGOs</i>	Non-Governmental Organizations
<i>PAS</i>	Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party
<i>PKR</i>	People's Justice Party
<i>PR</i>	People's Alliance
<i>PRM</i>	Malaysia People's Party
<i>SES</i>	Socio-economic Status
<i>UMNO</i>	United Malay National Organization
<i>UNDP</i>	United Nations Development Program
<i>UN</i>	United Nations
<i>YDPA</i>	<i>Yang di-Pertuan Agong</i> (The Supreme Head of State)

1. INTRODUCTION

This study investigated the youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. The main objective of this paper is to search for the reason behind the low youth political representation in the Malaysian Parliament. In addition to that, through the qualitative study method of a semi-structured interview, this paper wanted to explain the ways that can improve young people's engagement in the Malaysia Lower House. Therefore, through the thematic analysis approach, this paper found out that the political parties, socioeconomic as well as the political culture are the main reason behind the low youth political representation in the Malaysia Lower House. Moreover, through the semi-structured interview of 13 informants, this paper found out that, political parties and political knowledge are the ways to improve the low youth political representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

On the other hand, for many years, many scholars and policymakers have focused on and debated the involvement and engagement of the people, especially the youth segment in political life. This is because youth political involvement has been proved to be the crucial factor towards the democracy of a country. Furthermore, youth have undoubtedly contributed, participated, involved, and made pivotal changes to the political system, power-sharing dynamics, and economic opportunities throughout history (UNDP, 2012). Additionally, with the estimated existence of the people aged 15 to 24 in the world around 1.2 billion, the presence and involvement of youth in the political process and activities in every country will give a significant impact on the political outcome (Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 2016).

However, despite their enormous percentages in the global population, various literature and scholarly articles had argued that the political participation of young people has been a decline in various established democracies around the world in the past few years (Dalton, 2008; Norris, 2002; Sloam, 2014). For example, the political apathy of the younger generations can be seen through the decline and drop of the percentages on the political parties' membership, voting in elections, involvement in the governance system, and others (Sloam, 2014). In addition to that, according to UNDP (2012), youth globally do not

represent equally and adequately in the formal political institution and highest-decision making processes such as parliaments, political parties, public administrative, elections, and other in various countries. In fact, according to the statistics released by Inter-Parliamentary Union, IPU (2016), only 26 percent of people age between 20 to 44 became and elected as the Member of Parliaments around the world¹.

However, despite the decline of youth political participation in various established democracies around the world, many scholars argued that younger generations do interested in political issues and had the effort to participate in several political activities as well as to support the democratic values in the country (Sloam, 2014; Youniss et al., 1997). Moreover, Mohd Hed (2017) argued that younger people will involve and participate in the political processes only if they wanted to change the government due to economic inequality and political instability. Apart from that, with the existence of the internet and the advancement of social media as well as the new media, the political engagement of the younger generations now moves further from the conventional or traditional medium to the unconventional medium (Dalton, 2008; Norris, 2002; Sloam, 2014). This then led to the rise of various scholarly articles which discuss and studies the impact of social media, the internet, and the advancement of new media on youth political engagement (Abdulrauf et al., 2017; Anduiza et al., 2016; Corinna & Dutton, 2006; Mohamad et al., 2018; Mohd Ngah & Mohamed, 2019; Nga et al., n.d.; Nurshahidah et al., 2016; Sarok & Azura Shahira Azahar, 2017; Tolbert & McNeal, 2003; Yar Khan et al., 2019). For example, the historic political uprisings of Arab Spring that happened in several Middle East countries such as Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, Syria, Bahrain, Egypt, and others in the last few years undeniably had shown the impact of the internet as well as the social media towards the youth political participation and the democracy in the Arab countries.

In the case of Southeast Asian countries, some claimed that the younger generations in the region also appear to be apathetic towards the political processes and activities (Chang, 2012; Welsh & Chang, 2012). This can be seen from the survey conducted by the World

¹ See Inter-Parliamentary Union, “**Youth participation in national parliaments**”. (2021) p.7

Values Survey in which through the result of Wave 6 (2005-2020), the political membership of the people in Malaysia including the youth is still low. (See Figure 1)

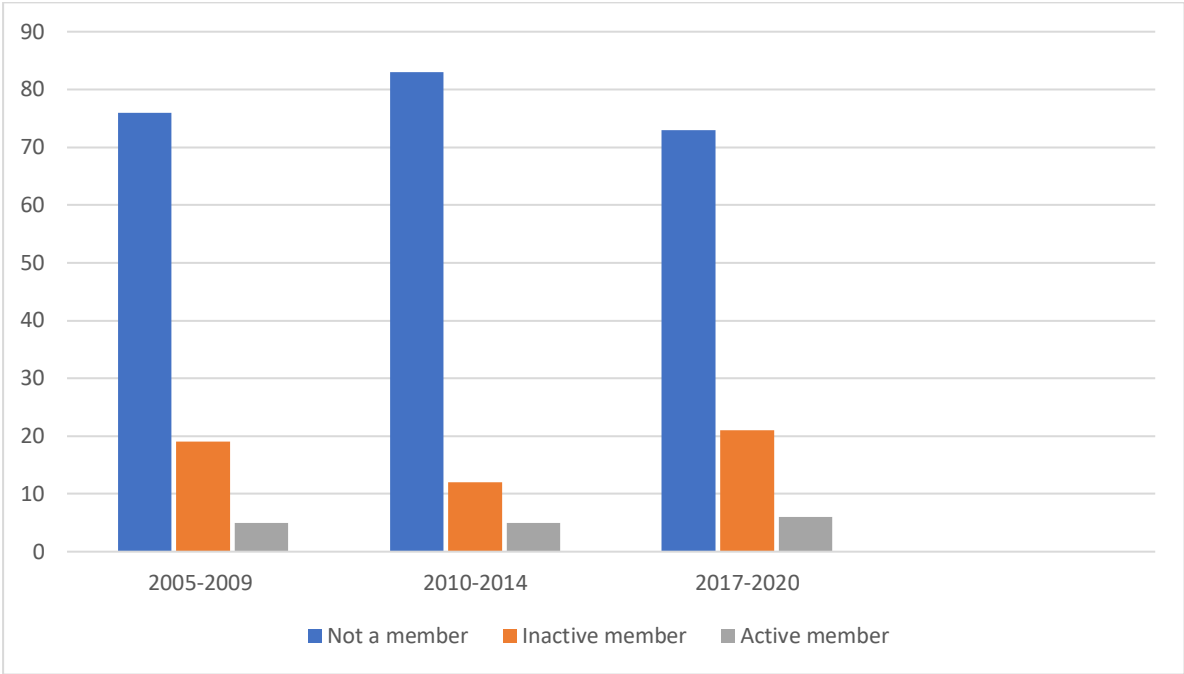


Figure 1. Active and Inactive Membership of Political Parties

Sources: World Values Survey Wave 6 (2005-2020), <https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSONline.jsp>.

However, there was an increasing trend in the citizen turnout during the Malaysia General Elections in the past few years. These increasing percentages can be seen through the statistics provided by ElectionGuide. (See Figure 2).

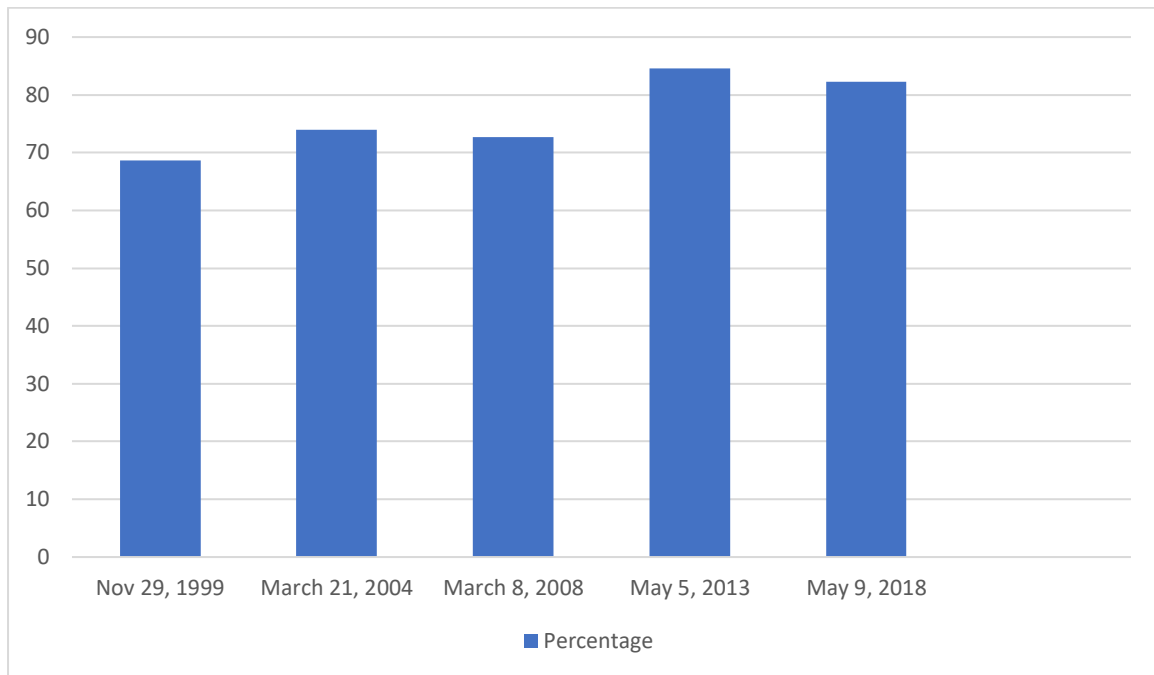


Figure 2. Percentages of Voters’ Turnout during Malaysia General Elections

Sources: ElectionGuide, <https://www.electionguide.org/countries/id/131/>.

The above figure confirmed that the younger generations in Malaysia do participate in electoral activities and are involved actively with the democratic processes of the country. Additionally, during the 2013 Malaysia General Election, the youth voters turnout rose significantly from 76 percent to 85 percent which is the highest percentage in the history of Malaysia (Mohd Hed & Grasso, 2019). Besides that, the active involvement of youth in Malaysia in political issues and matters also can be seen through an unconventional medium such as the internet, social media as well as new media. These can be proved through the various works of literature and research studied specifically on Malaysia youth in which they concluded that these unconventional medium does give impact on the political engagement of the youth in the past few years (Abdulrauf et al., 2017; Mohamad et al., 2018; Mohd Ngah & Mohamed, 2019; Nga et al., n.d.; Sarok & Azura Shahira Azahar, 2017; Yar Khan et al., 2019).

However, in the case of the political participation in the formal political institution such as Parliament and legislative assemblies, the youth representatives in Malaysia remain small and do not show any significant improvement in decades. For example, during the 2018 Malaysia General Election, only 23 out of 222 people at the age between 21 to 40 were

elected to be the Member of Parliaments in the Malaysia House of Representatives. Moreover, the average age of all Member of Parliaments in the current Malaysia House of Representatives is 55.89² which means that youth segments are underrepresented in the country's highest legislative body. Therefore, the central goal of this research is to search and explore through the qualitative research methodology, the reason for the low youth political participation in Malaysia's highest legislative bodies which is the Malaysia House of Representatives. In addition to that, this research will discover ways in which youth political participation in the country can be improved. Moreover, this thesis will analyze and designed based on the socio-economic, political parties, and political culture factors to address the problems arouse on youth political involvement in the Malaysia House of Representatives. Furthermore, while various studies and reports had been conducted in relations to youth political participation in the legislative bodies (Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 2016, 2021; Onyenachi, 2018; Stockemer & Sundström, 2019; UNDP, 2012), this research however intend to focus primarily on the youth political engagement in the Malaysia House of Representatives using the qualitative approach. Besides that, this thesis will fill out the existing gap on the studies of youth political involvement in Malaysia that lack specialization in related to youth political participation in the country's legislative assembly.

On the other hand, as for the introductory of Chapter 1, we will discuss further the historical background of youth political participation in Malaysia, the problem statement, and the objectives of the thesis. Besides that, this chapter also explains the significance of the research, scope, and limitations of the thesis as well as the conceptual definition of the terms implemented in this paper. Apart from that, in Chapter 2 of the paper, we review the existing works of literature and research on youth political participation in various nations around the world. In addition, the chapter will also present the gap in the current pieces of literature and identify the factors that affect youth political participation. Furthermore, in Chapter 3, we present the research methodological approach that was implemented for this paper including the explanation on the usage of qualitative research study and semi-structured approach. Moreover, in chapter 4, we will discuss the results of the qualitative study as well as the semi-

² See IPU Parline, “**Global data on national parliaments, Malaysia**” (2021) from https://data.ipu.org/node/103/data-on-youth?chamber_id=13454.

structured interview of the samples in this research. Lastly, in chapter 5, we concluded the thesis, discuss the findings of the qualitative studies and provide future recommendations of the research.

1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF YOUTH POLITICAL IN MALAYSIA

The latest statistics released by the Department of Statistics Malaysia showed that the Malaysian aged 15-39 years constitute 14.6 million people out of 32.7 million populations of the country. (See Figure 3):

Figure 3
Statistics of People Age between 15 to 39 in Malaysia by 2020 (million)

Age Group	Male (million)	Female (million)
15-19	1.46	1.36
20-24	1.64	1.48
25-29	1.72	1.51
30-34	1.50	1.37
35-39	1.32	1.24
Total	7.67	6.98

Sources: Department of Statistics Malaysia, Official Portal, https://www.dosm.gov.my/v1/index.php?r=column/cthemByCat&cat=155&bul_id=OVByWjg5YkQ3MWFZRTN5bDJiaEVhZz09&menu_id=L0pheU43NWJwRWVVSZklWdzQ4TlhUUT09.

These statistics showed that the percentage of the younger generation within the society in Malaysia is huge and their political participation in the country will provide an important effect on the political climate. In addition to that, ethnicity plays an important factor in the political landscape of Malaysia (Mohd Hed, 2017). This is because, Malaysia is a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious country in which the country’s populations consist of three different major ethnic groups which are Malays, the dominant and majority group, Chinese, and Indians. This composition of multi-ethnic society happened when the colonial

power came to Malaya before the independence in 1957 and brought together Chinese and Indian people to work in the country. Apart from that, within the political parties of the country, most of them were established based on the ethnic line which later influences the political landscape of Malaysia.

Furthermore, despite the democratic processes such as elections are held regularly every five years, including the involvement of various political parties, the political rights and freedom of the people were very limited especially after the racial tension and riots in 1969. This is because the government which was ruled back then by the National Front or '*Barisan Nasional*' (BN) had introduced several draconian laws which limit the capacities of people including the youth in the country to participate and voices their concern on political issues. For example, the introduction of the Sedition Act 1948, the Internal Security Act 1960 (later replaced by Security Offences (Special Measures) Act 2012), and the University Colleges Act 197. Through these laws, the people especially the university students in Malaysia were restricted to join any political parties, or even show their support towards any political organizations as well as involves in many off-campus activities (Mohd Hed, 2017). This then led to the rise of political apathy of the younger generations in the country.

Despite that, the political participation of Malaysian citizens, especially the youth changed dramatically over the last two decades as the country entered into another political crisis in 1998 (Mohd Hed, 2018). The 'reformation' era, which was happened when Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim was sacked from the position of Deputy Prime Minister and government in 1998, had brought the rise of youth political participation in the country especially when he was jailed after that due to the accusation of corruption and several misconducts. The '*Reformasi*' had led to the rise of few student groups that critical and pro-opposition towards the government (Weiss & Hazis, 2020). This is because, the incidents attracted a hundred thousand Malaysians including the youth, and their emergence into the political crisis can be seen through the participation in several protests and demonstrations led by Anwar Ibrahim in the capital city, Kuala Lumpur. In addition, the political awareness of the people especially the younger generations increased as they started to call for better justice, better democratic values, political freedom, and political rights from the government at that time which was led

by Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad³. Despite the failure of the reformation movement to remove Tun Dr. Mahathir at that time, the image and reputation of the Prime Minister at that time were tarnished locally and internationally (Mohd Hed, 2018). The dramatic uprising of the youth can be seen when the percentage of newly registered voters in the 1999 Malaysia General Election increased to 89.4 percent from only 80.9 percent in the 1980 General Election (Election Commission Malaysia, 2002). Besides that, the outcome of the reformation era saw the emergence of the new political party such as the National Justice Party (Keadilan), led by Datuk Seri Wan Azizah, Anwar's wife, and a new political coalition namely Alternative Front or '*Barisan Alternatif*' (BA) which consist of four opposition political parties at that time such as Democratic Action Party (DAP), Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PAS), newly formed National Justice Party (Keadilan) and Malaysia People's Party (PRM) which participated mostly by the younger people (Moten, 2000).

On the other hand, with the new political landscape post-1998 reformation era, Malaysia saw the emergence of several civil society movements and protest activism. For example, several large-scale protests were held by the social movement such as BERSIH initiated by the Coalition for Clean and Fair Election. BERSIH movement was initiated to demand reform on the electoral system as well as the democratic practices in Malaysia. There are several issues raised by BERSIH towards the government especially the Election Commission of Malaysia such as the usage of indelible ink for voting, reform the postal voting, free and fair access to the mainstream media by the opposition parties, a minimum campaign period for at least 21 days and others. BERSIH through its former chairman, Ambiga Sreenevasan hold its first protest in 2007 and later was followed by another four rallies which are the BERSIH 2.0 in 2011, BERSIH 3.0 in 2012, BERSIH 4.0 in 2015, and BERSIH 5.0 in 2016 (Mohd Hed, 2017). All of these rallies successfully mobilized and received a huge crowd of Malaysians especially the young people who were frustrated with the government at that time and demanded a free and fair election⁴. Apart from that, BERSIH

³ The Anwar-Mahathir rivals can be traced back from the Asian economic crisis 1997. This is because, Mahathir, Prime Minister at that time disagreed with the policies took by Anwar, who also Finance Minister at that time in dealing with the crisis. See Norhafiza Mohd Hed, "Young People's Political Participation in Malaysia During the 1998 Reformasi Era". *Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Studies*, Vol. 6, (2018), p. 188.

⁴ The formation of BERSIH was initiated by five opposition parties in 2005 but later joined by several NGOs. It was officially established in 2006 with through the joint statement of several politicians, civil right groups and NGOs. In 2010, BERSIH relaunched as BERSIH 2.0 as the new civil right movement that unaffiliated with any

movements were also credited for their role in the outcome of the political changes in the Malaysia General Elections especially in 2008 and 2013 which led the long-time regime namely the National Front (BN) lost their two-third majority seats in Parliament and consequently fall as the government in 2018 General Election (Mohd Hed, 2017).

Due to that, Malaysia has become a new frontier in the world's ever-progressing democratic environment ever since Malaysia's 12th General Election in 2008 as the country saw for only the second time in the history of the nation that the reigning political coalition which is the National Front (BN) that comprised of UMNO, MCA, MIC barely managed to capture a two third's majority in the House of Representatives and parliament losing a lot of its former seats to opposition coalition at the time, People's Coalition or '*Pakatan Rakyat*' (PR) which was comprised of People's Justice Party (PKR), Democratic Action Party (DAP), and Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PAS). The pattern continued with Malaysia's 13th General Election in 2013, where the opposition coalition managed to secure fewer seats than the previous general election but secured over 51% of Malaysian voter's popular votes, with the National Front (BN) coming in with the win by securing majority seats. In addition to that, the voter turnout rose tremendously in the 2013 Malaysia General Election with 85 percent from 76 percent in the 2008 General Elections.

Many would say that this marks a shift in the political climate in Malaysia. Observing the situation, it could be said that perhaps there was no air of competition or urgency to secure the votes of the citizens of Malaysia before the general election of 2008 due to victory at the hands of the National Front (BN) was seen by the citizens and voters alike as a sure thing. Many pieces of research have been conducted to understand what caused this sudden and massive shift from a political climate from where the reigning party in Malaysia would never be dethroned, yet as the 2008 and 2013 Malaysia General Elections have shown the environment has now become uncertain and more divisive in its results. Some believe that this shift is caused by the introduction of the millennial generation and the youth of the nation as political beings in the Malaysian political environment. Their overall understanding of

political parties. See Norhafiza Mohd Hed, "**The Dynamics of Youth Political Participation in Southeast Asia**", (2017) p.7. <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/18997/>.

politics and what they perceive to be what is and what should be in Malaysian politics is considered to be vastly divisive and different from that of what was perceived by the generations that came before them. Taking into consideration also with their advancements in IT literacy and overall influence over social media and the machinery to propagate political ideas, the younger generations do affect the political outcome of Malaysia.

Furthermore, the 2018 General Elections saw another significant emergence and involvement of the young people in the political landscape of Malaysia (Weiss & Hazis, 2020). This is because, the 2018 General Election saw for the first time the long-time regime, National Front (BN) collapsed as the government after they had ruled Malaysia for 60 years. Many researchers believe that this major power transition happened due to the high political participation of the young voters, or also known as ‘Kingmaker’ that made up 41 percent of the total voters during the 2018 General Election (Chinnasamy & Mohamed Azmi, 2018). There are several initiatives taken by the young people in the 2018 Malaysia General Election to enhance the voters’ turnout during the polling day. This is due to the decision made by the Election Commission of Malaysia that the polling day will be held in midweek which is on May 9, Wednesday rather than on weekend as a previous general elections⁵. For example, a group of young Malaysians initiated the campaign of #PulangMengundi or ‘return to vote’ through social media in which through this campaigned, they manage to help other Malaysians who had difficulties in terms of financial capabilities and transportation to go back and cast their votes⁶. In addition, issues such as corruption, economic problems, education, and others had grabbed the attention of the young people to vote and participate in the 2018 Malaysia General Election (Chinnasamy & Mohamed Azmi, 2018). As the result, the voter turnout during the 2018 General Election was the second-highest in Malaysia history with 82 percent of people cast their vote in the election.

Apart from that, Undi18 or Young Voters Association is another recent yet successful youth movement that started in 2016 that advocates to lower the voting age of the youth in

⁵ The former Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Razak later announced that the polling day will be a public holiday.

⁶ Katrina Khairul Azman, “**Malaysians Are Pitching in Money for Those Who Cannot Afford to Travel Home in GE14**”. Say.com. (2018). https://says.com/my/news/malaysians-on-twitter-pulangmengundi?_ga=2.171616736.1705239296.1620338200-2108749458.1612969802.

Malaysia from 21 to 18 years old. The Undi18, which started from the student organization namely Malaysia Students' Global Alliances initiate various programs, town halls, forums, and public engagement to raise awareness on the youth democratic representation in Malaysia. In July 2019, the movement demand finally succeeds which through the former Minister of Youth and Sport, YB Syed Saddiq, the 'Undi 18' Bill was passed to amend Article 119(1) of the Federal Constitution. This is also for the first time in Malaysia history that the constitutional amendment was supported unanimously in the Lower House of Representatives or Dewan Rakyat with 211 votes and Senate Members of the Upper House⁷. Additionally, with the approval of the 'Undi 18' Bill in the Parliament, the automatic registration for the voters aged 18 years old and the qualifying age to be the Member of Parliament in the House of Representatives as well as the state assemblyman from 21 to 18 years old was also passed (Ahmad & Mohd Zain, 2021). Thus, the amendment proved other continuous contributions of the young people in Malaysia through various mediums and organizations towards the democratization and of Malaysia.

On the other hand, recently, there is another new youth movement in the country in which, the former Youth and Sports Minister, YB Syed Saddiq has announced the establishment of a new youth-centred political party namely the Malaysian United Democratic Alliance or also known as MUDA. This new political party which was formally established in September 2020 by YB Syed Saddiq and its twelve founding members aims to bring new political movements regardless of race, ethnicity, and religion in Malaysia and introduce new ways for nation-building to the country. However, until today, MUDA still does not receive approval from the Malaysian Registrar of Societies (RoS) after their application to register the party was rejected in January 2021. Since then, the founding members of MUDA have brought the issue to the court, and the case still ongoing at the moment. If legally approve by the RoS, MUDA will be the new and only political party that was established by the youth in the history of Malaysia.

⁷ Azril Annuar, "History made as Undi 18 passed with bipartisan support". MalayMail. (2019). <https://www.malaymail.com/news/malaysia/2019/07/16/history-created-as-undi-18-bill-passed-with-bipartisan-support/1771996>.

1.2 MALAYSIA POLITICAL SYSTEM, CONSTITUTION AND ELECTION

Malaysia practices the federal parliamentary system with the King, *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* (YDPA) as the Head of State and the Prime Minister as the Head of Government. It has the bicameral parliamentary system which was adopted from the Westminster system after gained independence from the colonial power in 1957. The Upper House or also known as the *Dewan Negara* currently consist of 70 appointed senators of which 26 of them were elected by the state legislative assemblies and 44 by the King, *Yang di-Pertuan Agong*. Meanwhile, the Lower House or the House of Representatives (*Dewan Rakyat*) consists of 222 members who are also known as the Member of Parliaments which are elected directly in the elections. The political party or coalition that had the majority seats in the House of Representatives will form the government and elect the Prime Minister with the consent of the King. In addition to that, the *Dewan Rakyat* is the most important and powerful legislative branch of the federal government in which the Member of Parliaments are responsible to amend, pass or repeal primary legislation and laws of the country.

Apart from that, the election in Malaysia exists in two-level which are at the federal level and the state level. The Constitution of Malaysia requires a general election must be held once every five years and the election must be supervised by the Election Commission⁸. The Prime Minister had the power, which stated in the Constitution to dissolve the Parliament and called for election with the consent from the King. In addition to that, the member of the *Dewan Rakyat* as well as at the State Legislative Assemblies are chosen directly by the people through the first-past-the-post system in which candidates that gain the majority of the votes won the election. To contest in the elections and be a Member of Parliament in the Malaysia House of Representatives as well as at the State Legislative Assemblies, a citizen of Malaysia must be at least 21 years old, not of a sound mind, free from bankruptcy, do not pledge allegiance or become a citizen to other countries, never been sentenced to jail or fined more than RM2000. Additionally, Malaysia also practices a multi-party system in which there will be more than two political parties that run in the General Elections.

⁸ **Constitution of Malaysia**, Part VIII: Elections, Article number 113 (1).
<https://wipolex.wipo.int/en/text/194852>.

1.3 DEFINITION OF YOUTH

There is no universally agreed-on international definition of the youth age group. The definition of “youth” is varied across countries, regions, organizations and is treated differently by political scientists. This is because, the designation of the term “youth” is subject to change for each country due to the differences in terms of demographic, economic, financial, socio-cultural background, political system, and others. Additionally, any country, organizations, and institutions need to define as well as categorize youth for better implementation of policies and programs. For example, United Nations defined youth as a “period of transition from the dependence of childhood to adulthood’s independence”. Apart from that, as for statistical reasons, the United Nations, as the most important intergovernmental organization in the world, defined youth as those ages of 15-24 years old. However, several United Nations (UN) entities, instruments and regional organization such as UNICEF, UN-Habitat, WHO and other had different connotation on the youth age group. (See Figure 4):

Figure 4

United Nations Document on Youth Age

Entity/Instrument/Organization	Age	Reference
UN Secretariat/UNESCO/ILO	Youth: 15-24	UN Instrument, Statistics
UN-Habitat (Youth Fund)	Youth: 15-32	Agenda 21
UNICEF/WHO/UNFPA	Adolescent: 10-19, Young People: 10-24 Youth: 15-24	UNFPA
UNICEF/The Convention on Rights of the Child	Child until 18	UNICEF
The African Youth Charter	Youth: 15-35	African Union, 2006

Sources: United Nations, Definition of Youth (United Nations, n.d.).
<https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-definition.pdf>.

Meanwhile, Commonwealth defined youth as someone who at the age of 15 until 29 years old. On the other hand, ASEAN categorized the youth, as agreed by the ASEAN Member States as those aged 15-35 years old (ASEAN, 2017). As for other countries in the world, the youth categorization and definition in most of the established democracies can be seen through the implementation of specific laws or national policies towards the development of the youth in the countries. For example, China, even without a specific national policy on youth, categorized that group between 15-29 years old, similarly with the National Youth Policy of India (2014). Meanwhile, according to the Malaysia National Youth Policy (1997), the term ‘youth’ refers to those aged between 15 to 40 years old; Singapore through the National Youth Council Singapore defined youth as 15-35 years old; in Indonesia, the youth constitute those who age between 16 until 30 years old; Thailand on the other hand classified youth age for 18-25. Furthermore, National Policy on Youth Development (2011) by Cambodia stated age 15-30 years old for the youth; Japan through their National Youth Development Policy (2008) and White Paper on Children and Young People (2013) put youth at the age of 0-30 years old and South Korea Youth Law defined youth as those who age between 9 and 24 years old. Besides that, countries such as Turkey, Nigeria, and Africa also had introduced national policies on youth as well as specify the age group of youth in their countries. (See Figure 5):

Figure 5
Youth Age Across the Globe

Organization/Country	Act	Youth Age (Years)
United Nations	United Nations (1981; 1999; 2000)	15-24
Commonwealth	Commonwealth (2013)	15-29
ASEAN	ASEAN Youth Development Index	15-35
Malaysia	National Youth Development Policy (1997)	15-40
Singapore	National Youth Council Singapore	15-35

Indonesia	The Youth Law of Indonesia (2000)	16-30
Thailand	Thailand Youth Development Act (2007) and the Youth Development Plan (2012)	18-25
Cambodia	National Policy on Youth Development (2011)	15-30
Japan	National Youth Development Policy (2008) and White Paper on Children and Young People (2013)	0-30
South Korea	South Korean Youth Law (2008)	9-24
China		15-29
Turkey	National Youth Policy (2013)	14-29
India	National Youth Policy of India (2014)	15-29
Nigeria	Nigeria National Youth Policy	18-35
Africa	African Youth Center	15-35

Sources: Youth Policy Labs, <https://www.youthpolicy.org/factsheets/>.

As for this research, the main focus will be on youth age 21 until 40. This is because the eligible age to participate as the candidates and be a Member of Parliaments in the Malaysia House of Representatives must be 21 years old and above.

1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

This research we believe extremely important due to the ongoing dominance of the same old political elites in the Malaysia House of Representatives for the last 20 years. This is because, with the huge domination of the old and senior generations in the highest legislative body of the country, other segments of the society such as youth will be underrepresented. Additionally, to have an effective democratic practice in the country, the participation of every stratum in the society including youth very crucial. In addition to that, with the lack of youth representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives, several important issues related to youth will not put forward and give sufficient attention. For example, issues such as unemployment rate, minimum wages, education debt, and others still ongoing up until today due to the lack of representation of youth in the *Dewan Rakyat*. Furthermore, with the

domination of senior politicians in the House of Representatives, many progressive ideas and policies will be stagnant.

On the other hand, the percentage of young people's political participation in the *Dewan Rakyat* as well the State Assemblies in Malaysia is still low despite their active engagement in other political activities. For example, the percentage of youth Member of Parliament age below 40 drops from 10.81 percent in the 2013 General Election to 10.36 percent in the 2018 General Election⁹. However, in the 2018 General Election, Malaysia created another historic moment when the youngest Member of Parliament, P Prakaran won and elected at the age of 21, and the youngest Cabinet Minister, YB Syed Saddiq was appointed at the age of 25. Thus, this research attempt to see the problem lies behind the low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives despite the active participation and engagement of youth in political activities in Malaysia. In addition, even with the establishment of the youth wings in every political party in the country, 70% of the lawmakers in the Malaysia House of Representatives are still over the age of 50 years old. Furthermore, despite the protection of the Constitution towards the democratic rights of every people including the youths in the country to participate and contest as the candidate in the election, their participation during the elections as the candidates in the country still in a small percentage compared to other age groups.

Moreover, the active engagement and voters' turnout of the youth in the election especially in 2008, 2013, and 2018 Malaysia General Election do not represent their political engagement in the Lower House of the Parliament. Apart from that, the introduction of various youth manifesto during the election campaign by various political parties in the last general elections did not represent the youth political participation in the Parliament. Lastly, even with the increasing introduction of young candidates by the political parties in the last general elections, the numbers that being elected as the legislative members still small compared to others. Therefore, this research needs to be conducted to search the reason

⁹ IPU Parline. **Global Data on National Parliaments.**

https://data.ipu.org/compare?field=chamber%3A%3Atotal_younger_40_percentage®ion=asia&subregion=south_east_asia&structure=any_lower_chamber#map.

behind low youth engagement in the Parliament. Additionally, a qualitative research method will be conducted to find a way to improve youth engagement in the *Dewan Rakyat*.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research paper will explore specifically two research questions which are:

1. Why youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives still low?
2. How to improve youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives?

1.6 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The research objectives for this particular thesis would be:

1. To discover the reason for the low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.
2. To seek ways to improve youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

There are many reasons as to which why this research must be conducted, mainly due to the prominent roles played by the youth especially in Malaysia towards the political outcome of the country in the past few years. These unprecedented times in Malaysia's history together with brand new dynamics of the youths in Malaysia do not present well through the country's highest legislative body. Due to that, this particular research can help to explore and explain the reason behind the low representation of the youth in the Dewan Rakyat as well as which method can increase their political engagement in the Malaysia House of Representatives. In addition to that, this paper can bring to light all the potential discoveries that could be made in regards to the youth and their political ideals, alignments and voting patterns of the youths. Furthermore, this research can also help foreshadow the potential political environment and culture of the youth voters going into the next Malaysia General Election. The data collected could potentially deliver some pre-emptive or predictive insight of the alignment of voters in

the election to come, alongside the potential campaign strategies that will arise out of knowing said information, to prevent the potential outcome, or to promote said outcome.

1.8 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The result of this research paper will help us to understand further the reason for the low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. In addition to that, with this research paper, we will be able to acknowledge the ways to improve the inactive political participation of the youths in the Malaysia House of Representative. On the other hand, we believe that, with the result of this research, a scholarly article will emerge from it. Moreover, a conference paper on the youths' political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives will also develop. Apart from that, through this research paper, many agencies such as the policymakers, political parties, political leaders, governmental organizations, non-governmental agencies, and others, not only in Malaysia but also in other countries will realize the importance of youth political participation in the legislative assembly as well as the in other countries' highest political processes. In addition to that, with this research paper, these agencies will acknowledge better which ways that will help to improve the youth political participation in the Parliament or legislative assemblies which then can help their voices and demands to be heard better.

On the other hand, there are few limitations in this research. One of them will be the focus group of this paper will only focus on the youths in Malaysia. In addition to that, the focus of our studies is only limited to the Malaysia House of Representatives or the "*Dewan Rakyat*". Apart from that, due to the current pandemic of COVID-19, we will be unable to do extensive research on the studies and there will be few imitations towards the data collections as well as reading materials. However, the limitation on the focus group which is on the youths of Malaysia actually will help us in analyzing the youth's political participation in the legislative assemblies better. As the limitation due to COVID-19, we will use the sources online for the data collections. In addition to that, as for the interview session, we will be conducting it through the online medium to reduce the risk of the disease.

1.9 CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION OF THE TERMS

Malaysian Youth: Based on the Malaysia National Youth Development Policy, youth constitute those aged from 15 to 40 years old. But, for this research, the term youth refer to those aged from 21 to 40 years. This is because, 21 years old and above is the eligible age, at the moment to be the candidates in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

Political Participation: Political participation can be defined as the action of the people to influence the government and the political outcomes (Milbrath, 1981; Mohd Hed, 2018; van Deth, 2015).

1.10 SUMMARY

Statistics show that half of the population globally is under 30. However, despite their overwhelming populations, only 2.6% of parliamentarians in the world came from this age group (Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 2021). In addition to that, despite the increasing and active participation in unconventional or informal political activities such as through social media, campaigns, protests, and others, this group does not represent well in the highest legislative bodies of the countries. In the case of Malaysia, despite their high turnout in the Malaysia General Election in the past few years, as well as their active engagement through social media and other political activism, there are only fewer than 30 young Member of Parliament's age below 40 that represent in the *Dewan Rakyat*. Apart from that, despite the existence and establishment of youth wings in every political party in Malaysia, the introduction of young people as the candidates in the election still relatively low. Besides that, the current political climate in Malaysia is manned by the same old and senior politicians in which their idealism and political action are outdated. The new generations and young people need to be presented better especially in the political scene as well as in the Malaysia House of Representatives. This is because, to have an effective democracy and progressive nation-building, every group in the society especially the representation of the youth must be put into the front agendas.

Based on this, the research aim is to explore and understand through obtaining qualitative information from key informants, the reason for low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. Moreover, this thesis objective is to discover ways

that can improve the representation of the young people in the Lower House of Parliament. Due to that, to achieve this, a qualitative research approach is proposed for this study with the particular youth issue in Malaysia. Data collection techniques include the semi-structured interview with 13 individuals. The interview data also will be collected from three categories of informants that represent the bounded territory of this study area. They include current young Member of Parliaments, youth party leaders, young NGOs leaders, and expert views.



2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the Political Science literature, there are numerous studies on political participation from different perspectives and angles. This literature review is comprised of three sections in which we will first explain the concept of political participation as well as the importance of the concept from various scholars and experts that changed and expanded over time. Then, we will see the empirical literature review on youth political participation with regards to several countries including Malaysia. Next, we will see the factors that influence and affect political participation, and lastly, the theoretical framework of the studies will be overviewed.

2.2 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political Science scholars' study in-depth political participation with various understanding. For example, (Milbrath, 1981; Mohd Hed, 2018; van Deth, 2015) had described the concept of political participation as the actions of the people that wanted to influence or support the government and politics as well as to influence political outcomes. Meanwhile, Chinnasamy and Mohamed Azmi (2018) also agreed that political participation can best describe as the active roles of the people in volunteering, acknowledgment of political candidates and issues as well as active involvement in the political process. In addition to that, Norris (2001) also stated that political participation can best be described as the people's activities that enable them to express their views and opinion at the same time capable to participate to influence the selection of government (cited in Mohamad et al., 2018). However, Anduiza et al. (2016) argued that political participation is an unclear and multi-dimensional concept due to the boundaries for those who participate and those who do not always ambiguous and imprecise. Despite that, political participation involves a wide understanding that is not only limited towards membership of a political party but rather included formal and informal political involvement (Nga et al., n.d.).

On the other hand, political participation is the voluntary activities of the people that influence politics which can be distinguished into three types: i) institutional participation; ii),

non-institutional participation; iii) expressive participation (Pfanzelt & Spies, 2019). As for institutional participation, it is a type of political participation that occurs through people's participation in the election or actively running for office. Secondly, non-institutional participation includes the citizen activities such as protest, demonstration, and boycott, and lastly is expressive participation which involves mostly individual activities through online platforms. Apart from that, (Abdu et al., 2016; Mohd Hed, 2018) suggest that political participation can be expressed within two forms as conventional and unconventional political participation. Conventional participation means that people participate in the election or any formal politics, traditional politics, or elite-directed participation which involves institutionalized actions. Meanwhile unconventional can be described as the non-institutional actions such as protest, demonstration, strikes, riots, civil disobedience, signing petition, and others to influence the political decision. Furthermore, activities such as signing the petition, using the symbol, writing letters to public officials, and others which popular among the youth due to its loosely political structure also part of the informal political participation (Igwe, 2019).

In addition to that, Milbrath (1981) described conventional activities into three categories of activities which are gladiator activities, transitional activities, and spectator activities. The gladiator activities include holding public and party offices, becoming candidates for these offices, having an active party membership, and contributing time in elections or political campaigns. Meanwhile, transitional activities such as attend the political rally, donate money to the political party, and contacting the officials. Lastly, the spectator activities will be the activities that involve wearing a political parties' button, political discussion with other people, and voting. Furthermore, Mohd Hed and Grasso (2019) explained that there was the evolution of political participation which is from one-dimensional to two-dimensional and multidimensional. In this research, our focus will be on the electoral representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives which is conventional or institutional of political participation. As this research will focus on youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives, it will follow and focus on Milbrath (1981) and Pfanzelt & Spies (2019) definitions of political participation.

2.3 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND DEMOCRACY

The study of political participation considered by many scholars as really important as it is the core and key towards an effective democratic practice in a country (Ahmad & Mohd Zain, 2021; Alesina & Giulliano, 2009; Dalton, 2008; Mohd Hed & Grasso, 2019; Print, 2007; van Deth, 2015, 2014). Due to that, the high level of involvement of the people can be the measurement and the positive sign of the democratic legitimacy of a country (Norris, 2002). In addition, political participation vital towards the implementation of democracy in which without people's involvement, it will be difficult for a country to be called democratic (Mohd Ngah & Mohamed, 2019). Furthermore, as claimed by van Deth (2015), political participation not only applicable towards the function and continuation of any political system, but it is the essential feature of decision-making or democratic processes.

However, as Held (2006) argued that since the period of city-states in ancient Greek until today, there is always critical debate on the role and power of citizens in political decision-making (cited in Mohd Hed, 2017; Robertson, 2009). This is because the position in the decision-making processes totally important and those who had the power will get a huge benefit from it. Despite that, the democratic values can be reinforced with the capabilities of the people to influence the political decision-making as well as influence those who make the decision (Hague & Harrop, 2004). Hence, it is important to conduct this study to see the level of democratic practice in Malaysia specifically through the youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

2.4 YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

There are various studies and research conducted related to youth political participation in various countries and it has been the subject of academic debates in the established democracies over the last few years. This is because similar to gender issues, the youth segment also contributed to the most important group in the society and tend to be underrepresented and have complex political behavior as well as political actions especially in terms of their political outcome in various countries. As the result, most of the research that had been conducted acknowledged that there is a declining trend of youth political participation than the older age group in the society during the electoral processes, party

membership, governance, and other political activities (Henn & Foard, 2012; Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 2016; Mohd Hed & Grasso, 2019; Norris, 2002; Quintelier, 2007; Stockemer & Sundström, 2019; UNDESA, 2017; UNDP, 2012). This happened even when the fifth of the world's population is made up mostly of the younger generations between the age of 15 and 25 years old (UNDP, 2012). In fact, according to the survey made by UNDP (2012), people under the age of 35 years old infrequently found in a formal political leadership position which proved that those who young is not presented sufficiently in the majority of the countries' political institutions and processes such as Parliaments, political parties, elections and public administrations in the world.

2.5 FACTORS THAT AFFECT YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

2.5.1 Environmental Factor

There are various reasons on which that led the youth to be political apathy in political activities. According to UNDP (2012), the opportunities for the youth to engage and participate in the political process depend predominantly on the political, socioeconomic, and cultural context in that country. For examples, some research suggested that the youth sometimes are hesitant to be active in politics or even participate at all due to the fact of their young age and they believe that politics is an old man's game, and understanding in the world of politics comes with age and experience, and not with youthful exuberance. This is also followed by the arguments that younger individuals do not have the experience and capability to be rulers, administrators, or people with power, thusly stifling their interest to participate (Hamzah, M., Yassin, Y.M., 2009).

In addition to that, studies show that the younger generation had low engagement and identification with the political activities due to their tendency to participate and involve more in the new method instead of the traditional or conventional (Fisher, 2012). On the other hand, the youth are predominantly influenced by their peers rather than their elders, and with the age of technologies, social media, and the internet, most of the youth are active more on the online medium, regardless of their political orientation, thusly exposing themselves into an automatic environment of politics, allowing them to be influenced by the content they see

on social media and information shared amongst their peers (Samsi, A.H., Rahman, A.A., Samsu, K.H.K., 2013).

Apart from that, the younger generation tends to be inactive in politics due to the factor of the life-cycle effect. This is because, based on the life-cycle effect, the youth tend to disengage with the political activities due to their realization of another important task as they started to grow, having family and other important responsibilities in life (Mohd Hed, 2017). Moreover, the lack of political knowledge also led to the low political participation of the younger generation (White et al., 2000). This is due to their ignorance of the acknowledgment of how the function of government and the political system works. In addition to that, with the use of political language which quite 'indefinite' and 'jargon' by the political actors, the youth primarily distance themselves further from the political scenes as well as political activities (Mohd Hed, 2017). This then led to the continuous drop of youth political participation in politics.

2.5.2 Political Socialization Factor

Furthermore, another factor supported by many pieces of literature as well as researchers that tend to give an impactful effect towards the political participation of the younger people is the political socialization or the social context of an individual (Ekpe et al., 2016; Huckfeldt, 1979; Kenny, 1992). For example, Youniss et al. (1997) stated that family, school, media, peers, extended family, churches, community, and others considered being as influential sources towards young people's involvement in politics. This also has been agreed by Pfanzelt and Spies (2019) in which they mentioned that family socialization, experiences in schools, with peers as well as through community outside do play an essential role in determining the youth political participation. Besides that, according to Mohd Hed (2017), the family is the pivotal agent of socialization in developing the political interest of children which will later be active political adults.

However, due to the new social context and various political issues, Dinas (2014) argued that the young which from highly politicized families will tend to differentiate in terms of their political inclination and preferences from the parents. Apart from that, Alesina

and Giulliano (2009) in their research found that the ongoing rely upon an individual towards family, in terms of resources, services, insurances, and others, will lead that individual towards the decline of low civic engagement as well as political participation. In addition to that, the chances for someone to be politically active will depend solely on the mobilization of one's social contacts and network. This is because, most political activities are done together with other people such as demonstrating, signing the petition, champagning, flash mob, voting, and others (van Deth, 2015). Hence, the political participation of an individual, especially the youth will positively impactful through the political socialization

2.5.3 Political Factor

On the other hand, there are a few common themes that most of the scholarly articles focus on that are led to the contributing factors behind the youth's participation in politics and one of them is the political parties and the political system. This is because, according to Huntington and Nelson (1976), there are two principles which are political parties and a party system that assemble the growth of political participation and party attachment and group membership related to political participation (Mohd Hed & Grasso, 2019). Additionally, due to the complex and complicated nature of the structure within the existing political system and political parties, it has limited the function of the youth to influence the political decisions in the country (Sloam, 2014). Due to that, without the encouragement and failure of the political parties towards the younger generation, the political participation of that group will be stagnant (Mohd Hed, 2017; Resnick & Casale, 2011). Furthermore, various studies had concluded that, without the existence of better opportunities and realization of the political parties towards the younger group, there will be a problem towards the percentage of the youth political participation in the political process of the country (Stockemer & Sundström, 2019; Tekindal, 2017). The political party's leadership is totally important in attracting the youth to participate in the election or any political activities because they tend to look out for exemplary leadership skills in a political party (Pandian, 2014). Apart from that, the specific case study in Nigeria, found out that the youth political participation in Nigeria was affected by the political parties' policies and structure (Onyenachi, 2018). This is why political parties' position in a country crucial and important towards youth engagement in politics.

In addition to that, the issues of the limitation as well as the restriction within the political system as well as the electoral system in a country such as freedom to assembly, speech, expression, media, and others also tend to affect the political participation of the youth in the country (Mohd Hed, 2017). This is because, if the system does not provide enough capacity and presented various restrictions towards the youth to present their views, it will discourage them to participate actively in politics. Furthermore, with the governing officials in the majority of the existing democratic countries where the elected representative. the impacts of the policies implemented by the governing parties towards the youth is somehow now under the proverbial microscope of the youth community, who now seem to believe that they should be able to see and scrutinize the policies implemented. This is exceptionally true with the recent cases of issues in confidence in the policymakers and the controversies that surround the policymakers of the nation (Pandian, S., 2015). Moreover, the declining trust towards the political representation due to the continuous association with corruption, money politics, and cronyism had distant the youngsters with political parties and issues (Zhang & Lallana, 2013). Due to that, political party and political system interrelated with youth political participation which we will be further analyzed in this thesis.

2.5.4 Socio-economic Factor

Apart from that, the socioeconomic (SES) factor agreed by most of the researchers that tend to be the influential impact towards the youth political participation (Verba and Nie, 1972) cited in (Pfanzelt & Spies, 2019) also (Leighley, 1995; Lowndes et al., 2006; van Deth, 2015). This is because, according to most literature, young people with the advantages to more resources and have better economic generally tend to be better in the decision-making process (Mohd Hed, 2017). In addition to that, as mentioned by Verba et al. (1995), that socioeconomic (SES) in various context has been found as the most powerful indication towards the political activity in which individual with a higher level of socioeconomic, education, income, status, and jobs will be more active in politics (cited in Lowndes et al., 2006). However, according to Chang (2012), concerning the Southeast Asian region, the socioeconomic indicator is not a strong factor in the decline of youth political participation. On the other hand, with the high level of socioeconomic of an individual, Wolfinger and

Rosenstone (1980) argued that, with better educational opportunity, it will enhance the capabilities of individuals to participate in politics (as cited in Mohd Hed & Grasso, 2019). This is because those individuals with a higher level of socioeconomics and education will gain better access to political information and knowledge as well as time and money. In fact, with better acknowledgement of political knowledge, that person will be able to participate in the political process effectively (Sarok & Azura Shahira Azahar, 2017).

Moreover, Onyenachi (2018) through his research studies in Nigeria approved that socioeconomic status is one of the factors which influence the youth political participation in that country. This also has been agreed by Pacheco and Plutzer (2008) in which they claimed that economic hardship will then limit the opportunity and participation of the parent which later will reduce the chances of the children to obtain and discuss political information as well as attend the civic activities or even watching political news. Besides that, families with higher socioeconomic status tend to talk more about politics regularly as well as vote more commonly (Fisher, 2012; Milbrath, 1981). Despite that, Jones-Correa and Leal (2001) argued even the socioeconomic model does highlight some important variables that are related to political participation but it lacks in terms the causal explanation of this behavior in which it does not go far enough in explaining how and why people participate.

Apart from that, religiosity is also considered to be under the socioeconomic factor which can influence youth political participation (Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001). This is because religion and belief are considered to be one of the most important parts of someone's life and the younger generation is no exception to be influenced by this factor. For example, a study conducted by Welsh and Chang (2012) found out that religions play an important factor especially in related to issues such as corruption and morals in governance. This study which conducted within specific countries which are Malaysia and Cambodia also indicated that religious youngsters will agitate for political change on certain political issues. In addition to that, research conducted by Jones-Correa and Leal (2001) on the Latinos in America showed that religious affiliation does positively give significant engagement towards political activities. Thus, based on the literature above, we will be conducting this research to analyze further the impact of socioeconomic on the youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

2.6 YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN MALAYSIA

Despite that, following previous research alongside the results of the last elections, there has been an exponential rise in the participation of the youth in the politics of the nation particularly in terms of voting during the general elections. One research states that 44% of the voters of the previous Malaysia 13th General Election which was held in 2013, were below the age of 40 years old, which in Malaysia is classified as being the members of the youth (Mansor, M.H., Romle, A.R., Hamid, S.N.I.A, 2015). Apart from that, the youth seemingly has seen a boom in the past two decades since the 10th General Election in 1999, and has drastically increased their numbers in participation and activism exponentially through each general election that follows, which are in 2004, 2008, 2013 as well as the latest 2018 respectively. This rise in their numbers and influence greatly changes the paradigms of the political landscape of Malaysia. The campaign and policy promise now have to be geared to please the youth and more open-minded crowd that are not afraid or hesitant to participate and make a difference in their nation by using the power of the vote (Pandian, S., 2014).

On the other hand, in the case of Malaysia specifically on the study of youth political participation, most research and scholarly studies largely takes the quantitative and some on the qualitative based approach and focus on social media, new media, internet and its impact on the youth involvement in the politics (Abdulrauf et al., 2017; Ahmad & Mohd Zain, 2021; Andul Rauf et al., 2016; Chinnasamy & Mohamed Azmi, 2018; Mohamad et al., 2018; Mohd Ngah & Mohamed, 2019; Nga et al., n.d.; Nurshahidah et al., 2016; Sarok & Azura Shahira Azahar, 2017; Yar Khan et al., 2019). For instance, Nga et al (n.d) through their working paper which used the quantitative and qualitative approaches, found out that the internet plays an important role in engaging the youth, as well as the cyber activist with the political issues and through that, enable the rise of the youth political participation in Malaysia.

Meanwhile, Mohamad et al (2018) and Sarok and Azura Shahira Azahar (2017) confirm through their research that there is a positive relationship between social media such as Facebook and Twitter and youth political participation in Malaysia. However, Ahmad and Mohd Zain (2021) recent research do extend the analysis and studies on the effect of social media, new media, and the internet on youth political participation in Malaysia by providing

additional comparative studies on that particular topic among universities students in Malaysia. In addition to that, Ahmad and Mohd Zain (2021) also recommended that future studies on youth in Malaysia should focus on youth political involvement in the formal setting.

On the other hand, Chinnasamy and Mohamed Azmi (2018) research through their qualitative research method of focus group discussion approved that the political awareness and political knowledge of the youth during the last 2018 Malaysia General Election were influenced by the technological advancement and social media as their sources of political information that has been equipped by the younger generations. Meanwhile, Taib and Yaakob (2017) literature described that the pattern and struggle of the youth political participation in Malaysia have been changed dramatically since the independence until today, and their engagement with political activities mostly based on the specific objective. Additionally, Taib and Yaakob (2017) also included the research on the political radicalism of the youth in Malaysia which provided another insightful finding within the area of youth political participation in Malaysia. Apart from that, other studies have also proved that political leadership also plays a crucial role in influencing young people's voting inclination and behavior (Mohd Fuad & Junaidi, 2012; Pandian, 2014).

For example, Pandian (2014) through his survey research on the students from various universities in Malaysia found out that the youth do not have a firm stand and conclusive decision on which political parties or politicians they will vote in the election. To secure more votes from the younger generation, political parties and political leaders must present ideal leaders' characteristics such as integrity, morals, ethics, authority, and honesty in their leadership. On the other hand, research conducted by Mohd Hed (2017) on the dynamic of youth political participation in Malaysia can be considered as the most insightful studies on the Malaysian youth. The literature which applied the mixed-methods approach found out that the youth in Malaysia do participate in both conventional and unconventional forms of political participation but their percentage is totally low than the older generation. In addition to that, the younger people in Malaysia prefer more with a low-risk medium such as online and internet rather than another medium to engage with political activities (Mohd Hed, 2017).

However, this thesis does not provide a specific case on young political participation in the Malaysian Parliament.

Based on the research and scholarly articles above, youth political participation in Malaysia mostly active through unconventional medium and there are not many works of literature specifically studies on youth political participation through the conventional medium. However, there are few studies and research that focus on youth political participation specifically on the issues of participation in the country's official legislative assembly or the highest decision-making body in other countries. However, these research and scholarly articles mostly in other countries. Additionally, most of this literature confirms that there is a low percentage of the youth representative in the country's highest decision-making body (Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 2016; Kemper, 2017; Stockemer & Sundström, 2019). Due to that, this particular research aims to fill the gaps in the previous research and literature on the youth political engagement in Malaysia by providing specific case on the political participation of the youth in the Malaysia House of Parliament through the qualitative research approach which will provide more details and better understanding on the issues of youth political participation in Malaysia.

2.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.7.1 Civic Voluntarism Model

The Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM) is the widespread as well as a classic model in explaining political participation. This model which was derived and proposed by Brady et al. (1995) explained political participation in terms of mobilization, motivations, skills, civic and political attitudes. In other words, the political participation of an individual will improve when there are resources, engagement as well as recruitment by someone else or other parties (Brady et al., 1995). The resources in this model refer to the time, cost, and civic skills of the person to participate. In addition to that, engagement in the CVM model is the political efficacy, political acknowledgment, political information, and others that can enhance the individuals to participate in politics. Moreover, recruitment, on the other hand, is the social network that can mobilize or facilitate the political participation of an individual. Due to that,

having all the criteria which are the resources, engagement as well as recruitment, will enable that person to have higher participation and engagement in the political activities either conventional or non-conventional medium. In the case of this thesis, we will evaluate the problem that arose on the youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives by looking through the CVM in which we believe will provide an extensive guideline as well as answers to the research questions.

2.8 SUMMARY

In conclusion, this chapter seeks to explain and review the important literature on political participation, specifically related to the youth in established democracies including Malaysia. Based on our findings, the research and studies on youth political participation have been conducted by many scholars in the various specific case studies around the world. In addition to that, there are growing literature and research on this particular subject, particularly in Malaysia. However, there are still many issues that need to search on especially concerning youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. Furthermore, with the existing lack of research on the political engagement in Malaysia's highest legislative body, therefore this thesis will fill out the gap by implementing and conducting the research by using the qualitative research method to answer the research questions. Moreover, this chapter also discusses the theoretical approach use in this research in which the Civic Voluntarism Model explains and guides the problem that arose on the youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the research methodology that was used in this study. The first section of this chapter discusses the research strategy and design used in this thesis. This chapter then goes over the operational definitions of the paper as well as the data collection methodology used in this research study. It also provides information concerning the sample selection of the studies including the justification for the selection and the explanation on the data analysis of the research. Finally, the chapter concludes by explaining the issues of validity and reliability while conducting the research.

3.2 RESEARCH STRATEGY: QUALITATIVE APPROACH

For every research, the strategy in conducting and designing the data depends largely on whether it is quantitative or qualitative (Neuman, 2014). This is because, to understand and explain the social issues, the researchers must collect and analyze the empirical data systematically and accordingly. There are several differences between the quantitative and qualitative orientation towards the research especially in terms of the nature of the data itself, the research process, and the aim of the research. Additionally, the quantitative study relies more upon the positivist principles and the use of variables as well as hypothesis. Meanwhile, qualitative study mostly on the principles of interpretive and critical ideas towards the social sciences (Neuman, 2014). In the case of this thesis, we adopted the qualitative study for us to know and search in detail the issues of youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. In fact, by the implementation of the qualitative study, the research on the youth political engagement in the Malaysia Lower House can be explained better through the direct experiences and firsthand knowledge from the people involved in the research setting.

Moreover, despite the existence of qualitative data that might appear to be soft, intangible, and elusive, the involvement of the specific, direct, and concrete data from the social world can help the data to be very meaningful (Neuman, 2014). Also, the qualitative methodology involves the naturalistic and interpretative approach towards the subject matter

which will allow the researchers to develop a wide picture of the phenomenon that wanted to research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Besides that, the study of youth political participation in the legislative assembly through the qualitative study is not wholly new. Several scholarly articles in established democracies had adopted this kind of methodology in their study. For example, Stockemer and Sundstrom (2019) used the qualitative methodology to understand further the youth underrepresentation in the European Parliament and Onyenachi (2018) that studied the younger people's political involvement in Nigeria Legislative Assembly. However, no studies had researched the youth political participation in Malaysia Parliament using the qualitative method, and most of the existing studies on Malaysian youth political participation were either quantitative or mix-methods. Hence, the paper adopted the qualitative study to research the youth political engagement in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design is the systematic plan constructed and implemented by the researcher to achieve the main objectives in a particular study. Additionally, with the systematic and profound research design, the entire research process can be done accordingly and the research questions can be answered appropriately. Therefore, one of the first steps in conducting the research design is to acknowledge the purpose of the research. There are three fundamental purposes in conducting research which is exploratory, descriptive, or explanatory research (Neuman, 2014). As the main objective of this paper is to know the reason behind the low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives and how to improve it, the explanatory research approach was executed for this particular thesis. This is because the explanatory research approach will provide a comprehensive explanation as well as descriptive information, especially for the research that emphasizes 'why' and 'how' questions. Hence, to answer the questions on why youth political participation in Malaysia Parliament still low and how to improve it, the explanatory research approach was implemented for this thesis.

On the other hand, for this particular study, we also implemented the case study approach for the research design to provide a better logical explanation for the study. This is

because, the case study approach, can provide a better understanding as well as an intensive study on the specific social context. In addition to that, through the case study perspective, the thesis can produce more detailed knowledge and in-depth insight for the research (Neuman, 2014). As for this particular paper, there are several factors on why we choose Malaysia as the case study on the youth political participation in the legislative assemblies. Firstly, it is due to the unique character of Malaysia politics, in which most of the political parties in Malaysia were established based on the ethics in the society. The ethnic politics that were rooted in the society until today provide influential roles towards the voting behavior as well as political participation of the people, including the youth. This kind of unique political environment had led us to select Malaysia. Secondly, despite several scholarly articles on young people's political participation in Malaysia, there are still small numbers of studies on the study of the youth specifically on their participation in Malaysia's highest legislative assembly. This paper will fulfill the gap and provide extensive knowledge on youth political participation in the Malaysian Parliament. Lastly, the youth in Malaysia constitute a large segment of the society and their political participation in the past Malaysia general elections had proven to be impactful. Hence, the usage of a case study for this paper will provide a detailed explanation and in-depth understanding of the issue of youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

3.4 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

The operational definitions explain how the researcher measures the key concepts of the research. In the case of this paper, the operational definitions are as follows:

3.4.1 Youth

The concept of youth is varied across the world and there is no specific or agreeable definition on it. However, the youth or young people mostly attributed to the specific age group of people that grow and experience the transition from childhood to adulthood. In addition to that, the universal definition by the United Nations defined the youth as a group of

people age from 15 to 24 years old¹⁰. Meanwhile, in the case of Malaysia, based on the National Youth Policy 1997, the youth were categorized as those aged between 15 to 40 years old. Despite that, as the eligible voting age as well as the age to be the candidates in the Malaysian election is 21 years old and above, this paper will specifically focus on the age group of 21 to 40 years. Additionally, with the usage of this term for this paper, the youth in Malaysia, it will allow the research to include the large segment in the population that consists of youth with different ethnicity, religions, political ideologies, political backgrounds, experiences, and attitudes. Thus, this study operationalized the concept of youth as those aged 21 until 40 years old in Malaysia.

3.4.2 Political Participation

Political participation involves a variety of activities which many political science scholars had categorized it under several categories such as institutional participation, non-institutional participation, and expressive participation. Meanwhile, some scholarly articles also described political participation as those activities that can be either in the conventional form or non-conventional form. Despite that, most scholars agreed that political participation generally means the involvement or action of the people that can give an influential impact on the political actors or political environment. For this paper, our main focus will be on the youth political involvement in the conventional platform which is the Malaysia House of Representatives. This is because, even with the increasing trend of the Malaysian youngsters through their political engagement in a non-institutional medium such as social media, demonstration, protests, the voting percentage in the elections, and others, their representation in the institutional platform in the country still limited. Therefore, to measure the reason behind decreasing trend of young people's political participation in Parliament, we conducted the semi-structured interview with young people who currently hold the position of the Member of Parliaments (MPs), young political leaders, young NGO leaders, and expert to see the reason behind it and how to improve the condition.

¹⁰ United Nations, “Definition of Youth” (United Nations, n.d.).
<https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-definition.pdf>.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION METHOD

Data collection is the systematic process of gathering the information or observation and there are two methods of doing the data collection which is quantitative and qualitative method. Each of these methods can be differentiated in terms of the nature of the data, the research processes, and the aim of the research (Neuman, 2014). In the case of this particular research, we implemented and selected the qualitative methodology to explore the reason behind the low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives and to acknowledge which method can improve the limitation.

3.5.1 Semi-structured Interview

As the explanatory research model was implemented as the research design for this paper, we will conduct qualitative interviewing to gather and collect the data (see Appendix 1 for the semi-structured interview questions). This is because, the semi-structured interview, will enable us to study and search extensively the issues of youth political representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives, particularly on the reasons why youth in the Malaysia Lower House is still at very low percentages. Furthermore, by using the semi-structured interview approach, we can search in-depth and explain how to raise young people's participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. This is because, the qualitative interview can provide a flexible and powerful medium in capturing the voices and experiences of the people (Rabionet, 2011). Furthermore, as stated by Mason (2002), the research questions needed an extensive and ample justification as well as explanations, not only broad comprehension on the surface (as cited in Mohd Hed, 2017). Therefore, this particular thesis needed the direct interaction between the researcher and the subjects to understand further the main problem on the youth political engagement in Malaysia. Additionally, the semi-structured interview was conducted and selected in this thesis because it proved to be versatile and flexible since it allows the predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions that can be emerged during the dialogue sessions if necessary (Barbara & Crabtree, 2006). Apart from that, the researchers also do not need to follow the strict sequence of the questions list in which they can just let the conversations flow accordingly as long as the main issues of the topics still on track (Saunders et al., 2009). The respondents are

allowing to express their voices and opinion freely in the semi-structured interview without any limitation as long as it is within the topic of discussion.

Despite that, as stated by Mason (2002), the semi-structured interview can lead to biases and misinterpretation of the data due to the influences of respondents' emotions and acknowledgment. To avoid this limitation, the researchers must let the conversations flow and record the session as clearly as possible (as cited in Mohd Hed, 2017). On the other hand, the semi-structured interview for this research was conducted face-to-face through the online software program namely Zoom. This is because, due to the current pandemic, there are limitations for us to do the conversation physically one-to-one with all the respondents. In addition to that, the geographical distance and time limitation has been the reason on why online interview session will be the best platform. In fact, through the online semi-structured interview, we managed to get the contact and approval of some of the respondents easier as the internet and Zoom are an accessible platform by everyone. Besides that, for reliability purposes, we conducted the interview sessions based on the guide of the pre-determined questions. This is to make sure the conversation was on the right track and the main topics were not being lost from the conversations.

3.5.2 The Interviewing Process

The respondents of this research were given the opportunity and alternative to speaking either in English or Malay, but most of them spoke in English during the interview sessions. In addition to that, as for the ethical consideration of the research, each of the respondents was asked for their consent through the email and before the interview sessions on the issues of their confidentiality, their rights to withdraw from the interview, and the right of the researcher to interpret, use and publish the data from the conversations. Furthermore, we also asked for their agreement and permission to record the whole interview sessions for the data analysis of this research. On the other hand, as for the respondents, we already prepared a different set of questions depending on their positions, roles, and expertise on the issues of youth political engagement in the Malaysia Parliament. However, each of the set still consist the similar questions which relate to the research questions of the thesis. All of the interview sessions also will follow the sequence of the questions that had been prepared

before the sessions but some of the questions might need to be skipped if the respondents already mentioned or explained something that related to the questions. Besides that, the interview sessions normally took between 30 to 45 minutes, and to ensure the originality of the text, the translation of Malay to English for some of the interview sessions was prepared by the researcher itself. Therefore, through the semi-structured approach, we manage to acknowledge and get a better explanation on the issues of youth underrepresentation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

3.5.3 The Access Issues Within the Interviews

There are several issues that we encountered when we conducted the semi-structured interview sessions. One of it will be the difficulties in getting the approval, access, and contact with the political elites specifically the young Member of Parliaments (MPs) and young political leaders. This is because most of the political elites are surrounded by several gatekeepers and they had control as well as full access towards the political elites. Furthermore, most of them had a busy schedule and need to attain various programs and events. Additionally, despite most of them highly visible especially through social media platforms, it is totally hard to get a response from them even after several emails and private messages that were sent through their social media platforms. We also encounter problems such as the participant cancel at the last minute, late to the interview appointment, and internet problems. However, despite all of these challenges, we manage to get a positive outcome at the end of the data collection stage. Moreover, we also felt the advantages and privilege to be able to interview and had one-to-one conversations with some well-known and passionate Member of Parliaments (MPs), young political leaders, young NGOs leaders, and experts throughout the process. Therefore, we believe that a semi-structured interview is the best approach to get in touch with various range of people and get a deeper insight on specific issues particularly on the youth political participation in the *Dewan Rakyat*.

3.6 SAMPLE/INFORMANT SELECTION

Sampling techniques refers to the selection of small proportion of the social actors from the entire population to infer the results and finding to the whole. This is because it is

difficult and time constraint to collect the data from every individual of the group in the populations. Sampling techniques can be divided into two which are the probability and the non-probability techniques. Probability sampling mostly relies on the mathematics of probabilities and it enables the researchers to make strong statistical projections towards the entire population due to their random selection. Meanwhile, the non-probability sampling involves the non-random selection that is based on the convenience of the data, and to sample the relevant categories, the researcher will select cases/units that “stand-in” for the larger group of populations (Neuman, 2014). As for this particular research, we selected purposive sampling under the non-probability techniques as it allows the researcher to select and choose the sample based on the aims of the research. Since the objectives of the paper are to acknowledge the reason behind the low young people involved in the Malaysia Lower House and how to improve it, selective participants who had the experience and knowledge needed to provide insight on the issues. Therefore, we do not intend to make the general representation of the sample towards the larger populations (Neuman, 2014).

Other than that, in selecting the participants, we also conducted the snowball sampling technique in which we manage to get some contacts of the respondents from our network and friends. At the earlier stage of the process, we choose and select the participants based on the three categories which are young political elites and leaders, young NGO leaders, and experts. After we found and select several participants that we think suitable with the categories, we then contacted them through email and private messages on Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram. Overall, we manage to get 13 participants for the semi-structured interview sessions which consist of 8 political elites (6 young Member of Parliaments, 2 young political leaders), 2 young NGO leaders, and 3 academicians. Additionally, given the limitation of time and due to the current situation, 13 interview sessions are reasonable for this research. In fact, for this type of research, a minimum of 10 interview sessions should be enough for the sample size (Francis et al., 2010). Therefore, the explanation on the three categories of the samples are as follows:

3.6.1 Young Political Elites and Leaders

The selection of the young political elites or leaders was based on their current positions and roles in the Malaysia Parliament, political organizations, and political parties. Most of these political elites comprise of the young Members of Parliaments (MPs) in the Lower House who were elected and won the 2018 Malaysia General Elections. Moreover, the political elites also include the young political leaders who hold the position of the leaders in the youth wings of the political parties. All of these young Member of Parliaments (MPs) and young political leaders are comprised of various political parties in Malaysia, either from the government side (UMNO & PAS) or the opposition side (PKR, DAP, and AMANAH). Additionally, all of them aged below 40 years when they won the General Election as the MPs or hold the position as the youth political leaders.

3.6.2 Youth NGOs Leaders

The youth leaders from several Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Malaysia were chosen due to their active roles with the social movements and organization bodies that mainly focus on the youth segments in Malaysia. Their experiences as leaders in the youth organization can give another insight towards the research topics as well as giving another perspective that more apolitical.

3.6.3 Expert Views

The expert views were selected among the academicians from several public universities in Malaysia. All of these academicians had valuable knowledge which relates to political participation and had written several scholarly articles in the field of politics of Malaysia. The selection of these particular experts also due to their capabilities in giving more neutral, balance as well as the broad opinion which related to the research topics compared to young MPs and young political leaders.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS: THEMATIC ANALYSIS

There are several methods in analyzing the qualitative research particularly the interview data. As for this paper, we selected the thematic analysis approach to perform the

data analysis for the semi-structured interview. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the thematic analysis can be defined as the method that involves “identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within the data”. Additionally, Braun and Clarke (2006) stated that “a theme captures something important about the data in relations to the research questions”. This means that, through the thematic analysis, we need to find the pattern or theme within the data for us to provide the answer to the research questions. Apart from that, to guide us in conducting the data analysis, we followed the six steps of the thematic analysis which had been introduced and presented by Braun and Clarke (2006). We started the procedure by familiarizing the data by ourselves in which through transcribing all the interview sessions from video to text form. As mentioned by Riessman (1993), despite the time-consuming and tiring procedure, the transcribing process can be a great way for the researcher to familiarize with the data as well as acknowledge the basic information of the interview (as cited in Braun & Clarke, 2006). Moreover, we choose the intelligent verbatim transcription in which through this method, we transcribe every relevant word of the respondents and fix any grammatical error or broken sentences that existed. Apart from that, for the transcription of the speech to text word, we use the free transcription software available on the internet to reduce the time as well as to speed up the process. In addition to that, if the interview session was conducted in the Malay language, we will translate it first, then we will transcribe it accordingly. After we finished with all the transcribing process, we acquainted ourselves better by reading the interview transcript several times.

Next, we generated the initial codes out of the interview transcript. The codes are the basic features of the data and we extracted the codes manually by writing the notes on the text of the interview transcript. In addition to that, we generated the codes from the data through the ‘theory-driven’ in which we already had the specific questions in our mind that will guide us to present the themes at the end of the process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the third phase, after we finished coded and collated all the data, we sorted all the codes into related and potential themes as well as sub-themes. We were using the tables to make the process more systematic and at the end of this phase, we manage to form several themes. Besides that, some of the codes were discarded if it does not represent any important and relevant themes for the research. Other than that, phase 4 begins when we reviewing all the themes and sub-themes that had already been formed. Through this process, we need to eliminate some themes if we

think that it does not consist enough data for the research questions. Meanwhile, some themes also need to be combined if they provided similar explanations and information. Once we were satisfied with the thematic map of the data, we started phase 5 of the thematic analysis by defining and refining further the themes in which we identify the important essence and details of each theme. Lastly, we will produce and write the report of the research paper at the final phase of this process. Additionally, in the final report, we will be linking back the data analysis to the research questions, theoretical framework as well as the literatures.

3.8 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Validity and reliability are the ideas in which it will help and ensure the credibility, believability, and truthfulness of the findings in the research (Neuman, 2014). This is because, to address the social reality accordingly, the consistency and truth in conducting the data must be upheld by the researchers. Reliability can be understood as the dependability or consistency in which the same things can be repeated under similar conditions. Meanwhile, validity refers to the truthfulness of the studies and its concern on how well the ideas can be presented with actual reality (Neuman, 2014). Due to that, to ensure the validity of the data, we selected and implemented the triangulation methodology in this research. There are four types of triangulation, and for this particular thesis, we choose the triangulation of observer because it allowed us to select and choose several observers or respondents on the issues. Additionally, this type of triangulation can avoid the limitations of a single observer such as lack of skills, absence of experiences, biases, and inattention to certain details. Moreover, through the triangulation of observer, the combination of various observations and experiences of the respondents can produce a wider picture rather than relying on only one (Neuman, 2014).

Therefore, we asked and took the data, not only from the perspective of the young political elites in Malaysia but also from the young NGO leaders as well as academicians that expert in the field to give their respond and opinion on the issues of youth political engagement in the Malaysia House of the Representatives. The differences in the respondents' background and political alienation will allow the data to be more balanced, at the same time avoid the biases, and provide additional perspectives on the research. Apart

from that, for the reliability of this research, we conducted the semi-structured interview in the same setting, with similar questions, and in similar occurrences. This is to ensure the consistency of the measure for the data collection as well as the data analysis. In addition, we also used and followed the six steps of the thematic analysis based on the method introduced by Braun and Clarke (2006) for the data analysis to ensure the credibility, consistency, and accuracy of the data. Hence, through these applications, we wanted to ensure the validity and reliability of the research, especially when conducting the data collection and data analysis of the research.

3.9 SUMMARY

This chapter has explained in-depth the research methodology applied for this thesis, including the research design and the data collection methodology. The qualitative study approach through the semi-structured interview method was implemented in this paper to answer the research questions and to meet the objectives of the study. In addition to that, in this chapter, we also explained the operational definitions as well as the sample selection that was implemented in the research. Apart from that, the explanation of the thematic analysis was also presented to explain the data analysis approach in the thesis. We ended the chapter by describing the validity and reliability approach that had been conducted throughout the research methodology process of the paper. The next chapter will discuss and explain the result of the data analysis.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the view of the 13 respondents that comprised of 8 political elites (6 young Member of Parliaments, 2 young political leaders), 2 young NGO leaders, and 3 academicians from the qualitative semi-structured interview (See Figure 5). Through the research methodology of thematic analysis approach, we will see the reason behind the low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representative and which methods that can improve the stagnant percentages of young representation in the Malaysia Lower House.

4.2 GENERAL BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

Figure 5
General Background of the Respondents

No.	Name/Position/Information	Categories
1.	<p>YB Puan Wong Shu Qi</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">I. Member of Parliament for Kluang.II. Democratic Action Party (DAP).III. Elected as ADUN for Senai constituency at the age of 30 during the 2013 General Election.IV. Elected as MP at the age of 35 during the 2018 Malaysia General Election.V. Opposition side	Political Elite (1)
2.	<p>YB Ahmad Fahmi bin Mohamed Fadzil</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">I. Member of Parliament for Lembah Pantai.II. People's Justice Party (PKR).III. Elected as MP at the age of 37 after winning the 2018 Malaysia General Election for the first time.	Political Elite (2)

	IV. Opposition side	
3.	<p>YB Noor Amin bin Ahmad</p> <p>I. Member of Parliament for Arau.</p> <p>II. People's Justice Party (PKR).</p> <p>III. Elected as MP at the age of 36 after winning the 2018 Malaysia General Election</p> <p>IV. Opposition side</p>	Political Elite (3)
4.	<p>YB Vivian Wong</p> <p>I. Member of Parliament for Sandakan.</p> <p>II. Democratic Action Party (DAP).</p> <p>III. Won the by-election for Sandakan in 2019 at the age of 30 years old for the first time.</p> <p>IV. Opposition side</p>	Political Elite (4)
5.	<p>YB Kasthuriraani Patto</p> <p>I. Member of Parliament for Batu Kawan.</p> <p>II. Democratic Action Party (DAP).</p> <p>III. Elected as the MP at the age of 34 after winning the 2013 and 2018 Malaysia General Elections.</p> <p>IV. Opposition side</p>	Political Elite (5)
6.	<p>YB Tuan Ahmad Fadhli Shaari</p> <p>I. Member of Parliament for Pasir Mas</p> <p>II. Deputy Youth Chief of Malaysia Islamic Party (PAS)</p> <p>III. Won the 2018 General Election at the age of 38 years old.</p> <p>IV. Government side</p>	Political Elite (6)
7.	<p>Encik Shazni Munir</p> <p>I. AMANAH Party Youth Chief</p> <p>II. People's Coalition (PH) Youth Chief</p> <p>III. Opposition side</p>	Political Elite (7)

8.	<p>YB Dato' Mohd Imran bin Tamrin</p> <p>I. State Legislative Assembly for Sungai Panjang</p> <p>II. United Malay National Organization (UMNO)</p> <p>III. Elected as the Assemblyman in Selangor after won the 2018 General Election at the age of 32</p> <p>IV. UMNO Youth Exco Member</p> <p>V. Government in Federal Level but Opposition in State Level</p>	Political Elite (8)
9.	<p>Prof. Dr. Mohd Azizuddin bin Mohd Sani</p> <p>I. Associate Professor in Politics and International Relations at University Utara Malaysia (UUM)</p>	Academic (9)
10.	<p>Asst. Prof. Dr. Norhaslinda Bt. Jamaiudin</p> <p>I. Lecturer at the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) at the Department of Political Science.</p>	Academic (10)
11.	<p>Dr. Syaza Farhana binti Mohamad Shukri</p> <p>I. Lecturer at the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) at the Department of Political Science.</p>	Academic (11)
12.	<p>Ms. Qyira Yusri</p> <p>I. Founder of UNDI 18, a Malaysian Youth NGO that focusing on voter education and youth public policy engagement.</p>	Youth NGO Leader (12)
13.	<p>Muhammad Faisal Abdul Aziz</p> <p>I. President of Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia (ABIM).</p>	Youth NGO Leader (13)

4.3 FINDING OF THE QUALITATIVE STUDIES & SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

4.3.1 Views on Youth Political Participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives

Generally, through the semi-structured interviews of the 13 informants, the majority of respondents agreed that the youth political representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives still in the lower range compare to other age groups in the society. As commented by Political Elites (2), *“Not enough. I think, in many cases, I feel that because elections are you can put a young candidate going up against an older candidate, but if the older candidate wins, then you don't have a young candidate”*. Additionally, this also has been agreed by the Political Elite (6) in which he stated that *“Unfortunately, today I see young people in a political party, especially in the Dewan Rakyat, quite limited. So far I think, but this figure needs to be revised, more than half of those in Parliament right now is made up of those aged 60 and above”*. Moreover, as mentioned by the Political Elite (7), *“I think the number is as it is and has not changed much”*. Academic (10) also stated that, *“...when we look at the representation of youth in the parliament, whether at the state level or even at the federal level, we can see that it is still underrepresented”*. This argument is also supported by the Political Elite (8) who commented that, *“...it needs more but it must be balanced. There can't be too many young people because at this Parliamentary level, apart from them as a policymaker at the highest level in our country, we will also be performing executive duties. Political Elite (5) also added that, “I think that there is a need for more young people to be in Parliament”*.

Apart from that, some of the respondents interviewed believed that despite the lower percentage of youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives, it still shows a positive remarked especially for the current term. As noted by the Political Elite (1), *“...the current term, of course, we have not had enough young representatives. Nonetheless, I think we improve a lot from the previous one because we have YB Syed Saddiq, and also from UMNO, I think they have YB Paya Besar and then from GPS, they have YB Sibuti”*. Furthermore, Academic (9) added that, *“I think we have quite a several young leaders in Parliament right now. Many of them still age below 40, not many, but there are more right now than before”*. Besides that, the Political Elite (3) responded that, *“I think the transition process is a normal process. I always call this a time of transition around the world. Today*

we have quite old MPs, in the past, they were young. So, when they became MPs at a young age, they were seen as long-time politicians because they rose when they were young”.

4.3.2 Factors that Affect Youth Political Participation

Various factors might influence the youth political participation and while observing the case of Malaysia through this qualitative study, three dominant themes emerged as the result of the thematic analysis from the semi-structured interview. The reason for the low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives are as follows:

4.3.2.1 Political Parties

Based on the response of the semi-structured interview, the majority of the informants agreed that the reason for the downward trend in the youth representation at the *Dewan Rakyat* was due to the key roles played by the political parties in Malaysia. This is because, according to the respondents, political parties have influential roles in determining the political candidacy during the elections, as well as providing the opportunity for young people to be involved in politics. As commented by Academic (10), “...if the opportunity is widely opened, with enough support from the political party, with a good political campaign, I'm sure this young politician stands the chance to win the election by winning the election. Additionally, Academic (10) also stated that, “*They (political parties) should give these people enough opportunity so that you know, their voice matters, your opinion matters and this will encourage and motivate more young people to come forward and participate in politics*”. Meanwhile, Academic (9) also responded to the issue by stated that, “*I agree that all political parties should produce or allow young candidates and give the opportunity to the young candidates to contest in the election, and that's probably a good strategy at the moment to capture young voters*”. Moreover, Academic (11) added that, “*I think they should have more youth candidate, youth representative because they are part of the electorate*”.

Furthermore, Political Elite (7) who in a similar vein stated that, “...this matter needs to be emphasized by all political parties where they need to put forward young candidates who will contest in Parliament”. This is because, as Academic (9) argued that, “*I think the tendency of them (young people) to vote is more towards candidates in their peer groups, in*

their age something like that. Meaning that young candidates will be favorable to them”.

Other than that, Academic (9) mentioned that, *“That’s why last time PKR and DAP quite clever because they fielded young leaders, young candidates, so they are appealing to the young voters to vote in the election”.* This is in line with the claim made by the Political Elite (1), *“...in DAP, most of the cases, we really give the safe seat to young people, because we want young people to win and be the leader”.* Furthermore, Political Elite (3) also gives his thought on this matter in which he said that, *“...indeed Keadilan (PKR) has always highlighted the young leaders who are known. Other parties also have young leaders but maybe not enough breakthrough like for example, Nurul Izzah because her father was a victim during the reformation era so she stands out as well. Then, Rafizi Ramli, before Rafizi was also the Chief of the Keadilan Youth Force, Ezam Mohd Nor, people really liked him, thousands of people came to his speech”.* Additionally, Political Elite (2) explained that, *“I became interested to join (PKR) really after Nurul Izzah won in Lembah Pantai in 2008. And I felt she was only a year, my senior. And I felt that a lot of what she was talking about resonates with me, I believe, therefore, as she was a leader of the party, I felt that this party, if we can have a leader like her then this is a party that I can see myself serving in”.*

Meanwhile, Political Elite (6), who also a Member of Parliament from PAS pointed out that, *“When PAS leadership is looking for a candidate, they are not looking at the young person or vice versa. But they look at the seniority of the position, not at the individual”.* This indicated that political parties remain important agents towards the declining trend of young political representation in the Malaysia Legislative Assembly.

Apart from that, some of the respondents emphasize that the engagement and political approaches by the political parties also play crucial roles towards the declining trend of youth political participation in the Malaysia Lower House. This can be reflected from the comments of Academic (10), *“...I think all political party realizes that the importance of engaging with the young voters. So, that's why I think in Malaysia when we look at all political parties, whether it's Malay centric political party or multi-racial political party, they emphasize on the needs to engage with young voters”.* However, Academic (11) argued that, *“For some reason, I think they keep it at the youth wing and in a way, what they're saying is that we have afforded you this opportunity, but only there, you know, just stay there. I don't see parties truly, truly opening up to allow more youth participation”.* Additionally, Academic (9) also

agreed with the Academic (11) in which he stated that, *“The only thing is political party tends to play sentiment with the young voters not many of them really engage and, you know, give an alternative view or any view that can be built up in terms of policy, or to help them or and also the most important is to asked them to give their opinion”*. Due to that, continuous political engagement and approaches by the political parties play important roles towards youth political participation, as claimed by the Political Elite (2), *“I think people feel that this party (PKR) has young people that speak the same language or, or are on the same wavelength”*.

In addition to that, another underlying factor points out by the respondents, which influences the young people's political representation in the Malaysia Parliament is the structure of the political parties. As claimed by the Academic (11), *“In terms of political institutions, well, if we look at parties itself, I think it is quite limited. So, because of that, I think now a lot of youth who are interested, they engage more in civil societies, that is where that they can really like have their voices heard. get exposed to political events, but the current political structure that we have in terms of institutions, they're not very youth-friendly”*. This also in line with the statement made by the Academic (9), *“ I think most who contest in the most senior position president or vice president, mostly, I think, are the older generation of leaders, they're not young leaders if the young leaders contest normally is difficult for them to win. Because this system that built that I mention patronage system require, respect to the elderly, and also the elderly that control everything”*. Additionally, Academic (9) provided an example that, *“PAS a little bit different because they have a cadre system a system which actively trains young supporters and so they become leaders from the very beginning from their PASTI, their kindergarten”*.

Besides that, the Youth NGO Leader (13) also commented on the issue, in which he stated that, *“We are in a party structure. So, these big parties are old people's parties. UMNO, PAS, any party, they have a youth wing, but basically, they only rely on quotas”*. Moreover, Youth NGO Leader (12) argued that, *“...because many political parties are still taking like, what more than 30 years old to be the young wings. I think UMNO, you still can be Youth Chief of UMNO if you are 45 years old, PKR also 35 years old...”*. Similarly, Political Elite (6) agreed with the importance of the flexible structure in every political party

as he said that, *“I think any party, the awareness to choose young people to contest is still quite limited and young people have to go through various layers that already exist in politics”*. On the other hand, Political Elite (1) claimed that, *“...look at the structure now and the electorates that we (DAP) have, we always try to recruit more and more because we acknowledge that we need every generation of leader. So, we cannot allow any single one generation to occupy the whole party or the leadership”*. Therefore, the structure of the political parties plays an important role and can be the main barrier in preventing young people from actively involves with politics.

On the other hand, some of the respondents also highlighted that the low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives was due to the current political system as well as the electoral system of the country. This can be seen from the explanation of Academic (9) in which he said that *“...in the multi-party election, multi-party system, there are multiple candidates fielded in the election. Unlike the two-party system or dominant party system. So, when a multi-party candidacy, so you can expect more and more youth also being filled to become a leader”*. Due to that, Academic (11) argued that *“In Malaysia, it is still quite hierarchical, still quite feudalistic”*. Besides that, the Youth NGO Leader (13) pointed out that, *“...if today’s society strives to improve the existing system, reform system, reducing the power of the Prime Minister, it will further add to the power of MPs to give good to check and balance to the executive power. Eventually, young people will look back at politics as a solution, and eventually, it can spark young people’s interest in politics”*. Political Elite (2) also agreed on this particular factor in which he stated that *“...this first past the post system has some advantages and some drawbacks. So, the system itself, I feel, may not lend to better representation of the actual population”*. Moreover, Political Elite (1) added that *“Our electoral system is first past the post-single-member constituency. This FPTP system kind of, I mean, discouraged, not discouraged, but put a high entry bar for people to be elected. And it is not so easy for people to contest at the constituencies. So, I think that is a hurdle we need to overcome”*.

Apart from that, in the case of the UNDI 18 initiative, which lowering the voting age from 21 to 18 years old, the majority of the respondents agreed that it should be implemented as soon as possible by the government. As reflected from the comment made by the Academic

(11), “...we need to implement the UNDI 18. That is the first thing because you know, all of this needs the support of the people and until and unless young people 18,19 and 20 years old can vote there is this possibility that people can just ignore them and just say we don't need you for representation when you guys don't even vote”. Academic (10) also argued that, “...the latest news announced by Electoral Commission not to include 18 years voters in the next general election is an anti-climax. We are excited to look at it because they will change the trend, the pattern of voting will change with if you include this group of people, but then they have decided”. Additionally, Youth NGO Leader (12) also emphasized the importance of the implementation of UNDI 18 as she stated that, “...because we can't vote until we are 21 years old, where most of us would have, you know, graduated university and went to work. And then how many places in Malaysia where they let you talk about politics at work, right, is extremely sensitive. And I always believe that universities are one of the best places to debate about ideas, the debate about concepts”. Besides that, the Political Elite (5) also stressed that, “The government has to be serious on UNDI 18 you know, it's a real shame, we managed to get two-thirds majority in parliament, which after so long we managed to get to because after 2008 there was no more two-thirds majority of any party in Parliament”. Moreover, Political Elite (2) responded to this issue by saying that, “...if the UNDI 18 initiative is passed, is done, then I think we will see more young people coming out to vote. But if they don't do if they don't do it, there might have even more young people come up as a protest”. Therefore, this indicates that the political system and electoral system provide crucial impacts towards the declining trend of the youth political representation in the Malaysia Parliament.

4.3.2.2 Socio-economics

The second theme which emerged through the thematic analysis of the semi-structured interview is the role of socio-economics towards the youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. The majority of the respondents claimed that claimed the socio-economic factor such as educational background, incomes, financial capabilities, limitation of times, career and others as the issues that undermined the representation of the Malaysian youth in the *Dewan Rakyat*. An example of this point of view was given by the Academic (10) in which she claimed that, “...if you look at the cost of living, everything is expensive right now. So, you can see that these are the driving factor because they suffer under the current system, they think that their rights have been deprived, and their interests

are not being addressed". This is also supported by Academic (11) as she described that, *"Why would they get involved in politics when it is much more important for them to get a job, you know, to sustain a living to sustain your family?"*. Additionally, the factor also can be reflected through the statement of Academic (9) which he commented that, *"The only thing when they aware about their surroundings, they aware about the importance of policy or economy or probably they are suffering, because they are they don't have jobs even though they are graduated"*. Moreover, Political Elite (2) also agreed that socio-economic factor does affect the youth political representation in the Lower House as he noted that, *"...of course, you have to find resources and support and volunteers and you know, like, organizing events. So, there was a lot of organizing involved"*. He also added that *"It's not easy to run elections. It's not easy, you need money, you need support"*. Furthermore, Political Elite (7) shared that, *"The first of course is about financial constraints. We know that politics is a space where we don't receive money or don't receive funds, but we contribute or even channel funds to the target group we are fighting for"*.

Besides that, the educational background of an individual also provides an essential effect on their political participation. This can be reflected from the statement by Academic (11) as she mentioned that, *"I think education is key here because I think the level of education is very low in terms of not just politics but also civil society"*. Academic (9) also pointed out that, *"...political literacy also they are very low but because they are also focused on another thing..."*. In addition to that, Political Elite (7) suggested that to improve the youth political participation is through education as he noted that, *"The first of all is the need to mobilize political education"*. Therefore, education, as well as political knowledge, might increase the political activism of the younger generation especially in the Malaysia House of Representatives. This confirms findings from several scholarly articles on the education and political participation in which those educated citizens tend to vote more in the elections (Berinsky & Lenz, 2014; Galston, 2004; Print, 2007).

On the other hand, some of the respondents also agreed that the role played by socialization agents such as family can influence as well as motivate the younger generation to be involved in politics. This can be reflected from the statement made by the Academic (9), *"I think the main factor probably family, to encourage them to join politics and if you can see*

that many people in Malaysia right now why they join political party mostly actually because of the family. Encouragement from the family is on. There's a fact. I think you can see now many of our young leaders and also that sort of good training for them because they follow their father's, parents, mothers". Additionally, several Political Elites admitted that, their involvement in the political arena came from the background of the family. As shared by the Political Elite (5), *"...my sister and I were both born into politics because my late father was a former state Assemblyman, former Member of Parliament. So, we have been actually exposed to politics from a very young age, to attend talks to attend protests and rallies"*. Additionally, Political Elite (6) described that, *"My exposure in PAS started from a young age. My family background as a PAS supporter, and later when I was studying in high school, I used to follow talks delivered by speakers from PAS"*. Moreover, the same exposure was also experienced by the Political Elite (8) in which he stated that, *"...since I was a child because my late grandfather was directly involved in politics, then my parents were inactive. My late Datuk actively held several important positions in political parties"*. Political Elite (3) also shared that, *"My father's mother used to be a small leader at the village level, just like my father at one level he used to be the vice-chairman of a trade union regardless of government employees at the lower level"*. Therefore, it appears that the influence of family does give crucial impacts on the political participation of the youth particularly in their representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

Apart from that, attitudinal factors such as experience and skills also provide some effect on the youth representation in Malaysia's highest legislative body. This is because, as mentioned by Political Elite (5), *"In 2013, I was a new face, I didn't come to Batu Kawan like maybe two or three days before the nomination, you know. So, I don't know much of the constituency, just trying to learn and understand the demography, the industry, the people, the food, the history, etc"*. Academic (9) also described that *"...the problem with political parties to introduce young candidates because mostly they're not really experienced and also not known to the local..."*. He added that, *"...this group of people (senior politicians) as well will play down most of the young leaders, say that they are not mature enough, they are not well trained whatever, they always condemn the young"*. Besides that, this also reflected from the Political Elite (4) as she shared her experienced during the election campaign in the 2018 General Election, *"...the difficulty was also the experience that we are very worried whether I*

will simply say different things, different things in front of media and then they just want to spin thing and then make it look bad". In addition to that, the Youth NGO Leader (12) also argued that, *"...we always tell young people that they are not experienced enough, right. We might say you know, you must go to the university, must have experience more..."*. Hence, the lack of experience and skills of young people in Malaysia could be the reason for the low youth political participation in the Malaysia Lower House.

4.3.2.3. Political Culture

Furthermore, some of the respondents highlighted that political culture also another factor that affects the political participation of the youth in the Malaysia Parliament. As argued by the Academic (11), *"...for me, that also relates to the political culture in Malaysia whereby, I mean, it's not just about good culture, our culture in Malaysia where this whole respect the elderly and in the sense, we don't want to overstep the elders. So we let the older politicians take charge and the young are they kind of like just wait for their turn and there will come when they are older. So this is the political culture that we have today, which I think is not good"*. Additionally, Academic (10) also commented that *"We still embrace the patriarchal culture in which when you involve in politics, they only see that you are you're less experienced, I am more experienced and senior you are not I have vast experience, you are not in a way that this is what we call patriarchal culture"*. Moreover, this is also reflected in the response of Academic (9), *"Actually, our political culture is very neo feudalistic, respect to the elderly, you know, we have our kind of value and another thing which is a thing so crucial we call it a patron-client, we call it patron system. Because of the nature of our culture, like that is difficult for the young leader to be chosen or given the opportunity in relation unless if that you know, if that young leader, probably son of somebody some of the warlord in a certain area, then we probably get the opportunity"*.

In addition to that, Youth NGO Leader (13) also takes a similar view, *"At the same time, society also contributes to the same thing. In general, the people when they want to vote or voters, they prefer to vote for this established party. Like the UMNO party, this established party, although old, the people like to vote, in general. So, the chances of winning are high compared to young people who want to compete, be free, and so on"*. According to Youth NGO Leader (12) also, she mentioned that, *"I think one of the challenges that we face is that*

many people don't think young people are smart enough to vote". She added that, "So, whenever we (young people) talk about his in public, you know, even at forums or even to politicians especially, they will see that you know, the youth is not ready, they are not smarter enough, they are not mature enough". Furthermore, Political Elite (8) argued that, "...the acceptance of society among seniors because they see us as a young person, a raw person and who may also see our experiences are still shallow. So, this is the kind of response that we need to refute". Therefore, through the qualitative studies, we can see that political culture could be the potential factor towards the declining trend of youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

4.3.3 Ways to Improve Youth Political Participation

There are several underlying methods outlined and informed by the 13 respondents of the semi-structured interview to improve the youth political representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. Those methods are as follows:

4.3.3.1 Political Parties

Firstly, when asked the question on what ways can improve the low percentages of youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives, the majority of the respondents agreed that political parties remain the crucial factor. This can be seen from the statement of Academic (9), *"I think political parties should realize because all depends on political parties. If political party decided to feel many old generations of leaders then I think it's difficult to have more leaders and youth leaders"*. Moreover, Academic (10) had a similar suggestion in which she stated that *"When we talk about the contributing factors that might influence their (young people) interest to participate in politics, number one if they know that they will be given enough opportunity to be contested, they have their voice..."*. Similarly, Youth NGO Leader (12) argued that, *"I don't think we need a quota for youth representation. I think what we need is for political party leaders, such as party presidents, to focus on building young leaders and young talents in their party"*. On the other hand, Youth NGO Leader (13) also agreed that, *"...one of the ways to raise interest, I think all parties should work to improve the actual system, improve the existing system"*. This also can be seen through the statement of Political Elite (1) which she stated that, *"...all political parties must*

acknowledge that we need to achieve, I think not only the DAP, but all other political parties should field more young candidates”.

Political Elite (4) also emphasized the key function of political parties towards the youth political representation in the Malaysia House of Representation, as she stated that, “...it is actually still by the party to give the opportunity to the youth and they need to recognize that the youth are the ones that can change the perspective of the today politics...”. Additionally, Political Elite (8) also mentioned that, “we have to give awareness to the leaders of political parties so that these political parties are more open to accept and also highlighting candidates as well as young leaders whom he is credible as well as who professionally represent the party”. Besides that, Political Elite (2) claimed that, “So, with PKR it's a lot easier to feel younger candidates, but a lot of the other parties find it very difficult because they have the warlord system”. Moreover, Political Elite (6) had a similar view on the ways to improve the youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representative in which he said that, “Existing parties need to act boldly to feature young people even if they have no seniority in the party. But they can be brought forward and not see the very hierarchy of the party as an ultimatum or one that is absolutely to be complied with”. Political Elite (5) also proposed that, “...first and foremost political parties must have, I like to say quota, but I don't know if it's too idealistic or not. But you must have a percentage of your candidates who are young people”. This means that, political parties remain as the crucial method to improve youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

4.3.3.2 Political Knowledge

On the other hand, several informants suggested that political knowledge is another method to ensure the improvement of youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. Political Elite (3) stated that, “We need to educate the society that politics is a pure process, for which we should encourage more people who have intelligence, ability, leadership, courage, who are willing to take responsibility”. This also in line with the argument made by the Political Elite (7) which he claimed that, “...if the political education is started early and the people, in particular, the young see that politics is a space to serve a space to improve what is not good in society, not a space to enrich themselves or a space for

them giving an advantage to those close to them alone..”. Additionally, Academician (11) recommended that, “*...difficult to change people's acceptance of youth leadership, that is a lot of political views and that also takes a lot of education on the part of the people, right, you need to let the people know that it is okay. To have young people can lead and to show them that young people can lead. So we need to educate the masses”*”. Furthermore, Political Elite (8) also indicates through his comment that, “*The way is that we have to provide awareness and understanding to these young people, perhaps engagement through youth associations, NGOs, and so on.*”. Therefore, the younger generations must be exposed to political knowledge through either formal or informal political education to improve their political participation in the Malaysia Lower House.

4.4 SUMMARY

In conclusion, through the semi-structured interview and thematic analysis, the majority of the respondents acknowledged that the youth political representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives remains low until today. Apart from that, in search for the reason behind the low youth political participation in the Malaysia Lower House, most of the informants pointed out that political parties, socio-economic and political culture are the factors that undermine the youth political representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. In addition to that, the informants of the semi-structured interviews suggested that, political parties and political education as the best ways to enhance the declining trend of youth political participation in the Malaysia Parliament. In the next chapter, we will be concluding the paper by returning the discussion of the research to the theoretical framework as well as identifying several other issues for future research in the same area.

5. SUMMARY & CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The main objectives of this thesis are to explain the reason behind the low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. In addition to that, this research paper wanted to investigate which ways that can improve such declining trends among the young people in the Malaysia Parliament. This is because, in the past few years, the political participation of young people of Malaysia in several elections, protests, demonstrations, online mediums such as social media, and others has been shown a tremendous improvement. Political parties also acknowledge the importance of youth by introducing various recruitment programs, more youth candidates in elections, youth manifestos during election campaigns, and others. However, even with that positive political development, the representation of the young people in Malaysia still does not reflect the reality of their representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. Due to that, we conducted this thesis to search and explain the research questions of why youth political participation in Malaysia still low and how to improve the young representation in the Malaysia Lower House.

On the other hand, as most of the studies and research on youth political participation in Malaysia mainly focus on the roles or impacts of the internet, new media, and social media towards the political inclination as well as political behavior of the young people, the existence of this research enabled us to fulfill the gap of the existing works of literature. In addition to that, as for the conceptual framework, this study implemented the Civic Volunteerism Model (Brady et al., 1995) which will explain and analyze further why young people political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives still low and how to enhance their low percentages of representation as to the Member of Parliaments in the *Dewan Rakyat*. Therefore, this study applied the qualitative studies of the semi-structured interview to gain specific information and explanations on the research questions of the paper. In particular, this study interviewed 13 respondents comprised of 8 political elites (6 young Member of Parliaments, 2 young political leaders), 2 young NGO leaders, and 3 academicians

and managed to develop constructive answers towards the problems of youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. Hence, in this final chapter, we will provide comprehensive explanations of the key findings of the research to give a better picture of the issues of youth political participation in Malaysia. In addition to that, we will explain further the issues of the low youth political representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives as well as on the ways to improve it based on the theoretical framework of the study. Lastly, this chapter will discuss the contribution of the finding to the literature as well as the recommendation for future studies in the area.

5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The qualitative findings of the semi-structured interviews with the young political elites, young NGO members, and experts suggested that three main factors that led to the low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives are political parties, socio-economic and political culture. In addition to that, as evidenced in Chapter 4 of the paper, it can be summarized that the roles of political parties as well as the political knowledge are the ways suggested by the respondents to improve the limitation of young people representation in Malaysia's highest legislative assembly. The summary of the research are as follows:

5.2.1 Finding on the Low Youth Political Participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

As discussed in the Chapter 4, the qualitative findings suggested that political parties remain as one of the most important factors towards the low youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. This is because the political parties hold the important 'keys' towards youth political participation. The young people, without the support, opportunity, and engagement from the political parties will unable to join and participate, as well as become the Member of Parliaments in the Malaysia Lower House. This in line with the argument stated by (Stockemer & Sundström, 2019; Tekindal, 2017) that without the existence of better opportunities by the political parties, the percentages of youth political representation will be declined. Besides that, the feudalistic, complex hierarchical structure,

as well as the seniority culture in most of the political parties in Malaysia, became the problems for the young people in Malaysia to join and hold a higher position in the political parties. This supports the argument by Sloam (2014) that states that the complex and complicated nature of the political parties will limit the functionality of the youth towards the political decision in the nation.

Apart from that, according to most of the informants, the lack of strategic engagement between the political parties and the younger generations in the country had also led to the low youth political representation in the Malaysia House of Representation. This is due to the tendency of several political parties in Malaysia that prefer to stick with old traditions and still introduce veteran politicians in the elections. Therefore, the inability of the politicians as well as the political parties to persuade and communicate better with the youth had led the younger generations in Malaysia to move far away from the participation of politics and membership of political parties. Furthermore, the existence of the current political system, as well as the electoral system that provides a small opportunity for the young people to participate and become the candidates in the elections, had reduced the capabilities of the younger generations to contest in the election and participate in the Malaysia Parliament. This is because the Malaysia electoral system such as 'first-past-the-post-system' had created the low opportunity for the young people to join politics specifically to be the Member of Parliaments in the *Dewan Rakyat*. However, the introduction of UNDI 18 initiatives to lower the voting age from 21 to 18 years old had created better opportunities for the younger generations to be involved in the political arena. This echoes with the findings of Mohd Hed (2017) which indicated that restriction within the political system, as well as the electoral system, tends to affect the youth political participation in the country.

The finding of the qualitative analyses had also disclosed that socio-economic was another factor that led to the low youth representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. The socio-economic sector such as the educational background, financial capabilities, career, and availability of time agreed by the respondents as the important medium that can give either positive or negative impact on the youth political participation. This is because, politics involves a huge amount of money and without continuous as well financial stability, it will be difficult for an individual to participate in politics. Additionally,

without enough educational background, an individual might do not gain enough acknowledgment about the political issues which later led to the lack of engagement with the political environment. This supports the studies by Leighley (1995), Lowndes et al. (2006), and van Deth (2015) which agreed that socio-economic do provide influential impacts on youth political participation.

Besides that, the family also plays a crucial role in the motivation of the young people to join and involves with politics. As informed by the respondents, family is the nearest socialization actor with the youth and their encouragement will provide positive impacts towards the young people. This finding correlates with the argument by Youniss et al. (1997), Pfanzelt & Spies (2019), and Mohd Hed (2017) that states that family is considered as the influential source towards young people's political involvement. Several political elites that we interviewed, participate in politics due to their political background as well as encouragement from the family. Moreover, under the socio-economic theme, attitudinal factors such as experiences and skills do play an essential contribution towards the low youth political participation in Malaysia. This is because, without the necessary experiences and skills, the younger generations might feel reluctant to join and participate in politics as they do not possess enough maturity in that area. In the case of Malaysia, the reckless statements by several veteran politicians that undermine the younger politicians due to their lack of experiences had provided a further negative perception of the younger generations towards the involvements in politics. Hence, the socio-economic factor, including the family and attitudinal factors such as experiences and skills does offer an important impact on youth political participation especially in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

On the other hand, finding in Chapter 4 further show that another reason which gives pivotal impacts towards the representation of the young Member of Parliaments in the *Dewan Rakyat* is the political culture of the society. This is because, the political culture of the society is part of the everyday life of an individual and essentially, it will influence the political understanding as well as political engagement of the people especially the younger generation. In the case of Malaysia, the political culture of certain political parties that remain neo-feudalistic and patriarchal culture hold the blockage towards the youth political participation. In addition to that, the sentiment of some part of the society which mostly

prefers established political parties despite lack of progressive ideologies had led the people including the youth to decline from participating in politics. The negative perception of some part in the society towards the capabilities of the youth to lead and be the leaders of the country had strengthened the low percentages of the youth political participation in the Malaysia highest legislative assembly. Hence, the introduction and practices of better as well as a positive political culture might enhance the youth political participation. In this respect, through the qualitative studies based on the semi-structured interviews with the young political elites, young NGO leaders and experts highlighted that the role of political parties, socio-economics, and political culture provide definitive and important impact towards the low youth political participation in the Malaysia Parliament.

5.2.2 Finding on the Ways to Improve Youth Political Representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

Apart from that, through the findings as stated in Chapter 4 of the paper, there are two ways suggested by the respondents in the semi-structured interviews that can lead to the rise of youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. Firstly, political parties remain the crucial medium to improve the bad conditions of youth representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. This is because, as advised by the majority of the respondents, political parties hold the biggest 'key' and main gatekeeper towards youth political participation in the country. This reinforces the studies of Resnick & Casale (2011) that state that encouragement by the political parties will determine the political participation of the youth. Additionally, this also echoes with the argument by Pandian (2014) which he also agreed that a political party's leadership plays a major role in attracting the younger generations to participate in voting or any political activities as the youth tend to look out for exemplary leadership skills in the political parties.

In addition to that, the findings of the qualitative research studies also revealed that political knowledge is another formula to improve the low political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. This is because, political knowledge or political education will enable the society, including the younger generations to acknowledge and understand better the political system or political issues in the country. Besides that, through

the extensive and quality political education, the capabilities of the younger generations to understand the importance of political participation such as voting in elections or membership in political parties will be better. This supports the argument by White et al. (2000) that states that the lack of political knowledge also led to the decline of youth political participation due to their ignorance towards the functions of government and how the political system works. Hence, through the qualitative findings of the semi-structured interviews from 13 respondents, the political parties and political knowledge are the definitive methods to improve the stunted youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

5.3 IMPLICATION OF THE FINDINGS

5.3.1 Theoretical Implications

As described in Chapter 2 of this paper, this research implemented the Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM) by (Brady et al., 1995) to acknowledge and understand better the youth political participation in Malaysia specifically in terms of their representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. The detailed explanation of the relationship between the research findings and the Civic Voluntarism Model are as follows:

Brady et al. (1995) in their paper argued that the political participation of an individual will enhance and improve with the existence and introduction of three factors or resources which are time, money, and civic skills. The addition of these resources permits the researchers to move beyond the explanation of political activities from the components of the Socio-Economic Status (SES) model which are education, income, and occupation. However, the three resources namely time, money, and civic skills introduced by Brady et al. (1995) in the CVM still interrelated with the SES model but vary in terms of their social characteristics. The findings of this research suggest that the financial capabilities of an individual indeed play crucial roles towards the youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. This is because politics requires a huge amount of money such as for political campaigns, voters' mobilizations, or political organizations and without having financial stability or continuous resources, it will be difficult for an individual, especially young people to survive in politics. Apart from that, under the socio-economic theme, our

finding also in line with one of the CVM resources which is the availability of time. This is because, with the availability of time, the individual can use it for political activities such as working in a campaign, writing a letter to public officials, attend public meetings, and others (Brady et al., 1995). However, the responsibilities held by the younger generations towards their career and families had to limit the availability of time for them to participate in politics which later led to the decline of political participation.

Furthermore, our findings also confirmed that the third resource of CVM, which is civic skills is also provided an important impact on the stagnant trend of youth political engagement in the Malaysia Lower House. This is because, through the semi-structured interviews, we acknowledged that, education, family background, and attitudinal skills are the crucial reason for the low percentages of youth political participation in Malaysia. As argued by Brady et al, (1995:275), “Civic skills are, in general, more likely to be possessed by the socioeconomically advantaged. Those with higher levels of education are more likely to speak English at home, to have better vocabulary skills, and to have taken part in high school government”. Additionally, Brady et al, (1995:273) stated that “The acquisition of civic skills begins early in life-at home and, especially, in school”. This means that, without having enough educational background, good motivation by the family, and attitudinal capabilities such as skill and experiences, there will be some difficulties for an individual to be involved in politics. Our findings also show that one of the ways to improve the limitation and low youth political participation is through education and political knowledge. Therefore, education, family, and experience under the civil skills of CVM do interrelated and crucial factors towards political participation especially that involving youth in Malaysia.

Besides that, according to Brady et al., (1995:275), “The opportunity to practice civic skills in an institution requires both involvements in the institution and a setting that provides the chance to practice some skills”. In another word, institution including the political parties does provide impactful effect towards the young people political participation as it will provide the space for youth to enhance their capabilities and skill as a leader. The opportunity is given by the political parties totally important and our finding in Chapter 4 showed that political parties play crucial roles towards the political participation of the youth specifically in the Malaysia House of Representatives. In addition to that, political parties, as one of the

political institutions in the country also play crucial roles towards the political system and electoral system in the country as some of them hold the power as the executive branches in the country. Apart from that, through our research, we also found out that, political culture indeed gives extensive effect towards the low percentage of youth representation in the Malaysia *Dewan Rakyat* and it is in line with the explanation of Brady et al. (1995). This is because the social environment plays a significant role in the everyday life of an individual and without a supportive political culture, it will diminish the ability of the youth to participate in politics. However, in the case of Malaysia, political culture such as patriarchal and neo-feudalistic still being practiced in the society which in some ways undermine the possibility of the youth to involve and participate in politics.

Therefore, overall, we summarize that Brady et al. (1995) paper on the CVM offers a great explanation and theoretical framework towards the study of youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. Additionally, having all the criteria and resources introduced by Brady et al. (1995) will enable that person to have higher participation and engagement in the political activities either conventional or non-conventional medium

5.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, through our qualitative studies of the semi-structured interview that comprised of young political elites, young NGO leaders, and academicians, we found out that, political parties, socio-economic and political culture are the factors that contribute towards the stagnant percentages of youth representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. In addition to that, political parties and political knowledge are the methods suggested and recommended by the respondents of the semi-structured interview that can be used to improve the low numbers of youth political participation in the Malaysia Lower House. Apart from that, through the Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM) by Brady et al. (1995), we manage to extend our understanding and explanation further on the issues of young people's political participation, specifically in the case of Malaysia youth representation in the *Dewan Rakyat*.

In addition to that, we believe that, through our research, we had fill out the existing gap of the current literature and research on youth political participation, particularly in

Malaysia. This is because, through the qualitative studies, we managed to acknowledge the reason behind the low youth political representation in the Malaysia Parliament despite their active engagement in other political activities such as voting in elections and participation in a political demonstration. Besides that, through the semi-structured interview, we managed to receive informative and insightful information on the issues of youth political participation as our informants and participants have the experiences and involve directly with the study area. Lastly, through our findings, we believe that political parties in Malaysia play the key and essential roles in determining youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. The introduction of more young candidates, flexibility of party structure, as well as improvement in political engagement with the youth might help to enhance the problems that lie in youth political representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

This research paper has given a comprehensive and empirical-rich study on the youth political participation in Malaysia specifically in terms of their representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. Given the findings that the low youth political participation in the Malaysia Lower House was due to the crucial roles and functions of the political parties, socio-economics, and political culture in Malaysia, this paper indeed required the qualitative studies approach to provide insightful explanations towards the research questions. In addition to that, through the semi-structured interviews of 13 respondents, political parties and political knowledge has been acknowledged as ways to improve young people's political participation in the Malaysia Parliament. Despite that, as the focus of the research paper is mainly on a single case study which is Malaysia, there will be a limitation on the generalization of the finding on young people in other nations. However, the findings of this research paper could be generalized if the selected countries practice as well as implemented similar social-political cultures as Malaysia. As such, there is the possibility of conducting comparative studies or cross-countries research on youth political participation especially between Malaysia and other Southeast Asian countries in the future.

On the other hand, other suggestions which might be useful for the future studies of youth political participation especially in Malaysia would be through the implementation and

combination of a mixed-method approach in the research methodology. This is because, through the implementation of the mixed-method approaches, studies on youth political participation, specifically related to the conventional medium, will provide more constructive, in-depth, and extensive information. In addition to that, the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, can overcome the weaknesses in one single methodology as well as enable the researcher to gain holistic interpretation of the findings. Despite that, the implementation of mixed-method approaches in the study of youth political participation is not wholly new, but in the case of Malaysia, only Mohd Hed (2017) and Nga et al (n.d.) research integrated both quantitative and qualitative in their studies. Hence, with the introduction as well as the combination of mixed-method approaches, perhaps it can enhance and provide a better understanding of the study of youth political participation in Malaysia especially involving the conventional medium such as voting and representation in the legislative assemblies.

Apart from that, another area in which we can improve and enhance further the understanding of youth political participation especially in Malaysia is by researching the impact of the young representation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. Through the research paper, it will enable us to acknowledge better whether the presence of young Member of Parliaments in Malaysia able to make any difference to the country especially in terms of the public policies that related to the youth. Additionally, the study also will enable us to recognize the capabilities and the limitation of the young Member of Parliaments in the Malaysia House of Representatives as well as their capabilities to improve the democratization practices in Malaysia. Besides that, another key study or research that can be introduced in the future is on how online political participation of the youth in Malaysia influences and shape youth political decision-making in Malaysia. This is because, most of the existing literature on the internet, new media, and social media (e.g: Mohamad et al., 2018; Mohd Ngah & Mohamed, 2019; Nga et al., n.d.; Nurshahidah et al., 2016; Sarok & Azura Shahira Azahar, 2017; Yar Khan et al., 2019) only layout and examine the role of the internet, social media, and new media towards the youth political participation in Malaysia.

Furthermore, another important study that we can do in the future is on political education in Malaysia. This is because, our qualitative findings, showed that political

knowledge was one of the ways to improve youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives. The studies on the functions and impacts of political education in Malaysia might help to understand and acknowledge further the problem that lies within the young people's political participation especially in Malaysia. Additionally, through the studies of political education in Malaysia, we will see whether the existence and introduction of formal political education will enhance and improve further youth political participation in Malaysia. Besides that, comprehensive research on the youth political participation in the State Assemblies as well as Upper House in Parliament can also expand the literature on the youth political participation of Malaysia in the future. This is because, currently, there are no studies or research on that particular area and it will provide great insightful knowledge as well as information on the youth political representation in the country's decision-making bodies. Thus, with the introduction of new focus areas, hopefully, it will provide better comprehension and solve the problems that exist on the youth political participation particularly in Malaysia.

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APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview Questions for Academicians & Experts

Length of Interview: 30-45 minutes

1. What is your understanding on the youth political participation?
Apakah pemahaman anda tentang penglibatan anak muda dalam politik?
2. What is your opinion on the political participation of young people in Malaysia?
Secara amnyal, apakah pandangan anda tentang penglibatan anak muda dalam politik di Malaysia?
3. Do you think that political parties and politicians have adequately engaged and communicate with young people?
Adakah anda fikir parti politik atau pemimpin-pemimpin politik melibatkan diri dan berkomunikasi sepenuhnya dengan belia?
4. Do you think that political parties should introduce more youth candidates in the election?
Pada pandangan anda, adakah parti politik di negara ini perlu mengetengahkan lebih ramai calon anak muda semasa pilihanraya?
5. Do you think that, our political institutions provides enough opportunity towards the youth to get involve in the politics?
Pada pandangan anda, adakah system politik di Malaysia ini sudah cukup dalam memberikan peluang kepada anak muda untuk terlibat dalam politik?
6. What is your opinion on youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives?
Apa pandangan anda tentang penglibatan anak muda dalam Parlimen Malaysia?
7. Do you think that we need more youth in the Malaysia Parliament?
Pada pandangan anda, adakah kita memerlukan lebih ramai anak muda dalam Parlimen Malaysia?
8. What factors that you think might influence the youth political participation in the Malaysia House of Representatives? *Apakah factor yang mempengaruhi penglibatan anak muda dalam Parlimen Malaysia?*

9. In your opinion, what are the best ways to improve the representation of youth in the Malaysia Parliament?

Pada pandangan anda, apakah langkah-langkah terbaik untuk meningkatkan penglibatan anak muda dalam Parlimen?

10. Do you think that, by having more youth MPs in the Parliament it will enhance the democracy in Malaysia?

Menurut pandangan anda, adakah dengan penglibatan anak muda dalam Parlimen Malaysia dapat meningkatkan demokrasi negara?

11. What is the best way to encourage young people to become more politically interest and engaged especially in Malaysia?

Apakah cara terbaik untuk menggalakkan anak muda untuk lebih bergiat aktif dan berminat dalam politik terutamanya di Malaysia?

12. As what happened in the past few years in Malaysia particularly the political and economy instability, do you think that voter turnout especially from the youth segment will increase?

Dengan apa yang berlaku beberapa tahun kebelakangan ini, dengan ketidakpastian politik dan ekonomi dan politik di Malaysia, adakah pengundi muda terutama dalam kalangan anak muda akan meningkat

**Interview Questions for the Young Political Elites (Member of Parliaments &
Young Political Leader)**

Length of Interview: 30-45 minutes

1. Can you tell me little bit about yourself and your current position in the party/organization?
Boleh anda ceritakan sedikit tentang diri anda dan apa posisi anda dalam parti/organisasi ini sekarang?
2. What is your understanding on the youth political participation?
Apakah pemahaman anda tentang penglibatan anak muda dalam politik?
3. How long have you been involved in this party politic/organization?
Sudah berapa lamakah saudara terlibat dengan parti/organisasi ini?
4. What motivate you to join the politics and involve in this party politic/organizations?
Apakah yang memberi motivasi kepada anda untuk terlibat dalam parti/organisasi ini?
5. What obstacles or challenges that you face when you involve in the politics at the young age?
Apakah cabaran yang anda hadapi sepanjang terlibat di dalam politik dalam usia yang agak muda ini?
6. Why do you think other young people joined this party?
Pada pendapat anda, apakah yang menyebabkan anak muda masuk ke parti anda?
7. Is it difficult for the youth member in the party to be the candidate in the election?
Adakah susah untuk anak muda menjadi calon dalam pilihanraya dalam parti ini?
8. What are the criteria do someone need, especially the young members in your party to be the candidate in the election?
Apakah kriteria yang diperlukan oleh seseorang terutamanya anak muda dalam parti ini untuk menjadi calon dalam pilihanraya?
9. When you're the candidate in the last 2018 General Election, what are the challenges that you face
Semasa anda menjadi calon dalam pilihanraya sebelum ini, apakah cabaran yang anda hadapi

10. How do you see the participation of the youth in the Malaysia House of Representatives?
Pada pandangan anda, bagaimanakah penglibatan anak muda dalam Parlimen Malaysia?
11. Do you think that Malaysia House of Representatives need more youth participation?
Adakah Parlimen Malaysia memerlukan lebih ramai anak muda?
12. As the young MP in the Malaysia House of Representatives, what are the challenges that you face?
Sebagai Ahli Parlimen muda, apakah cabaran yang anda hadapi?
13. Why should Malaysia House of Representatives have more youth MPs?
Mengapakah Parlimen Malaysia memerlukan lebih ramai Ahli Parlimen muda?
14. As the young Member of Parliament (MP), in what ways that youth political participation in Malaysia House of Representatives can be improved?
Sebagai Ahli Parlimen muda, bagaimanakah cara untuk meningkatkan penglibatan anak muda dalam Parlimen Malaysia?
15. Do you think that, by having more youth MPs in the Parliament it will enhance democracy in Malaysia?
Menurut pandangan anda, adakah dengan mempunyai Ahli Parlimen muda dapat meningkatkan demokrasi di Malaysia?
16. What are the best way to encourage young people to become more politically interest and engaged especially in Malaysia?
Apakah cara terbaik untuk menggalakkan anak muda untuk lebih bergiat aktif dan berminat dalam politik terutama di Malaysia

Interview Questions for Youth NGO Leaders

Length of Interview: 30-45 minutes

1. Can you tell me briefly about yourself and your current position in his organization?
Boleh ceritakan sedikit mengenai latar belakang anda dan kedudukan anda dalam organisasi ini?
2. How long have you been involved in the organization?
Berapa lamakah saudara telah menyertai organisasi ini?
3. What motivate you to join this organizations?
Apakah yang memberi motivasi terhadap anda untuk menyertai organisasi ini?
4. What obstacles or challenges that you face when you involve in this organisation at the young age?
Apakah cabaran atau halangan yang anda hadapi sepanjang penglibatan dalam organisasi ini pada usia yang agak muda ini?
5. What is your opinion on youth political participation generally in Malaysia?
Menurut pandangan anda, bagaimanakah penglibatan anak muda dalam politik di Malaysia?
6. What is your opinion on youth political participation in Malaysia House of Representatives or *Dewan Rakyat*?
Apakah pandangan anda tentang penglibatan anak muda dalam Dewan Rakyat Malaysia?
7. In your opinion, why youth political participation in Malaysia Parliament is important?
Pada pandangan anda, mengapakaah penglibatan anak muda dalam Dewan Rakyat sangat penting?
8. Why do you think Malaysia Parliament still lack with youth political participation?
Pada pandangan anda, mengapakah Parlimen Malaysia masih kurang penglibatan anak muda?
9. In what ways that youth political participation in Malaysia House of Representatives can be improved?

Bagaimanakah cara untuk meningkatkan penglibatan anak muda dalam Dewan Rakyat?

10. Do you think that, by having more youth MPs in the Parliament it will enhance democracy in Malaysia?

Menurut pandangan anda, adakah dengan mempunyai Ahli Parlimen muda dapat meningkatkan demokrasi di Malaysia?

11. What is the best way to encourage young people to become more politically interest and engaged especially in Malaysia?

Apakah cara terbaik untuk menggalakkan anak muda untuk lebih bergiat aktif dan berminat dalam politik terutamanya di Malaysia

