WOMEN AS THE CATALYST OF HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY IN MALAYSIA

[1]**Abd Jalil Borham (Prof, Ph.D)**
[2]**Munira Abdul Razak**
Centre for Modern Languages and Human Sciences
Universiti Malaysia Pahang, Lebuhraya Tun Razak,
26300 Kuantan, Pahang, Malaysia

Abstract

Human Capital can be defined as a measure of the economic value of an employee skill set. This measure builds on the basic production input of labour measure where all labour is thought to be equal (regardless gender) (Becker, 1993). The concept of human capital recognizes that not all labor is equal and the quality of employees can be improved by investing in them. The education, experience and abilities of employee have an economic value for employers and for the economy as a whole. Drucker claims that the greatest challenge for organization is to respond from an industrial to knowledge economy (Drucker, 1985). This shift towards knowledge as the differentiator (rather than gender) affects all aspects of organizational management including operating efficiency, marketing, organizational structure and human capital investment. This study highlights the role of women with competitive values as the catalyst of human capital development in Malaysia.

Keywords: human capital, women and competitiveness

Introduction

This study explores the dynamism and synergy of Malaysian women participation in inter-related sectors of socio-economic, legal and politics. It also provides brief information on the politics and governance of Malaysia. An analysis of their political participation is described in two major trends of the old and new politics and end with a conclusion.

Problem Statement

In the year 2020, Malaysia will become a developed nation. Thus, Malaysian men and women are responsible to make it a reality. Women constitute half of the Malaysian population of 27 million. Malaysia is currently undergoing rapid industrialization and urbanization. These processes of modernity have resulted in changing the women's traditional roles which are reinforced by religious and cultural values as well as dogmas (Noraini Mohd. Nor, 2001).

Since 1948 Malaysian women had participated in politics. They entered the political arena in response to socio-political and economic pressures, better opportunities in education, increase in life expectancy, decline in fertility and growing socio-political demand for women to contribute in Malaysian politics.

The conventional political scenario whereby politics belongs to male-dominated realm and women are merely the party workers, supporters and invisibles is no longer viable in this new millennium. Modernity brings dual challenges for women in which they have to perform both domestic and public roles simultaneously. The call for more effective role for women to participate in politics, however, put them in a dilemma. The problem is how to reconcile the traditional role and demands of contemporary society. Thus, women politicians must know how to balance the demands of raising a family and their roles in politics.

Table 1.0 signifies the highest percentage of Malaysian women in politics of 10.4 with 20

representatives in 1999 of the10[th] General Election. Still, it is far from the target of 30 percent women's representation in the national parliament. The target is to ensure a considerable impact of women participation in decision-making processes. Table 1.0 shows the number and percentages of women representatives in the Malaysian Parliament from 1955 to 1999.

Table 1.0: Women in Malaysian Parliament : 1955-1999

Year	No. of Seats	No. of Women	Percentage of Women
1955	52	1	2.00
1959	101	3	2.90
1964	101	3	2.90
1969	142	2	1.38
1974	149	5	3.25
1978	147	7	4.54
1982	146	8	5.10
1986	170	7	3.95
1990	169	11	6.11
1995	177	15	7.80
1999	193	20	10.4

Source: Bulletin, Parliament of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 2002.

Studies have shown that women everywhere are not well represented in politics. Women are facing difficulties in reaching their target of 30 percent representation in national parliaments all over the world. Table 1.2 shows that women are representing only 5,644 seats in national parliaments out of 41, 172 seats. The highest percentage is from the Nordic countries with 38.9 and the lowest comes from the Arab states with 4.3.

Table 1.1: Percentage of Women in National Parliaments, 2002

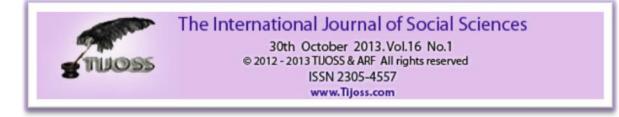| Regions	Percentage of Women
World	14.2
Nordic countries	38.9
Europe-OSCE member countries including Nordic countries	16.4
Americas	16.0
Asia	14.6
Europe-OSCE member countries excluding Nordic countries	14.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	12.8
Pacific	12.8
Arab States	4.3

Regions are classified by descending order of the percentage of women in the lower house or single house.
Source: International Parliamentary Union, http://.int/women/parl/ch5a.htm, 2009

These figures challenge modern Muslim women who would like to see more women joining politics to promote Islamic revival or reconstruction and at the same time to achieve more egalitarian treatment. Consequently, what women are and how they life have become central issues in debates about the nature of Islamic society and history.

This study has five major objectives. These are as follows:
   a. To verify the role and contribution of women in Malaysian politics.

b. To highlight the experience of Malaysian women politicians in balancing both domestic and political roles accordingly.

c. To examine the internal and external challenges, responses and prospects of women in Malaysian politics.

Literature Review

Studies on Women in Malaysian Politics

Only since 1970s the subject of women in Malaysia became an area of interest of academic research by both foreign and local scholars. The studies on women in Malaysian politics can, therefore, be considered as relatively a new area of research. There is little scholarly attention given to this area. The majority of the studies available are in terms of cursory information, such as in the newspapers and magazines. There are two major categories of systematic research available on women in Malaysian politics from the secular and the Islamic perspective. All scholars apply the participant observation in their studies.

A foreign scholar, Lenore Manderson pioneered the study on Malaysian women politicians with a secular approach. She focused her study on the Kaum Ibu UMNO, Malaysia from 1945 to 1972. The method of participant observation was aplied to find the significance changes made by the Kaum Ibu UMNO in Malaysian politics. She found that despite the participation of women in politics, it did not effect any changes in their fundamental role as a woman (L.Manderson, 1980).

Virginia H. Danez studied women from all major political parties in peninsular Malaysia. She observed the role of women political auxiliaries of UMNO, MCA, MIC, the Dewan Muslimat PAS, DAP, Gerakan and others. It covers the different ethnic groups: Malays, Chinese and Indian women from 1945 to 1983(V.Danez, 1987).

The local scholars with secular approach are Nik Safiah Karim, Khadijah Md Khalid, Rashila Ramli, Tan Beng Hui, Cecilia Ng, Roslina Ismail, Roslina Rosli and Maznah Mohamed analyzed women's political participation with different focuses. Nik Safiah Karim initiated the study on women by demanding more effective roles of women in politics. She urged women to play more active roles in the decision making process towards nation building. They must be active in both national and international issues (Nik Safiah Karim, 1991). This was a futuristic advice for women based on her analysis on the performance of women politicians in the early 1980s.

Khadijah Md Khalid analyzed the trend of women's participation in contemporary Malaysian politics; particularly at the decision-making level from 1984 to 1994. Her objectives were to study significant changes and trends, and also the extent of women's participation. She affirmed that women are retaining their traditional roles within their political roles (Khadijah Md Khalid, 1994).
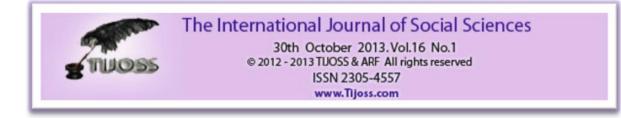
Rashila Ramli focused on the women's political participation within gender parity. She found that there is lack of gender parity in Malaysian politics. Her research proves that women's political participation which get influenced by the social construction of gender and ethnicity, creating a number of challenges for women politicians. She also supported the democratization process that has been constrained by societal values (Rashila Ramli,1998).

Tan Beng Hui and Cecilia Ng discussed the participation of women's groups in the 1999 general election on the strategies used, the advances made and the shortcomings. It also forecast the future directions of women's movement towards the changing political climate. They studied on two women's movements namely the Women's Agenda for Change (WAC) and the Women's Candidacy Initiative (WCI) (Tan Beng Hui and Cecilia Ng, 2001).

Roslina Ismail and Roslina Rosli focused on the new politics of women performance in the 10th General Election 1999. They analyzed the current and changing trends of Malaysian women participation in politics. Since then, women in Malaysia have utilized both centre and periphery to participate in electoral politics (Roslina Ismail and Roslina Ramli, 2002).

Maznah Mohamed examined the general status of Malaysian women's movements in engendering democratization. She traced the progress of the women's movement and their roles

in democratizing Malaysian politics. She concluded that women politicians are less successful in promoting gender democracy. The women activists are more successful in promoting the democratization of Malaysian society. She discovered that the advocacy of feminist idea is still new to Malaysia (Maznah Mohamed, 2002).

Nik Safiah Karim and Rokiah Talib narrated the political life of Tan Sri Fatimah Hashim. The prior objectives were to highlight the political background and the secret of Tan Sri's dynamic leadership in harmonizing both domestic and public leadership successfully (Nik Safiah Karim and Rokiah Talib, 2003). Three local Islamic scholars are Haji Faisal Haji Othman, Andek Masnah Andek Kelawa and Wan Azizah Wan Ismail. Their works were aimed at clarifying the confusion on Malay women's role and participation in politics as Muslims from the Islamic perspective.

They highlighted on the complementary status of women as *mukallaf* with equal responsibility of men towards nation building. Haji Faisal Haji Othman provided an in depth elaboration on the position of women in Islam. He discussed women's active participation and contributions towards Islamic nation building in social, legal, economic and political spheres. He clarified the roles of Malay Muslim women in Malaysia in politics. Malay Muslim women are divided into two major groups the Westernized Secularist Muslim Intellectuals women and the Rigid-Conservative Muslim women. He explained with empirical data a holistic Islamic view on women in Malaysian politics. He referred to the two party politics of UMNO and PAS (Haji Faisal Haji Osman, 1991).

Malay Muslim woman scholar Andek Masnah Andek Kelawa discussed on women, Islam and politics. She elaborated on the *hukum* of political participation, freedom of speech, voting and women leadership in society such as to be a member of parliament. Andek Masnah contributed two important frameworks on women divisions of leadership and the nature of Muslim women leadership in Malaysia. She also summarized the overall development of women in Malaysian politics (Andek Masnah Andek Kelawa, 1999).

The first woman to become the president of a political party in Malaysia; is Datin Seri Hajjah Wan Azizah the president of KeADILan who expressed her views on women in Malaysian Politics from the Islamic perspective. She imparted the same view on the complementary roles between men and women in politics and nation building. She also discussed on three obstacles faced by women in parliament rooted from the dual burden, political parties and deterring environment for women (Wan Azizah Wan Ismail, 2002).

In order to fill in the lacuna, this study focuses on women in Malaysian politics from 1945 to 2002. It records the changing trends, profile and contribution of Malaysian women's political participation during the period under consideration.
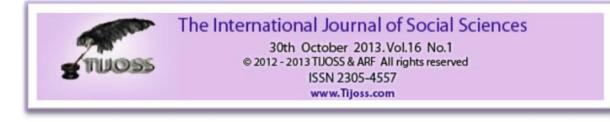
Methodology

This study is based on a triangulation method. It combines both quantitative and qualitative data. Fieldwork was conducted to gather primary and secondary data. The primary data are as follows:

(a) Interviews with thirty four executive members of selected major political parties and members of parliament.
(b) Documentary analysis of published articles, essays and interviews published in newspapers, handbooks and magazines of Malaysian women in politics; focusing on the seventy- five Malaysian women politicians (1945-2002).

The secondary data refers to books, articles and research findings of the scholars on women in Malaysian politics. The data collected was analyzed and presented in the forms of table and graphs. Interview abstracts and responses to open-ended questions were quoted wherever and whenever necessary.

An interdisciplinary approach to data collection was undertaken in order to ensure a collection of a variety of data sets. The primary data was collected from July 2001 to May 2003. The secondary data was gathered from July 2000 to December 2002. This initial data set was complemented with other data collected from

surveys of members of different ethnicity, social and religious- based political parties.

The main sample of this study consists of seventy-five women politicians in Malaysia from 1945 to 2002. Of the seventy five, seventy-one are still alive. The interviews involved thirty four women politicians of various background and positions. It has two major parts, the profile of women politicians and their contribution in politics. The aim of these in-depth, semi-structured interviews was to collect as much to information as possible on the life histories of the sample for a holistic understanding of women participation in Malaysian politics.

Women who were not available for interviews, the author obtained basic information on their personal and professional backgrounds through official documents and records in the office of the Parliament of Malaysia, government documents, biographies, autobiographies, magazines, newspapers, handouts, pamphlets and booklets. The author interviewed a male minister to complement these first hand data.

These parties are from two major categories of National Alliance and Alternative Alliance. The National Alliance is from the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC). The Alternative Alliance consists of the Pan-Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS), the Democratic Action Party (DAP) and the National Justice Party (keADILan). Finally, a set of questionnaire was given to 30 respondents to measure three major variables political, social and economic variables. These variables also took consideration on age, family, education, ethnicity, religion, social involvement, profession, party politics and level of political achievements.

Transcriptions of the interviews of the first data set were treated qualitatively. The survey was analyzed quantitatively. The profile of 75 respondents utilized a univariate analysis. The relationship between variables, percentage and other relevant information were analyzed by bivariate analyses.

The combination of qualitative and quantitative is useful. It is to obtain first hand information on the background of Malaysian women politicians It is also serves as the initial base line data and captures some aspects of complexity in studying Malaysian women political participation of a multi-ethnic society.

The Socio-Economic and Legal Status of Women in Malaysia

Modernism provides greater opportunities for women to participate in decision making process. The socio-economic, socio-legal and political status of women in Malaysia shows the dynamism and mobility of Malaysian women towards nation building. The higher their status the better they can contribute in nation building. This can be scrutinized from remarkable events and achievements throughout history.

In order to improve the status of Malaysian women, concerted efforts from government and NGOs in collaboration with universities and private sectors work together through a national machinery. The National Advisory Council on the Integration of Women in Development (NACIWID) was set up in 1976 as the coordinating and advisory body on women's affairs in the country (Aminah Ahmad, 1998).

The implementation of the National Policy for women started during the Sixth Malaysian Plan, which expressed an increased awareness and concern for women issues. The Eighth Malaysian Plan will continue to address women's concerns and provide stimulating environment for women to participate more effectively as partners in social, economic and political development as well as to continue to play a significant role in the development of their families. The Human Development Report (HDR), 1995 ranked Malaysia at 59 based on human development index and 38 on gender-related development index (GDI) which indicates that perform better on gender equality than the average achievement alone.

The government of Malaysia reaffirmed its commitment to improve the status of women at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in September 1995. The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for action were unanimously endorsed by all participating members of the United Nations. Malaysia has specifically committed itself to strengthen the

implementation of the National Policy on Women in four major areas. These are to involve more women in decision-making, to safeguard their rights to health, education, and social well-being, to remove legal obstacles and discriminatory practices and to ensure access to and benefits of development particularly in science and technology.

Malaysian women are highly important contributors to the country's economic and social development. Their access to health and education and their participation in economy have increased rapidly over the years. Table 2.1 indicates that women's health condition is an indicator of women's status, since good health enables their participation in socio-economy, socio-legal and political development. Maternal mortality rates declined from 0.6 per 1,000 live births in 1980 to 0.2 per 1,000 in 2000. Life expectancy for both males and females improved during the period of 1990 to 2000 (Social Statistics Bulletin of Malaysia, 2002). Women's life expectancy improved from 73.5 years in 1990 to 75.0 years in 2000, while men's life expectancy improved from 68.9 years in 1990 to 70.2 in 2000.

An important factor contributing to the economic and social advancement of women has been the equal access of women to educational opportunities. Female enrolment at the primary and secondary school levels was about half of the total enrolment, while at the upper secondary level, female students accounted about 52.3 percent of total enrolment (Ong Fon Sim and Sieh Lee Mei Ling, 2003).

Female intake in the universities expanded rapidly to 70 percent in 2000 from 37.2

percent in 1990. Although female students are still predominantly in the art stream, with about 65 percent of total enrolment in the art courses, they have recently increased in enrolment in the science and technical courses. This is evidenced by the doubling of female enrolment in vocational courses from 22.2 percent in 1990 to 45.9 percent of total enrolment in 1992.

Table 2.0 shows that Malaysian women have continued to play an increasingly important role in the national development of the country with greater participation in the economy and labour market as well as have improved access to education and health. As noted above, these improvements of modern life were made possible generally by rapid growth of the economy which created more and new opportunities for women. This is especially, as a result of the implementation of gender-sensitization programs of the government and NGOs, including changes in the legal and institutional framework, which further facilitated their involvement in social, economic and politics.

Economic growth has been accompanied by the greater participation of women in the formal workforce and in a range of other activities. The female labour force participation rate has kept pace with population growth and the number of female and male workers doubled between 1970 and 1995, while the labour force participation rate remained relatively unchanged after 1980. The labour force participation rate increased from the upper thirties for women between 1970 and 1980 and has remained between 44 and 46 percent between 1990 and 1995.

Table 2.0: Distribution of Employed Persons by Industry and Sex ('000 & %) in Malaysia, 2000.

Industry	Number (Percentage) of Male	Number (Percentage) Female	Total
Agriculture, Forestry, Livestock and Fishing	1,257.3 (93.5)	454.4 (26.6)	1,711.8 (100.0)
Mining and Quarrying	23.8 (87.20)	3.5 (12.8)	27.3 (100.0)
Manufacturing	1,248.1 (58.70)	877.7 (41.30)	2,125.8 (100.0)
Electricity, Gas and Water	43.0 (89.40)	5.1 (10.60)	48.1 (100.0)
Construction	750.0	48.9	798.9

	(93.9)	(6.1)	(100.0)
Wholesale and Retail Trade, Restaurants and Hotels	1,073.8 (60.0)	716.2 (94.0)	1,790.1 (100.0)
Transport, Storage and Communication	368.7 (87.2)	54.0 (12.8)	422.7 (100.0)
Finance, Insurance, real Estate and Business Services	271.9 (58.9)	190.1 (41.10)	462.0 (100.0)
Community, Social and Personal Services	1,049.7 (54.2)	885.5 (45.8)	1,935.1 (100.0)
Total	6,086.2 (65.30)	3,235.5 (34.7)	9,321.7 (100.0)1

Source: Social Statistics Bulletin of Malaysia, Statistics Divisions of Malaysia, Putrajaya, 2002.

Table 2.1: Distribution of Employed Persons by Occupation and Sex ('000 & %) in Malaysia, 2000.

Occupation	Number (Percentage) of Male	Number (Percentage) Female	Total
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	545.4 (55.4)	439.6 (44.6)	985.1 (100.0)
Administrative and Managerial Workers	296.4 (79.8)	75.0 (20.2)	371.3 (100.0)
Clerical and Related Workers	418.5 (42.3)	571.5 (57.7)	990.0 (100.0)
Sales Workers	654.9 (62.3)	395.9 (37.7)	1050.8 (100.0)
Service Workers	580.9 (50.5)	569.1 (49.5)	1149.9 (100.0)
Agricultural Workers	1,263.2 (73.7)	450.0 (26.3)	1,713.2 (100.0)
Production and Related Workers	2,326.9 (76.0)	734.4 (24.0)	3,061.3 (100.0)
Total	6086.2 (65.30	3235.5 (34.70)	9321.7 (100.0)

Source: Social Statistics Bulletin of Malaysia, Statistics Divisions of Malaysia, Putrajaya, 2002.

Table 2.1 highlights the major areas of achievement which show significant and rapid increase of the number of women participating in the labour force. The expansion of this during the seventies and into the eighties is generally attributed to the pull of the manufacturing industry, due to the growth of electronics and garment industries, and expansion of export processing zones which began in 1970s. The industrial expansion had a profound effect on the pattern of employment and on rural to urban migration, and drew unprecedented numbers of young, unmarried Malay women for the first time from villages into urban factories.

Table 2.2 affirms the phenomenon of young female Malay rural to urban migration in the seventies and eighties was particularly of note because it signaled a change in previously established societal norms against the movement of unaccompanied young women. The traditional pattern of female migration was family-based and non-autonomous, while the manufacturing industry induced migration was on an individual basis.

Table 2.2: The Percentage of Malaysian Women Labour Force Participation Rate by Age Group Peninsular Malaysia, 1957-1990

Age Group	1957	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
15-19	27.9	33.0	39.4	33.5	28.2	31.4
20-24	-	41.9	56.4	54.0	58.3	63.9
25-29	-	38.4	46.3	44.6	49.2	53.9
30-34	-	39.0	47.5	40.5	47.3	50.2
35-39	-	40.0	52.4	42.7	48.5	47.8
40-44	-	40.0	52.1	43.8	50.4	48.8
45-49	-	40.7	53.2	41.4	48.7	48.5
50-54	-	36.6	49.4	36.5	40.0	40.9
55-59	-	29.2	37.5	30.8	32.6	29.4
60-64	22.3	23.7	28.5	25.0	23.9	24.0
Total of Labour Force Participation	30.8	36.3	37.3	39.3	44.6	46.8

Source: Social Statistics Bulletin of Malaysia, Statistics Divisions of Malaysia, Putrajaya, 2002.

A number of population and migration studies of Malaysian women, including a major study commissioned by HAWA (currently known as the Ministry of Women Affairs and Family Development) showed that the primary reasons for rural women to migrate are to seek employment, obtain independence and remit money home. Those that migrated were more likely to come from poorer households. Young women who migrated in the 1970s and 1980s were likely to find husbands and start families in urban settings where there would be few kinship ties.

Studies indicated that relatively a few of these migrant women workers who married and had children, brought their children back to their home village to be cared for by their families, claimed by the feminist theory on the negative impact of modernization in which it is served as the turning point of the dual burden facing by women. While strong rural to urban ties were maintained particularly for work related information networks, remittances and kinship ties the urbanization, and modernization of the family meant an increase in nuclear family child rearing arrangements, increasing the focus of responsibility for day-to day childcare on both parents, but particularly on the mother.

Despite the gains made by Malaysian women as regard to education and health, and labour force participation, there are issues related to gender which still need to be addressed. These pertain to women's political participation, their socio-legal status, gender-tracking in technical and vocational education, and the need to diversify and improve employment opportunities and working conditions for women workers.
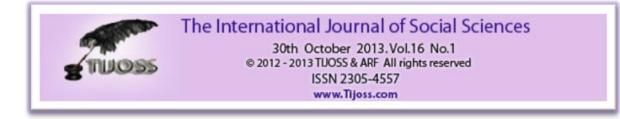
The State enacts laws which are meant on the one hand, to prevent any forms of discrimination among citizens, with regard to the laws and policies of government. On the other hand, it is to create positive opportunities for vulnerable groups to be able to participate in development processes.

Women In Malaysian Politics

Since independence, starting with the right to vote, women in Malaysia have been granted the right to participate in politics. The main challenge is how to fulfill this right despite socio-cultural, political and economic challenges (Roslina Ismail & Roslina Rosli, 2002). These challenges are rooted from the national and international economic and political developments. In response to these challenges, women participate in politics within four major trends. These four trends can be divided into two approaches which are old and new politics. Three major trends belong to the old politics and the latest trend belongs to the new politics.

The first three trends belong to the old politics. They were to participate in the independent struggle starting from 1940s up to 1950s. The second trend was to fill in the nation's

independence from 1960s to 1970s. The third trend was to fill in the decision-making positions from 1980s to 1990s. The turning point of the new politics is the fourth trend which is striving for more legal rights, justice and freedom of choice in politics from 1999 to 2002 onwards.

Since 1945, women participated in politics within two major groups which are the centre and the periphery. The first group is the centre which consists of the women in ruling political parties. The second group is periphery which are the left-wing, labour activists and feminist groups. Both groups are struggling for gender equity with various approaches. The male dominance and patriarchal influence in the public sphere are the major challenges of their struggle.

The old and new politics can be differentiated by looking at the role of women in the centre and periphery in electoral politics. Previously, the old politics focused only on the role of the centre to represent women in electoral politics. Recently, in the new politics, women are utilizing both the roles of the centre and periphery to enhance their participation in politics.

Women and Old Politics (1945-1998)
The old politics focused on the role of the centre namely the ruling political party as the main actor of women in Malaysian electoral politics. In the colonial era of 1940s, the first challenge of women's mass participation in politics was to instill political awareness among the public to play their roles in politics. Women cooperated with men to strive for independence in the early 1950s.

The early anti-colonial and nationalist struggles and championing labour rights by Malaysian women were their early participatory of democracy. The Kaum Ibu UMNO was always the main concern of political researchers to track and study on early involvement of women in Malaysian politics. This movement identified women as subordinates and party workers. However, women played a significant role in embarking nationalist spirit and political awareness to strive for independence (Maznah Mohamad, 2002).

Education is the significant agent of political socialization for men and women (W.R.Roff, 1967). It paved the way for women's

organization to emerge and establish. Teachers were early initiators of women's organization. For example, Ibu Zain initiated the Kaum Ibu. Schooling experience paved the way for Chinese women to join the Anarchist Movement and also became members of the Malayan Communist Party (Maznah Mohamad, 2001).

Some of the most active Indian women who joined political movements had been educated in English schools. Formally, the educated local women were a class modernized local elites of the colonial administrators, carrying forward the colonial legacy of nation-state (Khoo Kay Kim, 1994). The formal schooling had shaped the dual character of women's organizations. They became nationalists and struggled for independence through women's movements. The early grass-root social movements of anti-colonial struggles were organized separately without cooperation from of the different races.

The Kaum Ibu (KI) became the women's wing of the United Malay National Organization (UMNO) in 1971. The turning point of Malay women's political participation was their protest on the Malayan Union. The Persatuan Kaum Ibu Selangor (The Women's Mother Association of Selangor) or the Kaum Ibu (welfare-based association) was participated in public demonstrations to oppose the proposal of Malayan Union (Manderson, Lenore, 1980).

The Chinese and Indians had not much political start as the Wanita UMNO. The first women section of MCA was set up in Johore Bahru, Johore. The Wanita MIC of Selangor was set up in 1955 (V.Danez, 1987). These three women's wings of UMNO, MCA, and MIC remained organizationally subordinate to the parent body with small number of candidates been elected to hold positions in these parties.

In contrast, the left wing party of PUTERA and AMCJA provided more equal rights and opportunities for all including women (Hua Wu Yin, 1983). Women's issues were not formally stated in any of their written manifesto. Leftist women enjoyed less bound of the centre. For example the AWAS memorable incident in leading six-miles rallies to protest British authorities forbade the use of vehicles in the first anniversary of API (Angkatan Pemuda Insaf) of

the Malay Nationalist Party. Two hundred AWAS members resolved to revolt if the Federation of Malaysia plans were implemented. However, both Women Federation and AWAS had a very short life span.

In 1948, the colonial government imposed an emergency rule and banned all left-wing groups. When AWAS was banned, three of its most prominent leaders joined different parties. Aishah Ghani joined the Kaum Ibu and became the fifth president and later cabinet minister in the UMNO led government. Sakinah Joned joined PAS and became the president of its women section. Shamsiah Fakih joined the Communist Party Malaya (CPM). She carried on the struggle underground and went into exile in China. She was allowed to return to Malaysia in the early 1990s (Maznah Mohamad, 2001).

In 1951, the Independence Party of Malaya was set up but became defunct in a year. In 1954, the Parti Negara promised the emancipation of women but failed to win the country's first election. The Pan-Malaya Labour Party was committed to promote women's equality by including a proposal of Women's Charter but still failed to survive.

The Chinese and Indians were active militant leaders in labour movement. Some examples are the labour protests in Ulu Langat and Kuala Lumpur. They were on the issues of retrenchment and sexual harassment of women workers. Women from the working class were working actively in the post-independence political struggle for women's rights. They helped by producing special booklets, passed resolutions demanding of equal pay for women and urged governmental recognition of International Women's Day. Women in the Labour Party were primarily Chinese who were the majority of industrial workers at that time.

Women become more aware of their roles in public life and not only restricted to the homes. Since independence 1957, the federal Constitution recognized Malaysian women's rights as citizens to participate in the political and administrative spheres of public life. It is stated under Article 8, Clause 1, "all persons are equal before the law and entitled to the equal protection of law". Since post-independence onwards, they continued their

contributions in nation building. Their activities were more on national integration in development.

Gradually, modernity paved their way into labor force through education advancement from the 1960s up to 1970s. 1970s up to 1980s saw the turning points in the composition of industrial workers from predominantly Chinese to Malays. In 1985, there was a huge strike to protest the major retrenchment of women workers of an electronic company. The new era was the nation building. It was the expansion era from formal schooling to working women.

In the beginning, there was only a small number of women involved. Formal schooled women were the first to enter the job market. They were exposed to the modern and liberal outlooks and realized the importance to protect their new found status. There was a new entry to labour force in the nursing, teaching administration and clerical sectors. They were freely recruited but not automatically granted with employee rights. They had to lobby their rights through non-governmental organizations, political parties and other professional bodies.

In 1960, the National Council of Women Organization (NCWO) served as an umbrella for all these different groups. The first issue fought was the issue of equal pay. The NCWO followed the global trend of fighting the rights of working women. The initiators of NWCO were from different ethnicities. Most of them were urban-based professionals. They concentrated mainly on legalistic and bureaucratic shortcoming with the emerging of modernity. They strived to get better maintenance for divorced women, equal pay, the entry of women into civil and diplomatic services, legal service, better income tax and pension arrangement for married women.

Others were on the appointment of women in the decision making bodies in the national and state levels (which is still an ongoing struggle). These issues were more concern with the middle and upper class women (white collar). They preferred to be non-confrontational and wait for gradual support from the higher level of government representatives and cabinet ministers.

They were less concern with lower class demands. Hence, their struggles were limited in

nature. They were less effective in catering the issues of industrial workers (blue collar), poor and indigenous women. There was passive response

towards the pressing issue of childcare provisions of the disadvantaged working women.

Table 2.3 Women Elected/Appointed at Federal and State Parliament and at Local Government

	National Parliament				State Legislatures		Local Government Council	
	Uper House Representatives		Lower House Representatives		Representative		Representative	
Year	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
1959	N.A	N.A	3	101	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
1990	10	45	9	171	15	428	N.A	N.A
1995	11	57	13	179	24	474	N.A	N.A
1997	15	49	13	179	24	474	244	2.785
1998	14	48	13	179	24	474	285	2.921
1999	18	43	21	193	21	373	N.A	N.A

Source: The Ministry of Women Affairs and Family Development, Election Commission Malaysia Parliament Malaysia

Table 2.4 shows the small number of women elected or appointed at federal and state parliaments and local government. Since the women entry into to electoral politics is pre-determined by male party leaders, it is inaccurate to measure women's ability only from this perspective. Cultural disadvantages do affect and limit women's political participation in politics. The compromising style of women politicians, give little contribution towards gender democratization. The party constitutions and structures need some changes to facilitate gender democratization in the Malaysian politics. The strength of women votes and voters are important for women's more meaningful representation in parliamentary democracies.

In line with the United Nation Decade on Women 1975, there are two prominent agencies formed by the Malaysian government. These are the NACIWID and HAWA (Department of Women Affairs), currently known as Ministry of Women and Family Development. Their tasks are to deal with women's issues and development and to foster the role of women in nation building. The NCWO and NGOs anticipated the government to implement the National Policy on Women 1989. The 1980s saw the turning point on the consciousness about feminism, sexual oppression and violence against women. The Women Against Violence (WAO) is the first women's organization that undertook the issues and problems of battered women and domestic violence (WAO 1982).

In 1985 several women organizations came together in a coalition to publicize the Violence Against Women Campaign (VAW). These groups came together under the Joint Action Group (JAG). It was the coalition of these women's organizations. They organized a two-day workshop cum exhibition on VAW. It was known as the Joint Action Group of Women Against Violence (JAGAVAW 1985). In the same year, the Women's Crisis Centre in Penang, the Sarawak Women for Women Society (SWWS) and the Sabah All Women's Organization (SAWO) were established as an immediate response to the VAW. In 1988, the All Women's Action society was founded. Among the objectives was to advance the resolutions of the JAG gathering. These organizations practiced a new style of leadership and were democratic in the decision-making processes.

They went beyond welfarism and service providers. The VAW was more on gender equity. These new women's groups promoted ethnic integration and multi-racial cooperation. For example the Penang-based women crisis centre had many Muslim professional women volunteers to handle legal, marital, incest and domestic violence cases involving Muslim women.

When Malaysia gained more stability in social, politics and economy together with women's achievement in education and labour

force, women were recognized the catalyst of development in 1980s and 1990s. Apparently, as active economic participant and social development (with greater confidence and status), women are looking forward to play an active role in decision-making process.

In 1990s more Malay based organizations were set up to deal with the women's grievances of marital and family problems. One example is the Persatuan Ibu Tunggal (Single Mothers Association). The Sisters in Islam (SIS) was formed in 1991. It is concerned with infusing Islam with a progressive outlook and dealt with the issue of violence against women, wife beating and veiling. SIS straddles both the centre and periphery. It is a small membership with direct ties to the elite quarters including access to mainstream media. This group is accepted by small scholarly group of progressive liberal Muslims and sometimes alienated by the crowd of Muslim masses.

The Government's commitment towards the advancement of women is also reflected at various international forums. Malaysia is a signatory to various declarations and conventions on women including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1992), Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action (1995) and the Commonwealth Plan of Action and Gender Development (1995).

The majority of the Malay Muslims prefer the Islamic-based movements such as Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement (ABIM) and Jemaah Islah Malaysia (JIM). They do not prefer organizations that projected a distinctive feminist outlook. Women's wings of Islamic NGOs such as JIM and ABIM began to take up more strident positions on women. The government agency of the Islamic Da'wah Foundation of Malaysia (YADIM) with Muslim Women Consultative Council is concerned with Muslim women's development. In 1994, Datuk Kamilia Datuk Ibrahim represented Malaysia to the Symposium on the Role of Women in the Development of Islamic Society in Tehran, Iran.

The best example of centre and periphery cooperation was the issue of VAW. The VAW was readily accepted as a common social concern of all women. It took ten years of cooperation before the

bill was passed as law in 1994. When the proposal for a Domestic Violence Bill was proposed 1985, it was easy to gain consensus, suport and participation of a wide-ranging number of women's groups and women politicians.

In addition, the WAO, AWAM and WCC provided strong rationales and empirical evidences on the need of such legislation. The Association for Women Lawyers (AWL) worked to draft the provisions of the proposed law and NCWO lent a legitimate stamp to the proposal. Others involved were HAWA, the Religious Department, the police also provided input towards the drafting of the bill.
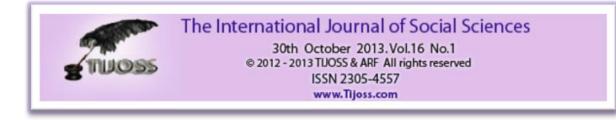
The source of dissatisfaction of the Domestic Violence Act (DVA) was extend the law should be applicable to Muslim. Muslims are governed by Shariah family laws. The DVA straddles the penal code and family law. Feminists were also not satisfied with the definition of beating. The implication is if a woman refuses sex with her husband and is beaten for it, she has no right to seek redress under DVA.

Five of the new women's organization went further and beyond the VAW concerns. In 1995, a public forum was held on the 10th anniversary of the campaign on violence. The issues were indigenous women, domestic and immigrant workers, the status of women housing, land, the environment and health issues. People's acceptance of feminist movements which are liberal and secular is still marginal.

In the world of work, various measures have been undertaken to improve female participation in the labour market. The Employment Act, 1955 was amended in 1988, which among others provided flexible working hours. The amended Act permitted women, especially housewives, to be gainfully employed in part-time employment, while meeting their family obligations.

Since May 1998, the maternity leave up to 60 days was allowed for a maximum up to five children to allow women in the public sector to care for their newborn and to encourage breastfeeding. Provisions for tax deductions were provided to employers for the establishment of child-care centres near or at the workplace. Employers have also been encouraged to provide

facilities such as proper housing, transport and healthcare, particularly for their female workers. Female labour force participation registered an increase, from 43.5 per cent in 1995 to 45.8 per cent in 1997, but declined to 44 per cent in 1998 due to an economic downturn.

The NCWO collaborated with the feminist organization in pursuing women agendas but it is different in leadership, styles and approaches. It has a more hierarchical style and tends to maintain a good image and relationship with the government. Feminism is mildly encouraged by the state and it is also an isolated movement.

Women and New Politics (1999-2002)

In 1999, the country's political crisis provided an opportunity for some of women's groups to redefine their roles. Hence, from this political crisis they reached the point where the best political participation is through the political process. Seven women's groups had worked on A Women Agenda. They had a meeting with 34 agencies to prepare the draft document reforms on the coming 1999 general election.

In May 13, 1999 the Women Agenda for Change (WAC) was officially launched (Maznah Mohamad, 2001). They prepared the document for the next government's attention on the issue of women. The issues were from land right to sexuality. Two of the most controversial areas were on homosexuality and the rights of sex workers. Surprisingly these two issues were not opposed by any of the endorsers, including Muslim women from the Islamic bodies. The feminists pushed for a woman candidate and emphasized on NGOs serious commitment and contribution in striving on women's issues and rights, for example their contribution to the DVA.

Zaitun Kasim a feminist activist contested for a parliamentary seat. She contested as a DAP candidate specifically on the women's rights ticket. She did not win but managed to reduce the incumbent majority to 56 per cent. The entry of Wan Azizah Wan Ismail marked the importance of gender in politics and the politicization of women's issues in the general election.

The PAS strategy on Islamic state shied away the non-Muslim voters. Its policy on not allowing women members for contest for elections and Nik Aziz's statement on working women to return to traditional roles were exploited fully by the media and BN. The NCWO and SIS showed their disapproval of the PAS' policies. It became a signal to the mainstream parties and organizations to take up women's issues more seriously in election campaigns. BN proved that they were a better party as they won the heart of the liberalists, feminists and non-Muslims. However, Tengku Razaleigh failed to win the heart of Kelantan women through his strategy of business funds for women. The women MCA used women's rights strategy and succeeded. It was a new trend in the general elections by MCA candidates. The 1999 General Election witnessed a slow women's advancement in Malaysian electoral politics.

Feminism is still new in Malaysia. Whether the feminist tries to democratize Malaysian politics or the limited democracy in Malaysia their agenda is to remain silent. The urban and middle class women are more concerned on gender democracy. The spirit to fight for gender democracy is through electoral politics. It is to spur democratization of politics by either winning or losing. Most Muslim women remain non-committal to women's liberation of prevailing tenets of Islam. The potential for the growth of liberal democratic women incorporating plural elements such as Islam is more achievable now then could have been imagined a decade ago.

Table 2.4: Comparison of election wins between male and female candidates (parliamentary seats)*

Election Year	No. of Male Candidates Running	No. of male Candidates who won	% of male candidates who won	No. of Female Candidates Running	No. of female Candidates who won	% of female candidates who won
1969	366	142	38.7	4	2	50.0
1974	319	149	46.7	8	5	62.5
1978	391	147	37.5	11	7	63.6

1982	371	146	39.3	8	8	100.0
1986	449	170	37.9	7	7	100.0
1990	384	169	44.0	14	11	78.5
1995	395	177	44.8	25	15	60.0
1999	NA	NA	NA	30	20	67.0

* Source: Figures from 1969-90 are adapted from Rashila Ramli (1998:66)

In the new millennium, young women are more pragmatic in their political participation. They demand for more legal rights, justice and freedom of personal choice to actively involve in politics. They express their demands either inside or outside the party structure; either as an individual, organization as well as social movements with political interest; particularly on women issues. As NGOs, they actively provide an alternative medium to create political awareness among the public on social, economy and politics with women sensitization.

Distinctively, this is a new dimension of Malaysian women political participation. Women are no longer invisible actors in politics. Most importantly, they can also be effective political actors either they are visible or invisible actors in politics. This new trend challenges the traditional patriarchal status quo in Malaysian mainstream and male-stream politics. Some examples are the new structural trend in Parti KeADILan and Puteri UMNO.

Recognizing the need to further enhance the effectiveness of the national machinery, the Ministry of Women and Family Development was established in January 2001 to ensure the effective implementation and coordination of programmes for women and families as well as chart new directions for the advancement of women and strengthening the institutions of the family.

A major milestone was achieved by the Ministry of Women and Family Development. It was on the amendment of Article 8(2) of the Federal Constitution. Article 8 has been amended with the word "gender" added to Article 8(2). There would no longer be any law or policy that discriminates against women.

Previously, Article 8(2) provided that "there should be no discrimination against citizens on the ground only of religion, race, descent or place of birth in any law or in the appointment to any office or employment under a public authority or in the administration of any law relating to the acquisition holding or disposition of property or the establishing or carrying any trade, business, profession, vocation or employment.

The amendment of Article 8(2) guarantees that women could not be discriminated. The long awaited amendment (since the time of Puteh Mariah) has been welcomed by many women organizations. It is a first step taken by the Malaysian government to show its willingness to fulfill some of the obligation laid down by the Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Still this important amendment is not covering all aspects that relate to discriminatory acts towards women.
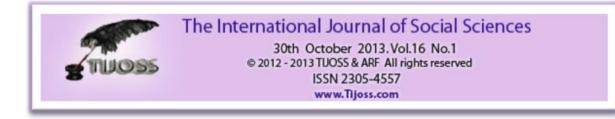
CONCLUSION

Thus, by analyzing 1945 up to 2002 of the 54 years of Malaysian women politicians background, development, and participation, this study meets three objectives of this study. It is to verify the role and contribution of women in Malaysian politics from modernism, feminism and Islamic revivalism framework, in line with modernity, since independence women in Malaysia were granted the right to vote and participate in politics. The main challenge is to fill in these political rights and duties.

Their response to human capital issues of the national and international political and economic developments; set up the trends of their political participation through out history. There are four major trends of participation. The first is the struggle for independence. Second is the challenge to fill in the demand of post independence. Third is to fill in decision making positions. Fourth is to strive for equitable legal rights, justice and freedom of choice in politics.

These four trends can be divided into two approaches: the old and new politics. The distinctive element which differentiates them is the
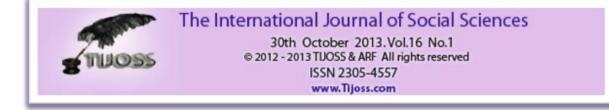
role of the centre and periphery in electoral politics. The three foregoing trends belong to the old politics of 1945 up to 1998. The current trend describes the new politics starting from the 10th General Election till present. Both modernism and Islamic revivalism frameworks are evolving through out these four trends of old and new politics. Feminism gets minor attention from women in Malaysia with the domination of modernism and Islamic revivalism. However, feminism becomes more visible in the new politics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Azzam M. Karam. (February 1998). *Beijing +5: Women's Political Participation: Review of Strategies and Trends*. United Kingdom: The Queens University of Belfast.

2. Baldez, Liza. (1997). *In The Name of Public and the Private: Conservative and Progressive Women's Movement in Chile*, Michigan: University Microfilms International.

3. *Beijing +5 Process and Beyond*, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/claw/foll owup/beijing +5.htm

4. Chou Bih-er, Clark. (1993). *Women in Taiwan Politics Overcoming Barriers to Women's Participation in a Modernizing Society,* Chicago,United States of America: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

5. Chunghee, Sarah S. (1993). *Women in Korean Politics*, United States of America: Westview Press Inc.

6. Dahlerup, Drude. (2001). *Using Quotas To Increase Women's Political Representation*, Sweden: International IDEA.

7. Danez, V.(1987). *Women and Party Politics in Peninsular Malaysia*, Singapore: Oxford University Press.

8. Datin Dr. Andek Masnah Andek Kelawa. (18-19 August 1999). *Pembangunan Wanita dari Perspektif Islam (Undang-Undang dan Politik),* Kuala Lumpur: Seminar Kebangsaan Pemartabatan Wanita di Malaysia, IKIM.

9. Dr. Mat Saat Baki. (1987). *Wanita dan Cabaran*, Kuala Lumpur: Kumpulan Karangkraf Sdn. Bhd.

10. Duke, Lois. L. (1983). *Women in Politics, Outsiders or Insiders*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

11. Gehan Abu Zayd. 2001. *In Search Of Political Power-Women in Parliament In Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon, Sweden*: International IDEA.

12. Haji Faisal b. Hj. Othman. (1991). *Women and Nation Building: Systematic and Historical Analysis of The Problems of Women in Islam with Special Reference to the Situation in Malaysia*, Ann Arbour: University Microfilms International.

13. Hedlund, Gun Kristina. (1996). *It's A Question of Priorities. Women's Conditions and Interest in Local Politics,* Ann Arbour: University Microfilms International.

14. Hibah Rauf Izzat. (1997). *Penglibatan Wanita dalam Politik Mengikut Perspektif Islam*, Selangor: IIIT.

15. Hing AiYun, Nik Safiah Karim and Rokiah Taib. (1984). *Women in Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications.

16. Hong, Evelyn. (1983). *Malaysian Women Problems and Issues*, Penang: Consumer's Association of Penang.

17. Ibrahim Mahmood. (1981). *Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Pustaka Antara.

18. In'am Shuf –Shuf. (1997). *Kepimpinan Wanita dalam Keluarga dan Masyarakat Menurut Kacamata Islam*, Selangor: Pustaka Ilmi.

19. International IDEA. (2001). *Women in Politics: IDEA's Focus on The Political Participation of Women,* Sweden: International IDEA.

20. Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2000). *Women in National Parliaments*, http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm.

21. Jackson, Stevi. (1993). *Women's Studies A Reader*, England: Prentice Hall.

22. Jamilah Ariffin. (1994). *A Summary Of The Report Entitled: "Assessing The Status of Malaysian Women in The Period 1985-1992 with Reference To Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies",* Kuala Lumpur: Women Affairs Division, Ministry Of Unity and National Integrity and Development.

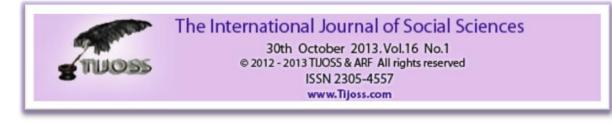23. Jamilah Ariffin. (1994). *Readings on Women and Development in Malaysia,*

Kuala Lumpur: Population Studies Unit, University of Malaya.

24. Khadijah Md Khalid. (1994). *Continuity and Change in Women's Political Participation in West Malaysia,* Kuala Lumpur: Women Affairs Division, Ministry Of Unity and National Integrity and Development.

25. Kumari, R. and Dubey. (1994). *Women Parliamentarians A Study in the Indian Context*, New Delhi: Har Anand Publications.

26. Lovenduski J. and Azza Karam. (2001). *Women In Parliament: Making A Difference*, Sweden: International IDEA.

27. Makmor Tumin. (2001). *The Role of Women NGO's in Malaysian Politics, Selangor: Third International Malaysian* Studies Conference 6 to 8 August 2001, http://phuakl.tripod.com/pssm/homepage. htm.

28. Manderson, L**.** (1980). *Women, Politics and Change The Kaum Ibu UMNO Malaysia 1945-1972*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

29. Matland, Richard. E. (2001). *Enhancing Women Political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral System*, Sweden: International IDEA.

30. Maznah Mohamad. (2001). *Malaysian Women's Movement: At the Centre and Periphery: Contributions of Women's Movements to Democratization*, London: Niaz/Curzon Press.

31. Mehrun Siraj. (1994). *Legal and Political Issues (1985-1992)*, Kuala Lumpur: Women Affairs Division, Ministry Of Unity and National Integrity and Development.

32. Moore, L. Michelle. (1999). *A Multi-Level Analysis of Attitudes regarding Women in Politics,* Michigan: University of Microfilms International.

33. Murray, Irene. (1998). *Factors Contributing To The Participation of Women in Politics*, Michigan: University Microfilms International.

34. Noraini Mohd. Noor. (2001). *Work, Family and Women's Well-Being: Challenges of Contemporary Malaysian Women*, Kuala Lumpur: International Islamic University Malaysia Press (IIUM Press).

35. Norma Mansor and Nik Rosnah Wan Abdullah. (1994). *The Development Process and Women's Participation in The Government: Revisited,* Kuala Lumpur: Women Affairs Division, Ministry of Unity and National Integrity and Development.

36. Northarl, Debra Lynne. (1998). *The League of Women Voters in Mississipi: The Civil Rights Years, 1954-1964*, Michigan: University of Microfilms International.

37. NY. Hidayah Sultan Salim. (1983). *Wanita-Wanita di Dalam Al-Quran*, Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Noor, 1983.

38. Pintat, Christine. (2001). *Democracy Through Partnership: The Experience of Inter-Parliamentary Union,* Sweden: International IDEA.

39. Raja Rohana Raja Mamat. (1991). *The Role and Status of Malay Women in Malaysia Social and Legal Perspectives*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

40. Rashila Ramli. (1998). *"Democratization in Malaysia: Towards Gender Parity in Political Participation",* Akademika 53, July p.61-76.

41. Rudie, Ingrid. (1994). *Visible Women in East Coast Malay Society*, New York: Oxford University Press.

42. Selvaratnam, Padmini. (2001). *The Malaysian Women's Role in Development*, Selangor: Third International Malaysian Studies Conference 6-8 August 2001, http://phuakl.tripod.com/pssm/homepage. htm.

43. Shvedova, Nadzha. (2001). *The Challenge Of Transition-Women In Parliament In Russia*, Sweden: International IDEA.

44. Shvedova, Nadzhda. (2001). *Obstacles To Women's Participation In Parliament*, Sweden: International IDEA

45. Syed Ahmad Semait. (1995). *100 Tokoh Wanita Terbilang*, Singapura: Pustaka Nasional Pte Ltd.

46. Tamale, Sylvia Rosila. (1997). *When Hens Begin To Arrow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Contemporary Uganda*, Michigan: University Microfilms International.

47. Tan Beng Hui and Cecilia Ng. (2001). *Embracing The Challenge of Representation: The Women's Movement and Electoral Politics in Malaysia*, Selangor: Third International Malaysian Studies Conference, 6-8 August 2001, http://phuakl.tripod.com/pssm/homepage.htm.

48. United Nations Office at Vienna. (1992). *Women in Politics and Decision-Making in The Late Twentieth Century A United Nations Study*, Netherlands: Martinus Njhoff Publishers.

49. Yusuf al-Qardhawi. (1998). *Fiqh Dawlah Menurut Perspektif Islam*, Gombak, Selangor: Maktabah al-Qardhawi.

50. Zakia A.Siddiqi and Anwar Jahan Zuberi. (1993). *Muslim Women Problems and Prospects*, New Delhi: MD Publications Pvt Ltd.

51. Zaleha Kamaruddin and Zeenath Kausar. (2002). *Women's Issues Women's Perspectives*, Petaling Jaya, Selangor: Ilmiah Publishers.

52. Zeenath Kausar. (1997). *Political Participation of Women: Contemporary Perspectives of Gender Feminist and Islamic Revivalist,* Kuala Lumpur: A.S Nordeen.

53. Zeenath Kausar. (2000). *Political Development An Islamic Perspective*, Petaling Jaya: The Other Press.

54. Zeenath Kausar. (2001). *Feminist, Sexual Politics and Family Deconstruction An Islamic Perspective*, Kuala Lumpur: International Islamic University Press (IIUM Press).