

Managing Democracy in Malaysia (Identity, Minorities, and Representation)



Arik Dwijayanto¹, Yusmicha Ulya Afif², Khoirul Fathoni³

¹³ Fakultas Dakwah, Institut Agama Islam Sunan Giri Ponorogo

² Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Ilmu Keguruan, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ponorogo.


¹³ Jl. Batoro Katong No.32, Ronowijayan, Kertosari, Kec. Babadan, Kabupaten Ponorogo, 63411 Jawa Timur Indonesia

² Jl. Pramuka No. 156 Ronowijayan, Kabupaten Ponorogo, 63411 Jawa Timur Indonesia

aridkj99@gmail.com, auleya@gmail.com, khoirulfathoni09@gmail.com

* Penulis Korespondensi: khoirulfathoni09@gmail.com

ARTICLE INFORMATIONS	
<p>Keywords Democracy; Identity; Minorities; Representation;</p>	<p>ABSTRACT The Malaysian General Election (GE-14) in May 2018 raised an interesting and new phenomenon. For the first time since independence of Malaysia in 1957, the ruling alliance known as the National Front (Barisan Nasional, BN) which led by UMNO failed to secure simple majority in parliament and lost control of seven of Malaysia's 13 states. This was due to the challenge presented by the new opposition alliance known as Pakatan Harapan (Alliance of Hope, PH) which won 113 of seats in parliament and gain control the central government. It is interesting that this significant increase in support for the opposition is due to their change the way minorities, identity and representation is managed. The Malaysian Supremacy as political manifesto of Pakatan Harapan which involves eradicating affirmative action based on ethnicity, basing it instead on need, for instance need due to prosperity through the removal of government service tax (GST), and reformation of law. This would potentially increase the justice and equality for all ethnic or racial groups. This paper links the 2013 and 2018 elections, the more global trend in which minorities and youth representation are standing up to demand their right and to the challenge multiracial presents in Malaysia as a Muslim country. Therefore, the fundamental questions in this paper of how Pakatan Harapan manage minorities, identity and representation within in the process of democracy and to what extent the opportunities and the involvement of youth as voters and parliamentary candidates in order to support a progressive democracy in Malaysia.</p>
<p>KataKunci Demokrasi; Identitas; Minoritas; Representasi;</p>	<p>ABSTRAK Pemilihan Umum Malaysia (GE-14) pada Mei 2018 mengangkat fenomena yang menarik dan baru. Untuk pertama kalinya sejak kemerdekaan Malaysia pada tahun 1957, aliansi yang dikenal sebagai Front Nasional (Barisan Nasional, BN) yang dipimpin oleh UMNO gagal mengamankan suaranya di parlemen dan kehilangan kendali atas tujuh dari 13 negara bagian Malaysia. Ini disebabkan oleh tantangan yang diajukan oleh aliansi oposisi baru yang dikenal sebagai Pakatan Harapan (Aliansi Harapan, PH) yang memenangkan 113 kursi di parlemen dan mendapatkan kendali dari pemerintah pusat. Sangat menarik bahwa peningkatan signifikan dalam dukungan untuk oposisi ini disebabkan oleh perubahan mereka seperti minoritas, identitas dan representasi. Supremasi Malaysia sebagai manifestasi politik Pakatan Harapan yang melibatkan pemberantasan tindakan afirmatif berdasarkan etnik, mendasarkannya pada kebutuhan, misalnya kebutuhan karena kemakmuran melalui penghapusan pajak layanan pemerintah (GST), dan reformasi hukum. Ini berpotensi meningkatkan keadilan dan kesetaraan untuk semua kelompok etnis atau ras. Makalah ini menghubungkan pemilihan 2013 dan 2018, tren yang lebih global di mana perwakilan minoritas dan pemuda berdiri untuk menuntut hak mereka dan untuk tantangan multiras di Malaysia sebagai negara Muslim. Karena itu,</p>

	<p>pertanyaan mendasar dalam tulisan ini tentang bagaimana Pakatan Harapan mengelola minoritas, identitas dan perwakilan dalam proses demokrasi dan sejauh mana peluang dan keterlibatan pemuda sebagai pemilih dan kandidat parlemen dalam rangka mendukung demokrasi progresif di Malaysia.</p>
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Introduction

The victory of the opposition alliance (Pakatan Harapan) in the 14th General Election (GE14) and the election of Mahathir as Malaysian Prime Minister for the second time was not surprising. The victory was the culmination of the previous General Election which resulted in the defeat of the Barisan Nasional coalition led by the UMNO party since Malaysian independence. But what is interesting is the increasing role and participation of young people in the 14th Election both as voters and as candidates for parliament. Besides that, Pakatan Harapan's opposition skills in managing the diversity of identity politics and representation of minority groups are the main concern so that they can win two-thirds of the seats in parliament. The General Election (GE-14) in 2018 is the most dynamic General Election in the history of General Elections in Malaysia and is considered the culmination of all the General Elections held in the country. The previous General Election (GE-13) also recorded the highest number of candidates in Malaysia's political journey involving 579 candidates for Parliament seats and 1,321 candidates in the regional legislative seats (DUN) including 189 free candidates in both seats. The General Election Results (GE-13) showed Barisan Nasional (BN) was still able to maintain the status quo at the national level by winning 133 Parliament seats and 275 regional legislative seats (DUN) despite experiencing a decline in the number of seats in the two representatives so that it failed to control Penang, Kelantan and Selangor. However, in the General Election (GE-14) it actually brought a new phenomenon in Malaysian political history where for the first time since independence in 1957 the Barisan Nasional (BN) led by UMNO failed to maintain power so the leadership in the Central Government had to change to the Pakatan Harapan opposition alliance (Besar et al., 2017). Expectations of Hope gained victory after gaining 55.86 percent of seats in Parliament compared to Barisan Nasional 35.59 percent and Prosperous Ideas 8.10 percent as described in the seat acquisition scheme below.

Pakatan Harapan (PH) opposition victory in the General Election (GE-14) is inseparable from political dynamics that involve many young people with information technology networks and social media such as Facebook, Youtube, Instagram and Twitter. For young people who become legislative candidates both at the central and regional levels, many use social media as one of the campaign instruments so that they can attract and convince voters, especially fellow young generation. In fact, the interaction between young people who become legislative / parliamentary candidates with young voters through social media has a significant positive relationship compared to senior leaders who are still less active in using new media or social media. While the interaction of young voters and senior

leaders is rather limited, affecting the enthusiasm of young voters. Based on statistics the number of young voters in 2016 aged between 21 to 29 years amounted to 1.9 million people. Whereas the age category of 30 to 39 years is 3.2 million, so that the total young voters amount to 5.1 million out of 13.6 million total voters (Sudin, 2017).

This paper aims to show several factors that determine the progress of democracy in Malaysia as a multicultural and multiracial country that is gradually able to manage issues of identity, ethnicity and minority while accommodating candidates and young voters in the General Elections (GE-14). But this democratization can be a dilemma if the management does not develop in line with expectations where economic progress without discrimination and constructive freedom of opinion can be implemented. This paper also analyzes the challenges of democracy in post-Election Malaysia (GE-14) under the leadership of Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad with Deputy Prime Minister Wan Azizah with all the dynamics of political policy in bringing new hope to the people of Malaysia.

Method

This study combines theoretical and empirical observations. The sources are collected through bibliographical study. The bibliographical study is carried out by surveying a number of relevant libraries and research institutes from which books, articles, academic theses and research reports containing early findings are acquired. The bibliographical study is completed by exploring relevant documentation and media.

This study also uses the theory of identity of Stuart Hall's. Hall distinguishes three conceptions of identity: (a) the enlightenment subject, [b) the sociological subject, and (c) the post-modern subject. The enlightenment subject is based on the conception of human as an individual who basically remains the same or identical to himself since he was born. The second concept of identity is related to the sociological subject which reflects the increasing complexity of the modern world and the realization that the core of this subject is not independent, but is shaped by others, through values, meanings and symbols - culture. George H. Mead, and symbolic interactionist figures describe the existence of interactions that shape identity in the individual. According to this view, identity is formed in the interaction between self and society, and is modified in ongoing dialogue with the culture outside and the identity they offer. Identity, in this sociological conception, bridges the gap between "inside" and "outside" - between the private and the public world. The third concept of identity is the subject of a modern post which gives rise to a shift in identity. A stable

identity, becomes fragmented and sometimes contradicts one another as a result of structural and institutional changes. Subject post-modern, conceptualized as not having a permanent identity. Identity is formed and transformed continuously with the cultural system that surrounds it. Subject assume different identities at different times, identities that are not united around a coherent "self". Inside, there is a contradictory identity, interesting in a different direction, so that the identity continues to be shifted (Fathoni, 2017).

Result and Discussion

Social Media and Young Leader Trends

In 1998, there was a historical witness to changes in political scenarios which led to the dismissal of Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim from the cabinet. However, it is precisely from this dynamic that there have been major changes in political history and democracy in Malaysia which have been marked by several things. First, the strengthening of popular support, especially young people, against Anwar Ibrahim after being demoted from the position of Deputy Prime Minister so as to bring up various expressions in online media and protest movements on the street (demonstrations). Secondly, opposition political parties and NGOs from various backgrounds such as Islamic organizations, Christians, women and other organizations who were also actively involved in fighting for justice for Anwar Ibrahim so that nationally gave birth to the reform movement. The reform struggle is not only through street demonstrations but also involves the use of online media or the Internet network. This reform movement then continued until the General Election in 1999 in which the political campaign in the election used the Internet as the main media to publicize the important issues of the reform movement and also gain popular support. Furthermore, in the 2004 General Election, the Internet continued to be used as a campaign media, especially by the opposition party ranks. However, in the General Election the reform issues have become biased, in addition to not emerging new issues in Malaysian politics so that the political campaign through the Internet in these elections lacks significant influence and impact on voters. But in the 2008 General Election, the Internet again became an effective media along with the emergence of various political issues related to government policies and also the increase of Internet users in Malaysia, especially from the young (Zain, Yusoff, & Othman, 2015).

This has been proven since the 12th and 13th General Elections, the BN has failed to win the majority of seats on the People's Council despite still successfully maintaining power in the central government. The failure was caused by issues that hit the government coalition

(BN) so that it successfully exploited the opposition through online media to highlight its strengths and at the same time bring up the weaknesses of the opposing parties. Internal factors and external factors of parties in the ranks of government coalitions and also the opposition also play an important role in influencing voters in the General Election in Malaysia (Sudin, 2017).

Likewise, young people are attracted to the General Election in Malaysia not only as voters and legislative candidates as the victory of the Pakatan Harapan (PH) opposition ranks in the 14th General Election but also appears in the 13th Election where the government party UMNO has dared put young candidates at the level of the legislative election in the Kedah region so that they successfully took over the regional government from the opposition PAS party. In the 13th General Election, UMNO positioned a number of young candidates consisting of four UMNO Youth Chairmen and one from UMNO Chairwoman in Jitra, Kuala Nerang, Kuah, Jeneri and Bandar Baharu regional legislatures who finally won young people to appear first as representatives of the people (Sudin, 2017).

As a result of research by Mohd Fuad et al. (2012) regarding the criteria for selecting leaders and young candidates in the regional legislative council (DUN) and the central legislative assembly (Parlimen) from Kedah, showing data that people who know their representatives in the DUN of their region reach 76.3 percent higher than those who know representatives the people in Parliament are 73 percent. Respondents gave more judgment to friendly representatives and often mingled with the community as much as 91.3 percent. While the people's representative category is honest and trustworthy, respondents gave an assessment of 88 percent. For the category of representatives of people who are considered to have integrity and cleanness of corruption as much as 74.8 percent. Respondents also gave an assessment of the criteria of the people's representatives who were charismatic because of their 67.9 percent figure and also the criteria of the people's representatives who were able to maintain harmony between ethnic and religious groups as much as 57.9 percent (Sudin, 2017).

The data above shows that young candidates have the same opportunities and opportunities to become representatives of the people both in the regions and at the central level. This is in line with the research results of the Asian Foundation in 2012 concerning the political thinking of the younger generation in Malaysia. The majority of young people tend not to see politics through religious and ethnic eyes. The data shows that more than 71 percent of young voters show a tendency to elect representatives from political parties that are not based on ethnic or religious sentiments and are considered to represent the interests of

all Malaysians. The younger generation is also more sensitive and concerned about the state of the economy in general, such as jobs, inflation and the like. However, most young people around 60 percent are still nervous about the issue of corruption and cronyism in the government (Sudin, 2017).

The fight between the opposition ranks and the coalition ranks to win votes from young voters was proven in the 14th General Election in May. According to Sara Chinnasamy, as released in the portal of Sinar Harian Malaysia (17/12/16), the participation of young people exceeds 4.5 million of the number of voters so that it becomes one of the determining factors for the victory of Pakatan Harapan in the Malaysian political contestation. The involvement of voters from young people in the GE-14 then helped to color the dynamics of democracy and politics in Malaysia because their numbers increased every year. Opposition ranks carefully utilize the mass base of young voters as a way to win through social media interactions that are the trend of today's young generation such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and Instagram. As stated by Sudin (2017: 15) after the General Election (GE-13) shows data that 80 percent of the younger groups use social media to get information and an overview of the candidates for people's representatives at the regional and central levels.

Suruhanjaya Pilihan Raya (SPR) or Malaysia General Election Commission released a list of voters who have rights in the General Election (GE-14) as many as 14,940,624 voters with the composition of 14,636,716 are ordinary voters, 300,255 voters from the army and police while 3,653 voters abroad. Statistically, from the SPRM data states that almost half of the registered voters in the General Election (GE-14) are young voters aged between 21 years and 39 years with a gender segregation of 49.5 percent of male voters and the rest are female voters. Of these, young voters aged 21 to 39 are the majority voters with a total of 7.09 million compared to 3.01 million for voters aged 40 to 49 years. While voters aged 50 to 59 years were 2.71 million, 1.81 million were voters aged between 60 and 69 years. For voters aged between 70 and 89, there were 1,092 million voters registered. While 64,000 voters are 90 years old and above. In addition, based on data from NGO Ilham Center, more than 1.96 million are first-time voters who will use their voting rights for the first time as released by the Malaysia Daily News (06/03/18).

The increasing participation of young people is also accompanied by their involvement in becoming candidates for the people's representatives both in the parliament and in the regions in the 2018 General Election. The candidates for the people's representatives including the young will fill 222 Parliament seats and 505 seats in the state

(DUN) except Sarawak. who has not held legislative elections at the regional level since 2016 as released on the KPU Malaysia portal (SPR) which was also reported by the portal says.com (08/5/18). In the 2018 General Election there were many new faces who became candidates for people's representatives in Parliament. Some young male candidates who become self-nominated candidates for Parliament for the 2018 General Election (GE-14) include:

- 1) Muhammad Aminur Shafiq Mohammad Abduh (PAS), 28 years old in Alor Setar P009
- 2) Fikhran Hamshi Mohd Fatmi (BN-UMNO), 32 years old at P021 Kota Bharu
- 3) Ho Kwok Xheng (BN-MCA), 30 years old at P106 Damansara
- 4) Shahril Sufian Hamdan (BN-UMNO), 32 years old at P112 Kuala Langat
- 5) Chan Quin Er (BN-MCA), 31 years old at P122 Seputeh
- 6) Mahfuz Roslan (PAS), 34 years old at P132 Port Dickson
- 7) Eric Choo Wei Sern (BN-MCA), 30 years old at P138 Melaka City
- 8) Ahmad Nawfal Mahfodz (PAS), 34 years old in P143 Pagoh
- 9) Yeo Bee Yin (PH-DAP), 35 years old in P145 Bakri
- 10) Syed Saddiq Syed Abdul Rahman (PH-PPBM), 25 years old at P146 Muar
- 11) Chrisnadia Sinam (PH-PKR), 35 years in the Tuaran P170
- 12) Ceasar Mandela Malakun (BN-UPKO), 28 years old at P174 Penampang
- 13) Raymond Ahuar (PH-PKR), 33 years old at P182 Retired
- 14) Mordi Bimol (PH-DAP), 33 years old at P192 Mas Gading
- 15) Dr Kelvin Yii Lee Wuen (PH-DAP), 31 years old in P195 Kuching

Some young candidates who succeeded in becoming people's representatives in Parliament were even appointed as cabinet members such as Syed Saddiq Syed Abdul Rahman who held a cabinet position as Minister of Youth and Sports and also Yeo Bee Yin who was appointed Minister of Energy, Technology, Science, Climate Change and Environment Life. The election of two young ministers in the cabinet became an opposition strategy to minimize the issue of the old leader where Mahathir Mohamad was sworn in as a seventh Malaysian Prime Minister at the age of 92 who recorded history as the oldest leader in the world. However, some of the determinants of the victory of Pakatan Harapan as an opposition in the 14th General Election in 2018 cannot be separated from the strong influence of social media which affects many young people to vote and also the participation of young candidates as vote getters for millennial generations. These two things cannot be denied as one of the determinants of the victory of Pakatan Harapan, which gained 55.86 percent in Parliament compared to Barisan Nasional 35.59 percent and Prosperous Ideas 8.10 percent.

Identity, Minority and Contestation

Identity as stated is something that is inherent in a person or group that is socially constructed. This is rooted in historical background, language, religion, nationality platform found in the same situation or a combination of all aspects both political and social (Grønlund, 2016). However, identity cannot be partitioned because every individual has a complex identity. For example a person born in Malaysia from a Chinese mother and father of Indian descent so that he personally does not have a single identity but has a plural identity (Maalouf, 2000).

Understanding the identity of a community or society in complex history is an important part of redefining identity, especially in the socio-political realm in Malaysia which is known as a multiracial and multicultural country. The composition of the population of Malaysia as the multiracial and multicultural country can be seen from the colonial era in England running its government. In the table below shows how the ethnic composition in Tanah Melayu from 1921 to 1964 was heterogeneous in a position that was almost balanced so that it was susceptible to conflict or social conflict. Although there were three main ethnicities inhabiting the Malay Peninsula at that time, each issue that emerged tended to be seen from the perspective of Malays vs. non-Malays (Mujibu, 2009).

The emergence of a Malay perspective with non-Malays indirectly influences the political dynamics in Malaysia. The first general election in Tanah Melayu (state / state level election) was held in 1951, namely "The Great Choice of Majlis Perbandaran Pinang Island" or the Election of Pinang Island City Council. The second general election at the country level was also held in 1952, namely "The Great Choice of Majlis Perbandaran Kuala Lumpur" (MPKL). The election aims to elect representatives in the regions to be involved in the Majlis Persekutuan. This is because in 1951 Britain wanted to introduce a parliamentary system to run the government in the Land of Malays by giving local residents an opportunity to manage their own government. While the General Election at the central level was first held in 1955, two years before Malaysia announced its independence. The General Election was held in preparation for running the government after independence as well as proof that Malaysians were able to form a system of self-government. Among the parties involved in the political contestation in the first election were the Engagement Party, the State Party (PN), the Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS), the Progressive People's Party (PPP) and the Labor Party. The main issue that emerged in the election was the independence of the country. The issue of independence is carried by all camps such as the Alliance as a political alliance party consisting of UMNO, the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian Indian

Congress (MIC) in their campaign that has promised to get independence within four years. While the State Party (PN) also set a seven-year tempo to achieve independence. The General Election was finally won by the Alliance coalition with 51 seats from 52 contested seats and gaining 81 percent of the total votes. The rest was won by the Malaysian Islamic Party or PAS (SPR, 2007). Currently Malaysia has held 14 general elections. The 14th General Election (GE14) was held in May 2018 (Zain et al., 2015).

The strength of identity politics in Malaysia can also be traced from the history of the formation of a political party that reflects ethnic identity as the birth of the Alliance Party, now known as Barisan Nasional (BN). The Engagement Party is a combination of political parties representing ethnic identity in Malaysia. The impact of identity politics results in a representative democratic system so that no ethnic group truly dominates. In the context of representative democracy, there is no one ethnic group that can obtain a majority of votes in parliament without coalition with other ethnic groups to form and run the government. This plurality of people in Malaysia ultimately makes the formation of a combination of political parties of ethnic background. This is because every ethnic group cannot get a majority vote due to insufficient support if it is not supported by other ethnic groups. Although there has been political experimentation as an endeavor to minimize ethnic sentiments and identity politics, it did not get support so it could not last long and eventually return to ethnic-based identity politics as before (Mujibu, 2009).

Ethnic-based identity segregation can be seen from the percentage of the number of voters in the General Elections in 1955 and 1959 as listed in the table below which shows the fact that Malays are the majority voters in the 1955 election even though in the 1959 election there were 56.8 voters decreased percent from 84.2 percent previously. Whereas ethnic Chinese and Indians as ethnic minorities experienced a significant increase from the 1955 general election to the 1959 general election (Sabri & Nor, 2016).

Likewise, ethnic identity-based political parties, especially those founded by the Malay political elite in Peninsular Malaysia, split into several parties. In 1978 there was competition between political parties with ethnic Malays, especially between the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) and the Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS). The occurrence of political party competition between ethnic Malays is related to the Islamic agenda, power sharing, leadership competition and inter-ethnic harmony issues. In 1978, the Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) again became a competitor to the UMNO party after the party was removed from the Barisan Nasional coalition in December 1977 as described in the table below (Sabri & Nor, 2016).

The data above shows the fact that the UMNO party as a Malay political party if seen from the 1978 General Election until the 1986 General Election there was an increase in the percentage of votes obtained, although not more than 0.5 percent. Likewise with the PAS party which tends to be static. In the 8th General Election in 1990 the UMNO party experienced a decline in votes due to internal conflicts between the Mahathir and Tengku Razaleigh camps and the formation of Team A and Team B in UMNO. In GE-8 in 1990, UMNO's vote acquisition decreased by 30.2 percent due to the presence of the new UMNO fraction party namely Spirit 46. Spirit 46 then chose to join PAS in the Ummah Combination Force coalition (APU) (Sabri & Nor, 2016).

The interesting thing to look at is the lack of strengthening of identity politics during the General Election in 1999 (GE-10) where the situation at that time was quite worrying because of the political issue of Anwar Ibrahim's dismissal from the government structure as well as the UMNO party structure which later changed Malaysia's political dynamics. Anwar Ibrahim was dismissed from his position as Deputy Prime Minister, UMNO Vice President, Chairperson of Transportation of Pinang UMNO, including from party membership on 2 September 1998 through the UMNO Supreme Council Meeting. However, the economic crisis at that time and the dismissal of Anwar Ibrahim were used as the main weapons by the opposition parties to show the weakness of the government led by UMNO and BN. It is not denied that the GE-10 in 1999 was a general election which was quite bitter for UMNO and BN because of the emergence of a new opposition party namely PKR (People's Justice Party) pioneered by Anwar Ibrahim. In the 1999 General Election (GE-10), PKR gained 11.5 percent of votes beyond the PAS party which gained 14.9 percent of the votes while the UMNO party's votes decreased quite dramatically to 30 percent from the previous elections which were able to achieve as many votes. 36.4 percent (Sabri & Nor, 2016).

Identity politics also did not strengthen in the 2018 General Election (GE14) because economic issues and corruption scandals became a major issue. The 2018 General Election involving the contestation of three main camps, Barisan Nasional (BN), Pakatan Harapan (PH) and the PAS Party in the acquisition of seats in Parliament, was finally won by Pakatan Harapan with a total of 122 seats defeating Barisan Nasional (BN) which has controlled parliament since independence. Pakatan Harapan, which is a combination of several opposition political parties, namely the PKR obtained 47 seats, the DAP party won 42 seats, the United Party gained 13 seats and the Amanah Party won 11 seats. While local political parties such as the Sabah Heritage Party in East Malaysia officially did not join the ranks of Pakatan Harapan but became the joint partners. Therefore, the seats won by the Sabah

Heritage Party were 8 seats and one free candidate (P Prabakaran) who obtained 1 seat was included under the row of Pakatan Harapan as described in the following table.

The gradual segregation of ethnic identity in Malaysia has certainly affected the rights of minority groups. State policies that tend to benefit the majority group on behalf of Bumiputera Supremacy have become a platform as well as political legitimacy through the New Economic Policy (NEP) which was institutionalized in 1971. This was done under the pretext of equal distribution of employment opportunities for indigenous populations. Such affirmative action is based on what is known as a social contract in Malaysia. Supporters of the action are mostly members of the National Barisan (BN) of the UMNO party who argued that before the founding of the 1957 Federation, migrant workers from China and India had been granted full citizenship based on the *jus soli* principle in return for their hard work in the Malay Peninsula. As a result, the NEP set targets for indigenous people, especially Malays in ownership of national company shares of up to 30%, access to the public sectors, professional job offers, government scholarships, and opportunities to do business and trade (Sofjan, 2007).

Bumiputera supremacy which tends to prioritize the majority ethnicity in the end becomes "fire in the husk" which is considered discriminatory against ethnic minorities. Research stated that the policy failed to be managed by the bumiputera in increasing their control of the national economy by 30%, and only 1.7% they could control in 1971. Besides failing to be managed, the policy was clear implications for ethnic minorities who clearly do not benefit especially from the economic aspect. Actually, it has been 40 years since the policy was formulated but the national economy has not reached the 30% target even less than 20% of Malaysia's economy is controlled by indigenous Malays. So it needs to be redefined "Bumiputera Supremacy" becomes "the Supremacy of the People" as a form of equality for all Malaysian citizens regardless of any ethnic identity. But on the other hand for the majority, the privileges of the Malays who are one of the issues of debate have been clearly discussed in the Malaysian Federal Constitution, Article 153. For supporters of privileges the Malays argue that Malay Civilization is the basis for the formation of Malaysian civilization. Parts of the system and values that existed during the golden age of Malay civilization were adopted and modified to suit the formation of the Malaysian state. For example, the system used in Malaysia today such as government and the legal system is influenced by Malay civilization. The position of Islam as a state religion, the preservation of Malay customs through the Yang di-Pertuan Agong institution, the use of Malay as an

official language is evidence of the importance of Malay Civilization in the daily lives of Malaysians (Nor & Ahmad, 2013).

Women's Representation in Patriarchal Democracy

In political representation, women are usually regarded as complementary and often associated with gender quotas. Men are assumed to have exclusive rights in political representation, and they maintain these privileges for a long time. Political representation is a percentage to select legislative candidates. This is inseparable from three processes, namely someone proposes himself to be a candidate through party recruitment and secondly he can be elected or proposed by the party and finally to become a legislative member he must be elected by his constituents. In the end all countries are in the process even though when the Members of Parliament (MP) who have been chosen on average only meet a quota of 15 percent of women (Matland, 2004).

By the beginning of the 21st century, more than 95 percent of all countries had given two of the most basic democratic rights (for all citizens): the right to vote and the right to run in elections that guaranteed gender equality in representative democracy. New Zealand was the first country to give women the right to vote in 1893, and Finland also adopted the system in 1906 (Shvedova, 2005). In 2012, 190 countries from 193 countries had representation of women in politics and accounted for more than 46,000 representative members (Jali et al., 2017; Yusoff, Sarjoon, & Othman, 2016).

Whereas in Malaysia the first legislative council was formed called the Federal Council, was established in 1909 for four Federal Malay States (Parak, Selangor, Pahang and Negeri Sembilan) which was founded in 1896. However, in 1948, the Federal Legislative Council was established through a "Federation of Agreements Melayu "consisting of 75 members (3 ex-officio, 11 from the Malay states and the Straits Settlements, 11 British Officers and 50 unofficial members). In 1955 where the general election was held for the first time, prospective legislators were increased to 98 and among them, 52 were elected by election (Parliament of Malaysia, 2016). However, only one woman was elected in this legislative council. Women's position was also a major issue for political elites ahead of the 1959 elections. All political parties promised to reduce more female candidates, but at the federal level, the number of women in parliament did not increase in elections ut. This situation continued even after the 1964 elections. However, there was a gradual increase in women's representation in the successive People's Council, with the exception of a sudden decline in 1986. (Yusoff et al., 2016).

In the 14th General Election (GE-14) also printed a new history as an Election which featured the most women candidates. As released by the portal freemalaysiatoday.com (04/05/18) there are 251 women representatives from those registered to become candidates for Parliament and people's representatives in the state (DUN). The ranks of the BN coalition nominated 92 women who previously at GE-13 BN had 40 candidates for women's representation. Whereas the opposition group Pakatan Harapan nominated 85 women and the PAS party had 36 candidates for women representatives. The Heritage Party in Sabah, East Malaysia, has 9 candidates for women's representation. Sequentially at the lowest position of the 7th People's Hope party; The Malaysian People's Party has 5 candidates; Penang Front Party has 3 candidates; People's Action Party only has 2 candidates; Parti Cinta Sabah is also 2 candidates and 5 women choose to compete as free candidates. This makes the total number of women nominated to compete in Parlimen or DUN seats totaling 251 people out of a total of 2,333 candidates. As illustrated in the table below shows data on women's involvement in the People's Council (Parliament) since the 1955-2013 elections. Women in Malaysia have high potential as community leaders, but seem to have a limited political role at the national level. No one can deny the active role and influence of women in community life and economics in Malaysia. However, their public political life is still limited, and especially because it is still dominated by men. This has caused the limited representation of women in the central parliament, to a certain extent. Women's representation in parliament has not yet reached the level of women's public role in socio-economic life. But when compared to Sri Lanka, Malaysia as a country bound by the principles of religion (Islam), has provided a large enough place for women in parliament. However, Malaysia remains at a lower level compared to many other countries in the regulation of women's quota both at the central and regional levels. It is noteworthy that the government and parliament successively have not succeeded in accepting and adopting a comprehensive policy on gender equality in political representation in parliament and local government bodies. Malaysia is considered to have failed to adopt women's quota to ensure women's representation in parliament, to a certain extent. It's no exaggeration to mention that politics has always been a human game. But through the best means, women must be given the opportunity to compete with men in the election process. The equal participation of women and men in politics and government is very important to build and maintain democracy. The democratic system cannot really be conveyed to all citizens if half of the population remains underrepresented in the political arena. Unless the political elite sets out measures that will provide more opportunities and

support for women in the political sphere, it is inevitable that the representation and role of women in parliament will remain limited (Yusoff et al., 2016).

Democracy Dilemma in Malaysia

Reading democracy in Malaysia Post-14th Election shows a dilemma between the success of managing identity and minority politics in the short term and concerns about the re-emergence of identity and minority issues in the long term that can become a barrier to the development of democracy in Malaysia. Previously in the 12th Malaysian General Election in 2008 these symptoms had emerged with a surprising fact known as the political tsunami where the first time BN lost 2/3 of the majority of votes in parliament. The defeat of BN according to Mohd Roslan (2013) has opened the eyes of many people that anything can happen in politics, especially at the time of the election. The ruling party realizes that if community support decreases against them it will have a worse impact during the general election. On the other hand, some felt that the victory of united candidates under Pakatan Rakyat did not leave a positive impact on the future of Malay Muslims. However, the opposition continues to try to convince the people that the progress of Islam and the country's development will continue.

Based on (Saiful Wan Jan, 2019) research results, urban communities aged over 35 years generally show a very strong tendency to attachment to ethnic and religious identity. Many of them explicitly stated that the ethnic and religious identities of the candidate representatives in the Parliament and the regions were important factors that would influence their votes. There is an assumption among respondents with the argument that only Malay politicians from Malay parties can be trusted to maintain the position of Islam and can pursue what they call the Malay agenda. The respondents also questioned the ability of non-Malay politicians to really fight for Islamic and Malay issues. This has implications for the level of trust in non-Malay politicians and non-Malay parties which are far lower than Malay politicians and parties. The same respondents also insisted that they would only support political parties that could convince them that the status of Islam and Malay Privileges would be protected. In fact, many respondents want to see more pro-Malay and pro-Islamic policies introduced in the years to come.

However, after the political tsunami since the 2008 General Election, the attention of the Malay Muslim community in Malaysia is moving towards a new era, which allows a more ideal meeting point to address issues of identity and minority. The people in Malaysia are more open and begin to understand their rights, leading them to freely choose candidates

for people's representatives who can guarantee their safety and welfare. This helps the community and the country to become stronger in the future as the Prophet SAW has done in building a multicultural society in Medina. Some problems regarding race, religion and the state should not be openly debated, but instead should be discussed in a limited manner to avoid public misunderstanding (Nor & Ahmad, 2013).

The results of the 14th General Election have also shown the direction and process of democracy in Malaysia today and in the future. As mentioned earlier in the previous section, Malaysia has entered a new dimension and meaning of democracy. The GE-14 has shown that Malaysians want total reform of the democratic process. However, if democracy is defined as the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, then Malaysia cannot meet these criteria. In contrast to (Wesson, 1985). which states that democracy does not have to go through direct elections but can go through a system that guarantees that ordinary people have rights and can make their aspirations heard by policy holders. In line with the arguments of (Hewison & Robison, 1993). which states that democracy is a means to obtain certain objectives including legal guarantees for citizens to participate in policy formulation, political freedom, legitimacy of political contestation including accountability (Case, 1997). clarifies some of the previous statements that democracy, especially in the Malaysian context, is political accommodation that reflects the support for the power hierarchy in realizing a just social order. But basically democratization can be measured from several things including: freedom of opinion, expression, press, and organization; free elections where voters have the right to choose freely and be respected; independent judicial system; an impartial bureaucracy including the police and army including the protection of civil rights. Whereas the democracy practiced in Malaysia is not just an idea to increase the politics of mass participation, review the regulations, and replace the authorities. Moreover, as Singh said, a kind of oligarchic structure emerged based on the fact that government authorities had relied on a small group of political elites who, when in power, would try to preserve their government. The political elite in Malaysia itself plays a central role in democratization where the practiced democracy depends on the interests, values, and actions of political leaders (Hall, 1990; Yusoft, Awang, & Agustino, n.d).

The dilemma of democracy in Malaysia which summarizes the relationship between race, religion and the state has made the polarization of identity that is never over in an effort to strengthen national identity. Racial and religious polarization in society is actually a Malaysian social asset and capital that is still looking for suitable forms and formulas. With such conditions, it is necessary to immediately resolve and decide. As stated by (Sofjan,

2007). that Malaysia has the opportunity to dismantle a fence that has long been built through ethnic-based identity politics. So that there needs to be a reassessment of regulations that tend to benefit one ethnic group both NEP and NDP, which in large part actually create divisions in society. The majority group is capable of being independent because systems and traditions have been built so there is no need for state dependency syndrome. The lack of a sense of togetherness as a fellow countryman is clearly a serious problem now in Malaysia. Apart from the political contestation between BN and PH, Malaysia's democratic dilemma will continue to be carried over to the problem of national identity and national integration if not resolved immediately.

Conclusion

Democracy in Malaysia as a multicultural and multiracial country that is gradually able to manage issues of identity, ethnicity and minority while accommodating candidates and young voters in the General Elections (GE-14). But this democratization can be a dilemma if the management does not develop in line with expectations where economic progress without discrimination and constructive freedom of opinion can be implemented.

Acknowledgement

Thank to all parties involved in this research so that it can be published in the form of journal articles. We especially thank the INSURI Ponorogo University for providing facilities for the completion of this research.

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