



UNIVERSITI
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INSTITUT KAJIAN MALAYSIA
& ANTARABANGSA (IKMAS)
UNIVERSITI KEBANGSAAN MALAYSIA

*Majlis Pengiktirafan
Penyelia dan Pemakaian Jubah
Graduan IKMAS*

APPRECIATION OF SUPERVISORS AND ROBINING CEREMONY
FOR IKMAS GRADUANDS



Jumaat, 27 Oktober **2017**
Bilik Majlis, Aras 5 Bangunan Canselori
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia





**FOREWORD BY
DIRECTOR OF IKMAS**

Assalamualaikum, Greetings from IKMAS

The Robing Ceremony for IKMAS Graduands 2017 is a very meaningful program for IKMAS because we will be celebrating the success of our students and their supervisors, in a combined effort to reach a certain goal, i.e. receiving the scroll for a Master or a Doctoral degree.

The journey requires tremendous motivation, patience, perseverance, and effort. This is because both students and supervisors are continuously interacting in the information of logical thinking through data extraction and arrangement of ideas and analysis to achieve high quality academic writing in the form of thesis.

May I therefore, I take this opportunity to congratulate the graduands of IKMAS, their supervisors, and family members of graduands. I hope this achievement, which is an important milestone in the life of a student will be the basis for greater achievement in the future. I wish you all the best for your future.

CONGRATULATIONS TO ALL GRADUANDS AND SUPERVISORS OF IKMAS!

Prof. Dato' Dr. Rashila Ramli
Director
Institute of Malaysia and International Studies (IKMAS)
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

27 October 2017



KATA PENGANTAR OLEH PENGARAH IKMAS

Assalamualaikum, Salam Sejahtera dari IKMAS

Majlis Pengiktirafan Penyelia dan Pemakaian Jubah Graduan IKMAS 2017 adalah satu majlis yang amat bermakna bagi IKMAS kerana kita akan meraikan kejayaan pelajar dan penyelia yang bersama-sama bertungkus lumus bekerja dalam satu jangka yang lama bagi mencapai matlamat, iaitu menggenggam segulung ijazah di peringkat Sarjana ataupun Kedoktoran.

Perjalanan ini memerlukan motivasi, ketekunan, kesabaran dan kekentalan. Ini kerana kedua-dua belah pihak berinteraksi kearah pembentukan pemikiran yang sistematik melalui penggalan data dan maklumat, seterusnya penyusunan idea dan analisis dalam satu bentuk penulisan akademik yang berkualiti tinggi.

Oleh itu, izinkan saya mengambil peluang ini untuk mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah kepada para graduan, para penyelia dan keluarga graduan sekalian. Semoga kejayaan ini akan menghasilkan kejayaan seterusnya dan kecemerlangan di masa hadapan.

TAHNNIAH KEPADA PARA GRADUAN DAN PENYELIA IKMAS!

Prof. Dato' Dr. Rashila Ramli
Pengarah
Institut Kajian Malaysia dan Antarabangsa (IKMAS)
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

27 Oktober 2017

APPRECIATION OF SUPERVISORS AND ROBING CEREMONY FOR IKMAS GRADUANDS

OCTOBER 27th 2017
BILIK MAJLIS, BANGUNAN CANSELORI, UKM

TIME	PROGRAMME
2.30 pm	Registration of Graduands and Supervisors Arrival of Invited Guests
2.45 pm	Arrival of Director of IKMAS
3.00 pm	Academic Procession Enters the Hall National Anthem and Varsiti Kita Recitation of Al-Fatihah Announcing the Purpose of Ceremony Speech by Director of IKMAS Robing Ceremony Speech by Alumni IKMAS Speech by IKMAS Graduand
4.00 pm	Photography Session Hi-Tea End of Ceremony

MAJLIS PENGIKTIRAFAN PENYELIA DAN PEMAKAIAN JUBAH GRADUAN IKMAS 2017

27 OKTOBER 2017
BILIK MAJLIS, BANGUNAN CANSELORI, UKM

MASA	PROGRAM
2.30 pm	Pendaftaran Graduan dan Penyelia Ketibaan Tetamu Jemputan
2.45 pm	Ketibaan Pengarah IKMAS
3.00 pm	Perarakan Akademik masuk ke dewan Lagu Negaraku dan Varsiti kita Bacaan Al-Fatihah Pengumuman Tujuan Majlis Ucapan oleh Pengarah IKMAS Upacara Pemakaian Jubah Ucapan Wakil Alumni IKMAS Ucapan Graduan IKMAS
4.00 pm	Sesi Bergambar Jamuan Minum Petang Majlis Bersurai

HAMAS FOREIGN POLICY: SYRIA AS A CASE STUDY (2000-2015)

ABDALHAKIM A. A. HANAINI (Ph.D)
Supervisor: Dr. Abdul Rahim Ahmad

The Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS) is a Palestinian resistance movement founded in 1987. It is considered one of the most influential powers in the struggle with the Israeli occupation in Palestine. HAMAS believes that political work and establishment of relations with all countries are part of its resistance program which aims to achieve short and long term goals. After two years of its inception, HAMAS leadership outside Palestine commenced communication with presidents of countries and governments in the Islamic, Arab and International worlds. Meanwhile, HAMAS has been able to set up official relations with some countries where HAMAS opened official offices. Among these prominent countries is Syria which opened its doors to HAMAS leadership and allowed HAMAS practice all political, military and security activities. The relationship between HAMAS and Syria developed gradually till a coalition named 'axis of resistance,' including Iran and Hizbullah was formed. Nevertheless, deep dispute happened between HAMAS and Syria due to HAMAS position on the revolution broke out in Syria in 2011. As a result, HAMAS leadership left Syria and the coalition with the Syrian regime was dissolved. Thus, this study aims to explore the principles and foundations of HAMAS foreign relations. It examines the significant role of Syria in supporting HAMAS with multi facilities. The reasons of the dispute and its consequences are also further examined. The qualitative approach was employed in this study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with most influential HAMAS leaders as well as officials from Syrian regime and its allies. Moreover, the descriptive analytical and historical methods were utilized to analyze materials and documents obtained from primary resources such as HAMAS official website, HAMAS offices, HAMAS leaders' private libraries and speeches of the Syrian president, Bashar al-Assad, and his media interviews. The study found that the principles of HAMAS foreign relations could be divided into two categories. The first includes the legal and religious evidences derived from Islamic Jurisprudence, and the other includes HAMAS direct experience in working in politics and establishing relations with various countries. To achieve its objectives, HAMAS assigned and distinguished the objectives of its relations with the Islamic, Arab and foreign countries. In addition, the analysis showed that HAMAS-Syrian regime relation was pragmatic (i.e., based on mutual benefits). HAMAS decision to leave Syria was internal; however, it was influenced by the events that occurred in Syria at that time and the up-going of Islamists in few Arab countries that resulted from the Arab Spring. HAMAS decision was correct despite the mistakes made in its implementation. HAMAS has lost a lot due to this decision, but it has maintained its trustworthiness in the eyes of all people who have supported it all time.

SMUGGLING OF MIGRANTS AND HUMAN SECURITY: A CASE STUDY OF ROHINGYA REFUGEES IN MALAYSIA

ANDIKA BIN AB. WAHAB (Ph.D)

Supervisors: Prof. Dato' Dr. Rashila Ramli, Prof. Dr. Azizah Kassim

Smuggling of migrants is often linked to the irregular entry of Rohingya refugees and asylum seekers to Malaysia, and hence regarded as a threat to Malaysia's sovereignty and national security. For that reason, Malaysia tends to regard the issue of smuggling of Rohingya as a crime against the state and subsequently overlook the risks and security threats they face. Malaysia has yet to accede to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees 1951 and its Protocol 1967 and as such, does not recognize the status of refugees in the country. This raises question on the ability of the anti-smuggling law and policy in defending and protecting victims of smuggling among Rohingyas. This study focuses on the security threats facing Rohingyas and strategies used by themselves from the lens of human security - resulting from their irregular entry into Malaysia. This study has three objectives; first, to determine migration's trend and involvement of Rohingyas in the smuggling of migrants; second, to identify human security threats facing the Rohingyas and; third, to assess the protection and empowerment strategies employed by Rohingya's community-based organizations to overcome human security threats. An impact analysis framework was developed based upon three models of human security by the Commission on Human Security (2003), Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy (2007) and Rashila et al. (2012). A total of 48 Rohingya refugees and asylum seekers was surveyed, in which 27 of them were further interviewed in a number of in-depth interview sessions. Additionally, a total of 38 interview sessions with officials from government agencies, international organizations and non-governmental organizations as well as three focus group discussions among Rohingya community leaders were conducted. Field work was conducted from December 2012 until December 2013 in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor. The study found seven forms of personal-security threats facing Rohingyas such as deception, intimidation, physical violence, arrest and detention, forced labour, exploitation against children and exploitation against women for the purpose of forced marriage. Meanwhile, the study found three forms of socio-economic security threats facing Rohingya. They are limited access to employment and income-generating activities, education and health. To overcome human security threats, the study reveals that Rohingya's community-based organizations have taken proactive initiatives through protection and empowerment strategies in order to uphold their rights, dignity, and to sustain livelihood in Malaysia. Development of impact analysis framework used in this study contributes to the corpus of knowledge relating to non-traditional security study, particularly on cross-border issues such as refugees and smuggling of migrants. Meanwhile, the empirical findings would fill the gaps in the existing studies relating to the Rohingyas and their involvement in smuggling of migrants. It is hoped that this study would provide new and relevant perspectives to policy decision makers in handling refugees especially the Rohingyas, and smuggling of migrant, consonant to their dynamics in Malaysia and Southeast Asia's region.

**THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE RICE SUBSIDY PROGRAMME FOR THE POOR (RASKIN)
IN INDONESIA:
A CASE STUDY OF FOUR DISTRICTS IN SOUTH SULAWESI PROVINCE**

GASMIN GARIM (Ph.D)

Supervisors: Emeritus Prof. Dato' Dr Abdul Rahman Embong, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Faridah Shahadan

Program Beras Untuk Rakyat Miskin (Raskin) or Rice for the Poor in Indonesia which began in 1998 is a programme to reduce the burden of food expenditure among the poor. It aims to provide sufficient nutrition and to reduce poverty among the people of Indonesia. This study examines the implementation of Raskin Programme in four districts in the South Sulawesi Province in Indonesia between 1998 to 2013. The focus of the study is on the various groups of the target households, and the implementers at various government agencies. The study also observes the basic elements, planning, policy and strategic programme as well as to identify the effectiveness of Raskin Programme on the poor groups. Data collection was carried out through: Library research and Field work. The research design is consists of survey, observations, face-to-face and focus group interviews. The result shows that the average age of recipient respondents is 25 – 65 years old. The majority are Labourers and Farmers (66.5%). There are 53.5% respondents who do not deserve the rice distribution as their income and expenditure is above RM135.00 (Rp500.000). A total of 73% of Raskin recipients have been in the programme for 10-16 years. A total of 90.5% gave the reason they receive Raskin because they have been registered by the government representatives while only 9.5% applied for the programme themselves. Raskin distribution by the government implementing agencies does not abide by the monthly schedule, where the majority of the people (64%) receive the rice distribution after more than a month thus affecting their monthly rice consumption. The rice that they receive is in fact of lower quality and is not fit for consumption. Only 1.5% enjoy an increase in their income while the majority 79.5% do not get such increase. A total of 51.5% are not satisfied with Raskin implementation but 88.5% of the respondents state that the programme should be continued. This study concludes that in general the programme is not effective in terms of plan implementation and procedures as well as the benefits to the participants. In fact, it perpetuates the culture of dependency. This study contributes towards Development Studies about the underprivileged and can be used as a reference for empowering the social economy and eradication of poverty particularly in South Sulawesi and in other areas.

THE INFLUENCE OF AUTHENTICITY, HOSPITALITY AND EXPERIENCE QUALITY ON BEHAVIOURAL INTENTION INCULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM IN MALACCA

JABAR SALAH ABOBAKER MANSOUR (Ph.D)

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ahmad Azmi Mohd Ariffin

This study mainly aims to investigate the influence of authenticity, hospitality, and experience quality on behavioral intention in cultural heritage tourism. The mediating effect of experience quality on the relationships among authenticity (cultural and heritage), hospitality (commercial and local), and behavioral intention is also determined. This study included five hundred foreign tourists who visited Malacca City during the period of data collection primarily for cultural heritage tourism. A structural equation modeling (SEM) approach was employed for data analysis using AMOS and SPSS packages to test the hypotheses and the research model with the sample data. A structural equation modeling results show that the measurement model consists of six distinct constructs, namely, heritage authenticity, cultural authenticity, commercial hospitality, local hospitality, experience quality, and behavioral intention. This study provided empirical evidence on a full mediating effect of experience quality on the relationships among authenticity (cultural and heritage), hospitality (commercial and local), and behavioral intention. The results imply that the significance of authenticity and hospitality with respect to behavioral intentions is recognized via the mediating effects of experience quality. In addition, a strong positive relationship between experience quality and behavioral intention in the context of cultural heritage tourism was also found. Future research should consider population generalization and the mediating effect of satisfaction on the relationship between experience quality and behavioral intention in the context of cultural heritage tourism. This study would help tourism practitioners gain a thorough understanding of cultural heritage tourism in Malaysia for formulating better strategies to promote the industry.

NATURAL RESOURCES, HUMAN CAPITAL AND REAL INCOME: NEW EVIDENCE FROM OIC AND NON OIC COUNTRIES

JIRSAH BINTI A BAKAR KUNCHU (Ph.D)

Supervisors: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tamat Sarmidi, Prof. Dr. Ishak Yussof, Prof. Dr. Abu Hassan Shaari Mohd Nor

The motivation of this study is to present empirical evidence of the role of human capital in determining whether natural resource actually helps accelerate real per capita income or vice versa. Following seminal works by Sachs and Warner (1995) who found that natural resources do not help economic growth in countries with abundant in natural resources, this study provides more focus on the new evidence on the relationship between human capital and various types of natural resources to real per capita income and economic growth. Resource rich countries may have slower economic growth, but their real per capita income continues to rise. Generally, this study aims to examine the dynamic relationship between natural resources, and real per capita income by taking into account varieties of natural resources and human capital in OIC and non-OIC countries. This study differs from previous studies of at least three respects. First, this study emphasizes the hypothesis of real per capita income because the real per capita income is the better measurement for the welfare of economic agents. Second, the study examines the types of natural resources and human capital possessed by a country to determine the type of natural resource wealth is a driving force or an obstacle to a country. Third, this study using a dynamic panel approach method of moments (Generalized Method of Moments - GMM) which is able to overcome the problem of heterogeneity and endogenous. The findings of the analysis for 149 countries from 1981 to 2010 shows a wealth of natural resources to promote real per capita income in both OIC and non-OIC. The study shows that the types of resources is actually not an obstacle or driving on the level of real per capita income. This is evident when the findings have found a correlation between the type of natural resources and incomes are mixed. There are some positive and some negative. Interestingly, the findings consistently demonstrate the role of human capital, encourage increased real income. Moreover, for a country rich in resources and has a good human capital. The conclusion is that human capital is a key factor in determining the "blessing" or "curse" for the country's rich natural resources. Abundant natural resources, indeed a blessing for high quality human capital.

THE INFLUENCING FACTORS ON REPUTATIONAL RISK IN THE ISLAMIC BANKS: THE CASE OF MURABAHA TO THE PURCHASE ORDER (MPO) IN THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES (UAE) ISLAMIC BANK

MALEK M. Y. INJAS (Ph.D)

Supervisors: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mohamad Sabri Haron, Prof. Dato' Dr. Rashila Ramli

Islamic banks are becoming ever more popular and widespread in most countries in the world, in particular after the global crises in 2008. The Islamic banks strengthen their position and role in the global economy and become strong competitors to conventional banks, whether in the field of financial services or in the investments. Therefore, the risk management of the Islamic banking system is becoming more important, because it has an impact on the Islamic financial industry. This study adopts the Murabaha to the purchase order (MPO) financing in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) Islamic banks and focuses on the external and internal acts and behaviours, which impact on the reputation risk of the Islamic banks. This study has three objectives: first, to analyse the importance of reputation risk in the Islamic banking system and its relationship to some acts, inside or outside the IB. Second, to clarify important factors that play a major role in influencing the reputation risk in Islamic banks by the elements of reputation, loyalty, and financial stability. Third, the study examines the role of international organizations and regulatory authorities in the reduction of controversies and conflict, whether among jurists or SSBs, and their role to improve the reputation of Islamic banks. To achieve these objectives, the study combines the qualitative and quantitative approach by using questionnaires and transcripts from interviews. The questionnaire has targeted the Islamic banks at the three largest emirates in UAE: Dubai, Sharjah, and Abu Dhabi. Furthermore, interviews were conducted with a group of the Shariah Supervisory Boards (SSBs) in the Islamic banks and some of the experts on the Islamic economics, inside and outside the UAE. The results from this study show the following findings: first, reputational risk is considered among the most important risks compared to generic and unique risks faced by the Islamic banks. Second, the findings indicated that factor of controversy or scepticism introduced by some contemporary jurists in Islamic banking products is the primary factor influencing the reputation risk on the Islamic banks. Lastly, the results show that the supervisory authorities and international renowned organizations such as IFSB and AAOIFI have played a responsibility in reducing the controversy and doubts among contemporary jurists and conflict Fatwa between Islamic banks, as well as having a significant role in building bridges among contemporary jurists and the Islamic banks.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND MALAY MIDDLE CLASS PARENTS: A STUDY OF PRIVATE PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION CENTRES IN THE KLANG VALLEY, MALAYSIA

MD ROSLI BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Ph.D)

Supervisors: Emeritus Prof. Dato' Dr Abdul Rahman Embong, Prof. Dr. Lilia Halim,
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sharifah Zarina Syed Zakaria

This study, in the field of sociology of development, focuses on Malay middle class parents and entrepreneurship particularly private pre-school educational providers in the Klang Valley. The study attempts to address three research questions; (i) what motivate Malay middle class parents in sending their children to private pre-school education centres (PPEC)? (ii) why do Malay entrepreneurs venture into private pre-school educational business? (iii) to what extent does Malay entrepreneurship contribute to the social reproduction of Malay middle class at the pre-school education level? Six PPEC (n=6) namely CIC, Genius Aulad, The Little Caliph, Smart Reader Kids, CEC Real Kids and Q-Dees in the Klang Valley were chosen using the case study approach. The key informants were six Malay entrepreneurs (n=6) each from PPEC and four Malay middle class parents (n=4) for the in-depth interviews, while the respondents were 77 Malay middle class parents (n=77) who sent their children to PPEC, were surveyed by using a questionnaire. In defining the middle class parents, this study utilises occupation as the proxy with four main categories, i.e. administrators and managers (n=28), professionals (n=24), small business owners (n=15) as well as clerical workers (n=10). This study applies an eclectic approach by employing McClelland's Theory of Needs and Bourdieu's Social Reproduction Theory to guide its conceptual framework. Motivating drivers as suggested by McClelland are: need for Achievement (n-ACH), need for Power (n-POW) and need for Affiliation (n- AFF) which the entrepreneurs manifest. While Bourdieu's social reproduction refers to cultural capital as transmissible parental cultural code and practices that are reproduced. The findings revealed that the Malay entrepreneurs become one of the

'agents' to contribute to social class reproduction of the Malay middle class at pre-school education level and contribute to the fulfilling of the middle class aspiration of the parents for their young children. The Malay middle class parents are very responsive to their children's education as education is part of cultural capital, can afford to enrol their children into a branded private pre-school education centres because that will make them feel different from parents of other social classes and also feel they are securing the future of their children, as well as perform their roles in working together hand in hand with the Malay entrepreneurs. Their roles, therefore, contribute to the maintenance of society and are seen 'functional' in the sense of working together effectively as one society. The interplay between entrepreneurship and Malay middle class parents is very significant as both parties play their respective roles in complementing each other. The significance of this study is three-fold, i.e. the epistemological dimension, the development of pre-school education, and the dynamic of this study related to entrepreneurship particularly private pre-school educational providers.

LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE OF TAKAFUL OPERATORS IN MALAYSIA

RAJA RIZAL ISKANDAR BIN RAJA HISHAM (Ph.D)

Supervisors: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mohd Rizal Palil, Prof. Dr. Mohamad Abdul Hamid

Takaful industry has shown tremendous growth in terms of their performance in the global Takaful market which is currently led by the Middle East region and followed by Malaysia as the leader in the ASEAN market. Despite its remarkable achievement by this industry, it still faces several industry challenges and one of them is the ineffective governance practices. Previous studies have discussed the importance of leadership and on how it could solve governance issues faced by an organization. However, the claim was not supported empirically. This study aims to investigate the role of leadership in influencing governance practices of Takaful operators. Based on the literature, four factors identified were examined; leadership behaviours, Islamic leadership, contingency leadership, and personality traits. This study also attempts to examine the mediation role of personality traits in the relationship between effective leadership and governance principles. Questionnaires were distributed among Takaful operators that are licensed by the Central Bank of Malaysia. Full-time Takaful employees were selected as respondents of the study. 185 responses were received and further analysed using appropriate statistical procedures. The research model was then tested using the Partial Least Square-Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM) technique. The main findings of the study indicated that leadership served as an important mechanism in improving governance practices of Takaful operators in Malaysia. The results from path model analysis show that Islamic leadership and contingency leadership were found to be significant predictors to governance principles. On the other hand, leadership behaviour was not significant in relation to governance principles. Personality traits were found to partially mediate the relationship between effective leadership and governance principles. However, it is only limited to a certain path model. This study contributes in terms of the empirical evidence indicating that leadership does play a significant role in enhancing governance practices. Industry practitioners could adopt the research model to develop a training programme for employees to strengthen their skills especially in decision making and subsequently address governance issues that are currently faced by the industry.

THE LITERARY AND ARTISTIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE KING ASHURBANIPAL (626-668 B.C.)

SAMERA MELAD AMAR FARAG (Ph.D)
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Wan Kamal Mujani

The study deals with single cultural aspects of the Assyrian empire, specifically during the King Ashurbanipal era (626-668 B.C.) throughout studying the achievements of the literary and artistic for that King in which the greatness of achievement and the value of workmanship and splendor of the performance is clear. This study deals with a literary and artistic problem represented in the character of the King Ashurbanipal in which this character is characterized by ambiguity and it requires a research. Through a historical and civilized review to trace the cultural, literary and artistic aspects of this king, it will remove a lot of uncertainty, confusion and fake. A researcher in this study is trying to answer many questions that explain the authenticity of the problem: what are the most important literary and artistic achievements of the King Ashurbanipal? What are the traits in his character which left a clear and strong sign on these distinct achievements? This study has a number of objectives that are consistent with the problem of the study. It aims to highlight the figure of the King Ashurbanipal which combines both the courageous commander, intellectual King and the supporter of art and artists. Ashurbanipal has the integrity in maintaining the humanitarian and cultural heritage of Mesopotamia through his famous library and its cognitive treasures. The study also aims to highlight the great artistic development that took place in this era by shedding light on Ashurbanipal Palace with its artistic masterpieces which amazed the world with its great achievements. The study relied on the historical method and the analytical and descriptive method which are among the precise curriculum that describes and analyzes the historical phenomenon. The study concluded that this King, as the historical sources had reported a lot about his greatness and the bloody campaigns, was at the same time a great scientist and loving books. He was one of the early founders of the library science. Ashurbanipal library has saved all the cultured and intellectual achievements of the Mesopotamian from loss. In the methodological aspect, the study ended to assert that the art of Ashurbanipal was not a purely religious art and the military aptitude has been reflected in Ashurbanipal Empire as an art that serves the king and praises his work and greatness through his wars, media and the political occupation.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND VISIBILITY OF WOMEN IN PAS IN SELANGOR AND KELANTAN (1982-2015)

ZAIREENI BINTI AZMI (Ph.D)

Supervisor: Prof. Dato' Dr. Rashila Ramli

This study intends to scrutinize the political participation of women in the democracy context by analysing their visibility in politics at the national level during elections and within the structure of Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS). The participation and visibility process of these women are evaluated through their perspectives of and experiences within the political party. The connection between PAS' administration fulfilling the requests of how much access is afforded to these women together with other factors are also investigated. This research uses a qualitative method which includes interviewing 30 female informants and 10 male informants from PAS which constitute members of the parliament, state assembly and councillors including top party leaders. One of the strengths of this study is the use of narrative interview techniques to obtain information from informants that show a strong impact on the findings of the study. The primary data is also obtained through observations with the engagement of the informants' activities with and within the party, and by attending various women and political workshops and conventions throughout 2013-2015. The main finding of the study is the concept of visibility in the internal and external contexts that gives a new variation to the term visibility commonly measured in terms of numbers or size of women at decision-making levels by external and local scholars. The visibility of women in politics should also be assessed for a more substantive participation and impact on the community which would also widen the meaning of participation in the context of democracy. The findings also identify the keinginan politik or political ambition of women in PAS who challenge the meaning of political ambition by Western scholars which is to attain high-level elective office as the ultimate goal in politics. There are three main factors in the indigenisation context that influence their political ambitions which are the culture, party's identification and individual preference which can either create or disregard opportunity for women in PAS to be visible. The women's personal preference is an important factor that defines the type and extent of women's political participation which in the context of democracy is not being highlighted as a democratic decision. Research findings herein also found that there were inter-party differences that divided PAS women into reformist and progressive, traditionalist but progressive as well as preacher and activist groups. This differences affect their visibility in politics. In addition, the women's willingness to be the backbone of the party succeeded in ensuring PAS's continued presence as a strong political party. The uniqueness of this study is that the indigenisation concept of visibility and political ambition can be applied in discussing the involvement of women in various political or non-political organizations in any country. It helps to understand why their numbers are still low even though various efforts have been made to position women at the decision-making levels. Another important contribution of this study is the visibility process that focuses on substantive impacts and participation rather than size and numbers.

Notes

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