



Obstacles and Opportunities for Next Generation Leaders: A Barrier Analysis of Youth in Malaysian Political Parties

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Attention: Communications Department
International Republican Institute
1225 Eye Street NW, Suite 800
Washington, DC 20005
info@iri.org

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Young voters' influence on recent elections in Malaysia underscore the need for political parties to better understand and appeal to youth and how parties empower their own young members to grow into next generation leaders. The International Republican Institute (IRI) conducted a barrier analysis with 38 active and former youth members from 12 political parties in order to understand the extent to which Malaysian parties offer youth members opportunities to gain leadership skills and experience, and to identify obstacles to their leadership development and advancement. This report provides insight on the obstacles facing party youth and makes recommendations for political parties on how to mitigate barriers to next-generation leadership development.

Key Findings:

- **Finding 1:** Political parties generally do not offer regular leadership training opportunities for youth members. When they do, they are frequently selective, ad hoc, or highly localized.
- **Finding 2:** Parties expect youth members to organize and fund their own training programs. Doing so is a way to demonstrate electability.
- **Finding 3:** Not all parties offer mentorship or internship programs to train aspiring youth leaders and, among those that do, participants believe these programs often focus on busy work rather than teaching useful leadership, strategy, or governance skills.
- **Finding 4:** While receiving a political appointment is considered the best possible way for youth members to acquire leadership experience, few get the opportunity.
- **Finding 5:** Not all youth members who seek leadership training or experience aspire to elected office. However, for those who wish to acquire new skills or experience to serve the party, there is little opportunity to grow.
- **Finding 6:** Political advancement is often dependent on personal connections, patronage, or internal party politics, which party youth believe is detrimental to their leadership development.
- **Finding 7:** Participants favor political advancement based on ability, but merit alone cannot guarantee success, especially for the youngest, female, or most economically disadvantaged party members.
- **Finding 8:** Participants paint a picture of party culture largely indifferent to youth leadership development.
- **Finding 9:** Young female party members describe few opportunities for leadership experience and complain of tokenism.
- **Finding 10:** Most party constitutions give the parent party control over the organization and governance of youth wings, potentially limiting youth leadership opportunities.
- **Finding 11:** Party constitutions limit youth member representation and participation in party-wide decision-making.

BARRIER ANALYSIS OVERVIEW

To better inform its approach to youth empowerment and skills-building programs, IRI sought to identify obstacles to leadership development and advancement for Malaysian political party youth members. Specifically, the study sought to answer two primary questions:

1. To what extent are opportunities available to youth members aged 18–39 to obtain leadership experience or positions within their party?
2. What party practices, processes, rules, or traditions, if any, limit or make it difficult for youth members to obtain leadership experience or positions within their party?

Leadership development and advancement opportunities include, but are not limited to, training programs; mentorship; access to resources; participation in decision-making processes at the branch, division, state, or national level, electoral campaigns, annual general assemblies and internal party elections; and political appointments.

IRI collected data for this study between August 29 and October 12, 2023; an external consultant conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews (IDIs) with 38 individuals (13 women, 25 men) aged 18–41 from 12 political parties. Thirty-three individuals are registered, active, party youth members aged 18–39, and five are previous party youth members aged 40–41, who were selected for their perspectives as former members.¹ The external consultant selected study participants through purposive sampling² from a list of approximately 390 former IRI beneficiaries.

The study sample skews disproportionately male, Malay, and toward peninsular-based parties.³ Additional details about methodology, including participants' party membership and other information, can be found in Appendix A. Study participants were recruited using the screening questionnaire in Appendix C.

In line with qualitative research, the findings described in this report do not necessarily reflect the circumstances of all youth members in the political parties included in this study. Rather, the findings are reflective of the obstacles facing Malaysian political party youth. For purposes of the findings, IRI does not distinguish between the parties with age-defined youth wings – the vast majority – and the Malaysian United Democratic Alliance (MUDA), which does not. For analysis of party constitutions, IRI uses the terms branch, division, and state to refer to the different, yet identical-in-meaning, names used by parties to identify specific administrative-geographic units.

¹ The official age limit for youth in Malaysia is 40, and many, although not all, political parties use that as the age limit for membership in their party youth wing.

² Purpose sampling, also known as selective sampling, is a non-probability sampling technique in which researchers use their judgment to select specific individuals that can provide the best information to achieve the study's objectives. It is commonly used in qualitative research to focus on relatively small samples and access subsets of the population with specific characteristics.

³ Of the 12 parties represented in the study, only one party, WARISAN, represents East Malaysia, a region consisting of roughly one-fifth of Malaysia's population and elected federal representatives, respectively.

CONTEXT: YOUTH IN MALAYSIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Since the passage of the voting age constitutional amendment known as Vote 18 in 2019, Malaysian political parties have placed added emphasis on attracting younger voters who make up a disproportionate share of the country's eligible voting population. In order to enhance their appeal to young voters, during the 15th General Election in November 2022 (GE15) and the state elections in August 2023, parties fielded more young candidates than ever before and proposed ambitious new economic policies to empower and uplift youth.

This renewed attention on youth underscores not just the need for political parties to better understand young voters' political preferences and attitudes – that effort is ongoing – but also how parties empower their own young members to become next generation leaders. Indeed, the failure of many Malaysian political parties to foster generational change has eroded first-time youth voters' faith in political leaders,⁴ just as young people across the world are turning away from formal political institutions.^{5,6}

Depending on the political party to which they belong, most young Malaysian party members belong to a youth wing, a semi-independent body in the parent party that has its own governing bodies, officers, and leadership dynamics.⁷ Although there are differences across parties in Malaysia, youth wings serve primarily to engage, recruit, educate, and mobilize young members, often during election time. While membership in a youth wing is determined largely by age – usually 18–35 or 18–40⁸ -- it may also be determined by gender; several parties maintain two separate youth wings, one for men and one for women.⁹ Once young members reach the youth wing's age limit they transition to the party's general membership, which typically, although not always, affords them additional rights and privileges they may not have enjoyed in the youth wing, including eligibility for party-wide office and voting rights during annual general assemblies and party elections.

Like members of the parent party, most youth members belong to local chapters of the national youth organization, such as branch (*cawangan*), division (*bahagian*), area (*kawasan*), or state (*negeri*) chapters, depending on the party. Members from party youth wings are represented in the parent party's executive, either through constitutionally guaranteed seats or appointment, although representation is generally limited.

Ideally, youth wings also serve as incubators for future party leaders. However, how, or how effectively they do so is often unclear. The limited research on the role of youth wings in promoting leadership and political participation is mixed. A study across several countries by the Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS) on how parties and youth wings develop young leaders suggests, on the one hand, that youth wings offer meaningful avenues for participation and leadership when the parent party provides an enabling environment. However, the study also suggests that youth wings can marginalize youth voices and inculcate a system of centralized decision-making based on seniority, loyalty, or patronage.¹⁰ The Konrad Adenauer Stiftung conducted a study in 2023 in Malaysia that

⁴ *Malaysia Focus Group Research: Motivations and Political Perspectives Among GE15 Youth Voters (18-25) in Kedah, Negeri Sembilan, and Selangor*, International Republican Institute, June 2023. <https://www.iri.org/resources/malaysia-focus-group-research-june-2023/>

⁵ Dougherty, Rachel, Erin Mazursky, Anh-Thu Nguyen, and Hemly Ordonez. (2016), "The New Global Citizen: Harnessing Youth Leadership to Reshape Civil Society," Rhize. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/54c7f971e4b0d312f4d794ef/t/57e148d4c534a599a9d01b93/1474382047223/The+New+Global+Citizen-Exec+Summ.pdf>

⁶ Crowley, A., & Moxon, D. (2017), "New and innovative forms of youth participation in decision-making processes, Council of Europe," <https://rm.coe.int/new-and-innovative-forms-of-youth-participation-in-decision-making-pro/1680759e6a>

⁷ Youth and Elections, ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, <https://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/yt/yt30/youth-party-wings>

⁸ The Malaysian United Democratic Alliance (MUDA) does not have a youth wing.

⁹ The United Malay National Organization (UMNO), National Trust Party (AMANAH), Malaysian United Indigenous Party (BERSATU), the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), Homeland Fighter's Party (PEJUANG), and the Heritage Party (WARISAN) parties, for example, have separate youth wings for young male and female members. The Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) does not have a women's youth wing, though it does have a committee for female youth members under its men's youth wing.

¹⁰ *Taking Wing: Pathways to Participation and Leadership Offered by Political Party Youth Wings Preliminary Research Findings*, National Democratic Institute (through the Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening), 26 June 2018, <https://www.youthpower.org/resources/taking-wing-pathways-participation-and-leadership-offered-political-party-youth-wings-summary-document-preliminary-research-findings>

examined the challenges facing women party members. That study suggests that the abrupt transition from the youth to the women's wing disrupts leadership continuity in the youth wing¹¹ and diminishes the influence of female members in the new caucus.

An examination of the relevant provisions of thirteen¹² party constitutions shows that the rights, privileges, and representation granted to youth members in decision-making processes, as prescribed in the constitutions, vary widely across parties. However, the rights, privileges, and representation of youth are all largely narrow compared to members in the parent party, where ultimate authority is vested and exercised. Like how the CEPPS study correlated youth disempowerment with a lack of clarity between the youth wing and the parent party, IRI's desk review suggests that the power many party constitutions grant to the central executive committees to determine the structure and role of the youth wing likely contributes to dependency, disempowerment, and peripheralization of young members. Nine¹³ of the party constitutions IRI examined, for example, establish a youth wing but stipulate its governance structure must be drafted or approved by the party's executive body.¹⁴ By contrast, the Malaysian Islamic Party's (PAS) and Socialist Party of Malaysia's (PSM) constitutions describe in great detail the structure, roles, and responsibilities of their youth wings (although they may not necessarily offer greater authority to their youth wings than the other parties do).

¹¹ Ummu Atiyah Ahmad Zakuan, *Challenges for Women in Political Parties in Malaysia and Acceleration Strategies to Leadership in Politics*, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 8 Feb 2023. <https://www.kas.de/en/web/malaysia/single-title/-/content/challenges-for-women-in-political-parties-in-malaysia>

¹² Democratic Action Party (DAP), Heritage Party (WARISAN), Homeland Fighter's Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS), Malaysian People's Movement Party (Gerakan), Malaysian United Democratic Alliance (MUDA), Malaysian, United Indigenous Party (BERSATU), National Trust Party AMANAH), People's Justice Party (PKR), Socialist Party of Malaysia (PSM), United Malays National Organization (UMNO).

¹³ PKR, DAP, AMANAH, BERSATU, Gerakan, MCA, MIC, PEJUANG, and WARISAN.

¹⁴ Because that information is not publicly available, IRI cannot assess provisions for party youth wing management beyond what is provided in party constitutions.

FINDINGS

The study findings paint a complex and challenging, picture of youth leadership development and advancement across political parties in Malaysia. Parties generally lack consistent and inclusive leadership training opportunities, and youth members must often organize their own programs, in part to demonstrate their leadership potential to more senior leaders. The preference for political appointments to gain experience highlights not just the scarcity of learning opportunities but the importance of political connections to individual advancement. The study also exposes barriers related not just to age but also gender and economic background. The findings suggest that party leaders' commitment to youth development varies, and individual actors and outside factors exert outsize influence on youth leaders' potential political advancement. The findings indicate a need for more equitable and robust opportunities for leadership growth in political party organizations.

The findings also reveal an acute tension between patronage- and merit-based advancement. Study participants described a system in which opportunity and access come through personal connections and loyalty, rather than through ability and merit. Party youth described being expected to "wait their turn" for leadership opportunities, an expectation most of them chafed at yet begrudgingly accepted. On the other hand, study participants reported that superior skills, or seizing an opportunity, led to merit-based advancement and bypassed traditional obstacles. While study participants support merit-based advancement, they recognize that it operates in parallel to an inescapable web of personal connections and political alignment. Half of the study participants said they advanced based on their ability, not their personal connections. However, they nonetheless depicted merit-based advancement as an opaque, arbitrary process that mainly benefits economically advantaged or privileged youth.¹⁵

Evaluation Question 1: To what extent are opportunities available to youth members aged 18-39 to obtain leadership experience or positions within their party?

Finding 1: Political parties generally do not offer regular leadership training opportunities for youth members. When they do, they are frequently selective, ad hoc, or highly localized.

The availability of leadership training opportunities for youth members varies by party. However, according to most study participants, political leadership (or other) training opportunities are few and far between. When political leadership (or other) training opportunities occur, they are often small, local, or one-off programs. Study participants reported that individual youth wing members usually organize these training opportunities at the branch or division level on their own initiative and personal expense, rather than as part of a party-wide effort. A former member of UMNO's women youth wing (40-44, Malay, Johor) said training programs used to be held year-round but are now only conducted around elections. Another, a male participant from the People's Justice Party (PKR) (30-34, Malay, Putrajaya) complained that youth training programs are not seen as a priority when elections are not imminent.

For many leadership development programs, organizers often invite external speakers or trainers to lead the sessions; several participants referred to training opportunities conducted by civil society or international organizations. Training topics cited by student participants included campaign, team, and event management and governance. The youth wing members who initiate these activities are often active in their local chapter, seek to advance within the party, or are sufficiently networked or senior to obtain funding. Most study participants referenced a party training program they had either joined or heard of, but few could attest to formal standing leadership training initiatives.

A majority of study participants noted that training programs are not held as regularly as they would like and, according to many, often cater to more senior youth leaders such as branch or division chiefs. In their opinion, those chosen for training had strong connections to key party leaders, leaving most youth members without access to similar opportunities. A male member (25-29, Selangor) of the Malaysian, United Indigenous Party's (BERSATU) youth wing, Armada, stressed that the party needed a stronger vision and to develop long-term training for its youth members. Seven study participants suggested parties collaborate with university-aged students and people younger than 18 in order to instill stronger political education and interest in politics from an early age.

¹⁵ Opinions from five former party youth members (aged 40-41) included in the study did not deviate notably from those of the registered party youth (aged 18-39).

Finding 2: Parties expect youth members to organize and fund their own training programs. Doing so is a way to demonstrate electability.

Study participants noted that individual resourcefulness and initiative were important skills for party youth members. Specifically, participants said they needed to rely on self-funding, fundraising, marketing, and volunteer recruitment for many branch and division-level training programs. As a result, they leveraged their personal networks to secure resources and sponsorships to pay for food and refreshments or to get external speakers to headline these events. However, beyond simply a scarcity of available funds within the party for youth development programs, a majority of participants also reported being expected to find funds independently to demonstrate to party leadership their grassroots support, leadership ability, and electability, key skills for a future political candidate. In this sense, self-funding is not simply an exercise in practicality, but also a way of proving one's influence, community presence, and electoral competitiveness. As one male BERSATU member (25-29, Malay, Selangor) put it: youth members must show that they can work, find funds on their own, and not rely on the party. Similarly, according to a male member of the Heritage Party (WARISAN) (35-39, Orang Asal, Sabah): party youth have to organize programs on their own to build a local presence and to make them "winnable candidates."

As such, it is often older youth wing members, mid-career professionals or those from economically privileged backgrounds who are likely to have the financial resources, connections, and/or time to organize training opportunities. The youngest party members interviewed, those under 25, noted that organizing and funding such activities were often out of reach for those with responsibilities outside of party politics, such as work and school. As a former Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) youth wing member (male, 40-44, Malay, Selangor) put it: those youth wing members with access to financial support outside the party have an edge over their peers.

Finding 3: Not all parties offer mentorship or internship programs to train aspiring youth leaders and, among the ones that do, participants believe these programs often focus on busy work rather than teaching useful leadership, strategy, or governance skills.

According to study participants, not all parties offer young members internship or mentorship programs to support leadership development. Participants with access to such programs were critical of their value and execution. While a minority of study participants acknowledged that internships may be a useful way to gain skills or experience, especially for new members, all complained about their quality or suggested ways to improve them.

Eight participants attributed participation in such programs with progression in the party, such as an appointment to a party office or greater responsibility, while others described a lack of new opportunities after the internship ended. Participants complained about the content of the internship programs, which they said focus on menial busy work rather than substantive leadership or management experience. According to these participants, the ideal internship or mentorship program would be accessible to all youth party members and focus on teaching leadership, strategy, and governance skills.

A minority of participants raised questions about their parties' lack of adequate sistem pelapis (succession plans) within the party. They suggested that succession should be driven, at least in part, by generational turnover. Several of these participants expressed the belief that clear succession plans would limit nepotism and favoritism and provide party youth members a clearer view of a potential leadership path. A minority of participants felt that older leaders in parties with representation in parliament or state assemblies intended to hold on to their positions until they died, rather than prepare for the next generation. A former PKR youth member (male, 35-39, Indian, Penang) argued that succession planning not only tests and prepares future leaders, it also instills a culture of achievement that supports change. For a Homeland Fighter's Party (PEJUANG) member (male, 40-44, Malay, Kuala Lumpur), programs that pair young members with senior leaders will help young leaders gain experience and better integrate youth into central leadership.

Finding 4: While receiving a political appointment is considered the best possible way for youth members to acquire leadership experience, few get the opportunity.

For all participants, appointment as a special officer to a Member of Parliament or state legislator, to a position in a ministry, agency, or government-linked company (GLC), the party, or on a local council is a key goal, and seen as the most effective way to gain leadership experience. Yet only five study participants reported receiving such appointments. According to participants, these appointments are one of the few ways for young party members to learn about governance and management, cultivate networks, access resources, and build political capital. They also come with salaries that provide a way for aspiring youth leaders to transition into a full-time political career. For a male PKR participant (30–34, Malay, Negeri Sembilan), such appointments are important because of a lack of opportunity to learn and grow elsewhere. A female National Trust Party (AMANAH) participant (30–34, Malay, Selangor) said political appointments offered important exposure to the governance process. According to a majority of study participants, these appointments get people noticed in, and possibly outside, of their political parties. They can also attract the attention of senior party leaders who might take an interest in what they see as a rising star and for future candidacy, the main goal for the majority of study participants.

While most study participants believe that many of these appointments are based on personal connections rather than ability, none of them see such a practice as problematic. Rather, appointments through personal connection are viewed as a sought-after perk for parties in power. A minority of participants expressed appreciation for parties that offer positions to youth wing members based on their ability but admitted that it is something they believe is rare.

Finding 5: Not all youth members who seek leadership training or experience aspire to elected office. However, for those who wish to acquire new skills or experience to serve the party, there is little opportunity to grow.

At least seven study participants identified themselves as a political “operative” and expressed no aspirations for elected office or public-facing roles. Instead, they seek to serve the party, a superior, or candidates in a supporting role, such as in campaign management, strategy, or administration. For these individuals, a minority, most parties have no way to support their professional growth. Those interviewed said their parties have no framework for training these such operatives, nor a way for “fixers,” a term used by one participant, to share their knowledge internally. These individuals must learn on the job or, if they are lucky, from someone with prior experience who is willing to coach them. Moreover, these participants feel the only way to obtain these skills within the party would be to run for office where learning may follow. A female former Democratic Action Party (DAP) youth wing member (40–44, Malay, Selangor) who identified as an operative, is seeking the “freedom” of growing without having to run for elected office.

Evaluation Question 2: What party practices, processes, rules or traditions, if any, limit or make it difficult for youth members to obtain leadership experience or positions within their party?

Finding 6: Political advancement is often dependent on personal connections, patronage, or internal party politics, which party youth believe is detrimental to youth leadership development.

Again and again, study participants from across parties described the same set of obstacles when it came to advancement within the party and expressed frustration with how arbitrary, meritless, and contingent upon personal connections the process can be. Collectively, their insights paint a nuanced picture in which personal connections, local dynamics, and networks play pivotal roles in shaping young members’ leadership journey.

Study participants criticized parties’ patronage-based nature and consider those who rise in the party through personal connections lacking inspiration or leadership capacity. They view patronage politics as hierarchical, unfair, and a system that promotes *macai* (a derogatory term that refers to blind followers) rather than capable leaders. They also expressed that patronage robbed able youth of opportunities to grow. Many participants implicitly criticized how blind loyalty to certain leaders props up a system that is both prejudiced against cultivating youth leadership and reproaches them for advocating greater meritocracy. In their view, those who disagree with rewarding political loyalty are told to be patient, wait their turn, and respect their elders, which is out of step with merit-based advancement. According to a Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) youth member (male, 35–39, Chinese, Perak), this system does not favor youth.

Most participants across parties acknowledged the necessity of operating in what they characterize as an imperfect system. They are focused on upward mobility and willing to attach themselves to individuals or camps they see as useful. In interviews, the concept of *kabel* (cable), or personal connection, surfaced prominently, emphasizing the link between personal relationships and political advancement. Speaking about candidate selection, a female AMANAH participant (30–34, Malay, Selangor) believes candidate selection is difficult without *kabel* to national leaders.

Internal politics wield considerable influence on one's leadership trajectory, with advancement frequently hinging on the dynamics and personalities unique to party branches and divisions. Study participants noted that a young member's relationships with specific leaders or factions was an important part of their success. According to one male PKR member (20–24, Malay, Selangor), aligning with "the winning faction" – a candidate, leader, or local gatekeeper and the members affiliated with them – is vital for aspiring leaders, because winning factions have access to more resources and appointment opportunities. Conversely, participants described untangling themselves from a losing network as difficult. According to a male party youth member from DAP (30–34, Chinese, Selangor): political progression largely depends on internal politics.

Timing and visibility were also recurring themes, underscoring the importance of "being noticed" and strategically positioning oneself at opportune moments. Raising one's profile among branch, division, state, or even central executive committee leaders involves cultivating political networks and alignment with particular leaders, according to at least one party member (male, 40–44, Gerakan, Penang). To another male PAS member (40–44, Selangor), party youth only advance when selected by more senior leaders.

Finding 7: Participants favor political advancement based on ability, but merit alone cannot guarantee success, especially for the youngest, female, or most economically disadvantaged party members.

Most participants believe merit-based advancement provides for a faster progression through party hierarchy. A minority of participants noted that, in recent years, political fragmentation and party membership mobility has offered youth wing members a unique opportunity to rise more quickly by showcasing their skills or value add. However, regardless of party, study participants generally described circumstances in which merit and ability are admired and occasionally rewarded, but almost always come second to the influence of personal connections.

Study participants described the pitfalls of purely meritocratic advancement. Although all participants liked it when a party rewarded a youth member for achievement and contributions, most said merit-based advancement is not transparent because the justification for upward mobility is not public. Likewise, those participants who said they advanced in their party because of merit, more than half of the study participants, explained that merit-based advancement may prevent youth leaders from building the grassroots support to win party elections, in which party branches, divisions, and warlords, influential figures within the party who wield significant power over grassroots networks in specific regions or constituencies, are key. According to them, rapid advancement, rather than steady progression, may inadvertently weaken young members' chances or foster resentment – "jumping the queue" -- among constituencies they might need for support in the future.

Visibility was a key theme that surfaced repeatedly in interviews. Participants noted that attracting leadership attention requires considerable time, labor, money, and networks, things which younger, female, and economically disadvantaged youth members may not have. For those study participants involved in party politics while working, studying, or doing home care, merit-based advancement is not considered equitable, fair, or always accessible.¹⁶

Finding 8: Participants paint a picture of party culture largely indifferent to youth leadership development.

Study participants were generally evenly divided on the extent to which their parties empower youth wing members and invest in future party leaders. Views on whether their party leadership supports youth wing members or not were not unique to specific parties, coalitions, or even whether the party was in government or not. Indeed, in many cases, participants from the same party held opposing opinions on the topic. However, all participants acknowledged the lack of leadership opportunities for party youth.

¹⁶ See Challenges for Women in Political Parties in Malaysia and Acceleration Strategies to Leadership in Politics (above) for more information on the unique challenges facing woman party members.

Among those who believe their party's leaders do not support youth, study participants said they thought older leaders feared a new generation will displace them, that senior leaders were unwilling to relinquish power, or that leadership is simply indifferent to young members. A male participant from the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) (30–34, Malay, Terengganu) said leaders do not consider youth members an asset and offer only rhetorical, not practical, support for youth empowerment, citing how the youth wing leader in his state was denied an opportunity to contest a seat in a recent election. A male participant from AMANAH (30–34, Malay, Perak) likewise lamented what he described as the lack of generational “rejuvenation” in the party. He noted that party leaders denied youth members roles on national committees, confining them to the youth wing. For a male participant from PEJUANG (40–44, Malay, Kuala Lumpur) who described himself as disillusioned, the party's leadership largely ignores young members, and treats them simply as workhorses for the party's machinery. He cited specific terms, like *geng gantung bendera* (flag hanging gang) and *geng terdesak* (desperate gang)¹⁷ that connote instrumentality, to illustrate how inconsequentially party leaders view youth members.

Even those study participants who believe their party leaders support youth development acknowledge negligence and a lack of leadership and training opportunities for youth members. This suggests broad agreement on the need for stronger youth empowerment across parties. Although a participant from PKR (male, 20–24, Malay, Selangor) credited party leaders for supporting young members, he expressed frustration with a dearth of leadership opportunities like appointment to GLCs or roles as special officers.

Finding 9: Young female party members describe few opportunities for leadership experience and complain of tokenism.

A minority of female study participants praised programs designed specifically for women party members, but the majority said women have fewer opportunities than their male peers to learn leadership skills or obtain experience. A female PAS study participant (30–34, Malay, Selangor) described how her party's male youth wing offers internships, but Ameerah PAS, the party's female youth committee, does not. Other women said male members were prioritized for leadership training while they had to go out of their way to ask for learning opportunities or were overlooked (female, WARISAN, 30–34, Orang Asal, Sabah). Notably, only a minority explicitly attributed the lack of opportunity to patriarchy, although most described gender tokenism. Another participant, a female UMNO member (40–44, Malay, Johor) who recently transitioned from the party's female youth wing (Puteri UMNO) to its women's wing (Wanita UMNO), said the transition slowed her progress as a leader because she had few connections in the women's wing.

Although not unique to Malaysia, most female study participants said others viewed them as part-time politicians, because of the struggle to balance family with party responsibilities. One participant said she thought female politicians are most driven when they are younger, but family obligations, as they age, push politics to the side. In some political parties, female participants pointed out that women leaders were often selected to speak at events or contest a seat simply to showcase female participation. In their opinion, female voices are often absent from party discourse outside of the women's wing.

Finding 10: Most party constitutions give the parent party control over the organization and governance of youth wings, potentially limiting youth leadership opportunities.

IRI's desk review of different party constitutions found that most grant relatively little autonomy to party youth wings. Because of their constitutionally provided power to define youth wing organization and governance, parent party central executive committees exert outsized influence over them. This lack of autonomy may limit young members' opportunities for engagement, independence, representation, motivation, and leadership. Youth wing autonomy generally falls under one of three broad categories: prescribed, partially prescribed, or executive dependent.¹⁸

Prescribed refers to party constitutions that establish a youth wing's (or a gendered youth wing's) and detail its structure, its committees, and/or the responsibilities of its officers. PAS and the Socialist Party of Malaysia's (PSM) constitutions fall under this category. They articulate, in detail, the structure, governance, and individual responsibilities of youth

¹⁷ These terms refer to party youth members who are instructed by party leaders or paid to hang party flags and bunting during election campaigns.

¹⁸ Because it has no youth wing, MUDA is excluded from categorization.

wing committee members and tasks them with organizing their annual national conference.¹⁹ This suggests a degree of freedom, self-government, and insulation from interference by the parent party.

Partially prescribed refers to constitutions that recognize a youth wing and may outline some autonomy but delegates most authority over its organization and governance to the parent party. PKR and UMNO may fall under this category: their constitutions empower their youth wings to establish their own rules, subject to the approval of the parent party,²⁰ and specifies the election of youth wing leaders at the national, division, and branch levels.²¹

Executive dependent refers to youth wings in parties with constitutions that are largely silent on independent governance. The parent party's executive committee defines the organization and governance of the youth wings. Most parties in this study, DAP, AMANAH, BERSATU, Gerakan, MCA, the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), PEJUANG, and WARISAN, fall under this category. In these cases, the party constitution instructs the central executive committee to outline their youth wings' structure, rules, and responsibilities through party by-laws and internal policies. This system suggests youth wing members may have a smaller role in self-governance, which could impact opportunities for leadership experience.²²

Finding 11: Party constitutions limit youth member representation and participation in party-wide decision-making.

Access and equity are important in ensuring that all party members, regardless of age or other considerations, can influence decisions about their party's direction, policies, and strategy. However, according to the party constitutions examined in this desk review, youth members' participation in two key decision-making processes is limited; this likely marginalizes youth members and impedes their ability to lead. Although each constitution is different, all examined in this study restrict youth member participation in annual general assemblies, where important party-wide resolutions are adopted and officers elected, and on executive committees, where policymaking and strategy are formulated.

The number of youth wing representatives at their parties' national conference and general assemblies varies but does not typically exceed more than a few dozen, a small fraction of those in attendance. Even in PKR and MIC, where more youth wing members are guaranteed a seat, youth representation in national assemblies is comparatively small.²³ In many parties, the national youth chief and a select number of other youth wing representatives, often state and division-level leaders, are constitutionally guaranteed a seat and a right to vote. By comparison, two party constitutions, DAP and PSM, do not include provisions providing for their youth wing members to attend their party's national conference.

Most party constitutions limit youth representation on their party's central executive committee, their party's highest decision-making body. Although most parties provide for some youth wing representation, either through appointment or constitutional guarantee, younger members (and their perspectives) are largely absent. For example, DAP and PSM are unique in that they do not guarantee a seat for their national youth leaders on the party's central executive body. According to the party's constitution, DAP's youth chief must compete against other central executive committee candidates for a spot on the 30-seat body.²⁴ In comparison, AMANAH, PAS, Gerakan, MCA, PEJUANG,²⁵ and Warisan ensure a seat (or two, if there are separate male and female youth wings) for their national youth wing leaders on their central executive decision-making body. PKR's constitution guarantees seats for both the youth wing chief and deputy chief. BERSATU, UMNO, and MIC guarantee seats for the youth wing chief, deputy chief, and at least one other member (or more) of the youth wing.

¹⁹ Parti Sosialis Malaysia (PSM), "Program, Peraturan dan Dasar Perjuangan Parti Sosialis Malaysia" Fasal 13B,4.0-8.0, 2018; and Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS), "Perlembagaan Parti Islam Se-Malaysia," Fasal 54-65.

²⁰ Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR), "Perlembagaan Parti Keadilan Rakyat" Fasal 25, 25.2.

²¹ Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu (UMNO), "Perlembagaan UMNO 2023" Fasal 9,15,18,9.4,15.3, 18.2.

²² It is important to note that this assessment is based solely on provisions, or a lack thereof, in party constitutions. Youth wings whose autonomy may be considered executive dependent because their parent party's executive committee determines their rules may, in fact, exercise a greater degree of independence than acknowledged here, if the party's by-laws or policies provide for it. As noted above, that information is not publicly available and was not examined in this review.

²³ Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR), "Perlembagaan Parti Keadilan Rakyat," Fasal 17, 7.2, 2018, and Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), "Malaysian Indian Congress Constitution," Fasal 70.3, 2018, respectively.

²⁴ The youth chief will become an ex-officio member without voting rights on the central executive committee if they fail to be elected or co-opted. Democratic Action Party Constitution, Clause X(1)(c).

²⁵ The party president has the power to appoint one other representative from the youth wing besides the national youth chief.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EMPOWERING NEXT-GENERATION PARTY LEADERS

If Malaysia's political parties are to become more inclusive, resilient, and – most importantly – competitive, they must re-evaluate how they engage with the growing share of young voters and how they empower their youth members to become next-generation party leaders. Youth members must also be effectively integrated in decision-making processes. Findings from this barrier analysis suggest several recommendations to achieve this.

- 1. Lower the maximum age for youth wing membership.** For some parties, individuals as old as 35 or even 40 are still youth wing members, delaying their entry into the party's general membership well into adulthood. The rationale for lowering the maximum age of youth wing members is twofold. First, it will help keep youth wings focused on issues relevant to young members, like developing foundational political literacy and skills. Second, the parent party will benefit from the participation of younger members, relatively speaking, in leadership, decision-making, and strategy. This, in turn, will boost the party's adaptability, innovative thinking, and integrate diverse viewpoints. This might improve the party's appeal among younger voters and it will also more effectively facilitate generational renewal in parties, a change that is necessary to remain relevant and competitive.
- 2. Scale up long-term youth leadership training.** With fewer opportunities available for its members between election cycles, many youth wings downshift after election day. One of the best, and easiest, ways for branch or national-level leaders to empower youth members (and keep them engaged between elections) is to invest in long-term leadership training, such as workshops, team building, and lectures. Often, the expertise required for these trainings already exists in parties, since individual many parent party members already have relevant communication, campaign, constituent engagement, policymaking, or other experience. Parties should tap these internal resources for branch, division, or even state-level activities outside of the campaign period.
- 3. Institute purpose-driven youth leadership internship and mentorship programs.** Parent parties, youth wings, and/or functional units in a party should build time-bound, skills-focused internship and mentorship programs. These programs should be organized around achieving clear goals, including developing political skills, knowledge, party operations and strategy, hands-on experience, and opportunities to interact with decision-makers. These programs will empower emerging leaders by giving them access to broad political networks, expanding their exposure to new constituencies, and enhancing their political skills. Programs should set goals and professional development objectives, identify realistic timelines and milestones, and include constructive feedback. This will benefit individual youth members and help develop a pool of capable future leaders, strengthen relationships with younger constituencies, and promote party allegiance over individual loyalty.
- 4. Enshrine greater representation for youth members in decision-making processes in party constitutions.** As noted in Finding 9, youth member representation and participation in party-wide decision-making processes and elections is limited and often determined by processes not explicitly specified in a party's constitution. This likely reinforces favoritism or nepotism in youth leadership selection, marginalizes youth members in the party, and limits diverse perspectives in decision-making. It also fails to leverage young members' talents and squanders the opportunity to make the party more dynamic and competitive. Attracting young voters is more important now than ever, and parties should adapt their policies and practices to integrate young people and better reflect the constituents they (seek to) serve.
- 5. Expand party youth wings' influence on policymaking.** Beyond supporting election campaigns and new member recruitment, youth wings should also collaborate with, and contribute to, all parts of the party. Youth wings should also help shape the party's policy overall agenda. Parties can integrate young members' perspective and concerns into policy, including manifestos, policy proposals, and even legislation; ensuring ideas that are more responsive to and better resonate with youth.

- 6. Ensure that leadership training opportunities are available for female youth members.** As Finding 9 details, female youth members from across parties have a harder time than their male counterparts in regard to opportunities for leadership experience. Whether leadership training is organized at the central, branch, or even individual-level, women need equal access in order to become next-generation leaders.
- 7. Recognize the achievements and contributions of young members.** Positive reinforcement is simple yet effective. It combats disenchantment, or worse, disillusionment. To counteract disillusion, parties must demonstrate their commitment to their youth members, encourage their participation, and improve the party's image among youth constituencies.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Methodology

In total, 38 in-depth, virtual interviews were conducted between August 29 and October 12, 2023, with active and former political party youth members aged 18–41. Of the 38 individuals interviewed, 16 were women. Thirty-three were active members aged 18–39 at the time of the interview, while five were previous youth wing members aged 40–41, who were selected because they were recently youth wing members. They represent 12 political parties from across 12 states or federal territories. Interviews were conducted in English and Bahasa Melayu.

An external consultant conducted the interviews on IRI's behalf. IRI developed the barrier analysis scope of work, interview protocol (Appendix B), and recruitment screener (Appendix C), while the external consultant carried out the interviews. The external consultant selected the study participants through purposive sampling from among a list of approximately 390 party youth members who participated in an IRI activity in the past four years. Study participant selection criteria was based on gender/ethnicity/age parity; with a goal to represent the largest possible number of political parties and states.²⁶ Selection was not based on participants' positions within their youth wings.

Analysis of the interview data was based on interview recordings, summary notes, and a consultant-produced an analytic report produced by the external consultant that synthesized findings across all interviews. Findings and recommendations were also based on triangulating interview data with party constitutions. IRI's desk review of party constitutions investigated the extent to which they provide for the establishment of a youth wing, define youth wing membership criteria, provide for representation of youth wing members in the parent party's annual general assembly and the central executive committee, and specify youth member eligibility to contest internal positions.

Data limitations included the unwillingness of some party youth to participate in in-depth interviews, gender and racial imbalances in the sample pool, limited representation from East Malaysia in the sample pool, and a 30-minute time cap on interviews. As a result, the sample skews disproportionately male, Malay, and towards peninsular-based parties.

Final List of Study Participants						
Party	Participant	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	State	Interview Date
PKR	Participant 1	Woman	30–34	Malay	Pahang	September 3, 2023
PKR	Participant 2	Man	30–34	Malay	Putrajaya	September 1, 2023
PKR	Participant 3	Man	30–34	Malay	Negeri Sembilan	September 4, 2023
PKR	Participant 4	Man	35–39	Indian	Penang	September 1, 2023
PKR	Participant 5	Man	20–24	Malay	Selangor	October 3, 2023
DAP	Participant 6	Man	30–34	Chinese	Selangor	August 29, 2023
DAP	Participant 7	Man	25–29	Malay	Selangor	August 29, 2023
DAP	Participant 8	Woman	30–34	Indian	Selangor	September 5, 2023

²⁶ To safeguard the identity of study participants, ages are displayed in ranges (20–24, 25–29, 30–34, 35–39, 40–44) in the above Final List of Study Participants table.

DAP	Participant 9	Woman	40-44	Malay	Selangor	September 4, 2023
DAP	Participant 10	Woman	30-34	Malay	Kuala Lumpur	September 5, 2023
UMNO	Participant 11	Woman	40-44	Malay	Johor	September 4, 2023
UMNO	Participant 12	Man	30-34	Malay	Terengganu	September 6, 2023
UMNO	Participant 13	Man	30-34	Malay	Selangor	October 4, 2023
UMNO	Participant 14	Man	20-24	Malay	Selangor	October 4, 2023
UMNO	Participant 15	Man	35-39	Malay	Selangor	October 4, 2023
PAS	Participant 16	Woman	30-34	Malay	Selangor	September 7, 2023
PAS	Participant 17	Man	35-39	Indian	Pahang	September 7, 2023
PAS	Participant 18	Man	40-44	Malay	Selangor	September 27, 2023
BERSATU	Participant 19	Man	25-29	Malay	Selangor	September 6, 2023
BERSATU	Participant 20	Man	30-34	Malay	Kuala Lumpur	September 12, 2023
BERSATU	Participant 21	Man	25-29	Malay	Selangor	October 3, 2023
AMANAH	Participant 22	Woman	30-34	Malay	Selangor	September 12, 2023
AMANAH	Participant 23	Man	30-34	Malay	Perak	September 14, 2023
AMANAH	Participant 24	Man	35-39	Malay	Kedah	September 12, 2023
AMANAH	Participant 25	Man	30-34	Malay	Melaka	September 13, 2023
MCA	Participant 26	Man	35-39	Chinese	Perak	October 3, 2023
MUDA	Participant 27	Woman	20-24	Indian	Selangor	September 28, 2023
MUDA	Participant 28	Woman	25-29	Malay	Kedah	September 26, 2023
MUDA	Participant 29	Man	25-29	Malay	Pahang	September 29, 2023
MUDA	Participant 30	Man	25-29	Chinese	Penang	October 4, 2023
MUDA	Participant 31	Woman	30-34	Malay	Johor	October 9, 2023

Gerakan	Participant 32	Man	40-44	Chinese	Kuala Lumpur	September 26, 2023
Gerakan	Participant 33	Man	35-39	Chinese	Penang	October 11, 2023
PSM	Participant 34	Woman	20-24	Indian	Negeri Sembilan	October 2, 2023
PEJUANG	Participant 35	Woman	30-34	Malay	Kuala Lumpur	August 29, 2023
PEJUANG	Participant 36	Man	40-44	Malay	Kuala Lumpur	September 29, 2023
Warisan	Participant 37	Woman	30-34	Orang Asal (Sabah)	Sabah	October 9, 2023
Warisan	Participant 38	Man	35-39	Orang Asal (Sabah)	Sabah	October 12, 2023

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Notes for the Interviewer

Duration of interview: Approximately 30 minutes

Interviews may take place either in-person or virtually, however the interviewer is required to provide audio or, in the case of virtual interviews, video recordings of each KII. Recordings should be high quality with clear sound and include the entirety of the KII. Recordings should be saved as individual audio files and identify the individual being interviewed as well as the date, time and location of the KII.

Interviews will be conducted only with consent of the participant.

The interviewer should emphasize that it is important that the participants speak freely and openly. The interviewer should note non-verbal communication, particularly for questions focused on sensitive topics and/or if participants express hesitation in their responses.

This interview guide is not a script; rather, the main purpose of this guide is to familiarize the interviewer with the questions and issues that we would like to see addressed during the interviews and to recommend a general order and flow of the topics to be discussed.

The interviews themselves should be as free and spontaneous as possible. So long as the interviewer investigates the issues in this guide, he/she is free to combine questions, change questions, omit questions that do not seem to be working and add questions in response to relevant trends as they become apparent. The interviewer may also prompt the participants if they need help getting started. However, the interviewer should let the participants respond spontaneously initially.

The interviewer should adapt the language for each participant, aiming to get specific and detailed answers through probing and follow-up questions, and by encouraging each participant on the topics that are of importance to them, in their own words.

Introduction

Thank you for taking some time to talk with me. My name is [insert name] and I am an independent researcher. I am working to support a non-governmental organization that conducts research and provides capacity building training to Malaysian political parties.

Today's interview is part of a research project to better understand youth leadership opportunities and experiences within Malaysian political parties. As a registered political party youth member, you have been selected to participate in this interview. As part of this interview, we will talk about your experience as a member of your party and what opportunities are available to you to grow within your party.

Your feedback is important in helping address obstacles to youth leadership advancement within parties. This interview will last approximately 30 minutes.

The information that you share with us may be summarized in a report that we will share with political parties. However, we will keep confidential all information that identifies you and not share your personal information with people outside of the interview team.

Explanation of the “rules” of the interview:

- There are no right and wrong answers – negative assessments are as important as positive. Please speak up if anything is unclear or confusing.
- Be as specific as possible with concrete examples whenever possible.
- Mobile phones: Turn off or switch to silent to avoid interruptions.

Required question:

1. With these conditions in mind, does everyone feel comfortable moving to our discussion, or are there any concerns or clarifying questions I could address?
2. This interview will be recorded to enable us to accurately reflect on what you have said as well as for documentation (transcription) purposes. Do you consent to be recorded?

Interview Questions

Introduction Question

- What is your role currently in the party?

Evaluation Question 1: Leadership intent and opportunities

1. Do you hope to achieve, or are actively seeking, leadership advancement in the party? If yes, why? If not, why not?
1. Would you say your party offers youth members opportunities to grow and/or obtain leadership experience within the party?
 - a. If so, what opportunities?
 - i. Prompts if no answer:
 1. Trainings or courses
 2. Speaking opportunities
 3. Professional development
 4. Skills building
 5. Election/campaign support
 6. Appointment or nomination for positions
 - b. If not, what opportunities should be available to youth members?
3. To what extent do you think the party – leadership and your superiors – is invested in your individual growth and/or advancement as a youth member?
 - a. If yes, why do you think this? How do they demonstrate this? Please provide examples, if possible.
 - b. If no, why do you think this? Please provide examples, if possible.
4. Do you expect there to be more, fewer, or the same number of opportunities to grow or advance when you turn 40 and exit the youth wing?
 - c. For individuals from MUDA, ask instead: “as you get older”
 - d. If so, why?

Evaluation Question 2: Barriers to Leadership Advancement

5. In your opinion, are there specific practices, processes, rules or traditions within your party that prevent or make it difficult for youth members to obtain leadership experience and/or advance within the party?
 - e. If so, what are they?
 - f. Only ask if the interviewee responds with “no”. Strategies to recruit and train youth members? Selection or seat distribution of youth candidates? Appointment to committees?

- g. What about these practices, processes, rules or traditions need to change to make it easier for youth member to obtain leadership experience and/or advance within the party?
6. What other actions do you think your party can take to make it easier for youth members to gain leadership experience or grow within the party?
7. What effect does your age or membership in the youth “wing” have on your ability to obtain leadership experience or positions?

Wrap-up: To elicit open feedback to potentially raise points of importance for participants that were not addressed earlier in the discussion

Today’s interview was meant to understand your ability as a party youth member to obtain leadership experience and/or advance within your party. I have mentioned some aspects but there may be other things that I didn’t mention.

- Is there anything else I should know to better understand your experience as a party youth member?
- Is there anything I missed that would be important?
- Do you have any other final comments?

Appendix C: Recruitment Screener

In-Depth Interview (IDI) Recruitment Screener Political Party Youth Leadership Advancement Barrier Analysis

NOTES TO RECRUITER:

There will be up to 40 IDIs. Up to 35 individuals recruited for the interviews must be registered political party youth members aged 18–39 and come from the greatest possible number of parties but no less than the top five parties by share of representation in the Dewan Rakyat. Within that group, individuals should also fit within the following criteria:

- Balanced gender composition (to the extent possible)
- Balanced age composition (to the extent possible)
- Balance ethnic composition (to the extent possible)
- Balanced regional composition (to the extent possible)
- Registered party member for at least six months prior to interview
- Capable of articulating their opinions and feedback
- Should NOT have an occupation in research
- Should NOT have participated in any public opinion research in the last six months
- Should NOT have prior participation in research conducted on behalf of IRI or USG

The remaining five individuals will be formerly registered party youth members who are no longer active members.

The following screener aims to select individuals based on these required demographic breakdowns. When presenting the recruited individuals to IRI, they should be presented as below, with the same assigned participant ID being used in all documentation and analysis. The list of potential recruited individuals should be shared with and approved by IRI prior to the commencement of fieldwork or on a rolling basis as the interviewer confirms participation by individuals.

The recruitment list should follow this format:

	Gender	Age	State of Residence	Party Affiliation	Party Membership Length
[Participant ID]					
[Participant ID]					
[Participant ID]					

SCREENER

Hello. My name is _____ and I am an independent researcher. I am working to support an independent, non-governmental organization that conducts social research among different political groups. Today we are conducting a study about youth leadership and advancement within political parties. I would like to ask you a few questions to see if you qualify for our study.

S1. Where do you currently live? List state.

	CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE	ROUTE
Johor	1	CONTINUE
Kedah	2	CONTINUE
Kelantan	3	CONTINUE

Malacca	4	CONTINUE
Negeri Sembilan	5	CONTINUE
Pahang	6	CONTINUE
Penang	7	CONTINUE
Perak	8	CONTINUE
Perlis	9	CONTINUE
Selangor	10	CONTINUE
Sabah	11	CONTINUE
Sarawak	12	CONTINUE
Terengganu	13	CONTINUE
WP Kuala Lumpur	14	CONTINUE
WP Labuan	15	CONTINUE
WP Putrajaya	16	CONTINUE

PARTICIPANTS SHOULD HAVE SOME GEOGRAPHIC DIVERSITY WITHIN MALAYSIA BUT THERE ARE NO REQUIRED QUOTAS REGARDING RESIDENCE OF PARTICIPANTS.

S2. Please tell me your age in years.

AGE IN YEARS _____

S3. I am required to ask you this question for our records. What is your gender identity?"

[ENSURE ROUGHLY EVEN GENDER BREAKDOWN]

	CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE
Man	1
Woman	2
Transgender	3
Other/Non-binary	4

S4. Please tell me, which political party are you a member of?

[Ensure the greatest possible number of parties feasible but no less than the top five parties by share of representation in the Dewan Rakyat.]

Party	Coalition (for screening reference only)	CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE	ROUTE
Not a registered party member		0	TERMINATE
DAP	Pakatan Harapan (PH)	1	CONTINUE
PKR		2	CONTINUE

AMANAH		3	CONTINUE
MUDA		4	CONTINUE
UMNO	Barisan Nasional (BN)	5	CONTINUE
MCA		6	CONTINUE
MIC		7	CONTINUE
PAS	Perikatan Nasional (PN)	8	CONTINUE
BERSATU		9	CONTINUE
Gerakan		10	CONTINUE
PEJUANG	Gerakan Tanah Air (GTA)	11	CONTINUE
PBM	N/A	12	CONTINUE
PBB	Gabungan Parti Sarawak (GPS)	13	CONTINUE
PRS		14	CONTINUE
PDP		15	CONTINUE
SUPP		16	CONTINUE
PBS	Gabungan Rakyat Sabah (GRS)	17	CONTINUE
STAR		18	CONTINUE
WARISAN	N/A	19	CONTINUE
KDN	N/A	20	CONTINUE
PBM	N/A	21	CONTINUE
Other [name]	N/A	22	CONTINUE

S5. For how long have you been a registered member of this party?

	CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE	ROUTE
Less than 1 year	1	TERMINATE
1 to 3 years	2	CONTINUE
3 to 6 years	3	CONTINUE
More than 6 years	4	CONTINUE
Don't know	8	TERMINATE
Refused	9	

S6. Have you participated in any market research studies – individual interviews or group discussions-- during the last 6 months?

	CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE	ROUTE
Yes	1	TERMINATE
No	2	CONTINUE

Don't know	8	TERMINATE
Refused	9	

S7. Can you briefly tell me about a problem that you think is a concern in your community?

LIST PROBLEM NAMED _____

	CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE	ROUTE
Provided a thoughtful, detailed response	1	CONTINUE
Was not able to provide a thoughtful response	1	TERMINATE
Don't know	8	
Refused	9	

ALL PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BE ABLE TO RESPOND TO THIS QUESTION FREELY WITH AN ARTICULATE RESPONSE. INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE UNCOMFORTABLE OR UNABLE TO REPLY TO THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE TERMINATED

(If respondent qualifies, then read):

I would like to invite you to a research project. I would like to interview you, one-on-one online or in-person, for about half an hour. We will meet at a time convenient for you and that best suits your schedule. We will talk about your experience as a member of your political party, especially as it relates to opportunities to grow and advance within your party. Would you be willing to participate?

Yes 1 - Recruit

No..... 2 - Thank and Terminate

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research study, I will be in touch to explain to you what you need to for the interview. In order for us to get in touch with you, we would need your contact details, may I please have your:

Mobile phone number:

Can you also provide us with an alternative number where you can be reached:

To be attested to by verbally the INDIVIDUAL during interview audio/video recording to confirm participation.

I, **[insert name]**, accept and authorise the researcher to record my opinions and views during the interview to be used for reporting purposes only. All my responses will be anonymous, and my personal information and opinions will be kept private.

Date and time:

To be attested to verbally by the RECRUITER during interview audio/video recording.

I, **[insert name]**, confirm that the recruitment of the respondent has been conducted by the established criteria, by myself, and with a person before unknown to me.

Date and time: