

Parliamentary Debate Dynamics: Understanding the Paradigm of Young Parliamentarians in the 12th Malaysia Plan Mid-Term Review Discourse

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Abstract

Young parliamentarians play a dynamic role in shaping Malaysia's economic trajectory, especially during parliamentary sittings such as the mid-term review of the 12th Malaysia Plan. This study explores the dynamics of parliamentary debates qualitatively, scrutinising the contributions of young parliamentarians through discourse analysis, utilising the Deliberative Quality Index (DQI) to analyse speeches during the 12th Malaysia Plan Mid-term Review Special Parliamentary Seating. Findings showcased a consistent range of the DQI's scores. Still, interestingly, no clear correlation between educational background and political exposure was evident, suggesting a complex array of factors influencing deliberative quality. The thematic analysis highlighted a priority towards food security and future-ready talent, contrasted against a noticeable unfamiliarity with the MADANI concept. For a more nuanced understanding of intergenerational collaboration in legislative

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discussions, this study advocates a holistic approach in future research. This exploration into contrasting perspectives and debating styles between young and seasoned parliamentarians could pave the way for a more inclusive, progressive, and forward-thinking parliamentary discourse in Malaysia, fostering a blend of youthful innovation and seasoned wisdom.

Keywords: Deliberative Quality Index, discourse analysis, 12th Malaysia Plan Mid-term Review, young parliamentarian, Inter-Parliamentary Union

Introduction

In Malaysia, parliamentary debates are crucial as they help shape the country's laws and policies. Young parliamentarians tend to introduce fresh ideas and show a keen interest in discussing contemporary issues, compared to their older counterparts.¹ Their participation is especially notable during important sessions like the mid-term review of the 12th Malaysia Plan,² which is a plan outlining Malaysia's development goals from 2021 to 2025.

The Malaysia Plans are not mere developmental blueprints; they embody the nation's vision and aspirations. Given their stature, these plans are tabled and debated in the Parliament of Malaysia, the country's highest legislative body. Down the memory lane, during the first presentation of the Malaysia Plan, the late Tun Abdul Razak, Deputy Prime Minister at that time, emphasised the significance of the plan to parliament, stating:

Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to propose today no ordinary motion. I rise to propose before this parliament the symbol of our democracy, a plan for economic and social development for the next five years, a plan of purpose and intention to enable our country to travel yet further on the road to accelerated progress and prosperity, a plan to give Malaysia its rightful place in the international, economic community of free nations of the world.³

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- 1 Stockemer D, Sundström A, "Age Representation in Parliaments: Can Institutions Pave the Way for the Young?" (2018) 10 *European Political Science Review* 467.
 - 2 Note: The six-day special sitting of the *Dewan Rakyat* and four-day of *Dewan Negara* were called by Prime Minister to to evaluate the achievements of the five-year plan in its first two years (2021-2022) and the direction for the next three years (2023-2025). "Special sitting to table 12th Malaysian plan mid-term review" (The Star, 10 September 2023) <https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2023/09/10/special-sitting-to-table-12th-msian-plan-mid-term-review> accessed 29 September 2023.
 - 3 *Dewan Rakyat, Hansard*, 15 December 1965 <https://www.parlimen.gov.my/files/hindex/pdf/DR-15121965.pdf>.

By emphasising that he was not proposing “no ordinary motion”, Tun Abdul Razak highlighted the gravitas of the occasion’s importance of the Malaysia Plan. It was not just another policy or proposal; it spoke of a forward-looking vision for the nation. The mid-term review is a chance to look at what has been achieved, what has not worked, and what might need to be changed. During this review, the debates led by young Members of Parliament (MPs) are essential as they provide fresh perspectives on these topics. This paper examined how young MPs contributed to these debates during the mid-term review of the 12th Malaysia Plan. Content and thematic analysis were used to understand the topics discussed by young MPs, how they presented their arguments, and the solutions they proposed. These debates will enhance the comprehension of how young MPs influence parliamentary discussions and endeavour to shape Malaysia’s destiny.

Literature review

In this section, the term ‘*Young Parliamentarian*’ is defined, followed by an exploration of the background and key components of the 12th Malaysia Plan, to lay a foundational basis for the subsequent discussions on parliamentary debate dynamics among young parliamentarians.

Definition of young parliamentarian

In 2013, the Forum of Young Parliamentarians was established as a result of the approval of a significant Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) resolution⁴ in 2010 on “*Youth Participation in Democratic Process*”. Youth are defined differently in various countries around the world. However, according to the Statutes of the IPU, a young parliamentarian is one who is under the age of 45.^{5,6}

There have been a variety of definitions of “*youth*” since a youth MP in their early forties and a young MP in their twenties encountered different

4 Resolution adopted by the 122nd IPU Assembly in Bangkok, Thailand on 1 April 2010.

5 The age limit of 45 was mentioned in the invitation letter of the Ninth IPU Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians 2023 in Hanoi, Viet Nam. See: Invitation letter of the Ninth IPU Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians 2023 in Hanoi, Viet Nam. See <https://www.ipu.org/event/ninth-global-conference-young-parliamentarians#event-sub-page-documents/> accessed on 29 September 2023.

6 Inter-Parliamentary Union, “Youth Participation in National Parliament” (2021) <https://www.ipu.org/youth2021> accessed on 12 September 2023.

circumstances. The IPU report has highlighted three age thresholds for young MPs: under 30, 40 and 45.⁷ Youth have transitional status since their status is not permanent, contrasting the situation experienced by most other under-represented groups, such as minority ethnic groups and others. In fact, a young MP elected in one cycle might have aged out of that status by the next election.

The study of young adult representation is crucial because they are likely to have different policy preferences than older adults. After all, ideology and policy preferences change with age.⁸ For instance, younger MPs are more interested in investments in education and upholding pro-globalisation attitudes. In contrast, older adults differ in their direction to focus more on supporting higher pensions⁹ and want to preserve traditional customs as well as being wary of global integration.¹⁰

Young Parliamentarians of Malaysia

Malaysia has experienced a significant uptick in youth representation within its parliamentary system. The *Dewan Rakyat*, the lower house of the Parliament of Malaysia, now has 58 young parliamentarians out of its 222 seats, marking an increase of approximately 20% compared to the previous decade.¹¹ Similarly, the *Dewan Negara*, or the Senate, has incorporated younger voices with five young parliamentarians out of its 70 seats. However, when contrasted with other ASEAN countries, Malaysia's youth representation in its legislative bodies is only at par. For

7 Ibid.

8 Stockemer D, Sundström A, "Age Representation in Parliaments: Can Institutions Pave the Way for the Young?" (2018) 10 *European Political Science Review* 467–90 <https://doi:10.1017/S1755773918000048> accessed on 12 September 2023.

9 Metz D, "The Politics of Population Ageing" (2002) 73(3) *The Political Quarterly* 321–327 <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.00472> quoted in Stockemer D, Sundström A, "Age Representation in Parliaments: Can Institutions Pave the Way for the Young?" (2018) 10 *European Political Science Review* 467–90, accessed 12 September 2023.

10 Shin EH, "Political Demography of Korea: Political Effects of Changes in Population Composition and Distribution" (2001) 19(1) *East Asia: An International Quarterly* 171–204 <https://doi:10.1007/s12140-001-0006-0> quoted in Stockemer D, Sundström A, "Age Representation in Parliaments: Can Institutions Pave the Way for the Young?" (2018) 10 *European Political Science Review* 467–90, accessed 12 September 2023.

11 Diyana Pfordten, "INTERACTIVE: A look at our slightly younger Dewan Rakyat" (The Star Online, 2 December 2022) accessed <https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2022/12/02/interactive-a-look-at-our-slightly-younger-dewan-rakyat> on 16 October 2023.

instance, countries like Singapore, Vietnam, and Indonesia consistently integrate new faces of young leaders into their parliamentary ranks. However, Thailand has seen fast-tracked integration following the success of the *Move Forward Party*¹² in the recent election. This growing presence of young parliamentarians in Malaysia not only underscores the nation's commitment to fostering youthful leadership, but also positions Malaysia as a frontrunner among ASEAN countries for championing the inclusion of the younger generation in political decision-making. However, while youth representation has seen an increase, gender representation remains a challenge, with a limited number of young female parliamentarians, as illustrated in *Table 1* below.

Table 1: Young Parliamentarians of AIPA Members Parliament (Lower House)¹³

No.	Country	Percentage (%) of Young Parliamentarians	Percentage (%) of Male Young Parliamentarians	Percentage (%) of Female Young Parliamentarians
1.	Brunei	11.76	8.82	2.94
2.	Cambodia	0	0	0
3.	Indonesia	26.26	18.61	7.65
4.	Laos	12.20	7.93	4.27
5.	Malaysia	26.13	21.17	4.95
6.	Myanmar	0	0	0
7.	Philippines	31.51	20.58	10.93
8.	Singapore	40	25.26	14.74
9.	Thailand	43	24.16	18.84
10.	Vietnam	29.26	13.43	15.83

12 The *Move Forward Party* in Thailand, established in 2020 as a successor to the dissolved *Future Forward Party*. In the recent elections, the party achieved significant success, securing a substantial number of seats in the parliament. Notably, the party's electoral triumph has led to an influx of young parliamentarians in the Thai Parliament, marking a departure from the traditionally older demographic of legislators.

13 IPU Parline, Global Data on National Parliaments. See https://data.ipu.org/node/103/data-on-youth?chamber_id=13454 accessed on 29 September 2023. Data on the age of parliamentarians is collected at the start of the legislature, following the most recent elections.

With 26.13% young parliamentarians, Malaysia stands in the mid-range among the listed ASEAN countries. It has a higher representation of young parliamentarians compared to Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar, but lower than the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

The gender disparity is notable, with male young parliamentarians (21.17%) significantly outnumbering female young parliamentarians (4.95%). This pattern of gender disparity is observed in most of the listed countries, with Thailand and Vietnam having a closer gender balance among young parliamentarians. The gender parity shown is not surprising, as the challenge of reaching a 30% representation of women in parliament is not unique to Malaysia¹⁴ but is a global issue faced by many countries.¹⁵ Hence, the political arena remains as an area where more concerted efforts are needed to address age and gender gaps.

The demographic of the young parliamentarians in the Parliament of Malaysia

It is a well-acknowledged notion in political science and sociology that an individual's demographic attributes, such as gender, race, religion, and education, can significantly influence their perspectives, priorities, and the way they articulate their ideas in various settings, including parliamentary discussions, or can be purely referred to as identity discourse¹⁶. *Appendix I* showcases demographic distribution and the diversity among the young representatives of the Parliament of Malaysia.

In the *Dewan Rakyat*, there are a total of 26 first-time young Members of Parliament. Among them, 14 are from the government block, while 12 are from the opposition block. On the other hand, there are four first-time young Senators in the *Dewan Negara*, with three representing the government block and one representing the opposition block.

14 Pfordten, *supra* note 11.

15 ASEAN countries have made commendable progress in enhancing women's representation in parliaments over the past two decades, however, there is still room for improvement. Despite a 9% increase in the past two decades (from 12% to 21% in 2023), the regional average is still well below the global figure of 26% and ASEAN Member States fall short of the global target of 30%. See <https://asean.usmission.gov/strengthening-womens-resilience-and-leadership-in-asean/> accessed 15 October 2023.

16 Verkuyten, Maykel, and Wybren Nooitgedagt. "Parliamentary identity and the management of the far-right: A discursive analysis of Dutch parliamentary debates." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 58, no. 3 (2019): 495-514.

Of the young parliamentarians listed, two hold diplomas, 26 have attained bachelor's degrees, five have master's degrees, and one has a PhD. Only ten young parliamentarians have qualifications in the disciplines related to economics, businesses or finances. Among the 45 young parliamentarians in the 15th Parliament of Malaysia, 37 are males, while eight are females. Regarding race, 31 are Bumiputras and 14 are non-Bumiputras. Concerning religion, 30 are Muslims, and 15 are non-Muslims.

Background of the Malaysia Plan

The developmental journey of Malaysia began with the Malaya Plans. The 1st Malaya Plan (1956-1960) was initiated during the final years of British colonial rule, marking the beginning of a series of five-year blueprints that have since guided the nation's economic and developmental trajectory. It aimed to rehabilitate an economy affected by the war and the Emergency period, focusing on infrastructure development, agricultural modernisation, and establishing essential social services. Following the 1st Malaya Plan, the 2nd Malaya Plan (1961-1965)^{17,18} was introduced to continue the government's efforts on rural development, poverty reduction, and economic diversification to reduce the country's reliance on tin and rubber. With the formation of Malaysia in 1963, which included Sabah, Sarawak, and Singapore, and Singapore's subsequent separation in 1965, the developmental framework transitioned from the Malaya Plans to the Malaysia Plans.

The First Malaysia Plan commenced in 1966. Each Malaysia Plan is meticulously crafted, reflecting the nation's evolving priorities and challenges.¹⁹ A significant feature of these plans is the mid-term review, typically conducted in the third year, which serves as a checkpoint to assess progress and recalibrate strategies if necessary. Most importantly, every stage of the Malaysia Plan, from its drafting and launching to its mid-term review and conclusion, is tabled in the Parliament of Malaysia. This process ensures transparency, inclusivity, and a collective national

17 Hussiin, Hasnah. "Integrasi kaum dalam rancangan pembangunan negara: Tumpuan selepas dasar ekonomi baru." *International Journal of Humanities Technology and Civilization* 1 (2018): 58-73.

18 Abdullah, Mohd Firdaus. "Bekalan Air Domestik Negeri Kedah dalam Rancangan Malaya Kedua 1960-1965." *Melayu: Jurnal Antarabangsa Dunia Melayu* 13, no. 1 (2020): 109-132.

19 Saari, M. (2022). *Legislative Role in the Poverty Alleviation Policy*. Workshop of Parliamentary Scholars and Parliamentarians. Research Papers. 2022 Wroxtton Workshop (30th-31st July).

approach to development. The 12th Malaysia Plan (2021-2025)²⁰ is the latest instalment, encapsulating the government's vision and strategies for the nation, especially in the face of contemporary challenges like the COVID-19 pandemic.

Table 2: Date of the Malaysia Plan being tabled and reviewed in the Parliament of Malaysia

No.	Policy	Effective Year	Tabled	Reviewed
1.	1st Malaysia Plan	1966-1970	15 December 1965	25 January 1969
2.	2nd Malaysia Plan	1971-1975	12 July 1971	26 November 1973
3.	3rd Malaysia Plan	1976-1980	19 July 1976	19 March 1979
4.	4th Malaysia Plan	1981-1985	27 March 1981	29 March 1984
5.	5th Malaysia Plan	1985-1990	21 March 1986	04 July 1989
6.	6th Malaysia Plan	1991-1995	10 July 1991	16 December 1993
7.	7th Malaysia Plan	1996-2000	6 May 1996	22 April 1999
8.	8th Malaysia Plan	2001-2005	23 April 2001	30 October 2003
9.	9th Malaysia Plan	2006-2010	31 March 2006	26 Jun 2008
10.	10th Malaysia Plan	2011-2015	10 June 2010	n.a ²¹
11.	11th Malaysia Plan	2016-2020	21 May 2015	18 October 2018
12.	12th Malaysia Plan	2021-2025	27 September 2021	11 September 2023

20 The 12th Malaysia Plan was initially scheduled to be tabled in Parliament of Malaysia in August 2020. However, due to the unforeseen circumstances brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent political changes in Malaysia, the tabling of the 12th Malaysia Plan was postponed. In 2020, Malaysia saw a change in government with the resignation of Prime Minister Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad and the appointment of Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin as the new Prime Minister. This political transition led to a review and realignment of the 12th Malaysia Plan to ensure that it was in line with the new government's priorities and strategies. However, in August 2021, Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin resigned as Prime Minister due to a loss of majority support in the Parliament. Subsequently, Dato' Sri Ismail Sabri Yaakob was sworn in as the 9th Prime Minister of Malaysia. Under his administration, the 12th Malaysia Plan was finally tabled in Parliament in September 2021.

21 Note: The 10th Malaysia Plan marked the first use of the two-year rolling plan approach, which entailed periodic reviews of the Malaysia Plan. This new approach led to the belief that a midterm review, and consequently its publication, was no longer necessary, resulting in the absence of a parliamentary review session for the 10th Malaysia Plan. However, during the 11th Malaysia Plan, the practice of conducting a midterm review was reinstated, reverting to the previous tradition.

Economic planning is essential in guiding a nation's development trajectory, ensuring sustainable growth, and addressing socio-economic challenges. Across the ASEAN region, every member country recognises the importance of such planning and has instituted its own national development strategy or plan.

Table 3: ASEAN countries' national economic plan equivalent to the Malaysia Plan

No.	Country	National Economic Plan	Year
1.	Brunei	National Development Plan	2018-2023 (6 years)
2.	Cambodia	National Strategic Development Plan	2019-2023 (5 years)
3.	Indonesia	The National Medium-Term Development for 2020-2024	2020-2024 (5 years)
4.	Laos	9th Five Year National Socio-Economic Development Plan	2021-2025 (5 years)
5.	Malaysia	12th Malaysia Plan	2021-2025 (5 years)
6.	Myanmar	Myanmar Sustainable Plan	2018-2030 (13 years)
7.	Philippines	Philippine Development Plan	2023-2028 (6 years)
8.	Singapore	Singapore Economy 2030: Building a Vibrant Economy, Nurturing Enterprises	2021-2030 (10 years)
9.	Thailand	The 13th National Economic and Social Development Plan	2023-2027 (5 years)
10.	Vietnam	National Master Plan	2021-2030 (10 years)

Despite the overarching goal of promoting economic growth, reducing disparities, and enhancing the well-being of citizens being often similar, each plan is unique, reflecting the specific challenges, opportunities, and aspirations of the individual country. These plans not only set the strategic direction for the nation but also provide a framework for policymakers, ensuring that resources are allocated efficiently and that

development efforts are coordinated and aligned with the country's long-term vision.

Methodology

This study embraces a qualitative approach, amalgamating methodologies from two studies with a clear guide on qualitative research in parliaments.^{22,23} The emphasis is on exploring the dynamics of parliamentary debates in *Dewan Rakyat* and *Dewan Negara*, with a keen focus on the contributions of young parliamentarians. Utilising discourse analysis, inspired by Goplerud²⁴, and observational studies as suggested by Berthet *et al.*²⁵, this research aims to provide detailed insights into the interaction and engagement of young parliamentarians within the Malaysian parliamentary discourse.

Documents, content and thematic analysis

Content and thematic analysis method was utilised to dissect parliamentary debates and discussions, using the excerpt²⁶ of the Hansards²⁷ (considered as the documents for this study) dated 11 to 26 September 2023 from the Parliament of Malaysia. Out of the 58 young parliamentarians from *Dewan Rakyat*, 40 participated in the debates during the 12th Malaysia Plan Mid-term Review Special Parliamentary Seating, along with all five young Senators from *Dewan Negara*. For anonymity during further analysis, each participating young parliamentarian from *Dewan Rakyat* will be labelled ADR1 to ADR40 and *Dewan Negara* as ADN1 to ADN5, based on the order of their debates.

This qualitative analytic method aided in identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (or themes) within the data. It provided a complex,

22 Berthet, Valentine et al., "Guide to Qualitative Research in Parliaments: Experiences and Practices" (2023) <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-39808-7>.

23 Goplerud, Max, 'Methods for Analyzing Parliamentary Debates', in Hanna Back, Marc Debus, and Jorge M. Fernandes (eds), *The Politics of Legislative Debates* (Oxford, 2021; online edn, Oxford Academic, 18 Nov. 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198849063.003.0005> accessed 30 September 2023.

24 *Ibid.* pp 72-90.

25 Berthet *et al.* (n1) pp 2-7.

26 Note: The excerpt was prepared by extracting the segments of the debates that involve the young parliamentarians exclusively.

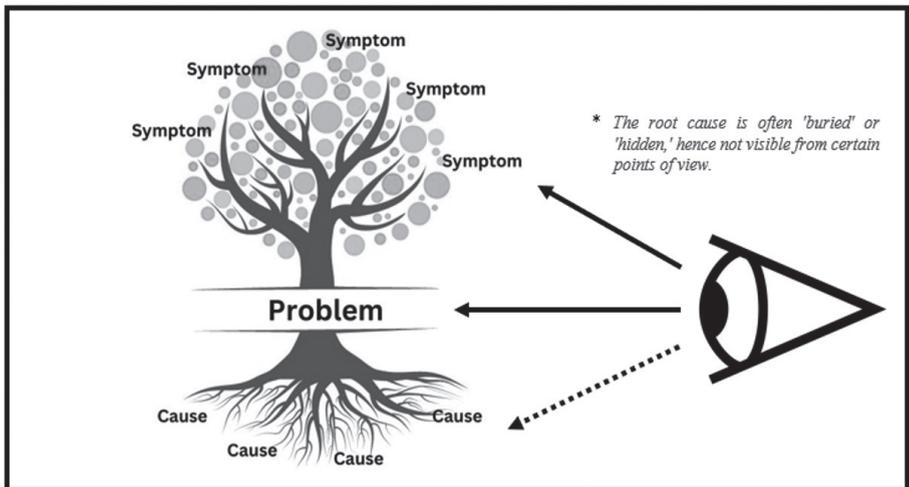
27 Archive of Hansards can be retrieved from <<https://www.parlimen.gov.my/hansard-dewan-rakyat.html?uweb=dr&>> for Dewan Rakyat and <<https://www.parlimen.gov.my/hansard-dewan-negara.html?uweb=dn&>> for Dewan Negara.

detailed, and nuanced understanding of the parliamentary discourse, mainly focusing on the contributions of young parliamentarians. By scrutinising the textual data, themes relating to young parliamentarians' engagement, their addressed issues, and proposed solutions were unearthed. This thematic exploration enriched the understanding of the dynamics within the Malaysian parliamentary setting, shedding light on the parliamentary debate dynamics and young parliamentarians' role in policy dialogues.

Root cause analysis

The 12th Malaysia Plan is framed as a long-term strategy, apart from the annual budget presented in the Parliament of Malaysia. Unlike the annual budget's financial outlook, this plan aimed to dive deep and fix the root causes of financial leakages continuously draining Malaysia's resources. The essence of the 12th Malaysia Plan should be a holistic approach focused on solving the basic financial challenges, which includes reducing financial losses and boosting revenue generation to refill the government's coffers. It is crucial that the 12th Malaysia Plan documents carefully outline these strategic steps to fix the financial issues Malaysia is facing. Besides, Root Cause Analysis could be key to identifying main issues rather than just addressing immediate symptoms.

Figure 1: Illustration of the complexity to identify the root cause of a problem



There is a common trend in parliament to focus on symptoms, maybe

due to a lack of understanding or because tackling symptoms might be politically and practically more effortless. Solutions targeting symptoms might provide quicker, more visible results or respond to public pressures. On the other hand, addressing root causes may need systemic changes and more resources, or may challenge established interests, making them harder to address. The discussion in parliament may reflect these complexities, as well as the interests and abilities of the parliamentarians themselves.

Speech analysis

A few studies related to evaluating parliamentary discourses or debates were identified. One such study was about the *Deliberative Quality Index* (DQI), which evaluated parliamentary speeches from the UK parliament using a point system, where each indicator was assigned a maximum value of 1, 2, or 3 points, totalling a DQI score of 14. This methodology hand-coded the speeches to assess deliberative quality. It proposed six indicators—participation, level of justification, content of justification, respect, counter-arguments, and constructive politics. The first edition was developed in 2003 by Steenbergen *et al.*, and several iterations have been introduced since then.²⁸

This study adapted the first edition with modifications. Five indicators were proposed: level of justification, content of justification, context understanding, counter-arguments, and constructive politics. *Level of Justification* assesses the extent to which a speaker provides substantial reasoning or evidence to support their claims. *Content of Justification* examines the relevance, accuracy, and credibility of the evidence or reasoning provided by the speaker. *Context Understanding* evaluates speakers' awareness of the broader discourse context and how effectively they situate their arguments. *Counter-arguments* specify whether a speaker engages with critiques made by others or attempts to address or respond to counterclaims, concerns, or countervailing evidence. *Constructive Proposal* refers to speakers proposing solutions to shared problems, alternative options, or compromises.

Findings and discussions

28 Fournier-Tombs, E., & MacKenzie, M. K. (2021). "Big data and democratic speech: Predicting deliberative quality using machine learning techniques." *Methodological Innovations*, 14(2). <https://doi.org/10.1177/20597991211010416>.

In this research conducted on the Parliament of Malaysia, significant inspiration was drawn from a seminal analysis work in Australian Parliaments with those in the United Kingdom.²⁹ The compelling visual presentation of the findings in that study³⁰ was particularly noteworthy and resonated with the study's objectives in the Parliament of Malaysia. Hence, the findings of this study are presented with an aim to achieve similar precision by emulating the same clarity.

Finding 1: Content analysis on the young parliamentarians' debates in 12th Malaysia Plan mid-term review

In the Mid-term Review of the 12th Malaysia Plan, Prime Minister Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim introduced 17 strategic initiatives, termed as "Big Bolds", aimed at propelling Malaysia's economic growth. These initiatives are part of a broader strategy that involves an increased budget allocation, with an additional MYR15 billion, bringing the total to MYR415 billion. This significant financial commitment underscores the government's dedication in improving administrative efficiency and strategically reallocating funds to address core societal needs.

The "Big Bolds" span a wide array of sectors, including efforts to eliminate extreme poverty, implement economic structural reforms, bolster the Islamic economy, and enhance infrastructure in critical areas such as health, education, and transportation. These initiatives are outlined along with 71 main strategies focusing on key enablers like strengthening sustainability and building a prosperous society. The mid-review serves as a roadmap for prioritising and reallocating resources efficiently to achieve desired outcomes in national development and societal well-being.³¹

29 Cullen, A, 'The Art of Persuasive Discourse in Parliament—A Comparative Analysis of Australian Parliaments with Those of the United Kingdom' (ACT Legislative Assembly, Canberra ACT, Australia). See <https://wrotonworkshop.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/2017-Session-6B-Cullen.pdf> accessed 10 October 2023.

30 Ibid. pp. 25-27.

31 MAMPU. (n.d.). Portal Rasmi MAMPU. See <https://www.mampu.gov.my/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/15-Mei-Astro-Awani-Kerajaan-persiap-kajian-semula-separuh-penggal-RMK12-PM-Anwar.pdf> accessed on 1 October 2023.

Figure 2: 17 Big Bolds of 12th Malaysia Plan Mid-term Review³²

A detailed thematic analysis was carried out using pre-determined themes taken from the “Big Bolds”. *Appendix II* below displays the results of this analysis, showing the frequencies of the young parliamentarians’ discussions that matched the “Big Bolds” themes. A tick was marked whenever a young parliamentarian mentioned something related to a particular “Big Bold” theme. In this manner, it helps to understand how closely the young parliamentarians’ discussions are aligned with these strategic initiatives which are introduced in the Mid-term Review of the 12th Malaysia Plan.

Big Bold 13 emerged as the most frequently highlighted topic, being mentioned 17 times. This was closely followed by Big Bold 17, which was discussed 16 times. Both Big Bold 4 and Big Bold 8 received equal attention, each being brought up 12 times. Subsequently, Big Bold 7 was mentioned 11 times, while Big Bold 3, Big Bold 9, Big Bold 11, and Big Bold 15 were each highlighted eight times.

32 Taken from 12th Malaysia Plan Mid-term Review pamphlet and speech text of Prime Minister, (n.d.), retrieved from <https://rmke12.ekonomi.gov.my/ksp/storage/fileUpload/2023/09/2023091325_teks_ucapan_yab_perdana_menteri_di_dewan_rakyat_pembentangan_usul_ksp_rmke_12_2021_2025.pdf> accessed at 11 October 2023.

After that, Big Bold 1 and Big Bold 2 were both discussed seven times, and Big Bold 5 was mentioned on six occasions. Next, Big Bold 10, Big Bold 12, and Big Bold 16 were each brought up five times. Lastly, Big Bold 14 received the least attention among those mentioned, being discussed only three times. Notably, Big Bold 6 was not highlighted by any parliamentarian during the debate. This pattern demonstrates the inclination or familiarity of young parliamentarians with certain topics, indicating which areas they deem significant or have more knowledge about.

Finding 1a: Young parliamentarians prioritise food security and future-ready talent

The emphasis placed by young parliamentarians on *Big Bold 13: High-growth, High-Value Agriculture and Agro-based Industry* and *Big Bold 17: Future-ready Talent* underscores their acute awareness of pressing national concerns. Malaysia's recent challenges with shortages of staple foods like rice, chicken, and eggs have heightened the importance of food security. The situation with rice has been further exacerbated by stricter protectionist policies adopted by exporting countries. The surge in imported white rice prices, primarily due to a 36% price hike by *Padiberas Nasional Berhad* (BERNAS) and an export ban by India, the world's largest rice exporter, has led to an increased demand for locally produced rice. This has resulted in a significant shortfall, with local rice being sold at a government-set ceiling price of MYR26 for a 10kg bag, compared to the MYR39 price tag for imported rice.³³

On the other hand, Since February 2022, the government has invested heavily in subsidies to stabilise the chicken and egg market. A whopping MYR3.8 billion was spent on these subsidies, which were introduced as a measure to control the sudden surge in prices and address the supply shortage. The primary objective of this temporary subsidy was to prevent a sudden price hike and ensure that consumers had consistent access to these essential goods.³⁴

33 Raevathi Supramaniam. Free Malaysia Today (FMT Online). Nation. 12 October 2023. "Why is Malaysia facing a rice shortage?" retrieved from <https://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/nation/2023/10/12/why-is-malaysia-facing-a-rice-shortage/> accessed on 17 October 2023.

34 Kenneth Tee. Malay Mail. Malaysia. 13 October 2023. "PM Anwar: Chicken and eggs will no longer be controlled goods, prices to be determined by market demand" retrieved from <https://www.malaymail.com/news/malaysia/2023/10/13/pm-anwar-chicken-and-eggs-will-no-longer-be-controlled-goods-prices-to-be...-determined-by-market-demand/96049> accessed on 17 October 2023.

The emphasis on “Future-ready Talent” by young parliamentarians could reflect their generational awareness and being closer in age to the individuals who will be entering the workforce, they may have a better grasp of the educational and skill-building needs that will be necessary for success in the coming years. They are also more attuned to unemployment and underemployment among the youth, and they have a greater desire to see that the next generation of workers is well-equipped for the changing nature of the labour market.

Finding 1b: Lack of familiarity with the MADANI Society concept among young parliamentarians

It was observed that none of the young parliamentarians made any reference to or addressed any of the key parameters associated with the “Big Bold 6: Enculturation of MADANI Society”, such as the importance of unity. This indicates a potential gap in their understanding or awareness of the MADANI society concept or MADANI in general³⁵. While the concept itself might be intricate and not as straightforward as other initiatives like “1Malaysia”³⁶, “Prihatin”³⁷, or “Keluarga Malaysia”³⁸, it is essential for these young parliamentarians to grasp its significance. It is not entirely surprising if young parliamentarians in the opposition overlook the idea of MADANI society enculturation. In fact, if young MPs

35 Malaysia Madani, a slogan introduced by the current Malaysian Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim on 19 January, 2023, aimed at leading the country headlong by promoting the values of MADANI, or in English acronym, SCRIPT, *i.e.*, Sustainability, Prosperity, Innovation, Respect, Trust, and Care and Compassion as **quoted in** Aziz, Nadiah Abdul, and Rossilawati Rusli. “Embracing Islamic Values in Governance: Reflecting the Concept of ‘Madani’ In the Holy Qur’an.” *Research Studies* (2023) 3, no. 7: 1304-1312.

36 Dato’ Sri Najib Razak first introduced the term “1Malaysia” shortly after assuming the office of Prime Minister of Malaysia in 2009 as **quoted in** Chin, James. “Malaysia: The rise of Najib and 1Malaysia.” *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2010, no. 1 (2010): 164-179.

37 The term was introduced by the former Prime Minister Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin during his tenure. It was emphasized as a theme of unity and solidarity among Malaysians, especially in response to the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic as **quoted in** Shah, Ain Umaira Md, et al. “COVID-19 outbreak in Malaysia: Actions taken by the Malaysian government.” *International Journal of Infectious Diseases* 97 (2020): 108-116.

38 Note: The term was introduced by Dato’ Sri Ismail Sabri Yaakob on 22 August 2021 in his inaugural speech as prime minister as **quoted in** Aziz, Abdul Rashid Abdul, et al. “Kerangka Konsep Keluarga Malaysia dalam Mencapai Kesejahteraan.” *Malaysian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (MJSSH)* 8, no. 1 (2023): e002196-e002196.

from the governing party also display a similar lack of understanding, it raises serious concerns about the dissemination and clarity of such national concepts. The name MADANI might not be immediately self-explanatory. Thus, the young MPs must be well-informed and must align with the nation's core values and visions regardless of their affiliations.

Finding 2: Synthesis from the speech analysis

A blind analysis was conducted using the Deliberative Quality Index (DQI) to ensure an unbiased speech quality assessment. In this index, a score of 1 represents the lowest rating, while 3 signifies the highest rating. The maximum cumulative score achievable is 15, categorised as 'very good'. Scores ranging from 12 to 10 are deemed 'good', scores between 9 to 6 are classified as 'average', and scores of 5 or below are labelled as 'poor'.

Appendix III shows two young members of *Dewan Rakyat* scored 'very good', 13 scored 'good', and 21 were 'average' based on the DQI. None scored 'poor'. On the other hand, among the young Senators of *Dewan Negara*, none scored 'very good', three scored well, and two were average. Just like the young members of *Dewan Rakyat*, none of the young Senators scored poorly.

Overall, members from both houses seemed to be doing well, with none falling into the poor category. However, young members of *Dewan Rakyat* showed more variation in their scores, with some reaching the very top of the scale. In contrast, young Senators of *Dewan Negara* had a narrower range of scores, with none reaching the very top. Nonetheless, members from both houses showed a generally good level of deliberative quality, which was a good sign for the Parliament of Malaysia.

Finding 2a: Correlation between the young parliamentarians' discourse with their educational background

No clear pattern indicated that higher education or a specific field of study led to a higher DQI score. For instance, the two young MPs with the highest DQI score (15) had diverse educational backgrounds — one in Engineering and the other in Chemical Engineering. Similarly, young MPs with average DQI scores had a mix of education levels and fields of study. This suggests that the deliberative quality, as measured by DQI, might be influenced by factors beyond merely educational level and discipline.

Finding 2b: Correlation between the young parliamentarians' discourse with their experience and party stance

No straightforward relationship between political exposure and DQI scores was observed. Some first-time young MPs scored within the 'good' range, while some with more political experience landed in the 'average' range. This implies that while experience may provide a platform for better deliberation, it does not necessarily guarantee a higher DQI score. The ability to deliberate effectively in the parliament might be influenced by a mix of experience, personal abilities, and perhaps other external factors. The uniformity in debate styles within each block, particularly the role of research officers, can, in part, be attributed to the support structure provided by the parties. Often working in teams, these officers are instrumental in preparing MPs for parliamentary sessions. In the case of the government block, it is observed that young MPs tend to show more refined and effective debating skills. This could be linked to the fact that most research officers in the government block are more experienced, providing better guidance and more comprehensive research support.

The role of research officers indirectly helps in framing the young MPs' arguments in a manner that aligns with the party's stance and legislative agenda. Moreover, the consistency in debate quality among the young MPs of the same block could also point to a systematic whip system³⁹ and orientation programs conducted by the parties, all tailored to reinforce the party's ideology and legislative priorities. Consequently, young MPs from the same block and same party, guided by similar philosophies and strategies, tend to exhibit a cohesive pattern in their parliamentary discourse.

Reflections and recommendations

This section reflects the topics covered in this study and offers some recommendations for moving forward. The recommendations aim to make the most out of the young parliamentarians' contributions, ensuring lively and well-rounded debates in the parliament.

39 Kam, Christopher, 'Party Discipline', in Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld, and Kaare W. Strøm (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies* (2014; online edn, Oxford Academic, 2 Sept. 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199653010.013.0020>, accessed 26 December 2023.

Nuances of financial debates in the Malaysian Parliament

The Parliament of Malaysia is a legislative platform for financial and developmental discussions, each carrying its distinct weight and purpose. Among these, the annual budget stands out as a reflection of the government's fiscal intentions for the upcoming year. It serves as a response to the nation's immediate socio-economic challenges, with debates often zooming in on the symptoms of current issues.⁴⁰ The goal is to discern how the proposed financial allocations can provide short-term solutions to these pressing concerns.

Contrastingly, the supplementary budget emerges in response to unforeseen circumstances or emergencies that demand funds beyond the initially approved annual budget. Here, the heart of the debate is not so much about where the money goes, but about ensuring the utmost transparency and accountability in its expenditure. It is about trust, oversight, and to ensure that every *ringgit* is spent judiciously.

Then there is the Malaysia Plan, a visionary document that sketches the nation's long-term developmental aspirations. Spanning typically five years, this plan is not just about numbers but about dreams, ambitions, and the path to a brighter future.⁴¹ Therefore, debates around this plan should probe deeper, addressing the root causes of challenges and charting a visionary course for Malaysia's sustained growth.

Nevertheless, visions need check-ins, and that is where the mid-term review of the Malaysia Plan comes into play. The review is a moment of introspection to assess what has been achieved and what remains. During these discussions, Parliamentarians are responsible for critically evaluating the journey thus far, pinpointing successes and highlighting areas that need recalibration.

While all these discussions orbit the area of finance and development, their unique objectives demand bespoke debates. It is this nuanced approach that ensures not just productive discussions but also paves the way for a prosperous Malaysia.

40 Siddiquee, Noore Alam, John Antony Xavier, and Mohd Zin Mohamed. "What works and why? Lessons from public management reform in Malaysia." *International Journal of Public Administration* 42, no. 1 (2019): 14-27.

41 Lee, Cassey & Lee, Chew Ging. (2017). The Evolution of Development Planning in Malaysia. *Journal of Southeast Asian Economies*. 34. 436-461. 10.1355/ae34-3b.

Bridging the age gap: A call for youthful representation in Parliament

The IPU's "*I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament!*"⁴² initiative underscores a global representation gap: though half the world's population is under 30⁴³, only 2.6% of MPs worldwide represent this age group. While individuals aged 20-39 constitute 38.6% of the global population, only 17.5% of MPs are under 40. Furthermore, 37% of parliamentary chambers have no MPs under 30. Notably, fewer than 1 in 6 parliaments have a caucus for young MPs.⁴⁴ The IPU aims to address this discrepancy through this initiative, advocating for a more youthful representation in parliaments to ensure a broader demographic participation in political discourse and decision-making. IPU has established an international framework for young democracy participation alongside the Forum of Young Parliamentarians, aiming to attract new and young candidates to the political process. Through the forum, the IPU supports young politicians to enhance and revitalise democracies, ensuring they represent all generations.

Given that the *Dewan Rakyat* currently accommodates 58 young parliamentarians out of 222 seats, and the *Dewan Negara* has only five young parliamentarians out of 70 seats, it is pertinent that Malaysia also rallies behind the "*I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament!*" initiative. Supporting this campaign would be a stride towards bridging the representation gap and fostering a more inclusive political discourse that resonates with the younger demographic, ensuring a diverse range of perspectives in legislative deliberations, which is crucial for a robust democracy.

IPU became the first international organisation to introduce incentives to encourage more young parliamentarians to attend its meetings in 2018. Parliamentary delegations that bring more young MPs would be given

42 "I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament!" campaign was launched on 28th April 2021 at the IPU Secretariat in Geneva, with support from 24 Speakers of Parliaments, including those from two Southeast Asian countries, Indonesia and Timor Leste. See <https://www.bgipu.org/activity-reports/ipus-i-say-yes-to-youth-in-parliament-campaign-goes-global/> accessed on 12 September 2023.

43 According to 2022 data from the Institut Penyelidikan Pembangunan Belia Malaysia (IYRES), youth constitute almost 30% of Malaysia's population, totaling 9.07 million individuals, of which 4.9 million are male and 4.17 million are female. See <<https://ydata.iyres.gov.my/iyresbankdataV2/www/index.php?r=pub/home/datavizleft&id=19&cat=10>> accessed on 11 September 2023.

44 "I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament!". Inter-Parliamentary Union (n.d.) <https://www.ipu.org/i-say-yes> accessed on 12 September 2023.

extra votes and speaking time while attending the IPU assemblies.⁴⁵ IPU encourage young parliamentarians by:

- i. monitoring youth representation and participation, and issuing policy and legislative guidance to boost it;
- ii. supporting parliaments in facilitating the access of youth to political decision-making, empowering young MPs and young people in general, and incorporating youth perspectives in policies;
- iii. providing networking opportunities for young MPs to come together, through, for example, the IPU annual global conference of young parliamentarians; and
- iv. organising campaigns to raise awareness and motivate action to enhance youth participation.

Limitations of the study

Several inherent limitations need to be acknowledged in regard to the findings of the study. One such limitation is the subjectivity deep-rooted in qualitative methods, where the researchers' biases and preconceptions might influence data collection and interpretation. This subjectivity can lead to issues with the consistency and objectivity of the findings, affecting their reliability. Additionally, the unique nature of the Parliament of Malaysia makes replication difficult; the specific context, researcher perspectives, and participants (change of the members of *Dewan Rakyat* and *Dewan Negara*) can yield different outcomes when a study is repeated, complicating the validation of results. Another significant challenge is the time and resources required for conducting qualitative studies. These methods are time-consuming and resource-intensive, which might restrict the scope of the study or the depth of analysis, potentially leading to less comprehensive data exploration. Lastly, the flexible nature of qualitative methods might introduce inconsistencies in data collection and analysis, raising concerns about the overall reliability and validity of the research. Incorporating expert views into this study might provide credibility and authority to the results and significantly enhance its validity, which would deepen the study's comprehensiveness.

45 "Youth Participation". Inter-Parliamentary Union (n.d.) <https://www.ipu.org/i-say-yes/youth-participation> accessed on 12 September 2023.

Conclusions

The dynamism and fresh perspectives young MPs bring to the parliamentary debates, especially during sessions like the mid-term review of the 12th Malaysia Plan, are indispensable. Their active participation not only enriches the discourse but also ensures that the younger generation's voice is adequately represented in shaping the nation's future. The insights gleaned from the content and thematic analysis of their contributions underscore the evolving nature of parliamentary debates in Malaysia. As the nation progresses, it is imperative to recognise and harness these young parliamentarians' potential continually. Their unique viewpoints, combined with the wisdom of their seasoned counterparts, will undoubtedly pave the way for a more inclusive, progressive, and forward-thinking Malaysia.

In this study, the focus has been primarily on the debates spearheaded by young MPs. However, expanding the scope of future research is essential to gain a comprehensive understanding of parliamentary discourse. This would involve exploring young parliamentarians' contrasting perspectives with respect to their more seasoned counterparts. A deeper examination of their respective debating styles, priorities, and methodologies is crucial. Such an analysis would provide clearer insights into how various generations tackle national issues and the distinct advantages they each bring to the table. This holistic approach would enrich our understanding of parliamentary dynamics and highlight the importance of intergenerational collaboration in legislative discussions.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

The demographic of the young parliamentarians' of the 15th Parliament of Malaysia

Members of Parliaments	Block	Gender	Race	Religion	Tertiary Education Discipline	Experience as Parliamentarian/ Assemblyman
Dewan Rakyat						
ADR1	Opposition	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor in Economics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR2	Opposition	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Master in Geopolitics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two-year experience in the House of Senate. • One-year experience as a deputy minister. • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR3	Opposition	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor in Religious Studies and Bachelor in Business Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A second-term Member of Parliament.
ADR4	Opposition	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor in Islamic Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR5	Government	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor in Engineering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two-year experience as a deputy minister. • A second-term Member of Parliament.
ADR6	Government	Male	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Master in Business Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.

Members of Parliaments	Block	Gender	Race	Religion	Tertiary Education Discipline	Experience as Parliamentarian/ Assemblyman
Dewan Rakyat						
ADR7	Government	Male	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Bachelor of Laws	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two-term experience as an assemblyman. • A second-term Member of Parliament. • Two-year experience as a chair of a standing committee.
ADR8	Government	Female	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor in Engineering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two-year experience as a deputy minister. • A second-term Member of Parliament.
ADR9	Opposition	Female	Bumiputra	Muslim	PhD in Islamic Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR10	Government	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor in Social Science	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three-term experience as an assemblyman and state executive councillor. • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR11	Opposition	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Master in Asset Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-term experience in the House of Senate. • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR12	Government	Female	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Bachelor in Political Science	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-term experience as an assemblyman. • A second-term Member of Parliament. • Deputy-chair in a standing committee.
ADR13	Government	Female	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Bachelor in Public Relation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A second-term Member of Parliament.

Members of Parliaments	Block	Gender	Race	Religion	Tertiary Education Discipline	Experience as Parliamentarian/ Assemblyman
Dewan Rakyat						
ADR14	Government	Male	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Bachelor of Laws	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A second-term Member of Parliament.
ADR15	Government	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor in Marketing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR16	Government	Male	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Bachelor of Arts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two-term experience as an assemblyman. • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR17	Government	Male	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Bachelor Degree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR18	Government	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Doctor of Medicine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR19	Government	Female	Bumiputra	Muslim	Master in Business Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR20	Government	Male	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Master in Accounting and Finance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-term experience as an assemblyman. • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR21	Opposition	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor in Arabic Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR22	Government	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor Degree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-term experience as an assemblyman and state executive councillor. • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR23	Government	Male	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Master in Transportation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two-term experience as an assemblyman. • A first-time Member of Parliament.

Members of Parliaments	Block	Gender	Race	Religion	Tertiary Education Discipline	Experience as Parliamentarian/ Assemblyman
Dewan Rakyat						
ADR24	Government	Female	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor in Graphic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-term experience as an assemblyman • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR25	Government	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor of Laws	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR26	Government	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor of Laws	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A former minister. • A second-term Member of Parliament.
ADR27	Opposition	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor Busniess Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR28	Government	Male	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Bachelor Degree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two-term experience as an assemblyman and state executive councillor. • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR29	Opposition	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor in Business Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR30	Government	Male	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Diploma in Science	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two-term experience as an assemblyman and state executive councillor. • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR31	Government	Male	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Bachelor Degree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two-term experience as an assemblyman and state executive councillor. • A second-term Member of Parliament.

Members of Parliaments	Block	Gender	Race	Religion	Tertiary Education Discipline	Experience as Parliamentarian/ Assemblyman
Dewan Rakyat						
ADR32	Opposition	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Master in Nationhood Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR33	Government	Male	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Bachelor in Mechatronics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two-term experience as an assemblyman and one-term as state executive councillor. • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR34	Government	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor Degree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament
ADR35	Government	Female	Non-Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Master in Chemical Engineering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-term experience as an assemblyman. • Former minister. • A second-term Member of Parliament.
ADR36	Government	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor Degree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-term experience as an assemblyman. • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR37	Government	Female	Bumiputra	Muslim	Diploma in Nursing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-term experience as an assemblyman. • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR38	Opposition	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor in Islamic Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR39	Government	Male	Bumiputra	Muslim	Bachelor of Laws	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-time Member of Parliament.
ADR40	Government	Male	Bumiputra	Non-Muslim	Bachelor of Aquatic Science	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A second-term Member of Parliament.

Members of Parliaments	Big Bolds highlighted during the debate																
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Dewan Rakyat																	
ADR15			/				/					/					/
ADR16													/				/
ADR17			/					/							/		
ADR18									/			/		/			
ADR19					/		/		/		/		/				
ADR20				/			/			/	/				/		
ADR21	/	/					/					/					
ADR22				/							/	/	/				
ADR23				/							/	/	/				
ADR24							/	/		/			/				
ADR25	/	/															/
ADR26	/																
ADR27				/									/				
ADR28											/						
ADR29		/								/							/
ADR30										/				/			
ADR31													/				
ADR32				/									/				/
ADR33							/			/							/
ADR34												/					/
ADR35				/											/		
ADR36							/										
ADR37							/	/	/			/					/
ADR38			/									/					
ADR39					/		/									/	
ADR40													/				/
Dewan Negara																	
ADN1											/		/		/		
ADN2							/					/					
ADN3			/														/
ADN4			/														/
ADN5			/				/										/
Frequency counts	7	7	8	12	6	0	11	12	8	5	8	5	17	3	8	5	16

Appendix III

Analysis of the young parliamentarians' speech using the Deliberative Quality Index (DQI)

Members of Parliaments	Deliberative Quality Index (DQI)					Cumulative score
	Level of Justification	Content of Justification	Context Understanding	Counter-arguments	Constructive Politics	
Dewan Rakyat						
ADR1	2	2	1	1	2	8
ADR2	2	2	1	1	2	8
ADR3	2	2	2	1	2	9
ADR4	2	1	1	1	1	6
ADR5	3	3	3	2	3	14
ADR6	3	3	3	2	3	14
ADR7	3	3	2	2	3	13
ADR8	3	3	3	2	3	14
ADR9	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR10	3	3	3	3	3	15
ADR11	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR12	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR13	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR14	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR15	2	2	2	2	1	9
ADR16	3	2	2	2	2	11
ADR17	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR18	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR19	2	2	1	2	3	10
ADR20	2	3	3	2	2	12
ADR21	1	1	1	1	2	6
ADR22	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR23	3	2	2	2	2	11
ADR24	2	3	3	2	2	12
ADR25	3	2	2	2	2	11
ADR26	2	2	3	2	3	12

Members of Parliaments	Deliberative Quality Index (DQI)					Cumulative score
	Level of Justification	Content of Justification	Context Understanding	Counter-arguments	Constructive Politics	
Dewan Rakyat						
ADR27	1	2	1	1	2	7
ADR28	3	3	2	2	3	13
ADR29	2	2	1	2	3	10
ADR30	2	2	3	2	3	12
ADR31	2	2	3	2	3	12
ADR32	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR33	2	2	2	3	3	12
ADR34	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR35	3	3	3	5	3	15
ADR36	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR37	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR38	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADR39	2	2	2	2	3	11
ADR40	2	2	1	1	2	8
Dewan Negara						
ADN1	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADN2	2	2	2	2	2	10
ADN3	2	2	2	2	3	11
ADN4	3	3	2	2	3	13
ADN5	2	2	2	2	2	10