

**ACCOUNTABILITY IN THE PARLIAMENT OF MALAYSIA: A STUDY ON
INTERRUPTIONS BY THE CHAIRPERSON IN THE *DEWAN RAKYAT***

Inaugural-Dissertation
zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde
der
Philosophischen Fakultät
der
Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität
zu Bonn

vorgelegt von
Nor Azura binti A Rahman

aus
Johor, Malaysia

Bonn 2021

Gedruckt mit der Genehmigung der Philosophischen Fakultät
der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn

Zusammensetzung der Prüfungskommission:

Prof. Dr. Stephan Conermann
(*Vorsitzende/Vorsitzender*)

Prof. Dr. Christoph Antweiler
(*Betreuerin/Betreuer und Gutachterin/Gutachter*)

Prof. Dr. Claudia Derichs
(*Gutachterin/Gutachter*)

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 26 November 2020

ABSTRACT

The election of the chairman of the House of Representatives, a chamber of the Malaysian parliament, has always been determined by the ruling party. The centralization of executive power has also absorbed the function of the chairman, so that the chairman acts partisanly in parliamentary debates. Also, the chairman has developed into an institution that carries out agenda-setting within the framework of the parliament. This raises the conceptual question of whether legislation in Malaysia is still performed independently by the parliament. The observed patterns require an attempt to re-conceptualize the roles as well as the assigned meaning of various expressions of parliamentary routine, including those that are unwritten and informal, for instance those which can also be termed “subjective forms of rule” at one's own discretion. In my doctoral thesis, I apply an interdisciplinary analytical framework that relates to accountability studies, as well as micro-sociological direct interaction, the interpretations of procedural interactions in conversation, as well as studies of political discretion in parliamentary operations.

My main research question asks how the Speaker of Parliament fulfils his responsibilities by disrupting ongoing parliamentary debates. The thesis then asks about the significance of these interruptions in decision-making processes and what ‘agenda control’ means in this context. Two days of debates on the Internal Security Act on June 21 and 22, 1960 as well as debates on Security Incidents and Special Measures 2012 (SOSMA) in the House of Representatives of the Malaysian Parliament, are analysed. Both bills were selected because they are the life cycle (birth and repeal) of a bill. In my research, I relied on conversation analysis from ethnomethodology, and I also analysed patterns using the MAXQDA software.

My analysis shows the various mechanisms with which interruptions in the decision-making process in the Malaysian parliament are carried out, namely the request for clarification or justification, recalling, issuing warnings, asking about relevance and calls to keep order during the Debates. The results of the research reinforce the broader argument that studying the interruptions is essential in order to understand parliamentary processes. In addition, the results suggest that some aspects of parliamentary accountability are not simply removed (e.g. through partiality and inconsistency), as it is symptomatic for of what many scholars refer to as a parliament that passes legislation without proper scrutiny, but rather that there is a need to redefine the role of the chair in legislative processes as a part of the political representation of a parliamentary reform agenda.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Wahl des Vorsitzenden des Repräsentantenhauses, einer Kammer des malaysischen Parlaments, war immer bestimmt durch die herrschende Partei. Die Zentralisierung der Exekutivgewalt hat dabei die Funktion des Vorsitzenden ebenfalls absorbiert, so dass dieser in Parlamentsdebatten parteiisch agiert. Außerdem hat sich der Vorsitzende zu einer Institution entwickelt, die selber Agenda-setting betreibt im Rahmen des Parlaments. Dies wirft die konzeptuelle Frage auf, ob Gesetzgebung in Malaysia noch eine der Funktionen ist, die das Parlament alleine erfüllt. Die beobachteten Muster bedürfen letztlich dem Versuch einer Rekonzeptualisierung der Rollen und der zugeschriebenen Bedeutung verschiedener Ausdrucksformen der parlamentarischen Routine, einschließlich solcher, die ungeschrieben-informelle sind, also solche, die man auch als "subjektive Herrschaftsformen" durch eigenes Ermessen bezeichnen kann. In meiner Doktorarbeit wende ich ein interdisziplinären analytischen Rahmen an, der sich auf accountability-Studien bezieht, sowie auf mikro-soziologische direkte Interaktion, auf die Interpretationen prozeduraler Interaktionen im Gespräch sowie auf Studien politischer Ermessensspielräume im parlamentarischen Betrieb.

Meine primäre Forschungsfrage fragt danach, wie der Parlamentsvorsitzende seiner Verantwortlichkeit nachkommt durch seine Unterbrechung laufender parlamentarischer Debatten. Sodann fragt die Arbeit nach der Bedeutung dieser Unterbrechungen in entscheidungsgenerierenden Prozessen und danach, was Agenda-Kontrolle in diesem Kontext bedeutet. Zwei Debattentage über das Gesetz zur inneren Sicherheit am 21. und 22. Juni 1960 sowie Debatten über Sicherheitsverstöße und Sondermaßnahmen 2012 (SOSMA) des Repräsentantenhauses des malaysischen Parlaments, die für diese Untersuchung durchgeführt wurden. Beide Gesetzesvorlagen wurden ausgewählt, da es sich um den Lebenskreis (Geburt und Aufhebung) einer Gesetzesvorlage handelt. In meiner Forschung stützte ich mich auf Konversationsanalyse der Ethnomethodologie, außerdem habe ich Muster analysiert mit Hilfe der MAXQDA-Software.

Meine Analyse zeigt die verschiedenen Mechanismen auf, mit denen Unterbrechungen im Entscheidungsfindungsprozess im malaysischen Parlament durchgeführt werden, nämlich die Bitte um Verdeutlichung oder Begründung, das in Erinnerung rufen, das Aussprechen von Warnungen, das fragen nach der Relevanz und Aufrufe, die Ordnung einzuhalten während der Debatten. Die Ergebnisse der Forschung bestärken das weiter gefasste Argument, dass die Untersuchung der Unterbrechungen maßgeblich ist, um parlamentarische Prozesse zu verstehen. Außerdem legen die Ergebnisse nahe das nicht einfach einige Aspekte von Verantwortlichkeit des Parlaments wegfallen (beispielsweise durch Parteilichkeit und Inkonsistenz), so wie es symptomatisch ist für das, was viele Wissenschaftler als ein Parlament bezeichnen, das ohne richtige Prüfung Gesetze absegnet, vielmehr unterstreichen meine Ergebnisse die Notwendigkeit, die Rolle und die Bedeutung des Vorsitzenden in Gesetzgebungsprozessen als Teil der politischen Repräsentation einer parlamentarischen Reformagenda neu festzulegen.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank my supervisor Prof. Dr. Christoph Antweiler for accepting me as a student at the Institute of Orient and Asian Studies (IOA). He believed in me from the start and supported me throughout this long journey. This thesis would not be possible without his intellectual guidance, emotional support and the fact he gave me the opportunity to engage in such dynamic, intellectually enriching research environment at the IOA.

This research would also not be possible without my second supervisor, Prof. Dr. Claudia Derichs. She kindly allowed me to join postgraduate group in Marburg-where we had cups of coffee through rigorous presentations and exchanging academic views.

I would also like to thank the Zentrum of Entwicklung (ZEF) academicians for having me during my early stay in Germany. The introductory course on research and methodology was really insightful and interesting. I had not only gained academic insights, but the most to treasure are the academic contacts and friends. Special thank you also to Prof. Dr. Stephan Connerman at the Philosophische Fakultät for his generosity and helpful during my early days at the University.

This journey became more colorful with the presence of 'Phd Gang' from the IOA. '*Ich bedanke euch*' for sharing ideas, writing techniques and tips. I am also thankful to have Timo Duile and Sukri Tamma as friends for academic 'sharing and exchange' while in Bonn.

I could not have completed this thesis without the unconditional love, support and faith in me held by so many people I am fortunate to count as family and friends. Thank you Elin Yang-Romberg, Sidika Kordes, Ramlah (*Mak*), my late father-Rahman (*Abah*) and my siblings. Finally, this thesis is dedicated for my family.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: General elections in Malaya/Malaysia

Table 1.2: List of the Chairpersons (*Dewan Rakyat*) and their political affiliations

Table 1.3: Political events, iconic moments, principal outcomes and significance, 1955-2018

Table 4.1: Interruptions made by the Chairperson in Dewan Rakyat on 21st and 22nd June 1960 in debate of Internal Security Bill

Table 4.2: Interruptions made by the Chairperson in Dewan Rakyat on 16th April 2012 on debate of the Security Offences and Special Measures (SOSMA) Bill

Table 5.1: List of members of parliaments on 21st and 22nd June 1960. The debates on the Internal Security Bill were chaired by the Yang Dipertua Dewan Rakyat Mr. Mohamed Noah Omar

Table 5.2: List of members of parliaments on 16th April 2012. The debates on Rang Undang-Undang Kesalahan Keselamatan (Langkah-Langkah Khas) were chaired by Ronald Kiandee, Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaafar, and Pandikar Amin Mulia

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Patterns of interruptions by Chairperson in Malaysian Parliament debates on the Internal Security Bill on 20th and 21st June 1960, and Security Offences (Special Measures) Bill 2012 on 16th April 2012

ABBREVIATIONS

BN	Barisan Nasional (National Front)
CA	Conversation Analysis
CDU	Christian Democratic Union
CPM	Communist Party of Malaya
DAP	Democratic Action Party
GE	General Election
GERAKAN	<i>Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia</i> (The Malaysian People's Movement Party)
IND	Independent (Party)
IRA	Irish Republican Army
ISA	Internal Security Act
KMM	<i>Kesatuan Melayu Muda</i> (Young Malay United)
MAXQDA	Qualitative Data Analysis Software
MCA	Malaysian Chinese Association
MCDs	Membership Categorization Devices
MIC	Malaysian Indian Congress
MP	Member of Parliament
NEP	New Economic Policy/Program
NOC	National Operative Council
NSDAP	<i>Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeitspartei</i>
PAN	Parti Negara
PAS	Pan-Malayan Islamic Party
PBB	<i>Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu</i> (United Bumiputera Heritage Party)
PH	<i>Pakatan Harapan</i> (Alliance of Hope)
PKR	<i>Parti Keadilan Rakyat</i> (The People's Justice Party)

PMIP	Pan-Malayan Islamic Party
PN	<i>Parti Negara</i> (National Party)
PPP	People's Progressive Party
PR	<i>Parti Rakyat</i> (The People's Party)
RCV	Roll Call Vote
SAPP	<i>Parti Progresif Sabah</i> (Sabah Progressive Party)
SF	Socialist Front
SOSMA	Security Offenses and Special Measures Act
SPDP	Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party
SSCP	Southeast Sea Communist Party
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation
USSR	Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic
YDPA	<i>Yang DiPertuan Agong</i> (His Majesty/The King)
YDPN	<i>Yang DiPertua Negeri</i> (State's Ruler/Head of State)

GLOSSARY

Merdeka	Independent or free from colonialization
The Alliance	The coalition of three major ethnic party (UMNO, MIC and MCA)
Member of Parliament	Political representatives which had won the election and have the authority to speak in the Dewan Rakyat
Chairperson	A person who manage debates in the Dewan Rakyat
Yang DiPertua Dewan	also known as ‘Chairperson’
Party asset	referring to any political actor who has the ability to influence or valuable for the party on any occasion
Dewan Rakyat	also known as House of Representative
Bumiputera	Malay or any other indigenous people who resides in Malaysia
Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia	also known as Gerakan, a political party founded in 1968 and among one of the component of Barisan Nasional

TABLES OF CONTENT

Zusammensetzung der Prüfungskommission	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
LIST OF TABLES	v
APPENDICES	vi
ABBREVIATIONS	vi
GLOSSARY	viii
TABLES OF CONTENT	ix
CHAPTER 1 GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE PARLIAMENT OF MALAYSIA	
1.1 Overview	1
1.2 Background of the study of the Parliament of Malaysia	1
1.3 Chairperson and accountability in Parliament	3
1.4 Decline in Parliament	5
1.5 The state of decline in the Parliament	7
1.6 Statement of the problem of the Chairperson in the Parliament	9
1.7 Research questions	11
1.8 Research objectives	11
1.9 Significance of the study	11
1.10 Limitations	12
1.11 Conclusion	13
1.12 Chapter by chapter summary of the thesis	14
CHAPTER 2 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND PARLIAMENT ACCOUNTABILITY IN MALAYSIA	
2.1 Introduction	17
2.2 Parliament and accountability	17
2.2.1 Structural aspects of the decision-making process in Parliament	18
2.2.2 Mechanisms in the decision-making process in Parliament	22
2.2.3 Selection of a chairperson	23
2.2.4 Selection of the Speaker of <i>Dewan Rakyat</i>	24
2.2.5 Duties of the Chairperson	25
2.2.6 Functions of the Chairperson in the decision-making process	27

2.3 Structure of the Parliament of Malaysia	28
2.3.1 Chairperson as one of the actor-players in Parliament	32
2.3.2 Characteristics of Chairperson (Malaysia, United Kingdom, Australia, and India)	33
2.4 Formation and growth of political parties	35
2.5 Post-independence: The challenges towards democracy	37
2.6 Democracy and Clientelism in Malaysia	41
2.7 Parliamentary accountability in Malaysia	46
2.8 Conclusion	47
CHAPTER 3 CONVERSATION ANALYSIS IN PARLIAMENTARY SETTING	
3.1 Introduction	50
3.2 Data collection	51
3.2.1 Corpus of data	51
3.2.2 Data collection	51
3.2.3 Ethics	52
3.3 Conversation Analysis (CA)	52
3.3.1 Utterances as social activities	53
3.3.2 Focus on the organization of talk-in-interaction	53
3.3.3 The normative nature of talk-in-interaction	55
3.4 Methodological concerns	55
3.4.1 Documented elements	55
3.4.2 Conversation analysis or Membership categorization analysis	56
3.4.3 What constitutes an interruption	57
3.5 Justification on using Conversation Analysis to determine interruption in Parliamentary debates	59
3.6 Conclusion	61
CHAPTER 4 CHAIRPERSON PERFORMING ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH INTERRUPTIONS	
4.1 Introduction	63
4.1.1 The Internal Security Bill 1960	63
4.1.2 Security Offences (Special Measures) Bill 2012	78
4.2 Analytical Process on Utterances of Chairperson in the Malaysian Parliament	102
4.3 Interruption without sequence	103
4.3.1 Interruptions without sequence-request clarification on uncertainties	103
4.3.2 Interruptions without sequence-reminder	106

4.3.3 Interruption without sequence-warnings	108
4.3.4 Interruptions without sequence-relevance	111
4.3.5 Interruptions without sequence-maintaining order during debates	113
4.4 Interruptions with sequence	114
4.5 Summary and conclusion	121
CHAPTER 5 DEVELOPING POWER AND PARTISANSHIP THROUGH UTTERANCES	
5.1 Introduction	125
5.2 Analytic procedure	125
5.2.1 Interruptions by Chairperson during Internal Security Bill 1960 debate	126
5.2.2 Interruptions by Chairperson during Security Offenses and Special Measures Bill debates 2012	134
5.3 Interrupting different parties differently	139
5.4 Interrupting to impose ideas	140
5.5 Interrupting for relevance	142
5.6 Interrupting to shape discussion	142
5.7 Summary and discussion	143
CHAPTER 6 DISCRETION AND POSITIONING IDENTITY OF THE CHAIRPERSON IN DEWAN RAKYAT	
6.1 Introduction	145
6.2 Discretion as subjective ruling	145
6.3 Positioning in parliament	147
6.4 Accountability and Clientelism: Is it Possible?	147
6.5 Summary and discussion	151
CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	
7.1 Introduction	153
7.2 Assessment of the findings	155
7.3 Synthesis of the key analytical findings	156
7.3.1 Attending to accountability through interruptions	156
7.3.2 Attending interruptions as a problem in interactions	157
7.3.3 Accountability and its limitations through interruptions	158
7.4 Evaluation of the analysis	159
7.5 Subjects of generalization and validity	160
7.6 Theoretical and methodological contributions	161
7.7 Contributions to the body of knowledge	163

7.8 Conclusion	163	
REFERENCES	165	
APPENDICES		
Appendix 1	Simplified interruptions by the Chairperson on the Internal Security Bill 21st and 22nd June 1960	176
Appendix 2	Simplified interruptions by the Chairpersons on the Security Offences and Special Measures (SOSMA) Bill 16th April 2012	179
Appendix 3	Role of Parliamentary Presiding Officers by Russel and Paun (2007)	193
Appendix 4	Lists of Speaker/Chairperson of Selected Commonwealth countries	
	Table 1: Dewan Rakyat (Malaysia)	195
	Table 2: House of Commons (United Kingdom)	196
	Table 3: House of Representatives (Australia)	198
	Table 4: Lok Sabha (India)	201

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE PARLIAMENT OF MALAYSIA

1.1 Overview

In this chapter, I will present my research puzzle starting from introducing the Parliament of Malaysia as a case study and the Parliamentary structure since Independence. Next, the section will continue on the issue of oversight of Parliament or also known as decline. After outlining the elements and factors for decline in Parliament, the chapter will address the research questions, and research objectives by developing the main argument of this thesis. Then, it will continue on the outline of key academic contributions of the thesis within the discipline of social psychology and political-legislative studies. A chapter-by-chapter summary concludes this introductory chapter.

1.2 Background of the study of the Parliament of Malaysia

In the early days of the Second World War, Europe was dominated by fascism where most of the workers' union in the United Kingdom and Russia were battered and demoralized. While Stalin took control of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), Benito Mussolini denied the 'majority direct from human society' under the Doctrine of Fascist in Italy. A Spanish General, Francisco Franco, ruled over Spain for 36 years, and another military personality, Adolf Hitler, took over Germany under the Nazi Party or *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP). Meanwhile, in Asia, countries were also looking for their own 'political identity', and some were experiencing a 'force of change' in their political practices. After the Second World War ended in 1945, many countries began to decide the ruling system of a government (political) and choose a convenient economic system. As a country under a colonial rule, the Federation of Malaya¹ (or Malaya now Malaysia), was struggling to gain independence from the British whilst fighting the communist ideology of the Southeast Sea Communist Party (SSCP).

In order to gain independence from the British, the Federation of Malaya team was set to preparing documents for submission to the British. These documents are known as The *Merdeka* Constitution. The *Merdeka* Constitution of 1957 was accepted after reviewing the

¹ The Federation of Malaya existed from 1st February 1948 until 16 September 1963, after which its name was changed to Malaysia.

report from the Reid Commission. In the early days, it was not an easy path to write the constitution because of its multiracial society with different interests and socio-economic backgrounds. The Constitution was also hardly accepted by some politicians and scholars as it depicts “too executive-minded approach, arguable and no doubt fashionable...during communist insurgency” (Harding 1996: 38). Hence, the team was successfully gaining confidence and Malaya was rewarded independence on 31st August 1957.

Since independence, Malaysia adapted Westminster system of the United Kingdom for its government. Nevertheless, the adaptation process had shortcoming which was overlooked by the ruling government. One of the shortcoming was the nurture of ‘executive-minded’ approach (which was commented by Harding) within the Parliament of Malaysia. This had led to the fundamental problem in the landscape of the political system in Malaysia particularly in the aspect of ‘check and balance’ among the three main component in democracy namely the legislative, executive and judiciary (for further explanation, refer Parliament and Accountability at Chapter 2 onwards). Hence, *Barisan Nasional* (previously known as the Alliance) enjoyed the advantage and successfully preserved the majority seats in the Parliament since Independence until the 14th General Election in 2018 which they lost to *Pakatan Harapan*.²

Is shortcoming or oversight of Parliament normal? Is it new or just happened in this 21st century? From historian perspective, the decline of parliaments has happened long time ago since early modern period in Europe (between the middle fifteenth century and also in 1789). The decline was commented by Montesquieu that there was a problematic monarchy system which created tension and turned the system into three unsettled congests namely i) turned the system into ‘despotism’ or rather ‘republicanism’, ii) undivided power between the people and the prince, and iii) struggle to maintain the equilibrium of both (Zanden et.al, 2012). Thus, the phenomenon of parliamentary decline is not new to the world of politics. The divergence of political systems has piled a constrain of sovereign power and ‘opening’ parliament to oversights and deficiency caused by its own members.

² On 9th May 2019, the 14th General Election marked another national history for Malaysia that *Barisan Nasional* lost to *Pakatan Harapan* with only 1 seat from the total 222 seats. It was a though after 60 years of governing the nation, *Barisan Nasional* only won 79 seats and did not gain support from other parties to collaborate to forming an alliance.

Next sub-chapter will enlighten and guide readers on some insights on the flaws of the Parliament of Malaysia. As Malaysia is a member of the Commonwealth countries, the parliamentary system from a few countries which gained independent from the British will be listed as reference for the study.

1.3 Chairperson and accountability in Parliament

The study of accountability is not an easy task because of unclear sources and indirect path. To understand accountability, one has to know (i) who is supporting accountability reform, (ii) what is the objective of the reform, and (iii) how support is mobilized for the reform (Rodan and Hughes 2014: 2). Accountability could mean differently according to the expression “to hold someone or some institution accountable” (Goetz and Jenkins 2005: 2). Much political science literature focuses on the institutional aspect, such as accountability among political parties (O’Donnell 2003) and deliberate democracy in parliament discourses (Steiner et al. 2005). Nevertheless, the accountability of institutions has received little attention from the public administration literature in Southeast Asia (see Turner 2002).

The study of accountability of Parliament is essential to containing its serenity and supremacy as an institution. The legislative has been the symbol of the most democratic element in polity because (1) they are directly elected in the upper house, (2) they are more representative than the executive, and (3) they are able to obtain more local connections with their constituents, in which if they decline, it would mean a decline in the quality of democracy (Johnson 2005: 2-3). In addition, Norton (1990: 5) also contended that industrialization, rapidly growing enfranchisement and the “cancerous growth” of party politics in the 19th century had given rise to social and political changes, which were essentially attributed as the perpetrator of ‘parliamentary decline’.

Many scholars and observers argue that over the years, the role of Parliament is declining and weakening. One example is Ukraine experience. It is more than enough to see the tumbling down of an institution and how ‘fragile’ it could be. The former President Viktor Yanukovich was forced to resign for several reasons, and one of them is when he chose to make close ties and improve Ukraine-Russia relations through ideas and policy preferences during policy-making in the parliament (Interfax-Ukraine 2010). After several protests since November 2013,

which created societal unrest, he was removed as the President on 22nd February 2014 by the Ukrainian Parliament with a 73% vote.

The growth of party politics in Parliament is an achievement for a more ‘balanced’ and variety of thoughts during a decision-making process. Nevertheless, such a phenomenon could also be challenging and consume ‘longer time’ during debates. Interruptions or ‘unauthorized turns’ are a relative action during debates among the MPs. Even though such behavior is forbidden during debates, many MPs engage in such behavior regularly and receive respective responses from the session authorities (the person in-turn) (Carbó 1992: 25). These actions also constitute accountability in Parliament.

The World Bank (2006) contends that “Parliaments can play a crucial role in overseeing the actions of the Executive branch. Their power is built on the fact that they can hold state institutions accountable, represent the people at the highest level of government and exercise legislative powers...” What the World Bank is suggesting here seems to be ideal as far as the Malaysian Parliament is concerned. In the name of democracy to contain national and political stability, parliament should be ‘protected’ from using certain mechanisms and principles, and one of them is accountability.

Two important aspects remain unexplored in the study of interactions during debates in Parliament. While focusing on formal mechanisms, the literature does not address the issue of how accountability is transformed into ‘strategy’ in practice. For example, how issues are worked up as accountable during the interactions between MPs. Furthermore, the existing literature only focuses on the MPs and other committees but not the Chairperson. This research on the Chairperson/s accountability towards the decision-making process in the Malaysian Parliament seems particularly well placed to address these unexplored issues for four key reasons.

To begin with, my study is an effort to inscribe the practical aspects of the Chairperson’s accountability by focusing on the utterances or interruptions made by the Chairperson while managing debates. This study contrast with the existing literature that exclusively focuses on interruptions among MPs and their discourses, thus offering a valuable contribution to the existing research.

Secondly, my study adopts a social psychological perspective, thus contributing to a new framework in an area which was traditionally grounded within the political science perspective. The focus on accounts within social psychology provides a useful contribution to the political science notion of accountability, which will be explained further in the literature review.

Thirdly, my study used data gathered directly from the archives. Several proceedings were collected, and some of them were specially requested by email due to technical errors during the process of compilation (from the webpage of the Malaysian Parliament). These transcribed documents allowed me to examine how the issues of accountability are negotiated through the unwritten rules of interruptions by the Chairperson against the MPs. In particular, I inscribed how the Chairperson accomplished accountability during debates (Chapter 4) and the underlying mechanics in interruptions while executing a formal duty as a Chairperson (Chapter 5 and 6).

Fourthly, my study used the qualitative methodology of conversation analysis (Sacks and Jefferson 1995). This particular method of analysis includes a commitment to constructing analytic claims on the subjects' displayed understanding and concerns rather than pre-considered analytic concepts and thoughts. Because I had to work with long documents (the proceedings), I needed assistance in managing them. Therefore, I used MAXQDA, an operating system which simplifies and organizes the coding and categorization of patterns of interruptions.

1.4 Decline in Parliament

What contributes to the 'decline' in Parliament? The origins of the 'decline' hypothesis reveal some of its key assumptions, many of which do not fit with the observed realities of day-to-day functioning of parliaments (Stróm 1995: 57; Elgie and Stapleton 2006: 482) because the parliament may not account for the complexities in ethnically, racially and religiously diverse post-colonial societies. One example is Malaysia, which has gone through the rapid process of social, economic, and political transformation.

Beginning with the early commentators in the 19th century (most famously Lord Bryce), scholars agree that legislatures are in a state of 'decline'. Bryce (in Norton 1990: 47), like many contemporary scholars today, argued that the executive dominates the policy-making process,

leaving the legislature as a ‘rubber stamping’ machine of governmental policy. As the legislature has always been the most democratic element in a polity because (1) its members are directly elected or nominated by the legitimate bodies (especially in the upper house), (2) they are often more representative than the executive, and (3) members are directly accountable and have more local connections with their constituents, its decline would mean a ‘decline’ in the quality of democracy (Johnson 2005: 2-3; Ornstein 1992: 6-10). Furthermore, industrialization was primarily the cause of parliamentary decline as it had brought massive social and political change and caused ‘cancerous growth’ in party politics in the 19th century (Norton 1990: 5). Bracher (1963: 248) also observed that the intricacy of modern industrial society had “threatened to undermine the competence and decision-making ability of the individual MP, to strengthen at the cost of parliament the power of committees, experts and the bureaucracy of executives and to lead toward an undermining of the parliamentary system of government from within”. His observation is an eye-opening for political scientists in that parliament as an institution can be affected by other parties, making its supremacy still questionable.

In contemporary Malaysia, the ‘decline’ could be attributed to the accountability and behavior of MPs and their inability or unwillingness to adhere to parliamentary procedures, preferring instead to resort to disruption and stalling of proceedings. As argued earlier, empirical indicators demonstrate the continued significance of the Malaysian Parliament, as the ‘decline’ is also echoed when viewed through a more theoretical lens. For instance, Musolf and Springer (1977: 113) problematize the ‘decline’ claim by pointing out the concentration of power by elite groups in legislatures in subsequent waves of democracy. Their argument is simple: if legislatures were that faulty, why do they persist and, more fundamentally, why do they matter?

The ‘decline’ hypothesis is predicated on the assumption that parliament must fulfill certain functions and is in ‘decline’ if it does not do so to the qualified stage. What are the benchmarks for parliament to function as a legislative body? Generally, when it is not in ‘decline’, the parliament is supposed to pass and deliberate laws through a fairly representative body of MPs voted through democratic elections. Usually, a parliament discussion tends to be verbal exchanges of reasons (i.e. rational argumentation) to generate a political solution favoring the ‘greater good’ (Kapoor 2002: 461-462). In the Malaysian context, this conception of what Parliament ought to do and how it is contested on both theoretical and empirical grounds is a recurrent theme throughout this study.

Whilst there are numerous studies on the content of the spoken form (i.e., that policy X will contribute to Y consequences), political science research is “unsighted” to other approaches that view democratic processes as an accountable representation using rhetorical and embodied techniques of communication with their own theatrical narratives, scripts, and elements of performing (Parkinson 2012; Hajer 2005). Moreover, scholars are now exploring the concepts of discourse that place more significance on symbolic and affective expression (Roald and Sangolt 2012), rather than measuring the quality of discourses or arguments (Steiner et al. 2005), and the significance of non-verbal elements in discourse (Ornatowski 2010). This oversight reflects a broader shortcoming in the mainstream legislative research that favors a functionalistic or ends-based analysis of legislation in terms of its desired outcomes (Rai 2010: 286).

Empirically, the Malaysian parliament has seen a progressive ‘decline’ in the decision-making on deliberating legislation with an increasing number of Bills passed with minimal and sometimes without having debated through the *Dewan Rakyat*. According to Harding, the Malaysian Parliament has ‘invariably’ validated the preference of the government because of the long ‘dominant coalition system’ which had led the government since Independence (Harding 2012: 86). Moreover, disruptive behaviors on the floor of the House tend to avoid or shut out oral discussion/deliberation and detract from the Parliament’s available working hours. Nevertheless, the Parliament’s existence and ‘charismatic’ presence in the Malaysian public remains high at all times.

Despite its centrality in the discourse of how well the Malaysian Parliament works, the empirically-grounded objection to the ‘decline’ hypothesis is summarized best by Abdul Aziz Bari (2007). It is hoped that the findings of my research will contribute to unpacking the tensions and re-casting the relationship between the theoretically-driven notion of decline and political realities in more meaningful terms.

1.5 The state of decline in the Parliament

In the 19th century, scholars agreed that legislatures are in a state of decline. James Bryce (in Norton 1990:47) argued that the executive dominates the policy-making process, leaving the legislatures as a ‘rubber stamping’ machine of governmental policy. ‘Rubber stamping’ is a metaphor which depicts an image of a bureaucrat, when received a stack of papers (on a policy),

who asininely ‘stamp’ the papers to make them official. In a parliamentary context, ‘rubber stamping’ happens when decisions or legislation are simply endorsed with no real debates. Johnson (2005: 4) said that ‘rubber stamp’ legislature is ‘the simplest form of the legislature’ because its approved decision is made somewhere else within the political system ‘usually by parties and/or the executive branch’.

Meanwhile, ‘cycling’ in parliament is a situation when decision making is not a stable process, and policy changes are voted within a short time. ‘Cycling’ is also known as a peculiar form of ‘collective irrationality’ (Andrews 2002: 2). The consequence of cycling is the opportunity for an individual who has control over the legislative agenda to obtain his own most-preferred outcome, and this could be an implication of his own ‘chaos’ (McKelvey in Andrews 2002). It is even worse when the person who controls the ‘cycled’ outcomes can also control “in which order issues will come before members to ensure the passage of his own most preferred outcome” (Andrews 2002: 5).

‘Rubber stamping’ and ‘cycling’ are the two mechanisms that veto players use to project their preferences. A ‘veto player’ in this study refers to collective actors or individuals whose agreement is needed for a change of the status quo of a policy (Tsebelis 2000: 4) as well as other ‘actors’ endowed with the veto power (Tsebelis 1999:593). In parliamentary studies, actors tend to be the MPs as representatives during a decision-making process. However, not many researchers had given a thought about the role of a Chairperson or Speaker or Presiding Officer of the House.

As mentioned earlier, the persistence of disruptive accountability that detracts from arguments and discussions on legislation on the floor of the *Dewan Rakyat* is often dismissed as being indicative of a ‘personalized parliamentary behavior’ (Otjes and Louwse 2013: 3). Some scholars would go further to claim that a parliament’s “status...as a policy-maker” has been “suitable for problems of adverse selection...facing the challenges of decaying screening devices and diverted accountabilities” (Strøm and Müller 1999: 1). The origins of the ‘decline’ hypothesis reveal some its key assumptions, many of which do not fit with observed realities of day-to-day functioning of parliaments (Strøm 1995: 57; Elgie and Stapleton 2006: 482), and which do not account for the complexities in ethnically, racially and religiously diverse post-colonial societies like Malaysia that has engaged in a rapid process of social, economic, and political transformation. Moreover, the continued significance of the parliament in the

Malaysian context and the vast financial expense incurred by the government to run it defies the ‘declination of accountability’ explanation.

In this context, my study questions the role of the Chairperson. Despite expected to be impartial, can the Chairperson control the agenda or will he support veto players in the parliament and how? Since the rising significance of parliament in Malaysia and the vast number of critics on the Chairperson’s decision and actions defy the ‘declination of accountability’ explanation, understanding the Chairperson’s accountability during debates in parliament is significant for the improvement of the institution. Hence, in this thesis, I examine the performance and use of accountability by the Chairperson within and among the members of Parliament (MPs) in Malaysia during parliamentary debates from a social psychological and political-legislative perspective. To do so, I use the context of the Malaysian Parliament set-up and talk-in-interaction as analysis. I contend that the Chairperson, like the MPs, should also be accountable to his role during parliamentary debates to contain the ‘decline’ from happening by exercising impartiality, and also by avoiding ‘rubber-stamping’ (Norton 1990) and/or ‘cycling’ (Andrews 2002) from happening during the decision-making process.

1.6 Statement of the problem of the Chairperson in the Parliament

Countries that practice democracy have two houses to make laws: the Upper House and the Lower House. In both Houses, the Chairperson (different designations are used by other countries like the Speaker of the House or the President of Parliament) mediates or chairs the debate session during a decision-making process. The function of the Chairperson in this session is of a moderator to maintain the stability and well-being of the on-going debate until the voting of a bill. In Malaysia, the Chairperson of the Lower House or *Dewan Rakyat* is the focus of the present study.

This study asks whether the Chairperson is ‘genuine’ when playing his role while chairing the debate session. The Chairperson is appointed by the Parliament through a voting system (he/she has to secure a two-third majority of the members of the Parliament). Since the first establishment of the parliamentary system in Malaysia, all Chairpersons appointed had affiliation with the Alliance or UMNO in some form (even after he/she had quit or retired from the party) because much of the history of the Malaysian politics is about the major ruling party of Barisan Nasional (previously known as Alliance), which had governed the country since

Independence. As a result, can the Chairperson execute his role fairly and be accountable to both the government and the opposition in the Parliament?

The Chairperson is a crucial entity who could contribute to the 'fate' of a policy-making process. He could either genuinely chair the debate session by being fair, or he could jeopardize the situation by showing preference to any party or veto players in the Parliament. This claim is made by taking into consideration several factors which will be discussed under the topic of the decline in parliament and by looking at the pattern of dismissals of the opposition MPs during a debate session. Hence, it is crucial to examine the status quo of the Chairperson in the Malaysian Parliament for the future of the parliamentary system. Therefore, this study analyzes whether the Chairperson plays a fair, biased or moderate role while holding his position. The study hopes to shed light on the Chairperson's accountability based on his background and party affiliation.

To examine the Chairperson's accountability, I adopted a social psychological and perspective and concentrated on communications, particularly the interruptions between the Chairperson and MPs. Communications appear to be an important platform to bring out and compile the accounts from different contexts (Clayman and Heritage 2002). I mainly focused on the accounts relating to the verbal interruptions made by the Chairperson (e.g., asking for justification or relevancy of points used by the MPs, warnings, etc.) because I would be able to inscribe the interruptions (categorizations, patterns, and to whom) throughout the interactions between the Chairperson and the MPs. In examining these accounts, I focused on how the Chairperson attempted to barge in the debates, as well as on the communication strategies used by the Chairperson of whether to hold the agenda of his preferences or otherwise. Additionally, I focused on the sessions when the Chairperson asked certain MPs to leave the Hall during the debates. In examining this, I focused on the preferences of the Chairperson towards MPs through 'subjective orders' or discretion.

To analyze the practical aspects of the Chairperson's accountability towards MPs, I employed conversation analysis (henceforth referred to as CA), a form of analysis that has received small attention but contributed to a massive insight in social psychology and other research of accounts in an institutional set-up. My study is an attempt to contribute to new conceptual and methodological insights through a combination of social-psychological and political science lenses.

1.7 Research questions

The study examines the accountability of the Chairperson in managing ongoing debates in the Malaysian Parliament. Specifically, the study has three major research questions:

1. How does the Chairperson exercise his role while managing debates?
(To which party did he interrupt, how and why?)
2. What are the characteristics drawn out of a Chairperson while managing the debate?
(What are the unwritten rules of the occurrences of interruptions by the Chairperson?)
3. How has the Chairperson practiced accountability in managing the debates?
(What are the challenging issues between being impartial and exercising his actual duty as a mediator?)

Pursuing the above questions requires the ability to capture the unfolding of verbal interactions between the Chairperson and MPs. To do so, the present study employed a conversation analysis to be discussed in Chapter 3. Since this study is about Malaysian politics, specifically the role of the Chairperson in the Malaysian parliament and the context of ‘clientelism’ will be discussed in Chapter 2.

1.8 Research objectives

The study examines the accountability of the Chairperson in managing ongoing debates in the Malaysian Parliament. Three major research objectives are identified, namely;

1. To understand the mechanics of the strategy of a Chairperson.
2. To examine the unwritten rules set by the Chairperson.
3. To accentuate the challenges of being the Chairperson in the Malaysian parliament.

1.9 Significance of the study

This study can be justified on a number of grounds: (a) parliament stability is an increasingly common term used to measure democracy and democratization of a state; (b) parliament is an important and crucial body for decision-making process; (c) the lack of research on parliamentary studies in Asian countries; (d) the use these results may be put to; and (e) the addition to the corpus of knowledge on parliamentary studies.

Parliament is an institution from consociational democracy where the executives gain their authority and are accountable to the legislative authority for making decisions (Lijphart 1984).

Participation in legislative debates, where the powers of participants are ‘united or fused’ (Strøm 1995: 51), is among the most visible activities of members of a parliament (MPs), yet debates remain an understudied form of legislators’ behavior (Proksch and Slapin 2012: 520). Therefore, this research is an attempt to fill the academic corpus gap by studying accountability in a parliament setting, focusing on the Chairperson as the center for analysis. Further, it helps to identify the strategies and pattern of interruptions of the Chairperson while managing ongoing debates.

First, there is a need to further the research on the trends of a parliament as an institution so that more can be learned about the broader paradigm shift in democracy. Unfortunately, less empirical research on government responsiveness particularly the parliament has focused on Asian countries. The formation of groups on public opinion is motivated primarily to gain government responsiveness or attention. However, prescriptions for the formation of such groups often overlook the salience or importance of such relationships. For example, issues like increasing budget expenses and inequality of budget allocations (Feldmann 1988; Kelly and Enns 2010) have weakened the main objectives of the groups’ formation. However, much of the research on public opinion to date has been general. Researchers have not treated public opinion and government responsiveness in detail. Government responsiveness to public opinion and policy relations should be better when the measurement for responsiveness focuses on one case study, such as a study on parliament. Consequently, the dynamics of parliament as an institution and important body of decision-making could be specifically drawn. Ilie (2010:1) contends the significance in studying parliament discourse is due to the social developments and changes, making it ‘necessary to examine the underlying negotiation processes and participants’ deeper motivations’. Furthermore, the emerging of the ‘new world order’ and new problems faced by authorities in a new bureaucratic central government has instigated the significance of researching Parliament as a decision-making institution (Jennings 1970: 148).

1.10 Limitations

This study utilized the proceeding papers transcribed by the Malaysian Parliament resource center (spoken words only). This study also did not provide an in-depth transcription, which includes dysfluencies (impairment of the ability to produce smooth speech) and non-lexical utterances (words are conveyed through patterns of stress and intonation, prosody). The study only focused on the content and mechanisms of accomplishing interruptions, which did not

consider any facial expression (for in-depth psychological explanation) among the actors involved. Therefore, this study only analyzed the content of the uttered conversation and examined the accountability of the Chairperson by analyzing the actors involved during the process of decision-making.

This study also excluded the proceedings after the 14th general election in 2018, which has witnessed a major change in the government when Pakatan Harapan took over the 60 years of domination by Barisan Nasional. The Chairpersons elected from 1957-2013 were the preference of Barisan Nasional and had political affiliations with the party. Hence, this study did not discuss the selection of the Chairperson of the 14th Parliament session, which was also contentious as claimed by the opposition party (i.e., Barisan Nasional) for not going through a proper process.

1.11 Conclusion

The goal of this thesis is to provide an incremental analysis of the role of elements in interruptions by the Chairperson in legislative performances in the Malaysian Parliament to identify the sub-ideology or impartiality of legislation and his or her representative functions. This finding is significant in that it speculates an alternative to the traditional ‘decline’ narrative and more accurately draws the multitude of performative dynamics of strategies within the legislation in the Malaysian context. Moreover, it questions the traditional (i.e., Western-centric) understanding of political deliberation, defined in a very minimal, non-normative fashion-as “a process of public reasoning geared toward generating political decision or public opinion about how to resolve shared problems” (Smith and Brassett 2008:72; Kapoor 2002: 461-462).

This chapter also attempts to draw on the expectations as to how a Chairperson should be like or presentable as a genuine mediator. In a more pessimistic vein, it might be argued that there is no need for a characteristics setting or model because the setting makes it archaic or ‘hard-to-comply’, and when countries with their prevailing political conditions impose these settings, the results may vary. This argument is supported by reviewing the pattern of selection of a Chairperson in four different countries, namely Malaysia, United Kingdom, Australia, and India. History shows that there were cases whereby the Chairperson was elected without having any political background (in the Lok Sabha, India, Lal Bahadur Shastri was once an activist

and academic; in the House of Commons United Kingdom, Sir Harry Hylton-Foster was working as solicitor general for England and Wales, and Charles Manners-Sutton was working as Judge Advocate General).

Should a Chairperson have a standard characteristic to function in a Parliament? This study will discuss and suggest the characteristics based on the empirical outcome of the analysis.

1.12 Chapter by chapter summary of the thesis

In this Chapter, I reviewed the existing frameworks, theories and research pertinent to the study of parliament within the discipline of political science and sociology. I began by outlining the existing research in political science related to the decline of parliament as a political institution. I showed that accountability and power could be used as a mechanism to ‘shape’ or ‘structure’ the whole decision-making process. I subsequently reviewed the social psychological literature on accountability and discussed its relevance to political science by focusing on accountability. I examined the socio-political literature related to political discourse and the methods used to analyze the data. In particular, I considered how interruptions in the parliament could be a ‘complex discursive phenomenon’ (Carbø 1992), which within the context of parliament debates can be examined in relation to the practical aspects of accountability of a Chairperson. I also discussed how a discourse and conversational approach had been applied within social psychology and other areas to study accountability and reviewed some of the insights yielded by this approach. I then reviewed the key concepts used in my research, namely interruption, discretion, discourse power, and positioning. In the final section, I highlighted the gaps in the existing literature related to a Chairperson’s accountability and explained how my study would address these gaps. I also presented the specific research questions my study pursues.

As the study is a part of political science research, Chapter 2 provides the background of major political reformations in Malaysia since its independence in 1957. This chapter starts by explaining the structural aspects and mechanisms of the decision-making process. Next, in order to understand the context of ‘clientlist’ in the system, the chapter will explain on the selection process of a Chairperson, the duty and functions. This chapter also discusses the other Westminster parliaments like the United Kingdom, Australia and India, so that the reader will have some insights whether or not the Parliament of Malaysia is practicing differently from

what it claims as following the model of Westminster parliament. Finally, the chapter will bring forth insights on the political evolution and how 'clientelism' spread within the political system, particularly in the Parliament of Malaysia.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the methodology adopted in my study. I start by explaining the process of data collection, the ethical issues, and the specific context of the study. I subsequently outline the characteristics of CA, provide reasons why it is the most appropriate method for my study, and show how it was conducted to analyze accountability in institutional settings. I conclude with a discussion on the methodological issues related to this type of analysis, particularly my use of proceedings/documentary documents instead of audio/video data, my focus on the sequential organization of talk, and my broad definition of what constitutes an interruption.

In Chapter 4, I begin my analysis by examining how the Chairperson performed accountability through interruptions. In particular, I examine how the Chairperson worked up issues as accountable and challenged the MPs while at the same time attending to his own accountability. This analysis provides an initial insight into the practical aspects of accountability, which will be further investigated in the following chapters.

In Chapter 5, the initial outcomes from the analysis are drawn out. Four main types of interruptions are made by the Chairperson while attending the debates. The Chairperson was at times deemed to tolerate the discussions, but, more often than not, he was acting subjectively on his decisions (managing through discretion).

In Chapter 6, I examine how accountability for making interruption through discretion and positioning can create power and partisanship in executing function as a Chairperson has worked out in the interaction between the Chairperson and MPs. This chapter also will explore several strategies used by the Chairperson like discretion to legitimize his unwritten rules towards the MPs according to the political parties which in the end may shape or maneuver the discussion. My approach differs from the existing literature, which has so far focused exclusively on the structural aspects of institutional accountability. Instead, this chapter examines the micro-practices through which Chairperson is held to account for making interruptions and his strategies on legitimizing the actions.

In Chapter 7, I summarize the main findings of the study, evaluate the analysis, and explain how I addressed the issues of the validity and generalizability of the findings. I also discuss the theoretical and methodological contributions of this study, as well as its practical implications for improving the democratic nature of our society.

CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND PARLIAMENT ACCOUNTABILITY IN MALAYSIA

2.1 Introduction

The main objectives of this chapter are as follows: (1) to highlight the significant political development in Malaysia, particularly the growth and formation of political parties and some insights into the Malaysian Parliament; (2) to analyze the state of parliament accountability in decision-making context particularly the selection of a Chairperson; (3) to examine the background of a Chairperson from a few commonwealth's parliament namely United Kingdom, Australia and India; and (4) to restate 'clientelism' during the selection of Chairperson at the Parliament of Malaysia . In conjunction with the adoption of the Internal Security Act (ISA) as the main case for analysis, the fourth objective of this chapter is to essentially provide the readers with how the ISA was developed as the main and contentious tool in the Malaysian constitution. This chapter concludes with the political setting of the establishment of the Malaysian Parliament and the strong concentration of the executive or the majority party dominance in the decision-making process.

2.2 Parliament and accountability

In this section, I review the existing literature relevant to the decision-making process in institutional setting, particularly the Parliament. Although the study adopted a social psychological perspective, I begin by examining the political science literature on the structural aspects of the decision-making process and political mechanisms as this is the primary area where research on this particular area is located. While providing important insights into the current mechanisms of decision-making, this literature does not offer any indication of a Chairperson's accountability toward the decision-making process in the Parliament is accomplished in practice. In particular, I highlight the absence of any work in this area related to the verbal interactions that make up the process of a Chairperson's accountability during a decision-making process in a practical sense.

Democracy is a process when voters delegate policy-making authority to a set of representatives, and political parties become the important actors of delegation (Strøm and Müller 1999: 1). Masses of public opinion can be channeled through various government agents. Public opinions are usually very broad and massive or 'ideologically heterogeneous'

(Harden and Carsey 2012). Significantly, public opinions for a decision-making process should be carefully examined for better policy outcome as the decision-making procedures are based on a constitution that legitimizes the debate in democratic institutions, resulting in political action (Roald and Sangolt 2012: 35).

Parliament as an independent institution and supreme as a ‘law and policy producer’ holds a great responsibility in a democratic system. However, democracy deficit could happen during a decision-making process (Crombez 2000). Parliament can be better in the way decision-making is conducted by reconciling deliberative democracy even though the opportunities are limited (Dolný 2011: 422). From a broad academic corpus on parliamentary research and limit of the study, I focus on two themes, namely (i) the construction of the committees and (ii) their factors influencing their behavior while representing the decision-making process. Two themes have emerged from the existing political science studies on parliamentary committees: focus on the structure of a Chairperson and its influencing behavior. I will explain each of these in turn.

2.2.1 Structural aspects of the decision-making process in Parliament

According to Saaty (2008), everything we do in life, be it consciously or unconsciously, is the result of some decision. It is essential to understand a decision-making process of which the result will either be a good or poor decision. Saaty discussed how to choose priorities among the alternatives during a decision-making process. Choosing priorities sounds like it is a simple and direct way of action. In a ‘group decision-making’ or an ‘institutional setting’ (the terminology used in this study), choosing priorities, however, becomes complex. The intricacy of decision-making process happens when it faces a quandary of “how to aggregate individual judgments in a group into a single representative judgment for the entire group and how to construct a group choice from individual choices” (Saaty 2008: 95). However, this study does not emphasize the ‘exchanging of information’ process; rather, it analyzes the roles or functions of the Chairperson during the debates.

The literature survey on Parliamentary accountability is presented in three sections within this chapter. The first section reviews the definitions of accountability in politics. This is a critical step because political accountability is complex, more so of how it has been developed significantly over time. The second section looks at the evolution of existing theories on the phenomenon of political accountability, specifically within a parliament setting. This section

provides a historical context to the literature and draws from the disciplines considered to be the parent theories of political accountability. The third section compares and contrasts previously proposed theories, models, and experiences relating specifically to political accountability in a parliament.

To fill the gap in previous research, the present study focuses both on analytical issues and institutional functions of parliamentary practices with a particular emphasis on co-constructed parliamentary identities through parliamentary confrontation. In a period of increasing social paradigm shifts, globalization, and political polarization, it has become necessary to examine the underlying parliamentary institutional structures and relations, as well as argumentative deliberation strategies. As institutional bodies, parliaments are generally regarded as democratically constituted for political deliberation, problem-solving and decision making. Parliamentary debates do not only reflect political, social, and cultural configurations in an ever-changing world, but they also contribute to shaping these configurations discursively and rhetorically. At the same time, we need to keep in mind the fact that parliamentary interaction is not just about problem-solving, but also about constructing, challenging, and co-constructing identities through language at micro and macro levels (Wodak and Van Dijk 2000; Harris 2001; Ilie 2001 2006a). The aim of the present study is, therefore, to explore the impact of parliamentary discursive and behavioral interaction on the processes of local and global identity construction. The term identity is used here to refer to the ongoing process of parliamentarians defining their positions and roles: the way a parliamentary speaker is placed and self-placed in the societal system and its political parties/groups, the way a parliamentary speaker conceives of and addresses his/her interlocutors, and the way in which a parliamentary speaker is perceived, addressed and referred to by his/her fellow parliamentarians, and by a multiple audience.

Putnam (1993) is the best-known analyst on civic culture and democracy. He contended that the importance of associational life is not only in strengthening democracy but also in the development of civil society. Consequent to this, he added that civil society that is colored by communitarian concerns serves to fragment rather than unite. The emerging issue specific of civil society in Malaysia has been ‘conscientiously’ avoiding political activities and only focusing on social welfare issues and traditional conception of charity (Farouk 2011). However, Farouk and Fazwan’s interpretation overlooked much of the historical research and social structures in society. The study could be more interesting if it included the institutional

analysis, particularly the decision-making process and the impact on the process of democratization in Malaysia.

In the Malaysian parliament session, Noor Alam Saddique noted various attempts of rejections and co-constructed strategies for rejecting through various actions, such as (a) less accountability while answering questions by giving an inadequate (Chee 1991) or evasive reply, (b) controversial issues/questions are always put to end so there will not be enough time for debates, (c) motions proposed by the opposition MPs are often suspended for lack of quorum in the house (see Mansor and Nordin 1990), and (d) government MPs usually resort to 'sabotage' particularly when sensitive matters are brought in. These strategies often thwart the opposition's attempt to seek greater governmental responsiveness.

As institutions embark, they become more complex. As an institution, a Parliament also faces challenges. Parliament debates are supposed to be the platform for open discourse and critics to find a common understanding of or at least the most agreed consensus on issues debated. The existence of sub-state entities and their arrangement is inevitable to influence the MPs in Parliament (Suksi 2011). These sub-state entities often project unjustified rejections and sabotage during parliament sessions, which will only risk the policy outcome. The sabotage or 'players' could occur during the process of setting the agenda and among the 'veto players' in the Parliament (Tsebelis 1999; Tsebelis and Garrett 2000: 20).³ This phenomenon is sometimes known to as 'parliamentary agenda-control' (Döring 2001).

'Collective irrationality' or 'cycling' during a decision-making process exists in Parliament (Andrews 2002). This phenomenon is interwoven with various factors. One of them is the unpredictable situations during a parliamentary session. The problem of legislative oversight is compounded further by the fact that not only some of the spending is kept above legislative scrutiny, but also often the policy decisions are not subjected to detailed scrutiny on the floors of the House (Siddique 2006: 49). Although the Chairperson (Chairman/Honorable Mr Speaker/Yang Dipertua *Dewan*/President of Parliament) exist in all Parliaments, their role as a

³ According to Tsebelis (1995), the number of veto players depends on the Constitutional decision, which identifies any individual or collective actors that need to consent on any change of status quo. Hence, a veto player could be an individual or more. For the purpose of this study, I focus on the Chairperson, and 'veto player' is used as an entity that has a strong influence on the decision-making process regardless of who they are.

commitment device for political transactions between other parliament actors has not, to our knowledge, been explored in the literature.

The Chairperson is the person who's 'authority is greater than his power' in Parliament as he can accept a motion and put it to vote or reject it with justifiable reasons (Jennings 1970: 63). Their most commonly noted function is to 'preside impartially over the debates of the House'. However, such function is yet to be accomplished because he/she is chosen among the government majority, with the addition 'to serve the purposes of the government' (Jennings 1970: 64).

Whereas other types of political discourse have systematically been analyzed by political scientists and sociologists, parliamentary discourse, however, has generally been an under-researched area. Political scientists have mainly concerned with the structure, changes and evolution of parliamentary institutions (Earnshaw and Judge 1993; Copeland and Patterson 1997; Müller et al. 2003; Flinders 2002), cognate between different parliamentary systems (Liebert and Cotta 1990; Döring 1995; Olson and Norton 1996), transnational aspects of the European Parliament (Judge and Earnshaw 2003; Hix, Noury and Roland 2005; Maurer 2003), and the complex-contentious relationships between legislative and executive (Cheibub and Limongi 2010; Huber 1996; Veiga and Veiga 2004).

Only recently the literature found that the academic corpus has scarcely studied semantics, lengthy and pretentious discourse, like the parliamentary deliberative argumentation (Steiner et al. 2005), the pattern of parliamentary question-response during debates (Chester and Bowring 1962; Franklin and Norton 1993) or the perspective of gender in parliamentary debating styles (McDougall 1998). However, apart from new major publications (Wodak and Van Dijk 2000), there was no systematic investigation on uses of language, particularly when it involves subjective rulings by the Chairperson despite the claim by Maley (1987: 25) that the characteristics of language used during debates are 'complex, intricate, even a bizarre style of language'.

Legislative roles can be viewed as 'behavioral strategies' conditioned by the institutions in which parliamentarians operate. Roles are routines, regular patterns of behavior that may be shaped by cultural expectations as well as by personal idiosyncrasies. It is most likely that these parliamentarians are among the people who chose their behavior to fit their goals. In doing so,

they have to pay close attention to the institutions in which they operate. The institutional features that matter the most are partly those of the legislature itself, but also their national and local parties, as well as the rules of the electoral process (Strøm 1997). Hence, roles in parliament are strategies driven by preferences and constrained by rules imposed among the actors involved during a decision-making process, including the Chairperson.

With the ‘limited’ authority given while managing or chairing, the Chairperson acts as ‘middle-man’ among the MPs during debates. Decision-making in Parliament demands reciprocal and mutual understanding among the MPs. These elements are easier in thought than in reality. We often hear MPs shouting, screaming, and sometimes using cynical words to express their disagreement or dissatisfaction with each other. Why do MPs feel challenged or disagree very often? This will be explained in the following section.

2.2.2 Mechanisms in the decision-making process in Parliament

The main analytical puzzle of the study is to know how the mechanism of power and discourse could influence a discussion. Tannen (1987) emphasized this from a legal perspective on people’s awareness of some issues. We do not know everything. However, people who are aware tend to have more power or access to knowledge and therefore control the situation. Interestingly, “written discourse appears definite; the spoken discourse is indefinite” (Tannen 1987: 4-5). One example is a discourse involved in a legal setting that produces various levels of responses and actions. Because awareness is being recorded, a government agent acts accordingly to what the video record will look like, the lawyer acts according to his experiences and knowledge of the transcripts and outcomes of the case, the witness, who may never experience any court proceedings, bases solely on her experience as points to talk, while the judge is like the lawyer, but he has more advantage because of his position. This example shows a big difference between those who are aware of the resultant written record and those who only focus on the current interaction in institutional settings.

Another way of how utterance could transform as behavior is when the speech is consciously ‘crafted and ‘tailored’ accordingly for political impact (Vuković 2012). Most MPs accomplish their strategies by pursuing their preferences and portraying partisanship, revealing their ideologies. As a result, they often feel challenged and disagree on matters brought up by the opposite party. When giving a well-prepared speech, MPs often use first-person plural (e.g.,

group identification or party promotion)⁴ and positive self-campaign. If MPs behave as such, how would the Chairperson behave? In conjunction with the roles and background, the ideologies and preferences of the Chairperson should also be examined. To achieve this, the study first discussed the background before the Chairperson is elected (including the practice of selection process) and the roles he plays in managing debates.

2.2.3 Selection of a chairperson

In 2007, Russel and Paun carried out a research project on ‘The Governance of Parliament’ to look at how much autonomy a parliament has and how much it should have to control its own affairs. This includes its agenda, the process of internal official appointments, and the rules and procedures. Data were collected from six parliamentary institutions in five countries as a comparison (United Kingdom House of Commons, Australian House of Representatives, Australian Senate, German Bundestag, New Zealand House of Representatives and Scottish Parliament). According to Russel and Paun, various titles are used to address a Chairperson of the House of Commons. In the United Kingdom, the Australian House of Representatives, the New Zealand House of Representatives, and in the *Dewan Rakyat* Malaysia, a Chairperson is known as the ‘Speaker’. In the German *Bundestag*, a Chairperson is addressed as the ‘President of the House’. Meanwhile, in Scotland, s/he is known as the ‘Presiding Officer’.⁵ Each time a new term starts or a new parliament is in office, the first item of business is the election of a new Chairperson. The election of a Chairperson varies among countries even among the Commonwealth countries. This section discusses the election of a Chairperson in selected countries.

In the United Kingdom, the election of a Speaker of the House of Commons starts with the nomination of candidates by each major party of the House. The Constitution does not require the Speaker to be a Member of the House (even though all Speakers were Members previously) and s/he has to renounce all affiliations with the political party when selected. The Speaker is voted through a roll call vote (RCV)⁶ by the Clerk of the House. In the Australian House of Representatives, the Speaker is elected by the House of Representatives in a secret ballot

⁴ First person-plural is known as a persuasive mechanism where the MPs refer to themselves as a member of a group but actually they do not care more about that and just want to gain attention or show their loyalty to the specific party members (Vuković 2012).

⁵ More information in a table form on the role of Parliamentary presiding officers from Russel and Paun (2007) can be retrieved in Appendix 3.

⁶ Roll call vote is a way of voting in a Parliament session where each member should say “yea” or “nay” as his or her name is called by the clerk so that the names can be clearly recorded.

conducted by the Clerk of the House. Unlike in the United Kingdom, most Speakers in the Australian House of Representatives remain as an active member of their party like attending party meetings and become a candidate during general elections⁷.

2.2.4 Selection of the Speaker of *Dewan Rakyat*

Selection of a Speaker is essential as he or she becomes the gatekeeper or main actor during decision-making process. The Speaker holds accountability the same as judges in a tribunal-when all decision of guilty or not is under his discretion. The Speaker also plays great role nowadays especially when there are more political parties representatives in the Parliament especially when involving matters of issues to be tabled in debates, turns, and time allocations. By looking at the duties and powers of the Speaker of the *Dewan Rakyat*, it is affirmative that the position is important as to ensure the efficiency and sustainability of the decision-making process in the Parliament. Therefore, the candidates that will be chosen must fulfill the criteria underlined in the Article 57(1) of the Federal Constitution as such;

“57 (1) The House of Representatives shall from time to time elect-

- (a) as Yang di-Pertua *Dewan Rakyat* (Speaker or Chairperson), a person who either is a member of the House or is qualified for election as such a member; and
- (1A) any person elected as Speaker who is not a member of the House of Representatives-
- (a) shall, before he enters upon the duties of his office, take and subscribe before the House the oath of office and allegiance set out in the Sixth Schedule; and
- (b) shall, by virtue of holding his office, be a member of the House additional to the members elected pursuant to Article 46”

As stipulated in the Federal Constitution, *Dewan Rakyat* candidates can be chosen among the Members of Parliament or any Malaysian citizen who is eligible to contest in the general election. Candidates must be at least 21 years old and not barred from running in the election (not complying the regulations). In addition, if the Speaker is not an MP, he or she must take oath as required in 57 (1A) (a). From the criteria of selection of a Speaker, the candidates may have political background or attachment to any political parties of the House. This practice has

⁷ For record, the first Speaker Frederick Holder (1901) dan Peter Slipper (2011) resigned from their respective parties and stood as independents. One unique tradition of the Australian House of Representatives is when a Speaker is elected through a secret ballot, the supporters or second the nomination will “drag” the new Speaker to the chair after the announcement is made.

its root from the Westminster model of the United Kingdom on the selection of a Chairperson may come from its member of the House.

Another requirement for selection of a Speaker prescribed under Standing Order are as follows:

- i) there must be consent from the candidate before his or her name is submitted
- ii) the names must be submitted at least 14 days before the first meeting to the Secretary of the House
- iii) the candidate's name will orally propose by MP and should there be agreement, it shall be seconded and no debate or discussion is allowed pertinent to the matter
- iv) he or she will be declared as 'Speaker of the House' or Chairperson if there is only one candidate proposed and seconded. If there is more, written ballot will be given to all MPs as to vote.

Looking back at the criteria and requirement set for to become a Chairperson, the real selection process is not as easy as written on paper. Selection of a Chairperson at the *Dewan Rakyat* has always been contentious among the MPs. The ruling government has advantage on proposing candidates and seconded by other members, in which in the end won the seat (as they are the majority in the House).

2.2.5 Duties of the Chairperson

A good Speaker of the House can really make a difference in the way forward of the Parliament. The duties as a Speaker is generally like a Chairperson or moderator during the *Dewan Rakyat* meeting or debates. In order to perform as Speaker of the House, the Chairperson is granted several powers to ensure the efficiency of the debates and obedience to the regulations among the MPs as prescribed under the Standing Orders. Among the powers of the Speaker of the House are namely:

- i) allowing the use of English during the meeting as the official language of the House is Bahasa Malaysia (Article 8 of Standing Order)
- ii) as Parliament is the place of various business of the nation, there will be a never-ending affairs that MPs would like to bring into the House. With limited time and unnerving issues, the Speaker shall have authority on choosing or refusing any motion to be brought into the House (Article 18(7) of Standing Order)

- iii) MPs are allowed to ask up to 3 supplementary questions to the Ministers or Deputy Ministers by the consent of the Speaker (Article 24 (3) of Standing Order). Addition to this, the Chairperson has to work smart on managing the debates and vet the questions before hand because some MPs may ask questions on behalf of his or her own agenda (Article 24 (4) or the Standing Order).
- iv) there are also times when the debates in Parliament becomes uncontrolled and chaos when its MPs shouting to each other or becoming outrage offending other MPs. The Chairperson is granted power to manage the situation when it becomes disorder by suspending and asking the MP to leave (Article 44 (2) of the Standing Order).

These duties are stipulated but not limited to the Standing Order. There are other duties which are not written in the Standing Order and mostly noted as ‘discretion’ of the Tuan Yang di-Pertua (the Speaker of the House or Chairperson). The ‘discretion’ by the Speaker of the House is a subjective matter and may only identify when he or she perform it during running duty as such;

- i) Article 22 on Notice of Questions (1)(3) may direct that any question marked for an ‘oral reply’ shall be given a written answer
- ii) Article 66 on Procedure on debate on Supply Bill and consideration of Annual Development Estimates (6(a)) discretion on enlarging time allotted for debates
- iii) Article 67 on Procedure of debate on Supplementary Supply Bill and Consideration of Supplementary Development Estimates (7)(a) discretion on increasing the time allotted for any issues set in debates agenda
- iv) Article 83 on Procedure in Select Committees (10) the Speaker may ask the evidence to be sent verbatim
- v) Article 2 on Seating of Members (3) Speaker shall by discretion allot seats to the MPs.

Further, the absolute power of the Speaker of the House is provisioned under Article 99 Rulings of Tuan Yang di-Pertua as;

“The decision of Tuan Yang di-Pertua upon any point of interpretation of any of these Standing Orders, or upon any matter of practice, shall, subject to a substantive motion moved for that purpose, be final, and Tuan Yang di-Pertua may from time to time issue rulings thereon.”

In another word, Speaker of the House in *Dewan Rakyat* may with his or her own agenda impose any rulings or other affairs to the House. With this provision as well, the Speaker may be accountable to the actions while running debates. Hence, the power endured under Speaker of the House portray the longevity of the ruling government in the Malaysian Parliament.

The ‘untouchable’ *Barisan Nasional* was questioned by political analysts when at the same time there were also critics on the diffusion of powers or control from only selected Cabinet members. This ‘executive-minded’ control is problematic as it does not denote the separation of powers among the three major components of the parliamentary system, namely the legislative, executive, and judiciary. In addition, the ‘executive-minded’ control also signals a ‘decline’ in democracy as it may complicate the decision-making process, particularly in the Parliament.

2.2.6 Functions of the Chairperson in the decision-making process

Jenny and Müller (1995) focused on 18 countries in investigating a Chairperson’s roles in a decision-making process. They employed two perspectives, i.e., power and partisanship. Jenny and Müller started by developing a four model of the ‘types of parliamentary presidency’. They are (i) neutral Chairman, (ii) party asset, (iii) Speaker of the House, and (iv) minor party position. They developed strong characteristics of the four types of Chairperson based on their background, political parties’ activities engagement or involvement, consultation, and ‘controversial behaviour’ (Jenny and Müller 1995: 328). A neutral Chairperson and a ‘party asset’ Chairperson will be selected among the senior or experienced parliamentarians. However, the latter type will be preferred if he/she can exercise control. From the ruling perspective, a ‘party asset’ Chairperson’s decisions are often controversial in comparison to the neutral Chairperson.

To stay neutral, the neutral Chairperson makes the best offers during a decision-making process by which sometimes they seek consultation with other parliamentary parties even with the backbenchers. In terms of power, the ‘Speaker of the House’ is equal to the ‘party asset’, but the former is not partisan in exercising his or her roles. At this point, the ‘Speaker of the House’ embodies the concept of ‘separation of powers’ by Montesquieu. The final type of a Chairperson is ‘minor party position’, who has less power in the office, and this is the reason why it does not matter if s/he is partisan or not. The lower authority possession is a signal of a ‘weaker voice’, but it is still significant for ‘long and faithful’ party service.

What are the capacities to be a Chairperson of the House? There are actually ‘no written-rules’ about this. Lord Rosebery wrote to the Queen of England that “There is much exaggeration about the attainments requisite for a Speaker. All Speakers are highly successful. All Speakers are deeply regretted and are generally announced to be irreplaceable. However, a Speaker is soon found, almost invariably, among the mediocrities of the House” (Jennings 1970: 65). Lord Rosebery attempted to voice the problems of the official seat as the Chairperson of the House and how power and strong political influence had made it weaker and unreliable as a voice of the whole parliament. Furthermore, Jennings also contended that “British experience shows that it is by no means impossible for a fair-minded man deliberately to cast away his political bias and to attain a state of mind which is almost, if not quite, impartial...is chosen among the Government majority” and “...is desirable that he should not have taken too prominent a part in party polemics” (Jennings 1970: 64).

These examples suggest that a Chairperson plays a far greater role in Malaysian society than the usual notion of public representatives. What this role is exactly is being defined in an evolutionary process through which the Chairperson constantly tries to broaden his or her accountability but is being constrained by the MPs’ behavior and increasingly by ‘agenda-setters’ and ‘veto-players’ who view the Chairperson’s effort as surpassing his or her constitutional mandate.

2.3 Structure of the Parliament of Malaysia

The Parliament of Malaysia is the supreme law-making institution which comprises three key components: the *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* (His Majesty/The King, YDPA), *Dewan Negara* (Senate/Executive), and *Dewan Rakyat* (House of Representative/Legislative body). As the ultimate legislative body in Malaysia, the Parliament is responsible for passing, amending and repealing acts of law. It is subordinate to the Head of State, the YDPA, under Article 39 of the Constitution. *Dewan Negara* consists of two groups: (i) two members selected from the State Halls, and (ii) 42 members appointed by the *Yang di-Pertuan Agong*, and any two of them will be appointed as Federal Representatives. Members of *Dewan Negara* appointed by the YDPA are meritorious individuals among civil servants or well-known and successful individuals like entrepreneurs or from a wide range of fields of business, agriculture, arts, social work, and any representatives from the minority.

The focus of the study is the *Dewan Rakyat*. The *Dewan Rakyat* is an essential legislative body (consist executive members as well) in which the members are elected by the people from the direct election (general election). The number of membership varies from time to time. There were several municipal elections towards gaining independence of Malaya. The first and second municipal elections took place in December 1951 and February 1952. In February 1952, the alliance between UMNO and MCA won 12 seats for the former and two for the latter. This type of ‘party alliance’ became a “winning formula” in subsequent elections, which later became a theory of government for Malaya (Harding 1996: 28). The first general election before independence was held in 1955. After the amendment of the Constitution Act A206 in 1973, the membership increased to 154. The membership kept on increasing until 222 in 2013 members of Parliament (MPs) were elected from single-member constituencies drawn based on the population in a general election which practices the first-past-the-post system. A general election is held every five years or when the Parliament is dissolved by the *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* on the advice of the Prime Minister.⁸

Table 1 shows the number of seats won by the government and the opposition in the general elections. In the 13th general election, *Barisan Nasional* (BN) won 133 seats as opposed to 87 seats won by *Parti Rakyat* (PR). Two representatives from Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) and Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party (SPDP) declared themselves independent not long after the election.⁹ Since Malaysia practices the first-past-the-post system, it did not guarantee that the opposition could acquire more seats despite winning the most votes (popular vote) for the first time since independence (Khoo Boo Teik, 2013). The historical ‘popular vote’ raised the confidence among the opposition parties that they could win the ‘heart’ of Malaysians and develop their awareness of the unstable condition of the ruling government. The 13th and 12th general elections also became a significant turning point in Malaysian politics. For the first time, the government did not have any clear two-third majority in the *Dewan Rakyat*. This means that the opposition had a ‘louder voice’ during the Parliament session, which allowed them to make several attempts to reform the Constitution.

⁸ The *Dewan Negara* (Senate) consists of 70 members (Senators): 26 members elected by the 13 state assemblies (two senators per state), four appointed by the *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* to represent three federal territories (two for Kuala Lumpur and one each for Putrajaya and Labuan). The remaining 40 members are appointed by the *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* on the advice of the Prime Minister.

⁹ They are Abdul Khalid Ibrahim (for constituency of Bandar Tun Razak, Selangor-PKR) and William Mawan Ikom (for constituency of Satok, Sarawak-SPDP).

Table 1.1 General elections in Malaya/Malaysia

Number	Year	Government**			Opposition			Total seats
		Seats	% seats	% vote	Seats	% seats	% vote	
	1955*	51	98.1	79.6	1	1.9	20.4	52
1	1959*	74	71.15	51.7	30	28.85	48.3	104
2	1964*	89	85.58	58.5	15	14.42	41.5	104 ¹⁰
3	1969	95	65.97	49.3	49	34.03	50.7	144
4	1974	135	87.66	60.7	19	12.34	39.3	154
5	1978	130	84.42	57.2	24	15.58	42.8	154
6	1982	132	85.71	60.5	22	14.29	39.5	154
7	1986	148	83.62	55.8	29	16.38	41.5	177
8	1990	127	70.55	53.4	53	29.45	46.6	180
9	1995	162	84.38	65.2	30	15.62	34.8	192
10	1999	148	76.68	56.5	45	23.32	43.5	193
11	2004	198	90.41	63.9	21	9.59	36.1	219
12	2008	140	63.06	50.27	82	36.94	46.75	222
13	2013	133	59.91	46.53	89	40.09	53.47	222
14	2018	125	56.31	49.86	97	43.69	50.14	222

*Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore did not participate in respective general elections.

** ‘Government’ refers to the Alliance Party between 1959 and 1964 inclusively; the Alliance Party and Sarawak United People's Party for 1969; and Barisan Nasional since 1974. Source: Arah Aliran Malaysia and author’s emphasis.

From Table 1.1 at above, there is significant change in the 2018 General Elections when National Front lost to the Alliance of Hope and ended the domination of parliament seats among UMNO members. After 60 years of ruling, National Front could not avoid the reformation waves inside the country when more young voters toppled the National Front with up to 41% votes from the overall votes counted. The legacy ended there with unpleasant issues involving the previous Prime Minister’s Najib Razak culpabilities during his administration. The legacy of the National Front left the executive body with ‘stronger voice’ in the parliament as all Bills and policies will go through the *Dewan Negara* at final stage. Hence, the struggle lies in both platforms, the *Dewan Negara* and *Dewan Rakyat* which inquire revision of the supreme source of all; and that is the Malaysian Constitution.

The Malaysian Constitution is at stake since its establishment. According to Harding (1996: 38), the Malaysian Constitution was regarded as “outmoded, discredited and unsatisfactory as a blueprint for government...” as it hoarded too much power to the executive. There were also critics on the ‘government control’ over the election process (Puyok 2013), agenda setting in

¹⁰ Before the expulsion of Singapore from Malaysia in 1965, there were 159 members of Parliament. Sabah, Sarawak, and Singapore were allocated 55 seats with 15 seats for Singapore, 16 for Sabah, and 24 for Sarawak. After the expulsion, the membership decreased to 144.

the Parliament (Khoo J. 2010), and money laundering during the campaigning process (Anwar 2015). The danger of excessive executive control over the government agenda is it could ‘shape’ the national policy towards the ruling party’s preference, known as ‘rubber stamping’. The executive could also use their power to select the Speaker or the Chairperson (hereafter this study will use ‘Chairperson’ as to name the Speaker or Presidents of the House).

The authority on selection Chairperson usually lies in the hand of the majority party. This is due to the process of voting among candidates or sometimes even no-contest victory. As for the Parliament of Malaysia, the selection of a Chairperson lies on the power of the ruling government. This fact is supported by the list of Chairpersons selected since Independence which has UMNO background as at Table 1.2, until just recently after the 14th GE that they were defeated by the *Pakatan Harapan* (PH) or Alliance of Hope.

Table 1.2 List of the Chairpersons (*Dewan Rakyat*) and their political affiliations

Years	Speaker/Chairperson	Political party background
1959-1964	Mohamad Noah Omar	Alliance (UMNO)
1964-1964	Syed Esa Alwee	Alliance (UMNO)
1964-1974	Chik Mohamed Yusuf Sheikh Abdul Rahman	Alliance/Barisan Nasional (UMNO)
1974-1977	Nik Ahmad Kamil Nik Mahmood	Barisan Nasional (UMNO)
1978-1982	Syed Nasir Ismail	Barisan Nasional (UMNO)
1982-2004	Mohamed Zahir Ismail	Barisan Nasional (UMNO)
2004-2008	Ramli Ngah Talib	Barisan Nasional (UMNO)
2008-2018	Pandikar Amin Mulia	Barisan Nasional (UMNO)
2018-2020	Mohamad Ariff Md Yusof	PAS/Amanah (PH)
2020-now	Azhar Azizan Harun	Independent

Source: Author’s emphasis.

Table 1.2 shows the pattern of political affiliations of the chairpersons elected in the *Dewan Rakyat* since its establishment. From the list below shows that since post-independence until 2018 all elected Speakers have experience with UMNO. From the list also, we can see how the ruling government make effort on containing its preference in the *Dewan Rakyat*. It is understood if the selection of UMNO-related Speakers during the early days of post-independence as the government could have less choice to stabilize the government structure. Yet, when the records show the selected Speakers were from the same political background for the past 56 years and relatively has direct relation with the legacy of UMNO dominance as ruling government.

2.3.1 Chairperson as one of the actor-players in Parliament

While much of the literature focuses on the representatives of local constituencies in parliament, less attention has been given to the position of the Chairperson. Most of the corpus on parliament focuses on the recent functions and selection of a Chairperson in parliament across the globe. According to Elgie and Stapleton (2006), the decline of parliament thesis is not valid to all Westminster-style parliament. In the case of Ireland, they contended that one indicator that has contributed to the decline was when the head of the government continued to interfere with the parliament. This situation occurs when other parties ‘invisibly’ intervene in the decision made by the legislative body, which is the head of government. The invisible parties are sometimes known as a ‘veto player’ (refer to section 1.1). Nevertheless, a veto player could not work alone in a majority system. In a majority political system, a veto player needs support to uphold the status quo or any policy preference. At this point, the veto player needs the support of the Chairperson.

The Chairperson is allowed to act in partisan in some parliaments. Russel and Paun (2007) found that the Chairperson in Australia, New Zealand, and Germany still actively participate in their political parties and vote for their parties if there is a tie. There are many opportunities to be active. In the German Christian Democratic Union (CDU),¹¹ for example, the Bundestag President (Chairperson) has an automatic seat on the board of the party’s national executive (Russel and Paun 2007). However, because of partisanship during voting and political

¹¹ CDU is a liberal-conservative party established at the end of the World War II, and among the founders was Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. CDU has a strong coalition with Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU) as a Union in the *Bundestag*.

participation, the Chairperson is hardly accepted as the representative for parliament as a whole. Russel and Paun (2007) further found the ‘leaking of power’ by the Chairperson could happen before debates in Parliament. The ‘leaking of power’ happened when there are practices which were done by some parties through representatives who made earlier arrangements for speakers from each party and the time allocation. The whips (or representatives from party) play a role in proposing over speakers and time allocations and there will be no discretion or changes when the lists are submitted to the Chairperson for final decision. Hence, because of these impartialities, the Chairperson has less voice in parliament despite being ‘senior partisan figures’ (Russel and Paun 2007: 55).

2.3.2 Characteristics of Chairperson (Malaysia, United Kingdom, Australia, and India)

A Chairperson or President of Parliament is expected to be impartial. However, the main argument about their accountability is when they are still related (affiliated) to or at least have previous history or background related to any party in the Parliament. This section attempts to describe the characteristic of the Chairperson in Malaysia, the United Kingdom, Australia, and India (Commonwealth countries). Then, it will conclude on the pattern of the selection.

In Malaysia, a chairperson is the President of the *Dewan Negara* (the upper house of the Malaysian Parliament) or the Speaker of the *Dewan Rakyat* (the lower house of the Malaysia Parliament). The President of the *Dewan Negara* is known as the *Yang di-Pertua Dewan Negara*. The President of the *Dewan Negara* is selected by the members of the *Dewan Negara* and expected to be politically impartial. Meanwhile, the Speaker of the *Dewan Rakyat* is known as the *Yang di-Pertua Dewan Rakyat* or addressed as ‘Mr. Speaker’. The Speaker is responsible for mediating and organizing the debate and also convening sessions of the *Dewan Rakyat*. Appendix 4 Table 1 illustrates the Chairperson or Speaker of the *Dewan Rakyat* from 1959 until the recent session.

From Appendix 4 Table 1 (Malaysia), the only Chairperson who is not related to UMNO or any political party is Azhar Azizan Harun, the latest Chairperson who was elected on 13 July 2020. The election was during the Pakatan Harapan ruling when Azhar was nominated by Prime Minister Muhyiddin Yassin. He was uncontested and won by 111-109 votes against the predecessor Mohamad Ariff Md Yusof. However, Azhar Azizan Harun is still being described as the ‘lapdog’ of the ruling government by the opposition when he was criticized to block any motion to debate on the Emergency and other ordinances (Vinod, 2021). This kind of occasion, where MPs criticized the Chairperson is not the first ever in the *Dewan Rakyat*. A different

Chairperson was also accused as being partial for not giving permission or a way for the MP (Tajuddin Abdul Rahman/BN-UMNO-Pasir Salak) to ask question. Tajuddin, who is always known for his brutish and random actions during debates, was given warning by the Chairperson (Deputy Speaker Nga Kor Ming) to sit down and let the debate resumes (Ibrahim, 2018). Another critics was against Chairperson Mohamad Ariff Md Yusof by an opposition at that time, Khairy Jamaluddin (BN-UMNO-Jelebu). Khairy accused the Chairperson was being partial for not giving permission to bring a motion against Lim Guan Eng (at that time was the Minister of Finance) to the Committee of Rights and Freedom or Parliament (Yaacob, 2019). The occasions (accusing the Chairperson as partial) happened quite often especially coming from the opposition. As this action may perceive as normal (because the Chairperson elected always from or at least suggested by the government), the sentiment that the Chairperson will always be a 'yes man' to the government retained at least in the Parliament of Malaysia. Will this an 'ever-after' scene? The study will at least give suggestions at the end of the study.

In contrast from the scene at the Parliament of Malaysia, the Speaker of the House of Commons (United Kingdom) is the Chairperson of the House of Commons. Appendix 4 Table 2 shows the list of Speakers of the House of Commons in the United Kingdom from 1801 until now. The list of Speakers of the House of Commons United Kingdom shows that they were changed over the years. The Speakers were selected from different political backgrounds, and all of them were a member of a political party in the Parliament. In terms of profession, most of the Speakers actively represent the State in matters of national development. From the academic corpus, it is hardly to find criticisms of the Speakers at the House of Commons. MPs are allowed to criticize or 'censure' the Speaker's behavior in which might put the Speaker under pressure to resign. MPs are allowed to criticize the Speaker by proposing a substantive motion for debate in which the government will provide time for it. However, only three of such motion have been debated since the Second World War (The Institute for Government, 2021).

In Australia, the chairperson is known also as the Speaker. The Speaker is the principal office holder in the House of Representative. The Speaker is responsible for making sure all members obey the rules of the House and follow the correct procedures. In Appendix 4 Table 3 lists the Speakers in the House of Representatives from 1901 until recently. The list of Speakers in the House of Representatives in Australia shows that most of them held a political position or at least was once a politician. Only two independent representatives became the Speaker of the House of Representatives. They are the first Speaker, Honorable Sir Frederick Holder and the

29th Speaker, Honorable Peter Slipper. Interestingly, the Speakers were changed among the parties represented in the House of Representatives.

Finally, the list of Speakers from the Parliament Houses in India can be divided as Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha. The Rajya Sabha is the Upper House of the Parliament of India while the Lok Sabha is the Lower House of Parliament of India. The Chairperson of the Lok Sabha is known as the Speaker. In Appendix 4 Table 4 lists the Speakers of Lok Sabha from 1952 until recently. The Speakers in Lok Sabha came from various political parties. More often than not, the selected Speakers once held a major position in the Parliament, such as a minister or prime minister. In the Lok Sabha, the situation is not far different from the *Dewan Rakyat* of Malaysia. The Speakers received criticisms from the MPs especially the oppositions. The Lok Sabha Speaker Sumitra Mahajan was accused as being partial by the Congress Vice-President Rahul Gandhi for not allowing a debate on the Prevention of Communal and Targeted Violence Bill (Hindustan Times, 2014). Another example which quite contradict of being partial is that the Speaker might face a 'penalty' by the party for not being obedient. In 2008, the Speaker Shri. Somnath Chatterjee was expelled by his party (Communist Party of India/Marxist also known as CPM) for not allowing motions to be discussed in the debate (Dechenwangdi, 2021).

The office of the Speaker is a post provided for the Constitution, particularly to the Commonwealth States. The Speaker of the House or the Chairperson is expected to be bipartisan or at least impartial. Although he or she is appointed or elected by certain group (government or opposition), the accountability of a Chairperson must prevail. Accountability is one of significant criteria especially in the needs and problems of daily business at the Parliament. Thus, the principal requirement of the apolitical handling business by the Speaker should rise beyond party ranks.

2.4 Formation and growth of political parties

Malaysia is a federation of thirteen states and three federal territories directly administered by the federal government. Geographically, Malaysia is divided into two distinct areas by the South China Sea, the West Malaysia, or also known as Peninsular Malaysia, and East Malaysia, which consists of Sabah and Sarawak. The two states of Sabah and Sarawak occupy the northeast part of the island of Borneo.

Based on the 2002 statistics, the population of Malaysia is approximately 29 million (Department of Statistics Malaysia 2011). The majority is made up of Malays (51.9 percent) and the indigenous people who are known as *Bumiputera*, which literally means “the sons of the soil” (10.7 percent). The remaining population consists of the Chinese (24 percent), the Indians (7 percent), others (1.1 percent), and noncitizens (5.3 percent). With this mixture of races, Malaysia exemplifies a multi-religious, multi-ethnic country.

The roots of the plural society in Malaysia can be traced back to the British colonial era. As defined by Furnivall, “a plural society is a society that comprises two or more elements or social orders which live side by side, yet without mingling in one political unit.” (Furnivall 1944: 446). Furnivall argued that in Malaysia, the plural society effectively served the contemporary economic and political interests of British colonialism in Malaya. The multi-ethnic composition in Malaya was so blended that the economic, political and social issues were closely related to racial diversity. Furthermore, ethnic diversity becomes controversial whenever issues involving ethnic rights, language, religion, poverty among minorities, and nation-building arose. As a result, ethnic cleavages were found almost at all levels and aspects of Malaysian life such as ‘races, languages, religions, customs, area of residences and type of occupation’ which the community has different political perspectives on any relevant issues (Mauzy, 1993: 107).

Supporting Mauzy’s argument, Malaysian scholars, such as Zakaria Ahmad and Sharifah Munirah Al-Attas, noted that “every political issue tends to be transformed into a communal one” (Ahmad and Alattas 1999: 145). Hence, “Malaysian pluralism has no doubt [been] deemed to be a source of tension and conflict in the society” (Embong 2001: 60). Thus, to gain independence, the political elites did not emphasize racial and ethnic differences, rather they were formed along ethnic lines. Each party struggled for its community agenda. For example, the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) promoted equal rights for all Malaysians. Those parties also wanted Chinese and Tamil to be official languages of Malaysia.

During the first election in 1955, however, three political parties, namely the UMNO, MCA and MIC, joined to form the Alliance Party. The Alliance Party was based on mutual understanding, trust, and compromises among the three party leaders. The MCA and MIC leaders agreed to acknowledge several points, such as Islam as the official religion, Malay as

the national language, and special privileges and rights for the Malay as *Bumiputera* or indigenous people. In return, the non-Malays were awarded citizenship by *jus soli* (citizenship by birth) and were free to practice their religion, language, and culture and acquire wealth and property (Loh 2002: 23). In essence, the non-Malays kept their special position for an indefinite period. With this “special package deal,” the Alliance Party won 51 of 52 seats in Parliament.¹²

Two years later in 1957, after several attempts of working on the Constitution, the British granted independence to Malaysia. The consociational approach in the Alliance Party raised the confidence of the British in granting independence for Malaya. The *Merdeka* Constitution was passed and accepted despite dissatisfactions, objections and frustrations on certain issues, especially on the unobstructed power of the executive body. These issues constituted an early warning to Malaysia. Harding (1996: 38) remarked that the Constitution “contained the seeds of its own destruction.”

2.5 Post-independence: The challenges towards democracy

The government-institutionalized consociational system with Malay hegemony reflects the consociational concept developed by Arend Lijphart (1977). Lijphart, Musolf and Springer defined consociationalism as “a process of relatively autonomous bargaining and compromise within a coalition of elite leadership representing the various communal groups (Musolf and Springer 1977: 113).” This concept works “through the mechanism of group autonomy, proportional representation, politics of compromise and consensus, a coalition government and veto power on decisions vital to group interests.” (Ali 2003). Each party has to tackle its own community problems, protect its community from extremist elements, and formulate communal demand within permitted parameters. Racial harmony and balance are expected to be preserved with this practice.

In the case of Malaysia, there are three major challenges which had shaped the political system into what it is today; namely i) the effort on protecting rights and interests of the minority, ii) the expansion of communist ideology and iii) the disturbance on judiciary body by the legislative. This section of the study will explain on how has these three challenges had shaped the political system and how the government handled them.

¹² The Alliance Party won 51 seats and the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP) now known as the PAS won one seat, and Parti Negara (PAN) did not win any seat.

The first challenge post-independence was triggered by the 1969 riots. Political parties built along racial lines have tendency to champion certain racial groups' interests which in the end caused ethnic dissatisfaction. The government made drastic reforms to the political sphere aimed at preserving racial harmony and political stability. These reforms included restrictions on the civil and political rights of the citizens. Human right was curbed because the restrictions deemed necessary to end ethnic friction and maintain political stability.

The integration of the Malay, the Chinese and the Indians into the nation-state of Malaysia has made the country a plural society. Such pluralism has often been a source of ethnic tensions and political instabilities, as evidenced by the first Emergency and the 1969 racial riots. The race riots had significantly changed the Malaysian political landscape from consociationalism to semi-democracy. As a semi-democratic nation, Malaysia practices regular elections, but at the same time, it restricts civil and political liberties. The May 13th 1969¹³ event was the turning point in the 'backslide of development' of human rights in Malaysia. The bitter memories of the May 13th 1969 racial riots were a good lesson, demonstrating that the government will take appropriate measures to preserve racial harmony and political stability even though the measures are likely to curb certain basic human rights of the people.

Another post-independence challenge which had shaped the Malaysian political system was the expansion of communist ideology since 1940s. The first Emergency was a consequence of the armed insurrection by the communists (mainly Chinese), which had threatened political and ethnic stabilities (Loh 2002: 19-50). The communists' main intention was to cripple the government, create political instability, and destabilize the economy through radicalization and mobilization of the Chinese communities and labourers in the rubber and tin industries (Challis 2001). The Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) took advantage of the instability (invasion of

¹³ The 1969 racial riots began with a campaign against the unequal treatment of the Chinese and Indian minorities organized by the Democratic Action Party (DAP) and *Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia* (Gerakan). During the five weeks of election campaign, the ruling Alliance¹³ elites failed to address the frustration and antagonism that had developed over the previous few years among the non-Malays, who were angered by controversial issues like "Malay special rights, the privileged position the Malays had in regard to employment, the four to one preponderance Malays enjoyed in the senior rank of the civil service, and the barely concealed efforts that were being made to counter Chinese hegemony in commerce and industry" (Mauzy 1993:122-123). It was tough for the Alliance to agree on the early Constitution because each communal party representative was trying to ensure that each race would not be overshadowed by other races (Harding 1996).¹³ Interracial friction was an inevitable result of racial insult embedded indiscriminately and irresponsibly by both the opposition parties and the Alliance.

Japan in 1941) and attempted to topple down the newly established government of Malaysia. The CPM mainly targeted the middle and lower classes in remote and rural areas, who were mostly Chinese and Malay.

However, the CPM had difficulty in influencing the Malays because of their strong religious beliefs that contradicted the communist ideology. Moreover, during that time, politics was dominated by the Malays. However, some Malays supported the communists because of their anti-British colonialism (Fakeh 2004). In its propaganda, the CPM took advantage of the differences between the races, for instance, by stressing the Malays' political dominance and the perception of rural Chinese and Indian people as "second class citizens" (Case 1996: 450; Encloe 1978: 279). The CPM received support from the People's Republic of China, and the Soviet Union provided through a third country, Indonesia, during the presidency of Soekarno.

The British reacted quickly to the CPM threat. Under the "Briggs Plan,"¹⁴ the British cut off the CPM influence by relocating squatters (mainly supporters and sympathizers of the CPM) from remote areas to well-organized villages. The plan was launched to resettle 500,000 villagers into new villages equipped with schools, clinics, safe water resources, and extensive perimeter defenses. The British created the "Home Guard", dominated by Chinese, to guard the new villages, further shrinking the support base of the CPM.

The assimilation of the Chinese population into the Malay political mainstream increased the trust between the two races, and both groups combined to fight the communists (Challis 2001). The government actions later revealed some successes as support for the communists declined. The communists subsequently moved their operations to southern Thailand when they were resisted by the locals, after which in 1960, the First Emergency ended. Nevertheless, there were still secret movements that supported the communist, causing anxiety of the government about this vulnerable threat. Hence, the cabinet appointed Sir Hugh Hickling to draft a new Internal Security Bill which was then was brought to the discussion in the Parliament on 21st and 22nd June 1960. The Bill was repealed in 2012 and replaced with the SOSMA which some critics said it is more a political maneuver that looks like 'the same wine in a different bottle'.

¹⁴ The "Briggs Plan" was initiated by Lt. Gen. Sir Harold Briggs who became the first director of operations in Malaysia. His plan had four objectives: (1) to dominate the populated areas and build a feeling of complete security, (2) to isolate the communists from their food and information supply organizations, (3) to destroy the communists by forcing them to attack the British ground, and (4) to break up the communist organization within the populated areas. His planning was later credited as a cornerstone of the British victory in Malaya.

The judiciary body was not left on its own accountability when the Prime Ministers strategically influence on Court nominations (for post Attorney General) in order to select someone who are on their side of political beliefs or at least support the ruling party (Moraski and Shipan 1999: 1069). It was an iconic moment of judiciary crisis happened in 1988 when Mahathir sacked Tun Salleh Abas because the latter had criticized the government's (i.e., executive body) intrusion beyond the limited lines of the judicial body. The executive had crossed its border and marked a signal of 'imbalance power' among the legislative, judiciary and executive body of the government.

In conclusion, soon after the British left Malaya, Malaysia started its plan for 'newly born' country taking into consideration of all ethnics interests. Nevertheless, the interest of Bumiputera was too focused until it had created a sentiment of other ethnics like the Indians and Chinese who was granted citizenship. The situation became too complicated when political parties was set up with different ethnic background and each of the party set different goals. Thus, the sentiment of ethnic based has never leave the political system in Malaysia.

List of important political events, principal outcomes, and the major significance which shaped the Malaysian political background from 1955 until 2018 is as below.

Table 1.3: Political events, iconic moments, principal outcomes and significance, 1955-2018 (Source: Khoo B. T. (2003: 6-7); and author's (emphasized))

Year	Political event(s)	Principal outcome	Major significance
1955	UMNO, MCA and MIC formed Alliance party	Won 51 from 52 seats contested	British convinced by the Alliance to establish a government
1957	Tanah Melayu Independence (31 st August 1957)	Tanah Melayu, Singapore, Brunei, Sabah, and Sarawak formed one country	Sharing unequal power in the consociational system
1960	Establishment of the ISA (previously was preventive detention)	Restrictions on civil rights, but guaranteed not to be misused	Violations on human rights, success on curbing communist ideology
1963	Indonesia launched confrontation 'Ganyang Malaysia'	Imposed more restrictions and national patriotism	Consolidated the existence of ISA
1969	13th May racial riots	Awakening moments of ethnic dissatisfaction with economic inequality	Use of ISA against politicians
1970	Dasar Ekonomi Baru (New Economic Policy [NEP])	Reform of socio-economic ownership percentage	Growth in income per capita
1981	Hussein Onn retires	Mahathir became Prime Minister	Commencement of reformism and liberalism

	Musa-Razaleigh UMNO Deputy President contest	Musa won and became Deputy Prime Minister (DPM)	Indications of UMNO's factionalism
1982	General election	1 st BN victory led by Mahathir	Mahathir's new economic policies
1983-1984	Constitutional crisis	The stalemate between UMNO and royalty	Centralization of executive power
1984	2 nd Musa-Razaleigh contest	Musa won, Razaleigh lost the finance ministry	Deepening of UMNO factionalism
1984-1985	MCA crisis	Tan Koon Swan became MCA president	The culmination of business and politics in MCA
1986	Sabah crisis	Rise of Joseph Pairing Kitingan and Parti Bersatu Sabah	Kadazandusun consciousness and federal-state strain
1986	February: Musa resigns as DPM	Ghafar Baba appointed as DPM	Dissatisfaction with Mahathir's leadership
	General election	UMNO's and DAP's triumph	Mahathir remains in power
1986-1987	Musa and Razaleigh form Team B (Mahathir-Team A)	Team B prepared to challenge Team A	The peak of UMNO's factionalism
1987	UMNO election	Team A's narrow victory	The purge of Team B and UMNO split
	Operation Lalang	Mass arrests of opponents	End of Mahathir liberalism
1988	UMNO's de-registration as a party	Formation of UMNO Baru	Team B dissidents excluded
	Judicial crisis	Impeachment of Supreme Court judges	Mahathirist authoritarianism
1988-1989	Several by-elections: mixed victories	Persistent dissent against UMNO Baru	Inconclusive test of UMNO strength
1989	Parti Semangat 46 formed	Razaleigh led Team B in opposition	Basis of a new coalition in opposition
1990	General election	Barisan Nasional's victory	Two coalition system; PAS's return in Kelantan
1997	Asian Financial crisis		
1998	Anwar Ibrahim arrested-Reformasi era	His supporters formed Parti Keadilan Nasional headed by his wife	Anwar was jailed 1999-2007
2003	Abdullah Badawi became the 5 th Prime Minister		
2008	General election	Anwar Ibrahim won and returned to Parliament; BN lost its first 2/3 majority	New coalition for opposition Pakatan Rakyat (PR) among DAP, PKR, and PAS
2010	Announcement to repeal the ISA	Intensive Parliament discussion focusing on the ISA	
2013	General election	PR won popular votes, but BN won by first past the post	Chinese voted for MCA(BN) lost terribly
2018	General election	Pakatan Harapan (PH) won both, popular votes and first past the post	Historical fate for BN as they lost the trust to the people after 60 years of ruling

2.6 Democracy and Clientelism in Malaysia

Clientelism is a social politics phenomenon in Malaysia and closely related to the period of General Election. Clientelism can be understood as a relationship power between political actors who provide something (like services) with the receiving party (client) which based by

giving loyalty to the recipient. Another view of clientelism is the nature of relationship between patron and client or ‘patron-client ties’ (Weiss 2020). In this case, the ties may seem like landowner and sharecroppers or sometimes also clientelism may falsely be categorized as bribe. To tell the difference between clientelism and bribe, Hicken argued that bribery refers to transactions (money or in kind) that are only happened at one point in time whereas clientelism refers to relationships transactional which sometimes iterated or continues (Hicken 2011: 292).

Political development in Malaysia during post-independence implies different patron-client relationships, depending on the context of the political situation underlying it. Before the reform era, Weiss argued that the ‘relational clientelism’ practiced in Malaysia is unique in sense that the candidate will build fond relationship with the potential voters not only in terms of financial, but it involves implicit actions such as knowing the family backgrounds, attending invitations and other personal matters of each of the members from the constituency. Weiss also noticed that the previous government (BN) will channel their funds to any BN’s candidate even if he/she lost the constituency. This is a way of strategy to keep the ‘good image of the party and also maintaining the dependency of both, the representative and the voters to the government (Weiss 2020). In addition to this, Berenschot and Aspinall also contend on the ‘relational clientelism’ in Malaysia as more practical actions such as arrangements of government funds for basic amenities, welfare and close connections with local authorities such as police and other frontliners (Berenschot and Aspinall 2020). Thus, party based clientelism is more likely iterative and local party branches become saviours for localities throughout the year.

Entering the reform period until now (post 2018), changes in the political structure that follow influence on clientelistic relationship patterns not only related to the reality of post-authoritarianism. This is also due to the aspects of the transition and consolidation of democracy others, such as decentralization. Interestingly, clientelism is still going on with a pattern that has pre-New Order colors, such as being rooted in the regions and based on political competition, but with differences in the form of reciprocity occurs and the nature of the competition (e.g relational clientelism).

Clientelism does not evolves only with money politics, but also with other forms like the public bureaucracy connections together with leading politicians and also bureaucrats (most of them are the elites in the country). In one of his articles, Berenschot explores the indications of how

far the patron-client relationship still is become part of the dynamics of democracy in Malaysia, especially at the state level through patronage democracies which connect the 'broker-voter' relationships and also when political parties have strong control over state resources (Berenschot and Aspinall 2020). This indicates that these areas (the states) are still having tendency to practice high clientelistic. If an essential idea of democracy is the opening of the canals participation and control in order realizing mutual welfare, then it should not practice clientelism. This is because in democracy, the community has good power for control or participate in various forms of influencing actors in politics and the political decision making process. Thus, the iterative questions now are about why clientelist practices are still lingering around the patterns of political relations between politicians and constituents in Malaysia? How depth is the practice within party? Has the Chairperson or Speaker of the House in Parliament also affected by clientelist idealism? In exploring this issue, first of all, the deepening situation between Chairperson and clientelist behaviour need to be justified and empirically analyzed.

Clientelist behavior needs to be determined through history of political developments and series of debates analysis in the Parliament. The analysis will investigate through substantive extracts of conversations by the Chairperson during debates. Conceptualization of clientelism through debates is a unique characteristic which only occurs naturally unconscious and spontaneous. However, clientelism find its place in dynamic pattern, especially when the Chairperson involved during selection of motions.

Clientelism is a problem which continues to strengthen in political discourse mainly because of the wave of democratization that happened since the end of the Cold War era until now. Nevertheless, it also vulnerable to patron-client practices because of political entity that resides in a period of democratic transition. This is not only caused by structural change going on, but also due to the potential for deep distortion among the changes. In Malaysia itself, this process is more closely related with a power competition between dynamics of democratization and distortion oligarchy. From Indonesia perspective, Berenschot shares clientelist practice into seven shapes based on the form of the resource. The seven forms consist of: (1) contract of government works, (2) work at government, (3) public services, (4) access to social welfare programs, (5) funds social assistance, (6) licensing, and (7) money (Berenschot 2018).

In addition to that, Berenschot also mentioned clientelism closely related to political activism such as campaign funds and profits from countries that are distributed for the sake of electoral support (Berenschot 2018: 15). At this point, clientelism can form as a strong reference rather

than just simply be attached to 'money issues'. However, they should note that defining clientelism according to Berenschot yet simply describe clientelism as two-way transactions; still emphasize on distribution. On the other hand, Hicken recognized it yet strictly identifying and defining clientelism because of the problem contextualization. Hicken argued that clientelism does not yet have that definition generally accepted, but mostly definition includes the four main elements of clientelistic relationships, namely dyadic relationships, contingency, hierarchy, and iteration (Hicken 2011: 290). In this case, Hicken identified one other element that is still being debate among clientelist researchers, namely volition. Volition refers to one characteristic that signify that clientelistic relationships are based on will between the parties involved. In debate, Munoz wrote that issue in this context - that is he calls a voluntary relationship - refers to the possibilities the main components of the patron-client relationship: strength and coercion, need and demand or volunteering based certain obligations (voluntary obligation) (Munoz 2010: 9). The debate is connected closely related to the deepening of reason continues use of clientelistic practices: what if the "client" is in this relationship do not have any other options? Or how if the 'client' has many alternatives a result of increased political competition in decentralization so it can maximize profits inside clientelistic relationship? Seems like deepening the concept of clientelism the more conical it gets to the point where the contextualization factor becomes crucial to use as the basis of further conceptual deepening, especially when related to its position in democracy. In the context of democracy, the ideal form is democracy cannot be separated from capacity or capability of citizens (governed) on political access in efforts to fulfill welfare. In terms of this, indeed, there are various debates related to democracy and well-being; what is democracy needed to create welfare or well-being needed to create democracy? Regardless of the debate, at least the issue of democracy is indeed could not keep out from the issue of trouble in well-being.

Another argument of clientelistic practices towards democracy is the polemic positions of welfare towards democracy, one position that can also be taken are the continuity of the two to go on linearly based on understanding unified theory of democracy by Pippa Norris. Pippa Norris argued that most effective development can occur in regime that combines the qualities of democratic responsiveness and state effectiveness (Norris 2012: 8). Furthermore, he contends that progress from human security can be built through strengthening democracy and state capacity. Things previously treated as the opposite - between democratic responsiveness and institutional effectiveness - is now conceptualized as a thing interconnected and interdependent (Norris 2012: 8).

Democracy has also been described in some shape with different characteristic. First, the meaning of democracy is procedural in which ‘procedural democracy’ is more closely related to aspects formal legal procedures of implementation democracy, such as institutions / institutions democracy and rule of law. In this case, Morlino argued that aspect procedurally built democracy on two main dimensions, namely the rule of law and accountability (Morlino 2004: 12). The dimension of supremacy law that Morlino referred to as this prerequisite is characterized by the capacity of authority in implementing and enforce the law clearly, stably, and universal. Then, the legal dimension refers on the obligations of a political authority elected to answer political decisions when questioned by constituents (Morlino 2004: 17).

However, democracy is constrained when only understood in procedural order. The concept of democracy will become banal and inconsistent when it only focuses on being and the capacity of law enforcement institutions in running the institution as well law enforcement in the system. This is because ideal democracy becomes an ongoing process reconstructed in order to achieve mutual welfare to be able to differentiate the self-conceptualization with other systems. The system that has the opposite position to democracy, such as authoritarianism, can too present such institutions which only differ in the question regarding 'how democratic'.

In addition to that, the constraint definition of democracy will lead to two essential points which i) the loss of the democracy construction process and ii) the reconstruction of democracy and its substantive values. Firstly, democracy which only focuses on the electoral process is more closely related to depiction democracy that develops linearly. But rather, democracy is a contextual process, so understanding its development will be influenced by values among society and the elite that continue to keep reconstructing. Secondly, democracy often treated as an end in goal which is the substance of democratization alone — especially control over welfare, not on the agenda. Meanwhile, it has been recognized in various ways the case that democratization often still does bring along the glitches during authoritarian era or the monarchists who preceded it. In one of his articles, Pepinsky mentioned that strength and interests that have been established during Mahathir era did not just disappear among government institutions through centralistic authoritarian which heavily influenced the successor Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (Pepinsky 2007: 114).

In conclusion, clientelistic practices in Malaysia had interlaced with democracy since early independence. The fact that most parties showing their loyalty as ‘payback’ to the ‘landlord’, most of the members also realize that they have accountability towards the constituency. The

reciprocal relationship between both parties (the ‘landlord’ and the ‘constituents’) had significantly grown within the system until today.

2.7 Parliamentary accountability in Malaysia

Malaysia is a country that tends to be featured in comparative studies and discourses in democracy. Many studies have attempted to categorize the type of democracy that Malaysia is practising. The Malaysian regime was reported to be a hybrid (Diamond 2002:21-35), ‘semi-democracy’ (Case 1993), and ‘quasi-democracy’ (Ahmad 1989). Nevertheless, regardless of the type of democracy of a country, the fundamental principles of a democratic society are that the government must have accountability towards the people. In countries that practice a parliamentary system in a democracy, accountability can be assessed by the function played by the Parliament. The Parliament is an institution responsible for using its power as a “supervisor, a controller and a critic against the governance and it is capable of influencing the policies of the government” (Mohd Foad Sakdan 1999).

In Malaysia, the Parliament is the highest institution protected by the powers of the *Yang Di Pertuan Agong* (YDPA) or the Head of State. Its main function is to create, amend and repeal the laws. Parliamentary members are given full freedom to debate and discuss various issues in the interest of the people and the nation. However, certain issues related to nationality, the *Bumiputera* rights, the Malay language, monarchy, and others are prohibited from being debated upon because these are protected essentials as enshrined in Article 63 and they are part of the laws that must be adhered to by all members of the Parliament (or MPs). Even though the Parliament is regarded as the most important stronghold of accountability, certain questions arise as to the extent of efficacy of its functions.

One prominent Malaysian legal scholar, Abdul Aziz Bari, contends the dominance of the executive organ on the judicial and legislative bodies (Abdul Aziz Bari 2001). Executive dominance has somehow weakened legislative accountability (Lim 2002). According to research, from 1991 to 1995, the Malaysian parliament had been approving 80% policies or acts from the drafts submitted. In comparison, it altered 15% of the policies or acts due to pressures imposed by the NGOs and altered 5% after debates (Yaakob et al. 2009). The longest Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, was also aware of the executive dominance that had given more power to the governing party (Mohamad 1981). Hence, in this

situation, the function of the Parliament is no more than a ‘rubber stamp’ or a medium to formalize or passing a proposition’s predetermined draft of a policy or bill.

In the Malaysian context, this conception of what Parliament ought to do and how it is contested on both theoretical and empirical grounds are a recurrent theme throughout this study. Accountability can be derived from the question, and answer sessions and debates where the responsible minister is required to provide answers to every question forwarded, as well as written questions which require more detailed answers (Abdullah Sanusi et al. 2003). Hence, every single act, gesture, answer, response, speech, postponement of debates, disruption, and interruption in the Parliament reflect the practice of accountability.

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I started the discussion with the parliament and accountability in general practices including the focus of the study, the Chairperson as the main theme. Next, the discussion scrutinized on the accountability holds by the Chairperson and its characteristics. It got even more insights when Chairpersons from Commonwealth states like Malaysia, the United Kingdom, Australia and India were compared according to their political or affiliation background. and followed by the Chairperson discussed the background of Malaysian social composition and its political, economy and social development focusing post-independence era. After analyzing the Speakers/Chairpersons at these countries, the study acknowledges an important insight on the characteristic of the Chairperson. From the analysis, the Chairperson elected or appointed is often willing to denunciate their position from the party line. This shows that there is no difference of a Chairperson characteristic after being elected to the office. It is normal for a Chairperson to be accused by the opposition of being partial to the party which he or she belongs (before elected). Yet, it is becoming a point of contention when a Chairperson was expelled for not following what the party direct he or she to do (like the case of Speaker Shri. Somnath Chatterjee in India). This occasion is not peculiar as the elected group (party) is still having a mind-set of selecting their ‘own people’ as the Speaker of the House in which sometimes not align with the elected Speaker when he or she is genuine to uphold the post and censure all political identity. Hence, in order to understand the study and characters of the Chairperson in the *Dewan Rakyat*, this chapter moves to the discussion of the roots of political parties in Malaysia/Malaya.

Politically speaking, despite having a strong colonial influence, Malaya did not adopt the Westminster system as a whole. The race-based political parties contributed to the vulnerability of the alliances, as far as racial or ethnic-based issues are concerned. In the early days of independence, UMNO, who had been the 'protector' of the Malays society was always successful in winning the Malay votes. UMNO knew that the main grievances of the Malays were the economic disparities, especially with the Chinese. So, the UMNO initiated many national level programs such as the New Economic Program (NEP) that primarily favored the Malays. Tun Abdul Razak was known as the Father of Development because he introduced the agricultural revolution that had helped many Malays.

The situation for the Malays economy status did not changed much since the NEP and some critics even notified that it only benefited the technocratic Malay elites from UMNO related companies (Lubeck 1992). The government then transform it to the National Development Policy (NDP) in 1991 in hope to change the mind-set of the Malays towards business and assist them to break through the Chinese economy domination. Unfortunately, the trial of NDP was also unsuccessful and the conditions gets complicated when the leadership of Malay political parties were in conflict.

The sadistic political conflict started in 1998 when the political leaders in UMNO were not satisfied with Anwar Ibrahim's performance and he was asked to resign. Anwar refused to resign and he was charged under sodomy and accused to have relationship with George Soros. Anwar was detained and put into jail 1998. Reformation Movement started as a result of Anwar Ibrahim's convictions in 1998 had marked the beginning of changes and challenges to *Barisan Nasional*. Due to the increased support for the opposition by Anwar Ibrahim's supporter (*Parti Keadilan Rakyat*), BN was expected to lose several times in the general elections. However, *Barisan Nasional* kept on winning the majority seats, even a simple one, in Parliament in the recent 2013 general election.

An increasing number of oppositions in the Parliament contributed to rigorous and sometimes revolting debates among the MPs, which had also changed the way the debates were being managed by the Speaker of the House. The moments of loss are even slimmer because there have been many complaints from other MPs on parliamentary deficiencies during the decision-making process in the Parliament itself. Yet, it becomes bewildered each day as the deficiencies kept on going. How is that so? In order to answer this, the next analysis must look into the

system of the institutional setting, particularly the actors involved during decision-making process. For this study, it is the Speaker or the Chairperson.

The selection of a Chairperson or Speaker of the House in Malaysia is based on proposal and seconded by the Members of the House. Candidates can be among Members of the House or anyone age 21 years old and eligible to run as candidate during general election. In order to manage a harmonious and effective debates, Speaker of the House is granted powers which subject to the Standing Orders and by discretion when needed. The office of Speaker or Chairperson also empowered more that the decision made is substantive under Article 99 of the Rulings of Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Hence, Speaker of the House is accountable to the duty with written clear rules set in the Standing Order and also subjective rule thorough discretion.

The next chapter will explain on method to examine the accountability in institutional setting where each utterance of the Chairperson will be analyzed to understand the changes, reasons or occasions for the interruptions by the Chairperson during Parliamentary debates.

CHAPTER 3

CONVERSATION ANALYSIS IN PARLIAMENTARY SETTING

3.1 Introduction

I concluded my review of the existing studies relevant to the present work by specifying the study's research questions in the previous chapter. These questions require a research method that can capture the unfolding of the verbal interactions between members of Parliament and the Chairperson. These verbal interactions include interruptions as part of the communication, which could be used as a strategy in communication. In the present chapter, I argue that conversation analysis (CA) fulfils these necessities.

In a general conversation, it is not hard to know when an interruption occurs. When two people are talking about an issue, an interruption is perceived to take place when another person barges in before the point is completed. Nevertheless, it could also happen an 'overlap' when the person barged in with points that is completion to the prior speaker, not giving chance to the speaker to complete his or her own sentence (Bennet 1979: 559). This may also portray that both speakers are having the same thoughts. In this study, interruptions are structured in the decision-making process when the Chairperson manages ongoing debates. The interruption made by the Chairperson during the ongoing debates is determined by reading the documented Hansard¹⁵ through the flow of debates and turn by turn of the MPs. There are two important situations for the study of a Chairperson in Parliamentary setting which are i) when the Chairperson barged in or interrupt any of the MPs who are in turn and ii) when the MP is interrupted by another MP, this conversation will be empirically analyzed.

Before outlining the above institutional conversation analysis, I will discuss the method used to compile the data and the way ethical issues were addressed (section 3.2). I subsequently outline the main features of CA (section 3.3), mainly its conceptualization of utterances as social actions; its emphasis on the organization of talk-in-interaction; and its understanding of the normative nature of talk-in-interaction. I also explain my selection of CA by comparing it with other approaches like video analysis and outline the advantages of CA in the analysis (section 3.4). I also outline some methodological issues arising from my approach (section 3.5), particularly my focus on the documented elements of the data, i.e., on the sequential

¹⁵ Parliament Hansard refers to parliamentary transcripts or recorded debates conversation in the Parliament.

organization of talk and my conceptualization of interruptions. I conclude the chapter (section 3.6) with a summary of the main argument which is interruption as part of strategy in communication (in this study debates in Parliament) and an outline of the subsequent chapters.

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 Corpus of data

The data used for the present study involved the interactions between the elected person to chair the debates, known as the Speaker or the Chairperson or *Yang DiPertua Dewan* (henceforth ‘Chairperson’), and the members of the Malaysian Parliament (MPs) serving as ‘socially elected representatives.’ The Chairperson manages the debate and controls the floor according to the Standing Orders of the *Dewan Rakyat*. Despite his normal rulings and routines, I wanted to focus on the utterances of the Chairperson, which had impacted the utterances of the MPs during a debate.

I focused on the interactions that took place exclusively in parliamentary meetings in Malaysia. I gathered data on the discussions on the Internal Security Bill on 21st and 22nd June 1960 and the introduction of Security Offences Special Measures Act (SOSMA) on 16th April 2012. I chose the first proceedings because they were the first attempt of the MPs to discuss the Bill in the Parliament. Also, during these discussions, it took longer than usual for the Chairperson to chair the meeting, which is rather common when a new Bill or amendments are discussed. During these two-day discussions also, the Chairperson was not replaced by his deputy, allowing me to gather data on a specific Chairperson’s behavior.

Meanwhile, the proceedings on SOSMA were chosen because the Act was about to replace the ISA. Secondly, three Chairpersons conducted, and I would be able to compare the dynamics of the interruptions in these sessions.

3.2.2 Data collection

The data were collected in two stages. The first stage involved downloading the proceedings from the website of the Malaysian Parliament and checking the attendance of the MPs and the Chairperson. I could not have any video recordings of the specific date of the debate because the Malaysian Parliament debates were not video recorded before. It was only in 1995 that the debates were video recorded (personal correspondence with Parliament staff). The second stage was to compile pages that were missing from the online proceedings at the Malaysian

Parliament Resource Center with the help of the administrative staff of the Malaysian Parliament. The next step was to convert the files into normal documents because they were printed in two columns to make them transferrable to MAXQDA (qualitative data analysis software, especially for long documents).

3.2.3 Ethics

The study focuses on Speaker of the House in the *Dewan Rakyat* or also known as Chairperson as unit of analysis. Information such as names and other related backgrounds of the Speakers are available online, particularly at the official portal of the Parliament of Malaysia.¹⁶ At first, I contemplated on preserving the privacy of the Speakers by using pseudonyms. However, I decided to disclose the names because the compiled data is for public access. Hence, the study did not preserve the anonymity of the Speakers as the political background of the unit of analysis has a significant impact on the debates and the outcome of the analysis.

3.3 Conversation Analysis (CA)

I carried out CA to analyze the data. CA can be defined as a study of talk-in-interaction. This ethnomethodology focuses on the turn-by-turn interaction between speakers (Atkinson and Heritage 1984). Harvey Sacks determined turn-by-turn interaction also as ‘storytelling’ which needs listeners as collaborators (Silverman 1998). The main aim of CA is to scrutinize how interpretations of conversations could be treated differently and have the ability to inform their subsequent contributions to the unfolding of the communication. Different people will have different comprehensions of what is happening during a conversation, and this has contributed to important implications for how the CA is done. In essence, analytic claims on utterances and how others would understand them should be based on participants’ original means and interpretations. More interesting is when the utterer or the person who speaks is behaving through the words uttered to understand the issue and how he or she deals with the behavior of others (Atkinson and Heritage 1984). To describe this in more detail, I limited to three main features of CA, namely (i) the conceptualization of utterances as positioned in social actions; (ii) the sequential organization of talk; and (iii) its emphasis on the normative nature of talk in interaction.

¹⁶ Official portal for the Parliament of Malaysia can be accessed at <https://www.parlimen.gov.my/index.php?lang=en>

3.3.1 Utterances as social activities

The first characteristic of CA is that it deals with utterances as activities people make to achieve particular motives in their interaction with other people (Wooffitt, 2005). According to CA, utterances are not simply transmitters of information among speakers, but they also connote means through which the speakers fulfil a series of actions such as accusing, coaxing, and insulting. The speakers tend to make particular features by circling them relevant to the interaction while discarding others. To do so, the speakers collaboratively and constantly reconstruct the 'environment' circling them in ways that are consistent with the particular activities they are aiming to achieve. Therefore, rather than viewing language as a medium for transmitting information, CA treats it as an activity.

CA also treats talk-in-interaction as an object of analysis in its own right rather than a medium through which we can investigate other social processes such as individual personalities or cultural constraints (Heritage 2001; Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998). Related to this is CA's concern for the indexical and the reflexive nature of social actions. The term 'indexical' refers to the way the meaning of utterances (context) is dependent on a specific micro-context of the interaction in which the utterances are used (Potter and Wetherell 1987). Meanwhile, 'reflexive' refers to the way the event or action described is dependent on reports or descriptions by actors (Potter 1996). Thus, one of the central claims of CA is that the vast majority of expressions used are indexical.

3.3.2 Focus on the organization of talk-in-interaction

The second feature of CA is that it aims to identify patterns in the unfolding of interactions. In relation to indexicality and reflexivity, speakers construct the utterances on a turn-by-turn basis. This feature of talk enables us to study the underlying organization of this turn-by-turn unfolding of the interaction (Wooffitt 2005). In essence, how the speakers positioning towards each other allows us to examine the patterns in the interaction, such as the sequences of action or the function of specific words in relation to others. To examine these patterns of interaction, we can develop analytic accounts by focusing on the regularities observable in the interaction (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998).

Analytic claims about the organization of the interaction can, therefore, be derived from an inspection of the activities accomplished by the participants themselves (Sacks et al. 1978). In particular, contextual features related to the sequential placing of utterances have an important

role to play in analysis. In designing their turns, participants orient to the preceding turn. The preceding turn thereby becomes an important aspect of the context of the interaction. This preceding turn sets up the normative expectation that some next action is performed by the speaker taking the next turn, which (re)constructs a context for the next speaker. By producing the next turn, members demonstrate an understanding of the previous action (Heritage 1997). As members orient to what they understand to be the salient features of the relevant micro- and macro-context, they allow us to examine the way contextual features influence the unfolding of the interaction (Wooffitt 2005). As a result, CA does not necessitate ethnographic characterizations of the setting and its participants in the analysis (Schegloff 1991; 1997). Instead, CA relies on the action-related context of prior turns to conclude the actions being accomplished by utterances. CA is, therefore, context-sensitive and context-free (Sacks et al. 1978). It is context-sensitive in the sense that participants design their turn based on previous turns in the interaction and also make relevant what they understand to be the salient features of the macro-context (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998). CA is at the same time context-free in the sense that the techniques used by the participants to get things done are not tied to the local circumstances of that specific occasion. Rather, we find the same kinds of techniques are used by different participants in different circumstances (Sacks et al. 1978). The purpose of ‘generalization’ therefore becomes whether and how some *a priori* rule or principle is oriented to by participants in various instances of interaction (Coulter 1983).

The transcription system used in CA is designed to reveal patterns in the organization of talk (ten Have 1999). To do so, CA uses naturally occurring data taken from concrete interactions, in contrast to other analytic methods using abstract theories or concepts. CA’s recommendation for making recordings is that these should catch ‘natural interaction’ as fully and faithfully as practically possible, not co-produced or provoked by the researcher (ten Have 1999). CA transcripts capture a range of details missed by more conventional transcripts such as intakes of breath, ‘ers’, ‘ums’, and their variations. These kinds of minor contributions and non-lexical items have been found to be interactionally significant (e.g., Jefferson 1984). Even a minimal turn consisting of only one word can signal the speaker’s understanding of the ongoing interaction, and thereby facilitate or constrain the range of possible next turns other speakers may produce. For example, non-lexical items such as ‘um’ etc. indicate that the current turn is ongoing, thus establishing continued speakership rights (Jefferson 1984; Schegloff 1981).

3.3.3 The normative nature of talk-in-interaction

The third feature of CA is its focus on identifying the normative expectations that underpin talk-in-interaction. This focus is based on the assumption that interaction partners rely on shared, taken for granted expectations and methods of inference in the production of talk. As Garfinkel (1963: 221) suggested, in any two-party conversation, ‘much that is being talked about is not mentioned, although each expects that the adequate sense of the matter being talked about is settled’. This assumption is supported by numerous strands of evidence, one of which comes from ethnomethodology (which preceded and strongly informed CA) through the so-called ‘breaching experiments’ (Garfinkel 1963; 1967). Through these experiments, Garfinkel examined the normative nature of ordinary interaction by disrupting some of its fundamental rules. Garfinkel accomplished this by instructing experimenters to ‘engage an acquaintance or a friend in an ordinary conversation and without indicating that what the experimenter was saying was in any way out of the ordinary, to insist that the person clarify the sense of his commonplace remarks’ (Garfinkel 1963: 221).

Another point which is relevant in this study for talk-in-interaction is the ‘positionality principle’. Talk-in-interaction involves a group of a minimum of two persons talking or having a discourse. People tend to ‘position’ themselves while talking as the identity comes from the mind, and therefore, the spoken language can reflect the identity of the individual (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). In the meantime, awareness of one's self (individual's sense of self) is indeed one of the key elements of identity. Researchers on the use of language showed that traditional context only exists in some form of discourse or conversation. Choosing an identity while in interaction is not only an element due to the others who are involved in the conversation, but it is a matter of considering a variety of façade to get a better comprehension while interacting with others (Bucholtz and Hall; 593).

3.4 Methodological concerns

3.4.1 Documented elements

While running the analysis, I decided to focus only on the documented elements of the interaction for two reasons. The first one was pragmatic issues, which are related to the relatively poor management on data compiling during the early days of the Malaysian parliament (Chuah 1992). This problem did not allow me to have a clear view, especially on gestures during the two days of debates. The second reason was related to my interest in the exchange of interactions during interruptions rather than non-verbal communication.

Some studies used audio-visual recordings to examine the aspects of human interaction (e.g., face-to-face interactions in Heath 1997, Heath and Luff 1992; attentional and affective responsiveness among infants in Werker and McLeod 1989; marital satisfaction and its affective patterns in Levenson and Gottmann 1983; consequences of interruptions in conversation in Ramón and Maestro 2013). These studies verified that video analysis could be a relevant method to audio-based CA. However, most of the studies referenced previously were based on verbal production by the participants as a fundamental tool to understand the interaction, and only subsequently added in-depth personal conditions (e.g., heartbeats, pulse transmissions) to emphasize the psychological linkage (Levenson and Gottmann 1983). In essence, an insightful analysis does not only depend on visual information. In this study, the audio-visual recordings would not have contributed to answering the specific research questions identified in the literature review. Nevertheless, audio-video recordings are useful in providing a more personified sense of interaction rather than documents (transcript done by other people) alone. According to ten Have (1999), audio-video recordings could contribute to a mass of contextual information for talk-in-interaction analysis, particularly in complex situations like organized meetings, debates or talk, which involve a number of speakers.

3.4.2 Conversation analysis or Membership categorization analysis

CA not only focuses on the sequential aspects of talk-in-interaction in the analysis of accounts. Most of CA studies explicated the sequential organization of talk. Another strand CA is called ‘membership categorization analysis’ (MCA) focuses on the use of ‘membership categories’ (Sacks 1972). MCA is also known as Membership Categorization Devices (MCDs, in Silverman 1998). Schegloff (1992) did not like Sacks’ idea of ‘categorization’ because sometimes it is overdrawn to ‘culturalist tenor’, and ‘culture’ exists to be used in an ‘anthropological sense in which it refers to the categories through which “reality” is grasped’ (Silverman 1998: 129). The challenge of MCD is its ‘promiscuity’ when the analysis of membership organization is embedded with the sequential organization. Nevertheless, categorization in interaction analysis remains convincing as an analysis because Sacks made it clear that it does not reflect psychology but depends on ‘cultural resources [which are] public, shared and transparent’ and the emphasis is on the *procedure* and not the *content* of the categories (Watson in Silverman 1998: 129). In my study, I focused on the use of membership categories as well as the sequential organization of talk and considered MCA an integral part of CA.

3.4.3 What constitutes an interruption

In undertaking the analysis, I adopted a broad definition of what constitutes an ‘interruption’. Interruption is ‘to gain immediate control of the discourse – of the turn and/or topic – by pressuring the speaker to relinquish his/her control’ (Goldberg 1990: 884). Goldberg also emphasized that interruptions can be successful and sometimes not; it depends on the assertion of the ‘volitional intent’ which is the combination of intentions to disrupt, occupy the turn, and interfere using specific structured plan within the discourse. Therefore, according to the imputations of the intention of the interrupter, scholars agree that interruptions are interactional strategies for exerting and overtly displaying power or control over both the discourse and its participants (Goldberg 1990; Carbó 1992; Tannen 1994). In essence, interruptions are more often accomplished in combination with power, and it is known as ‘polemical interruptions’.

Ramón and Maestro (2013) found that interruptions during a discussion can affect the flow of ideas. They analyzed a video conversation of four people talking about the differences between Star Trek and Star Wars and revealed how loose sentences order and the changing of nouns and pronouns while being interrupted could ‘restructure’ the specific issue within the discussion. Despite agreeing that interruptions could make a conversation difficult to understand, Ramón and Maestro agreed that interruptions could contribute to a variety of discussions. The ability to ‘restructure’ was the main focus of this study while the second phase of the analysis (chapter 6) focused on how a Chairperson interrupts to ‘control and shape’ the discussion through his subjectivity (i.e., ‘subjective interruption’).

Interruption in parliament is described as a ‘complex discursive phenomenon’ mainly because of the paradox between the Rules of Procedure or the Standing Orders and rule-governed practice (Carbó 1992). Because of the scarcity in finding a particular interruption analysis, the present study had to adapt interruptions from other sources but still within an institutional setting. Carbó (1992) found five characteristics of interruptions in parliament, namely (i) the locations where they occurred during debates, (ii) the configuration of interruptions, (iii) the occurrence and its context-repetitions and polemic, (iv) various sorts of questions, and (v) the lack of reactions from authorities. In relation to this study, I will first explain the first four as they closely relate to the procedure of the analysis.

According to Carbó, interruptions always appear in the **right places**, known as ‘transition-relevance places’, i.e., when the completion points of speech are possible to achieve. Such connotation hints that interruptions in a parliamentary debate do not happen randomly but with ‘noticeable consistency’ in the choice of occurrence (Carbó 1992: 32). A speech-event setting like debates in a parliament consists of turn-taking or lists the speakers in turn. In the Malaysian parliament, the Chairperson has the authority to permit any interruption when he sees or is aware of any MP standing up to interrupt. Nevertheless, the Chairperson also has the opportunity to interrupt the speaker if the latter is found to contradict or violate the rules stipulated in the Standing Orders.

Secondly, Carbó found that the structure or configuration of interruptions may consist of **single words, phrases, or clauses**. The normal pattern of interruption is concise, in an extract form, within brevity and clarity. However, interruptions not so often can last for more than one sentence. Despite the normal rulings stipulated in the Standing Orders (Section 2.2.4), the Chairperson has the discretion to interrupt on issues being discussed. The Chairperson, granted with the power to control the floor, could interrupt any speech found to be contradictory by asking for clarity or provoking the speaker. Such behavior implies that he possesses the knowledge of the issues discussed by the MPs or of the current situation at the state (e.g. social-political conditions in Malaysia). The Chairperson’s interruption could be short and direct because he or she is managing the debate and to keep the time allotted for each debate. Hence, a long and drawn-away interruption is not a characteristic of interruptions by a Chairperson.

As emphasized previously, interruptions in debates are not accidental, involuntary or random. Carbó also found that, due to the rules of interruptions (e.g., standing up, or asking permission beforehand), **interruptions in parliament are ‘polemical’ moves**. This polemic interruption consists of strong verbal words attacking someone or groups of people or even the issues being discussed. Sometimes, interruptions can also be ‘invited,’ and this is known as ‘polemical sequence’. It happens through provocations from the speaker of the floor when he or she uses strong irony words considered pejorative by others. In managing the debate, the Chairperson will react or respond to these actions; otherwise, unrest will be likely. However, the key question is, does the Chairperson also use ‘ironic’ sentences or words to accomplish interruptions? This study examines the choices of words by the Chairperson when interrupting.

A **question** is also a form of interruption. Carbó found that it frequently happens and could be the main pattern of interruption used in debates in the Mexican parliament. From the *wh-questions* to *addressing the problem of understanding*, interruptions are successful mechanisms to gain the floor without objection or rejection. As the main objective of a parliament debate is to achieve a rational consensus in policy implementation, the problem of understanding is a crucial point to be addressed, and this could be achieved by asking questions. To be effective and reliable in accomplishing his accountability, the Chairperson often uses these two mechanisms in delivering his or her judgment. Chapter 4 will show the use of questions and request for further clarifications by the Chairperson when he or she interrupts.

The Chairperson's main focus during debates in parliament is to make sure that the debates run smoothly and achieve the objective by observing the Standing Orders and strict allocation of time table. The Chairperson has the authority to stop any interruptions by an MP when the former found unnecessary or when the MP who is being interrupted does not allow the interruption. At this point, it is worthy to emphasize that an MP's interruption during a debate can be rejected or accepted. However, the official position of the Chairperson is that he or she has a '**free ticket**' to **interrupt** the MPs under as stipulated in the Standing Orders. Furthermore, the Chairperson has the discretion (i.e., unwritten rules) in managing a parliamentary session. This study reveals the subjective (discretionary) interruptions by the Chairperson.

3.5 Justification on using Conversation Analysis to determine interruption in Parliamentary debates

The parliamentary debate in Malaysia is governed by an explicit set of rules known as the Standing Orders. These rules have experienced several changes since 1957 parallel to the constitutional change of the state. The Standing Orders do not only stipulate the prevalent turn-taking system in debate sessions, but they also specify all possible aspects of legislators or members of parliament involved in the debate session, including the attire, the ritual procedures, and other management issues. This sub-chapter is to justify on the Speaker of the House's ability to 'grasps' all business and activities in the Parliament at his or her own hand.

The parliamentary debate in Malaysia fulfils almost all the features, namely turn-taking, enumerated by Sacks et al. as to what constitutes a 'debate'. Sacks and his colleagues defined a debate as a 'speech-exchange system' that occupies one pole in the linear array of systems

for ensuring only one party talk at a time. ‘Conversation’ is taken as the primary form of speech-exchange system, which occupies another pole with regard to the turn-allocation arrangements and other structural variables (Sacks et al. 1978). Sacks in his work emphasized that, through utterances and conversation analysis, it is possible to show ‘that behavior is not rule-governed but rule-guided’, which signifies that the utterer is held accountable for the implications of their actions (Sacks in Silverman 1998: 35). In this regard, despite the massive power possession during a ruling, the Chairperson must also be held accountable to his or her actions whether they are explicit or implicit.

‘Tying’ is another mechanism in CA to analyze interruption. This type of mechanism is known as a far stronger kind of appreciation in conversation. Imagine your friend tells you a story or an issue, to which you reply ‘Oh really’ or ‘I know just what you mean’ to show that you are grateful to your friend for telling the story. If you then form a ‘second story’ or issue that uses the same characters or issue like your friend’s, then the ‘second story’ confirms the understanding of the first story, and this is a kind of ‘tying’ to the previous turn (Sacks in Silverman 1998). ‘Tying’ is also a mechanism to justify turn-taking in a parliamentary debate. This study examined all interruptions by the Chairperson and analyzed on his ways of ‘tying’ during debates.

The existing literature on parliamentary members indicates increasing powers that was allocated to the Chairperson, particularly in relation to voting in Parliament (Jenny and Müller 1995). For example, a study carried out across six countries by Russel, and Paun (2007) found that different states practice different procedures on the rights to vote of a Chairperson. Russel and Paun found that in some states (UK House of Commons, Australian House of Representatives and Scottish Parliament) a Chairperson’s voting rights is to break ties, while in others (Australian Senate, German Bundestag, and New Zealand House of Representative), it is normal to vote with the party.

Another aspect of the empowerment of a Chairperson which is not always discussed is the indirect rule or ‘discretion’ stipulated in the Standing Order but not characterized in details. Additionally, the Chairperson also is ‘over-powered’ when granted authority for the whole session as stipulated under Article 99 “The decision of Tuan Yang di-Pertua... be final, and Tuan Yang di-Pertua may from time to time issue rulings thereon” (see section 2.2.5). With the

extension of power by the Chairperson, it is a concern of the study on the accountability while managing the debates. Therefore, the Chairperson accountability is analyzed in this study.

One aspect that is missing from the existing literature on a Chairperson is an investigation into how a Chairperson accomplishes accountability while chairing a meeting or debate with MPs, i.e. how the Chairperson's utterances make MPs accountable. On this topic, the political science literature only assumes that a Chairperson can be bias or partial during debates in Parliament through interruption. This assumption can be inferred from the work of Jenny and Müller (1995), who examined the role of Chairperson in a parliamentary decision-making process, distinguishing two pertinent concepts of power and partisanship. The study found that the Chairperson will be more powerful if they are less accountable. Accountability in the study refers to (1) the length of term in service, and (2) the chances or possibility of being removed. Also, the longer a Chairman holds the post, the harder it is to remove or change him or her, making the Chairperson less accountable.

The Chairperson is accountable to the Parliament. Nevertheless, his or her accountability is sometimes questioned due to 'power' and 'partisanship'. This research analyzed the Chairperson's accountability in the Malaysian Parliament in the discussion on the Internal Security Bill. The analysis would show how the Chairperson demonstrate accountability in exercising his or her power to interrupt and sanction an MP (Jenny and Müller 1995: 333), particularly when the MP acts disorderly or repeatedly being warned. In such a context, the formal features of interruptions will lead to actions used to perform accountable activities, such as managing the on-going debates and supervising the speeches by MPs.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I made a case for the use of conversation analysis to explore the practical aspects of a Chairperson's accountability when managing parliamentary debates among members of the Parliament. In particular, CA could analyze the organized-talk unfolding of the interaction, and its focus on the sequential organization of talk has already shown to be a useful tool in examining issues of accountability in an institutional setting. The use of CA enabled me to pursue the research questions. Specifically, I was able to investigate a Chairperson's interruption while chairing a session. When performing his duty, the Chairperson would make MP accountable while at the same time attending issues of stake and interest.

There are various ways of which challenges are formulated and responded to during debates among Chairperson to the MP; among which are the strategies used for holding the MP accountable for inactions; and the limited extent to which accountability can be accomplished through the use of deviation of MP's debates. I will demonstrate the challenges and strategies of a Chairperson during performing his duty in the following chapters.

In chapter 4, I examined how the Chairperson accomplishes accountability by examining the interruptions towards MPs during debates. The analysis will be presented through extracts of conversation between the Chairperson and MPs, particularly when the Chairperson interrupt an MP who are in-turn or an any occasions which needs the Chairperson to barge in the debates.

CHAPTER 4

CHAIRPERSON PERFORMING ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH INTERRUPTIONS

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter One, I outlined three specific research questions for the study. The present chapter will address the first question, which is, ‘How does the Chairperson exercise his role while managing the debates?’ This chapter discusses the analysis of how the Chairperson performed accountability in his interaction with the MPs. I will begin the analysis of a two-day debates on a Bill (21st and 22nd June 1960), which is the Internal Security Bill in 1960. The session was chosen because it was the same Chairperson who conducted the two-day discussion. The analysis will continue with Security Offenses (Special Measures) Bill 2012 which was debated in the *Dewan Rakyat* on 16th and 17th April 2012. Specifically, I examined how the Chairperson performed accountability when interrupting the MPs during the debates. To do so, I examined how the Chairperson interrupted MPs and made accountable for issues raised during debates. I also explored the way the Chairperson demonstrated his accountability in addressing MPs through interruptions.

4.1.1 The Internal Security Bill 1960

The Internal Security Bill 1960 was introduced in the *Dewan Rakyat* by Abdul Razak Hussein, Minister of Defence Malaysia. The Bill was brought three times in the *Dewan Rakyat*, specifically for the first reading on 20th April 1960, second reading was on 21st June 1960 and the third reading was on 22 June 1960. Both days were chaired by the Speaker of the House, Mohamed Noah Omar. The Internal Security Bill is to deter communist activity in Malaysia during the Emergency era by stiffening the power of police officers to detain any suspects deemed to have relation with the communist. The two days debates involved 103 members from 10 different parties (see Table 4.1 for list of MPs involved in debates on 21st and 22nd June 1960). When it first introduced, there were two main qualms about the Bill which were on 1) the use of preventive detention and 2) the power apportioned to the police on detaining suspects.

Tun Abdul Razak introduced the Bill in the second reading in *Dewan Rakyat* as a Bill which was at the utmost critical moment prior to the uplift of Emergency declaration in Malaya on 31st July 1960. The fear of security threat from subversive actions and terrorism had motivated

the government on uprising its vigilance against the enemy. Under Section 47 of the Bill, border security of Perlis, Kedah, northern Perak and Kelantan were under strict supervision as the government was at firm intention to eliminate all enemies. Part II of the Bill focused on the Security Area where the authorities were still fighting to 'clean up' the remaining threats (there were areas which categorized as Black and White areas). Anyone who possessed illegally arms and ammunition in security area will be charged on death penalty. Tun Abdul Razak also stated that the Federation Government (Malaya) will continue to have assistance from the Commonwealth Land and Air Forces, but will gradually reduce the number from time to time. The assistance from the Commonwealth Forces was a great move by the colonial before they leave the country.

Tun Abdul Razak knew on the contentious discussion of 'preventive detention' of the Bill. He emphasized to the MPs that the detention was "to safeguard the security of the country and not to punish persons for crime". He also emphasized on the untrue critics that the government was trying to promote an unhealthy democratic situation by using the 'preventive detention' against the oppositions. He claimed that 'preventive detention' was already used in India and Singapore with even extensive mechanism. This Bill was safeguarded by the Article 151 Clause 2 of the Constitution that persons detained have a rights to make representations to an Advisory Board within three months and then propose recommendations for trial or pardon to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

The debates continued by opposition MP from Ipoh, D. R. Seenivasagam from the People's Progressive Party. D. R. Seenivasagam (PPP/Ipoh) made direct point to criticize the Bill from wide range of perspectives. At first, the attempt was made against judiciary body which he criticized was shaken by the move of Prime Minister on the selection of judges. Then, he claimed that if the government was preparing for a Bill to contain threats like it was during Emergency, then there was no need to rename an Act under a different cloak by using another new or introducing new Act. D. R. Seenivasagam also made clear on his argument to three main grounds namely 1) preventive detention deprived of safeguards 2) the Bill was not well defined on the part of violence and crimes which may impact all citizens 3) the empowerment of the police-which might be abused towards the citizen. Further, he made point on the government containment of freedom of speech to criticize the government or to bring communal issues in the Parliament. For him, the weak definition on 'subversive' and 'communal ill will' was leading dangerously to misconstrue. The Chairperson interrupted him,

asking “**Is that relevant?**” (**Interruption 1**) when he mentioned on the issue of supporting China into the United Nations. He claimed that, when the PPP said their opinion on supporting China, they were accused as being communistic, but not long after that, there was not a single word towards the Prime Minister when he was making remarks on supporting China into the UN. This was an example that D.R. Seenivasagam was trying to make on the weakness of defining a term like ‘subversive’.

The debate continued with the third MP in-turn, an opposition Ahmad Boestamam from the SF. Ahmad Boestamam (SF/Setapak) was detained under colonial rule due to his involvement in anti-colonial movement in 1955. He was not interrupted by the Chairperson until the end of his turn. He had critical perspectives on the Internal Security Bill particularly on the term ‘national interest’ which was stipulated under Article 7 of the Bill as follows: “The Minister may, if he considers it in the national interest so to do, by order prohibit the manufacture, sale, use, wearing, display or possession of any flag, banner badge, emblem, device, uniform or distinctive dress or any part thereof”. According to Boestamam, the definition is vague and might be abused by the government. Boestamam also was not happy with Article 8 of the Bill on period of detention. He claimed that the prolonged detention (continued detention when one is not charged but waiting for trial) under the Bill was a blatant denial to justice when referring to the previous experience detention in 1955. Extension to this article also prohibit the suspect to attend meetings, holding position or taking part in any activities under association, organization or politics. To him, it was a strategic move by the government to ‘silent’ the critics. Article 9 did not provide any substance for ‘Grounds of detention’ which Boestamam thought it was a subjective decision. The critics continued to Article 10 and also still on weak term definitions of ‘security risk’ ‘public interest’ and ‘national interest’ as follows: “....and the Minister may evoke any such direction if he is satisfied that the person against whom the order was made...” “...or that it is necessary in the public interest that such direction should be revoked. Boestamam ended his argument on the power granted to the Police which he found that was horrendous until he asked whether the government having intention to have a Police country?

The fourth speaker in-turn was opposition from PMIP Zulkiflee Muhammad from Bachok. Zulkiflee (PMIP/Bachok) reminded on the misuse of this Bill against oppositions and the weak definition on ‘subversive’ may cause glitch on detainment. Zulkiflee was also worried on the Article 7 (trial before charged with proof of crime), Article 8 (excommunicated with public),

Article 9 (period of to be informed on the grounds of detention refers to “as soon as may be” under Article 151 of the Constitution should have definite time frame). The argument continued on weak term of ‘community ill will’ and the ‘subversive’ which involved dissemination or possession of documents and involvement with a local association which were not registered with the authority. Zulkiflee ended his turn on making remark of the power of the Bill which possessed by the Minister and could be a hassle if the Minister was not around to entertain the case. Without interruption and conditions mentioned in his speech, Zulkiflee supported the Bill.

The debates continued with Mohamed Yusof Mahmud, an Alliance member of UMNO as the fifth speaker without any interruption by the Chairperson. Mohamed Yusof Mahmud (UMNO/Temerloh) made a short remarks on supporting the Bill by emphasizing that the Bill was meant for those who are against the country and freedom of speech can be achieved under the scope of law to avoid chaos.

Haji Ahmad Saaid from UMNO stood up as the sixth speaker to support the Bill with introduction on the promises by the government to protect the country under “Fundamental Liberties” of the constitution as follows: “no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty save in accordance with law”. In other words, Haji Ahmad Saaid (UMNO/Seberang Utara) reminded the members that freedom of individual was still under the guidance of law. He was also worried that there will be false propaganda by the enemy on creating anarchic situation among the citizens, like the K.M.M who was believed to have worked with the Japanese during the Second World War. Ahmad Saaid was interrupted by Onn Jaafar (an opposition from Parti Negara-PAN) when he wrongly mentioned that K.M.M was banned by the government instead of A.P.I. The Chairperson interrupted Ahmad Saaid when he started to read a poem titled “Time was ripe” by asking “*berapa panjang hendak dibachakan itu?*” or “**how long it is going to be?**” (**Interruption 2**) and also again interrupted when he found Ahmad Saaid was reading almost six paragraph by making a statement “*Panjang nampaknya itu!*” or “**it seems long!**” (**Interruption 3**). Ahmad Saaid responded by promising that the poem is about to end. “Time was ripe” is basically a poem on the Communist (and Chin Peng’s) influence and how it took over the control of a government by spreading a propaganda to fight against the British. Ahmad Saaid ended his speech by accentuating on the manifesto of the government which were to uphold the *keamanan* (peaceful), *keadilan* (justice) and *kemakmuran* (prosperity) to the citizens.

The Bill received full support from the seventh speaker, another UMNO member Othman Abdullah from Perlis Utara. According to Othman (UMNO/Perlis Utara), the Bill was really at its best time to replace the Emergency Ordinance which will be ended soon and to fight all subversive actions within the newly independence country. Othman Abdullah's speech was uninterrupted, short and precisely supporting the Bill to be endorsed.

The eighth speaker was an opposition from the Socialist Front, Lim Kean Siew. Lim Kean Siew (SF/Dato' Kramat) started his speech by mockingly refer to Ahmad Saaid (UNNO/Seberang Utara) as 'sounded more lawful' than D.R. Seenivasagam (PPP/Ipoh) (a lawyer) while presenting his speech. Lim was also referring to a bewildered actions by Zulkiflee Muhammad (PMIP/Bachok) who supported the Bill but rejected its provisions which he claimed did not understand the procedure of the Parliament (when one supported a Bill, it means for the whole Bill together with its provisions). Lim contended that Zulkiflee might not understand the whole Parliament procedures because his arguments were rather against the Bill but in the end supported it. Lim was making substantive argument that the Bill which had two parts (Part I is on subversion, publication, speech, political organisations and little school boys, Part 2 is on armed insurrection, terrorism and disturbances) should only receive support on Part 2 against terrorism but not Part 1 which will deprived the freedom of the people. Lim was interrupted by the Chairperson by asking **"how is that relevant?" (Interruption 4)** when he said and the staffs who were working at the Radio Malaya would leave the toilet open because of fear and suspicious to the spies and traitors. Lim was also making argumentative statements towards Clause 31 (executive control over judiciary body through police's authority), the preamble (far reaching effects of the Bill), Clause 5 (1) (elusive definition on associations for which one would like to join), Section 59 (unclear justifications on connections with suspicious movements), Section 8 (no time limit of the detain) and Section 10 (the Minister may order, revoke or suspend the detain on his own justification. Lim was emphasizing on the issue of time limit of the detention when he was again interrupted by the Chairperson **"The time is up now!" (Interruption 5)**. The sitting resumed at 2.30pm and Lim continued his stand on the Bill with unacceptable issue on the period of detention. He was arguing that the Minister was granted too many power on detaining a person and it was a worry that the Minister might act unreasonably. Lim also mentioned that, unlike Malaysia, India was not the best country to compare as they have habeas corpus in order to safeguard the right of detainee. Lim also reminded the floor that the Bill was against the cardinal principle of law when it allowed the detainee to be tried or punished twice for the same offence (Section 21). The Bill was also

unclear when it used the word ‘despondency’ which may be misguided for most (Section 28). Suleiman (an UMNO MP from Muar Selatan) interrupted Lim and said “I assure you they will” when he made an example that after people listened to his speech, they might get despondent and could not sleep well. Lim responded to Suleiman and said “You might!” At this moment, the Speaker interrupted and said **“Please proceed” (Interruption 6)** for Lim to resume his speech. Lim continued arguing on the term ‘subversive document’ (sub-section 3) which he deemed may be manipulated by the Minister and used as a delayed process for detention, empowerment of Minister (section 32) which may be misuse and misguided. Lim further criticize Part II of the Bill which deals with terrorists may use as against any citizens who are disloyal to the Alliance, and also argument on a coroner’s inquiry for any death within security area under the Criminal Law. Next, Lim moved to Clause 57 of the Bill that he believed complicated when refers to prove of negative and positive situations when someone is accused of offensive or act suspicious. Another problematic Clause 75 was of the arrest of a person which involved confession session and Lim argued this may complicate the process when both, the suspect and interrogator were speaking different language. Finally, Lim ended his lengthy speech with reminds to P.M.I.P members not to get confuse with the Bill (by supporting but actually criticizing), Ahmad Saaid to go through his speeches again and emphasized that many portions of the poem read has nothing to do with the Bill. Lim concluded that, if the floor would approve the second part of the Bill, they need to reconsider it as the first Part of the Bill was granting an absurd power to the Minister which in the end may be manipulated politically.

The next speaker in-turn was Othman Abdullah, an opposition from the PMIP steadfastly informed the floor that his colleague (Zulkiflee Muhammad) was making sense in the speeches. Othman (PMIP/Tanah Merah) criticized Lim Kean Siew (SF/Dato’ Kramat) may not understand well the language used and had misunderstood the points discussed by his colleague. The Chairperson interrupted Othman *“Jangan meleret”* **“Do not drag on” (Interruption 7)** when he made over reacting hatred claims over PMIP and accusations that PMIP was pro-communist. Othman replied that he did not drag on the issue, instead he was making point on the stance of the Bill. Othman claimed that, Lim gave a lengthy speech but in the end did not declare any position of the Bill. Othman made two significant points on the Bill which were a) that a newly independent country should carefully protected from the remaining terrorist b) that there was a Minister from KMM party which had connection with the Japanese. While Othman was making assumption that the Minister would had influence others on the communist ideology, the Chairperson interrupted with *“Dalam Parlimen tidak boleh mengata-*

ngata” **“It is not allowed to slander in Parliament” (Interruption 8)**. At the end of his speech, Othman was hoping that the Minister in charge will convince that the Bill will not be manipulated by anyone.

An opposition Karam Singh from the Socialist Front was the tenth speaker in-turn of the day. Karam Singh (SF/Damansara) started his speech with a strong critic to the Alliance’s (Abdul Razak-Deputy Prime Minister) double-talk on the type of democracy in the Straits Times on 11th June 1960 by saying “In carrying out our policy, we may have to adopt measures which are not strictly compatible with our ideals of freedom and parliamentary democracy. But we do that as a temporary expediency in order to defend our freedom and our democracy”. According to Karam Singh, Abdul Razak’s statement in the newspaper was threat to democracy practice in Malaysia. Karam was criticizing a few sections of the Bill namely; Section 8 (Minister can impose conditions upon detention), Section 22(i) (the term ‘ill will’ was vague and may be misguided), Section 25 (2) (using presumptions prior to detention of a person) and Section 28 (making false statements which likely will cause public alarm). Karam Singh was interrupted by Suleiman (UMNO/Muar Selatan) saying “We will laugh at that” when Karam was making example of himself that when the government receive funds from Germany, it was “a terrific feat in international beggary, it may cause terrible depression, terrible despondency among the Alliance” and he will be detained due to the statement made. The Chairperson interrupted the floor with **“I don’t like to interrupt you. But these points have already been raised in the House by many people. Please proceed” (Interruption 9)**. Karam continued on criticizing the Bill mentioning the most critical part of the Bill was under Section 29(1) and 3 (d) which stated that anyone shall not criticize the presence on Malayan soil, including the foreign troops. According to Karam Singh, the opposition had ever since the colonial came to Malaya, did not prefer foreign troops and was against them. At this point, the Chairperson again interrupted him asking **“Is that relevant?” (Interruption 10)** and Karam answered “yes”. Again, the Chairperson was making firm statement **“It is not the issue at all. You can give example, but it is not relevant. Up to that point you are all right, don’t proceed any further on that” (Interruption 11)**. Karam Singh made effort on giving clarification that the Bill of Section 29 (3) (d) was referring to no other than the foreign armed forces which he thought should not be in Malaya. The Chairperson accepted his answer and told him **“Please proceed” (Interruption 12)**. Not long after Karam made his firm stand against the Bill which will make Malaya as a Police State, he was interrupted by Suleiman again with “They can laugh last”. But Suleiman was ignored by Karam Singh and was even challenged him to see who will

“laugh last” on the matter. Another focal point made was that “independence without freedom is an empty independence” and the Bill will complete the set-up of a Police State. In conjunction to that, Karam told the floor that the Alliance was making strategic attempt to club its opponents and constrain the minds of the people. At the end of his speech, Karam Singh was interrupted by the Chairperson by asking him **“How is that relevant to the debate on this Bill?” (Interruption 13)** when Karam Singh was using George Bernard Shaw as an example for breeding creative minds in the country. Karam Singh made his final point by criticizing that the Alliance government actions will only ‘kill’ the birth of thinkers and creative minds in the country.

The debates continued with an Alliance member Syed Hashim Syed Ajam from UMNO as the eleventh. Syed Hashim (UMNO/Sabak Bernam) took the opportunity in a short and direct support towards the moves of his fellow party members. He thanked the Deputy Prime Minister for this proposal which he thought a brilliant move towards constraining the communist ideology in Malaya.

The next twelfth speaker in-turn was V. David from the opposition of Socialist Front. Being as an expert in the field of law and also an ex-detainee during Emergency, V. David (SF/Bungsar) was making extensive criticisms using previous experience of the Emergency Ordinance and its practice. V. David stated the Bill was a ‘political suicide’ which was a preference of the government to curtail the Opposition parties from keep progressing. The Minister of the Interior (Suleiman/UMNO/Muar Selatan) interrupted “I will” when V. David was asking him to answer on the issue of unsent letters to respective persons by detainees. Critics by V. David were based on his previous experience detention under the Emergency rule namely on the police’s empowerment (police beating people at random), oppositions had rights on the stance on international issues (like China joining the UN), the government was making absurd reference to India (as India had different track of history), example of Wan Hamid being detained (which if he was with the Alliance, he might be free). Further, V. David said that the Bill was a threat to the Opposition’s views and expressions and freedom of the press in Malaya. V. David was getting more emotional when he argued on the claim made by the mover of the Bill that “no loyal citizens should dispute over the provisions of the Bill” was absurd. He was probably carried away with his emotion until the Chairperson had to interrupt him **“You need not shout!” (Interruption 14)**. V. David was really concern of the use of the Bill towards anyone who is critical to the government and against the practice of democracy. Towards the

end of his speech, V. David sent a reminder to the government bench members to be fair and not dictated by the Cabinet members. He was referring to a case under Section 8 (1) which stated on certain amount as bond for certain cases by the government.

The thirteenth speaker in-turn was Chin See Yin an Independent member from Seremban Timor (who was previously a member of MCA). According to Chin See Yin (MCA/Seremban Timor), the government should not create any new laws and may use the Emergency Ordinance if they were to fight the remaining communists inside the country. For him, unlike the senior officers, the Bill might be abused by the junior officers of the government. Chin See Yin ended his speech with a reminder that everybody in the house should carefully make the decision on such a Bill which he referred as a “monster” that might harm the people in future.

The last speaker of the day was Onn Ja’afar an opposition from PAN. Being an experienced person of the country, Onn Ja’afar (PN/Kuala Trengganu Selatan) supported the Bill as he was keen on the security against communist ideology. Nevertheless, his support towards the Bill was conditional as he mentioned critically on the term ‘subversive’ and how it might be used against the opposition. Onn Ja’afar made comments on the similarity of the Article 151 of the Constitution which was abolished but revived under Section 12 of the Bill. According to Onn Ja’afar, it was better “to have retained Article 151 than amending it and making it more difficult for the person detained to have this case reviewed with some satisfaction?” The newly introduced Bill treated non-citizen differently under Section 12 as compared to Article 5 of the Constitution. His speech also criticize on the term “ill will” which he deemed as “far too wide and incompatible with the existing racial composition”. Onn Ja’afar ended his speech affirmed on the support of the Bill to replace the Emergency Regulations.

Day two of the debates resume on the next day with a prominent lawyer S.P. Seenivasagam an opposition from PPP. Being a lawyer, S.P. Seenivasagam (PPP/Menglembu) had much to criticize the Bill and even thoroughly when he contrast it with the existing Constitution on issues such as freedom of rights and how the Bill had a false safeguards towards the preventive detention. S.P. Seennivasagam also found that the Bill was against the Charter of Human Rights of the United Nations that it deprived basic rights of the citizens. Next, S. P. Seenivasagam found a few examples of flawed or weak clauses of the Bill namely, Clause 6 which prohibit any association from training, Clause 9 which denied the benefits of the detainee, Clause 12 which referred to the declaration of the recommendation from the Advisory Board to the

detainees, and Clause 29 (3) stated that the public could not criticize public servants so as to bring them into ridicule or contempt or they will be charged under libel law. There were also Clause 66 which referred to the issues of the empowerment of police which interconnected with the judiciary board (abuse of 'discretion' by the judiciary), and Clause 75 on statement made to the police officers were admissible due to bias effect by the interrogator (police officer). At the end of his speech, S.P. Seenivasagam made his objections clear that the Bill will not benefit to any of the citizens as it will turn the country under a 'terrorist organization' which he referred to the Police Force.

The debates continued with another UMNO speaker in-turn, Mohamed Ujang. According to Mohamed Ujang (UMNO/Jelebu-Jempol), speeches from the Oppositions representatives are too carried-away and exaggerated as they are unwelcome to the Bill. As Malaya just gained its independence, the Emergency Ordinance which will be ended on the 31st July 1960 should be replaced with a new security law. Mohamed Ujang was also directly criticized the Socialist party would want to embrace an 'open ideology' (be it communist) if they were given choice. He ended his speech with a sense of worry if there were no security law to replace the Emergency Ordinance as it was during early days when the Japanese and English came into Malaya.

Chan Yoon Onn stood up as the next opposition from PPP to make clear objection of the Bill in short and precise words. Chan Yoon Onn (PPP/Kampar) did not take much time when he only reminded the floor that the Bill was only depriving the people and it is hope that the government will consider to amend some clauses of the Bill.

Another speaker of the day was an UMNO member from Lipis, Mohamed Sulong Mohd. Ali. Mohamed Sulong (UMNO/Lipis) was supporting the Bill adherely as it will guard the country after the Emergency had ended. For him, the Bill should be supported by all and democracy should be practiced accordingly to its 'molds'. Democracy practiced elsewhere like in the United States or United Kingdom were not suitable to be compared with Malaya. Mohamed Sulong was convincing the floor that he did not afraid to support the Bill even if he was the culprits and willing to face the consequences. When Mohamed Sulong criticized a PPP member on issue of China government which was made by the Prime Minister, the Chairperson had to interrupt him "*Perkara itu saya sudah tahan, jangan di-bahathkan dalam Dewan ini lagi*" **"I had stopped/halted that issue, do not debate it further in this House"** (Interruption 15).

Mohamed Sulong tried to respond to the Chairperson, but again he was interrupted “*Saya sudah tahan dia*” “**I had stopped/halted him**” (Interruption 16). Finally, he ended his speech by reminding that the Bill should be supported properly and the opposition can always propose amendments instead of total objection.

Tan Phock Kin from the Socialist Front stood as the 19th speaker in-turn of the Bill. Being an opposition, Tan Phock Kin (SF/Tanjong) made a clear objections towards the Bill which for him was using ‘undemocratic features to preserve democracy’. After listening to the supporters, Tan Phock Kin noted that there was a paradox on believe of democracy which according to him “Do we profess to believe in democracy or not; and if we do believe in democracy then is it right for us to use features or methods which we ourselves believe to be undemocratic?” This question was pondered as Tan Phock Kin could grasp some peculiarity and inconsistency of arguments among the MPs. Tan Phock Kin continued his speech referring to Sir Gerald Templer statement that “terrorism could only be eradicated by winning the hearts and minds of the people, and also with the promise that Malaya would be given freedom”. Addition to that, Tan Phock Kin convinced the floor that the Bill was only an instrument of the government to curb any movements against its ruling or to ‘silent’ the oppositions. He closed his speech by being sarcastic hoping that the government will not use any undemocratic means to preserve democracy which in the end will only preserve the ruling government.

The debates continued with the 20th speaker in-turn from UMNO, Abdul Ghani Ishak. For the sake of country’s development, Abdul Ghani Ishak (UMNO/Malacca Utara) without doubt supported the Bill. He told the floor that the government need such a Bill in order to preserve peace and fight any traitors from inside and outside the country. Without hesitation also, Abdul Ghani convinced the floor that the Alliance prepared the Bill as a means to protect the citizens and not of the use to fight the oppositions. Being the only MP which had thanked the government on behalf of his constituency (North Malacca), Abdul Ghani Ishak ended his speech with the hope to live in a peaceful and developed country.

Another vocal MP from the House was Suleiman Abdul Rahman from UMNO. Suleiman started his speech by replying arguments made by one MP to another starting from the PMIP, PAN, PPP dan finally the SF. Suleiman (UMNO/Muar Selatan) stated to the floor that he could understand why the PMIP would support the Bill provided with some amendments on certain clauses. PMIP made clear stance and Suleiman was glad that the PMIP realized the intentions

and aims of the Bill. Suleiman also stated that he understood well when Onn Ja'afar from PAN supported the Bill also with certain amendments. Onn Ja'afar was an experienced politician and his proficiency was valuable to the country. On the other hand, Suleiman made strong criticisms on responding to the oppositions, PPP and SF parties. According to Suleiman, PPP was making an inconsistent remarks towards the Alliance as on one hand they agreed that it was a democratic government, but accusing the government was adopting an undemocratic methods. Next, Suleiman shifted to the SF whereby he contended that the SF was trying to interpret the sections of the Bill with intention for it to look ridiculous. The examples quoted by the SF was also not applicable for instance like the 'bird-watching' association was exaggerated. Suleiman also understood that another SF member Ahmad Boestamam was speaking on his previous experience as detainee to use against the Bill. Additionally, Suleiman kept replying to each of the SF members namely Karam Singh (on claiming the Alliance government was undemocratic) and V. David (on being emotional and temper while arguing the Bill). While responding to a charge by V. David on a letter sent by detainee, Suleiman was interrupted by V. David to agree on the charge. At the point when V. David raised, the Chairperson interrupted him **“When you stand up, you must say whether you are standing up on a point of information, clarification or explanation, or on a point of order” (Interruption 17)**. Promptly, V. David answered the Chairperson that it was on a point of clarification. The Chairperson interrupted him again with a longer respond **“Wait a minute. I have not finished yet. You can only rise in this House on two points—one is on a point of information, clarification or explanation and the other is on a point of order. If you rise on a point of order, you must quote under what Standing Order you are interrupting, in which case the Member who is speaking must sit down, and I think I need not have to explain this. But I have to explain in the case of an explanation. When you rise on a point of explanation, then it is up to the Member whether to give way or not. If he does not give way, you cannot force him to sit down. I think that is quite clear. This is the second time that I have to say this to you” (Interruption 18)**. Suleiman replied to the Chairperson that he was answering because V. David asked. The Chairperson then interrupted **“Do not make it too long” (Interruption 19)**. Suleiman insisted that if the Chairperson did not allow to answer, he will withdraw. The Chairperson replied **“This has nothing to do with this Bill as far as I can see. Make your reply as short as possible” (Interruption 20)**. Suleiman informed the Chairperson that it was not easy to answer the Balan's letter issue in short. He told the floor that V. David whom had visited Balan quite often did not submit any formal letter for application to visit Balan. Suleiman offered his best on being fair towards any application for

visiting detainees based on its merit. Suleiman concluded his speech with making significant remark to the floor that liberty and freedom should have its limitations if the rule of law must be obtained.

The next speaker in-turn was Minister of External Affairs, Ismail Abdul Rahman from UMNO. Ismail (UMNO/Johore Timor) did not had much argument on the Bill that he made only general remarks responding objections from the oppositions. From the speeches of the SF and PPP, Ismail sarcastically told the floor that all the fear of the Bill were just the oppositions being fear of themselves. According to him, the oppositions was making false claims when they spoke about the denial of freedom of speech. Ismail strongly convinced fellow members that if the claims were true, the oppositions would not be in the parliament speaking freely against the government. In addition, the Bill was also safeguarded by the public opinion and free election. Anytime when the people feel an undemocratic government ruling, they can make 'change' through media or election. Ismail concluded his speech with convincing the floor that the democracy practice in Malaya was on its track and progressing good.

The debates continued with another Alliance member from MIC, V. T. Sambanthan whom had supported the Bill and responded generally on the objections made by the oppositions. According to V. T. Sambanthan (Alliance/MIC/Sungei Siput), the opposition was emotional while discussing the Bill by using improper languages and irrational charges. The objections made were unacceptable including i) revise judge appointment, and ii) the Bill was a political moves that it abuse the term 'ill will' to bridling the press. The charges made that the Bill deprived liberty was not true that no factual presented upon the debates. Most claims were just exaggerations like one example from Clause 8 that it did not mentioned as such to detain even when a person joined a bird association. The random claim made by the opposition that the country will become a police state was impossible as the government had a 'check-and-balance' system. V. T. Sambanthan convinced the floor that there was never a complete liberty but the government of the day offered a fair living and without fear to any internal or external threats. The best example adopted was India to practicing democracy for danger lurking at every corner of the newly independent country. Before he ended his speech, V. T. Sambanthan pledged the opposition MPs to stand together with the government and cited Mahatma Ghandi on the rights of the citizens which should be deserved and preserved by all.

Another speaker in-turn who supported the Bill with short and precise words was Tan Siew Sin from the MCA. Tan Siew Sin (Alliance/MCA/Malacca Tengah) started his speech with making remarks towards the exaggerated criticisms by the oppositions. For he did not have any intention to prolong the objections made, Tan Siew Sin made logical claims why the Bill was in need of a nation to face internal and external communist threat. The oppositions kept using deprived of human rights as excuse for not supporting the Bill which was just clichés. Tan Siew Sin concluded his points with pledging the SF to come up with a more acceptable excuse if they were to reject the debated Bill.

It was nearly at the end of the debate. There were only two speakers left. The next speaker in-turn was Liu Yoong Peng. Sitting on opposition chair of the SF, Liu Yoon Peng was bold and clear on his stand to reject the Bill. Liu Yoong Peng (SF/Rawang) contended that there were no true democracy practiced as the government was ongoing process pre-independence and the empowerment of police might change the mind-set of people at rural area on supporting the communist movements. Liu Yoong Peng did not agree when one of the Minister alleged that the opposition fear the government. According to him, the opposition was concerning on the situation when the Bill was to be accepted as there will be no freedom of press. The Chairperson interrupted when Azahari Ibrahim (UMNO/Kubang Pasu Darat) stood up to remind on the Standing Order, asking Azahari **“What is the point of order?” (Interruption 21)**. Azahari Ibrahim claimed that Liu Yoong Peng was reading his speech which was against the Standing Order. The Chairperson replied to him **“He is not reading. Please proceed” (Interruption 22)**. Liu Yoong Peng responded that he was holding on his notes when the Chairperson interrupted him again **“You can glance at your notes, but don’t lift up your notes, so long as it is on the table it is alright” (Interruption 23)**. Liu Yoong Peng resumed his speech on the stricken freedom of press that not allowed to publish any statements by the oppositions or giving any prominence to them. It was not only that, Liu Yoong Peng also alleged that the election was not free as claimed by the government. He was referring the case of one election which he claimed the government might have influenced the police officers to intervene on a riots happened during election. For Liu Yoong Peng, the involvement of higher authority on this occasion was one example on deprived of public opinion when the police chose to be partial towards the ruling government when performing their duty.

Finally, the last speaker for the second reading of the Bill was Cheah Theam Swee from the Alliance, MCA. Cheah Theam Swee (Alliance/MCA/Bukit Bintang) started his speech by

responding to the oppositions' allegations towards the government and exaggerations made with irrational examples. When Cheah Theam Swee was trying to explain on the Ampang election incidents but he was interrupted by D.R. Seenivasagam (PPP/Ipoh) that the issue was sub-judice and not allowed to be brought during debates. The Chairperson responded **“I rule that this matter is sub judice and cannot be discussed here” (Interruption 24)**. Cheah Theam Swee told the Chairperson that the issue was brought earlier by another member but he was denied by the Chairperson with a strong order **“You must obey my ruling; you cannot argue with my ruling. Do not touch on this matter in this House” (Interruption 25)**. Cheah Theam Swee accepted the order but Tan Siew Sin (Alliance/MCA/Malacca Tengah) stood up and reminded the floor that the issue which was brought earlier should also be deleted. The Chairperson had to interrupt with **“I did not know at that time that this matter was sub judice” (Interruption 26)**. There were a small argument whether or not the member had mentioned specific name of place to refer to, but in the end the Chairperson had to interrupt again **“Well, if he has mentioned Ampang, that will be deleted from the records. Please proceed” (Interruption 27)**. But not long after Cheah Theam Swee resumed on the points of riots happened during election, Karam Singh barged in that he was trying to point on the issue again. The Chairperson convinced the floor that he did not do as alleged **“He did not mention that” (Interruption 28)**. Cheah Theam Swee confirmed the actions but the Chairperson interrupted him again **“But make it as short as possible on those incidents. We are dealing with the second reading of the Bill and I want Honourable Members to confine themselves to this Bill as much as possible” (Interruption 29)**. Maybe Cheah Theam Swee was not satisfied with the ruling, he responded to the Chairperson that he was just trying to comment on the issue of free election, but the Chairperson could not hear him prolong the justification, he ordered Cheah Theam Swee **“Yes, make it as short as possible” (Interruption 30)**. Cheah Theam Swee proceed with his final point that the example used by MP from Rawang was unacceptable and not a genuine case to be brought in the House.

The session on 22nd June 1960 continued with a replying session from the authorized mover of the Bill, the Deputy Prime Minister, Abdul Razak Hussein. This part of the debates is not analyzed as the study focused only the interruption by the Chairperson. In total, the two days debate involved 26 MPs namely; 10 from UMNO, 2 from MCA, 1 from MIC, 2 from PMIP, 6 from SF, 3 from PPP, 1 from PAN and 1 from IND (details of affiliation see Table 5.1). The two days debates incurred 30 interruptions by the Chairperson. Interruptions occurred at different phases and speakers of the debates. Some were in the middle of the debates, some

were towards different party members and some were because interruptions made by other MPs which the Chairperson had to barged in.

4.1.2 Security Offences (Special Measures) Bill 2012

Security Offences (Special Measures) Bill (after this will refer as SOSMA) was introduced in the *Dewan Rakyat* by Mohd. Najib Abdul Razak, the 6th Prime Minister of Malaysia. The Bill was brought three times in the *Dewan Rakyat*, specifically for the first reading on 10th April 2012, second reading was on the 16th April 2012 and the third reading was on 17th April 2012. The second reading (debate) which was conducted on 16th April 2012 was chosen for analysis. The second reading involved rigorous and aggressive participations from various parties and three Speakers or Chairpersons namely; Pandikar Amin Mulia, Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaffar and Ronald Kiandee. The Bill is to replace the ISA which provide special measures pertinent to security offenses for maintaining public order and security and any other related matters. The second reading involved 222 members from 18 different parties (see Table 4.2 for list of MPs involved in debate on 16th April 2012). When it was first introduced, there were two main fears about the Bill which were i) on the misuse of the power granted to the Home Minister and the police ii) on freedom of speech, especially for those who would against the government. Further elaborations on debates of the SOSMA are as follows.

Mohd. Najib Abdul Razak (UMNO/Pekan) introduce the Bill in the second reading in *Dewan Rakyat* as a Bill to replace the repealed Internal Security Act 1960 but not limited to the detention of the detained person unless it was annulled by the Home Minister. The Bill was formed under the spirit of Article 149 of the Malaysian Constitution (Legislation against subversive acts and acts endanger public order) contained eight Parts and 32 Sections. This Bill was specifically under the National Political Transformation Program (Program Transformasi Politik Negara) which would improve the state of human rights and democracy in Malaysia. Mohd. Najib Abdul Razak presented only the significant parts of the Bill that he thought might be contentious to the audience. He focused on the safe guards and trials so to elaborate on significant parts of the sub-sections. His proposal was seconded by the Deputy Prime Minister Muhyiddin Mohd. Yassin.

The debate resumed soon after that and it was Anwar Ibrahim's floor. Being the top-gun of the opposition in the House, Anwar Ibrahim (PKR/Permatang Pauh) did not give a smooth path

for the government on the newly introduced Bill. He opened up the cases of previous ISA which detained political activists and violated freedom of rights of the people. Not long after Anwar started his speech, he was interrupted by an independent MP, N. Gopalakrishnan from Padang Serai. N. Gopalakrishnan (IND/Padang Serai) was asking a way several times from Anwar Ibrahim but rejected by saying “I do not allow”. After listening the respond from Anwar, the Chairperson had to interrupt N. Gopalakrishnan with “Yang Berhormat Padang Serai, Yang Berhormat Permatang Pauh tidak bagi laluan, sila duduk Yang Berhormat” **“Honourable Padang Serai, he is not giving any way, please sit Sir” (Interruption 1)**. N. Gopalakrishnan did not stop there. He made attempts to gain attention and the Chairperson had to remind him “Yang Berhormat Padang Serai, Ahli Yang Berhormat Permatang Pauh tidak membenarkan untuk mencelah” **“Honourable Padang Serai, he is not giving permission to interrupt” (Interruption 2)**. Finally, the Chairperson had to give N. Gopalakrishnan a way as he was mentioning on the Standing Order. The Chairperson made a rule “Yang Berhormat Permatang Pauh duduk sekejap. Ahli Yang Berhormat Padang Serai, okey bangkitkan Peraturan Mesyuarat dengan baik. Jangan menggunakan peraturan mesyuarat semata-mata untuk mengganggu perbahasan. Sila saya mahu dengar Yang Berhormat” **“Honourable Permatang Pauh, please have a sit for a while, Honourable Padang Serai, please read the Meeting Rules kindly. Do not use it for the sake of hassling the debate. Please, I want to hear it” (Interruption 3)**. N. Gopalakrishnan read on the Standing Order which requested Anwar Ibrahim to apologize and withdraw his remarks on accusing him as impolite and being paid [by someone to interrupt] during the session. The Chairperson did not rule anything but instead he thanked N. Gopalakrishnan and asked Anwar to proceed “Terima kasih Yang Berhormat. Sila” **“Thank you Honourable Sir. Proceed” (Interruption 4)**. Anwar Ibrahim did not want to miss any so he resumed critics on the methods and mechanisms of the proposed Bill. According to Anwar, most countries which implemented similar Act as SOSMA was meant to penalized innocent people and groups which against the government like in the United Kingdom on the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Egypt on the Ikhwan Movement. Anwar also critised on the overtly actions use under the ISA (like the misuse of power by the Police or Home Minister) which he worried could be happening to SOSMA. He suggested that the Special Force to scrutinize on the penalty for wrongdoings or misuse of power. Anwar told the floor that the Prime Minister could not even justified the 10,000 detainees under the ISA were all relevant and guilty. To this part of his speech, Anwar heard the floor was outburst and he tried to calm the MPs down “Dengarlah dulu” “Please listen” The Chairperson also had to interrupt at this point “Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat, sudahlah ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat” **“Honourable**

members, it is enough Sir. Proceed” (Interruption 5). Anwar Ibrahim reminded the floor that the establishment of SOSMA missed on taking into consideration on report done by the Human Rights Commission in 2003 on the Review of the Internal Security Act 1960. Anwar also emphasized on the unacceptable definition of terms proposed like ‘activity detrimental to Parliamentary democracy’ and ‘attempt to commit activity detrimental to Parliamentary democracy’. Anwar was making a reminder to the government, specifically the Barisan Nasional that they might want to endorse the Bill but bear in mind that they are not going to be in power for long. At this point of speech, Anwar was interrupted four times by Mohamad Haji Aziz (UMNO/Sri Gading). This was followed by an interruption by Ismail Mohamed Said (UMNO/Kuala Krau). The Chairperson did not take long to interrupt the session by “Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat, biar gangguan itu nanti reserve kan sewaktu kempen pilihanraya. Sila” **“Honourable members, please reserve the interruption during election campaign. Proceed” (Interruption 6).** Succinctly, Anwar resumed his speech on mentioning nine critical points from the proposed Bill that needs attention namely Part 4 on the empowerment of the police, Part 5 on the access of detainees to lawyer, Part 6 on the police’s authority to hijack communication, Part 8 on the sensitive information which related to the trials in court, Part 11 that the court has no authority to make order against the plaintiff to submit any sensitive information upon the court, Section 7 on the contradict on the evidence procedure with the Evidence Act 1950, Part 26 on the alluring a conspiracy hearing when it involves the evidence exceptions from criminal colleagues or provocation agents, Part 30 on the extension of detention can be done by the plaintiff in the court by simple request as “Your Honour, I request to again be detained”, and finally Part 31 that the Minister could proposed other related legislations especially on the safe guards of the Bill. By referring to all his criticisms, Anwar stood against SOSMA that it contained many contradict terms and legislations of the Constitution.

The debate then continued with the third MP in-turn, Khairy Jamaluddin from the UMNO. It is to note that during Khairy Jamaluddin’s turn, the Chairperson changed turn from Pandikar Amin to Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaafar starting from Interruption 15 onwards. Being a young MP who graduated from an established University of Oxford, Khairy Jamaluddin (UMNO/Rembau) played great role and at times made direct critics to the oppositions. Khairy started his speech by praising the Prime Minister for a great move on abolishing the ISA and introducing SOSMA. Khairy stated clearly on the loose argument by Anwar Ibrahim on opposing SOSMA and also the consequences if the opposition took over the government with

decisions as such. At his early speech, Khairy was interrupted by the Chairperson after he was interfered by N. Gobalakrishnan (IND/Padang Serai), Nurul Izzah Anwar (PKR/Lembah Pantai), Ismail Abdul Mutalib (UMNO/Maran) and Dzulkefly Ahmad (PAS/Kuala Selangor). The Chairperson interrupted when he saw the uncontrolled situation and said ‘Yang Berhormat, bergilir-gilir’ **“Honourable members, take turns” (Interruption 7)**. When Khairy tried to resume his speech, the Chairperson interrupted again with ‘Kita tidak dengar siapa yang berhujah’ **“We do not hear who is debating” (Interruption 8)**. The situation drag on and getting worst when another two MPs asked for a way, namely Idris Haron (UMNO/Tangga Batu) and Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff (PKR/Balik Pulau). This caused another interruption by the Chairperson with ‘Ahli Yang Berhormat, ahli Yang Berhormat jimatkan masa ahli Yang Berhormat, jangan ganggu’ **“Honourable members, honourable members consume time, honourable members, do not interrupt” (Interruption 9)**. Khairy Jamaluddin tried his best to avoid the interruption from any MP, yet he failed to. He resumed speaking on comparing the detention mechanism used in the United Kingdom. The House was in clamour when Zulkifli Noordin (UMNO/Kulim Bandar Baharu) stood up and made direct slander to Anwar Ibrahim. Another two MPs (Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff (PKR/Balik Pulau) and Ismail Mohamed Said (UMNO/Kuala Krau) stood to up with noisy utterances which the Chairperson had to say ‘Jimatkan masa ahli Yang Berhormat’ **“Consume [the] time Honourable members” (Interruption 10)**. It was hard to control the situation even though the Chairperson made a reminder to consume the time. Zulkifli Noordin and Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff kept on making noise and spoke without permission. Up to this point, the Chairperson again had to interrupt at least four times specifically asking them to sit down ‘Ahli Yang Berhormat, Ahli Yang Berhormat, duduklah Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable members, honourable members [have a] sit Your Honour” (Interruption 11)**, ‘Duduk dahulu Yang Berhormat Rembau, duduk. Ahli Yang Berhormat duduk, Yang Berhormat Kulim Bandar Baharu, duduk dahulu Yang Berhormat’ **“Have a sit Honourable Rembau, sit. Honourable members [have a] sit. Honourable member Kulim Bandar Baharu, have a sit Your Honour” (Interruption 12)**, ‘Yang Berhormat, duduk dahulu Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable members, have a sit Your Honour” (Interruption 13)**, and ‘Duduklah Yang Berhormat. Ahli Yang Berhormat. Ahli Yang Berhormat, saya benarkan berbahas. Saya benarkan. Saya dengar dengan sabar, tetapi ingat peraturan mesyuarat. Jangan apabila berhujah, menyinggung perasaan kawan sebelah, jangan. Keluarkan fakta, biar yang menjawab itu jawab juga dengan fakta. Jangan apabila ada Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri, semua memberi lihat watak masing-masing. Sila Yang Berhormat Rembau, teruskan’ **“Have a sit Your Honour. Honourable members.**

Honourable members, I allowed you to debate. I allowed. I listened with patience, yet please remember the Meeting Rules (Standing Order). Do not offend others while debating. Don't. Speak with facts, and let the response with facts as well. Don't when only there is Honourable Prime Minister (present), everybody is showing their characters. Please proceed Honourable Rembau” (Interruption 14). Not long after, the Chairperson shifted from Pandikar Amin to Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaafar. The floor was in control with some interruptions by other MPs until when Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff asked for clarification but was rejected by Khairy Jamaluddin. The Chairperson had to interrupt with ‘Okey, duduk Yang Berhormat’ **“Okey, have a sit Your Honour” (Interruption 15)** and repeated his order again to Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff for being stubborn ‘Yang Berhormat Balik Pulau, Yang Berhormat Rembau **“Honourable Rembau you may sit as well. Honourable Rembau have a sit first. Honourable Rembau” (Interruption 16).**

It was not easy for the Chairperson to conduct the session when an MP refuse to obey the ruling. The Chairperson had to specifically emphasize on his order with longer justification with ‘Yang Berhormat Balik Pulau, Yang Berhormat Rembau duduk dahulu sekejap. Terima kasih Yang Berhormat. Saya sahaja tidak bercakap Yang Berhormat, 10 minit Tarik nafas dahulu. Ini kerana saya lihat *Dewan* bila kita bersidang, buku peraturan kita simpan dalam tong sampah.... [*Dewan* riuh] Apabila masalah berlaku, baru kita panggil “Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tolong beritahu dia ini salah cakap” Akan tetapi, apabila saya cakap orang tidak dengar. Biarlah cakap jadi Yang Berhormat minta tolonglah *Dewan* ini kebebasan yang dibagi dalam *Dewan* ini bukan untuk sembarangan, ikut peraturan juga. Kalau kita tidak layak jagakan peraturan sedikit supaya kita tunjuk dengan masyarakat di luar bahawa kita layak menerima kebebasan. Sila Yang Berhormat Rembau’ **“Honourale Balik Pulau, Honourable Rembau have a sit first for a while. Thank you Your Honour. I purposely do not speak Your Honour, 10 minutes breathing in first. It is because when I observe the whole floor while debating, the ruling book (Standing Order) is kept in the dustbin. When there is problem, then we call “Mr. Speaker, please tell that he spoke wrongly” But when I speak, you do not listened. Walk the talk Your Honour please let the freedom given to the floor in the House is not a random, it is by rule. If we ourselves do not protect the rules in the House, how can we give an open freedom to the people outside the House and how will it look like if there is none government agency to protect the freedom. Law should be protected. Therefore, I apologize of saying like that. Please protect/follow the rules in the House so that we can show to the outside that we are qualified to receiving freedom. Please proceed**

Honourable Rembau” (Interruption 17). The floor returned to Khairy Jamaluddin without interference from the Chairperson. Khairy managed to handle some interruptions by other MPs. Yet, he lost control again when Khalid Abdul Samad stood up and argued on the enforcement of the ISA. The Chairperson had to interrupt with ‘Yang Berhormat, Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable members, Honourable members” (Interruption 18).** Not long after that, the Chairperson made seven interruptions with sequence with Khairy Jamaluddin that other MPs should respect his turn. The Chairperson told the floor ‘Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable members” (Interruption 19),** ‘Yang Berhormat saya memperingatkan peraturan mesyuarat sahaja Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable members, I am just reminding the meeting rules (Standing Order)” (Interruption 20),** ‘Kalau seorang yang bercakap yang lain duduk, itu sahaja’ **“When someone is giving speech, the rest [should] sit. That is all” (Interruption 21),** ‘Oleh kerana saya sikit sahaja Yang Berhormat’ **“Because it was me, so a bit only Your Honour” (Interruption 22),** ‘Dalam keadaan demokrasi mana pun Yang Berhormat ada peraturan-peraturan dan undang-undang tertentu yang perlu dikuatkuasakan termasuk dalam *Dewan* ini. Sila Yang Berhormat Rembau. Siapa yang minta berdiri itu, Yang Berhormat Rembau kata okey, Yang Berhormat baru boleh bercakap’ **“Your Honour, in any situation of democracy there will be certain rules and laws which need to be enforced including the one in this House. Please proceed Honourable Rembau. Anyone who stand up, when only Honourable Rembau said yes, then you may speak up” (Interruption 23),** ‘Itu peraturan 37. Jelas. Kalau kita di sini tidak boleh ikut perundangan, jadi macam mana rakyat di luar hendak ikut undang-undang?’ **“That is Rule 43. Crystal clear. If we here do not follow the law, how are the people would follow the law?” (Interruption 24),** ‘Jadi mintalah. Sila Yang Berhormat Rembau’ **“So, ask for it. Please proceed Honourable Rembau” (Interruption 25).** This ruling was the last interruption by the Chairperson during Khairy Jamaluddin’s turn. As a wrap and second the motion on SOSMA, Khairy mentioned on Abraham Lincoln’s approached during civil war in America in 1861 by suspending the habeas corpus in order to maintain peace.

The fourth speaker of the day was Lim Guan Eng from DAP. His turn was almost smooth from the start. Lim Guan Eng (DAP/Bagan) only received one interruption from Khalid Abdul Samad who asked on the idea to bring SOSMA for a debate in PSC. Being as an ex-detainee of the ISA, Lim Guan Eng told his sour memories during detention.

An independent MP Ibrahim Ali stood up as the fifth speaker to convey his speech on SOSMA. In contrast to Lim Guan Eng and while still supporting the SOSMA, Ibrahim Ali (IND/Pasir Mas) shared his experiences while being detained under the ISA. The Chairperson made his first interruption to Ibrahim Ali in order to remind him that the session shall to be continued in the afternoon with ‘Yang Berhormat, sambung tengahari Yang Berhormat...’ **“Your Honour, continue in the afternoon Your Honour” (Interruption 26)**. During lunch break, Ronald Kiandee replaced Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaafar to chair the continuing session. The following interruptions made specifically to Khalid Samad (PAS/Shah Alam) in which he did not respect orders from the Chairperson ‘‘Tidak bagi jalan, duduk’ **“Not giving a way, sit” (Interruption 27)**. Khalid Samad stood up to ask for a way but was rejected from Ibrahim Ali. Due to rejections, Khalid Samad continuously spoke without permission until the Chairperson asked him to sit for three times with ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam, duduk Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Shah Alam, sit Your Honour” (Interruption 28)**, ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam, duduk’ **“Honourable Shah Alam, sit” (Interruption 29)**, and ‘Duduk Yang Berhormat Shah Alam’ **“Sit Honourable Shah Alam” (Interruption 30)**. Interruptions by Khalid Samad did not end there, but Ibrahim Ali (IND/Pasir Mas) successfully managed his floor. Ibrahim Ali continued on speaking his stance that the government should not be apologetic by obeying the popular demand on human rights issues instead to focus on the majority interests. Not long before his turn ended, Ibrahim Ali also mentioned on an occasion where an MP (Chua Tian Chang) who had bitten an officer’s ear can move to other country if he does not like Malaysia. Chua Tian Chang (PKR/Batu) stood up to remind on the Standing Order to not insulting any members of the Parliament. But his request was rejected by the Chairperson with ‘Dah nak habis Yang Berhormat’ **“It is almost finish Your Honour” (Interruption 31)**. The Chairperson did not entertained Chua Tian Chang request while Ibrahim Ali took the advantage to wrap up his speech and justified his actions towards Chua Tian Chang.

The debate continued with the sixth speaker of the day, Bung Mokhtar (UMNO/Kinabatangan). Bung Mokhtar’s turn was quite a mess, often interruptions by the Chairperson due massive interferences by other MPs namely Khalid Samad (PAS/Shah Alam) and Zulkifli Nordin (UMNO/Kulim-Bandar Baharu). There were also some interruptions by the Chairperson made to Dzulkefly Ahmad (PAS/Kuala Selangor), Tang Seng Giaw (DAP/Kepong) and Liang Teck Meng (GERAKAN-BN). At the early stage of his speech, Khalid Samad already requested for a way to Bung Mokhtar but was rejected. Khalid Samad stood up and probably Bung Mokhtar did not notice and the Chairperson asked ‘Hendak bagi jalan Yang Berhormat’ **“Would you**

give a way Your Honour” (Interruption 32). Starting from this rejection, Khalid Samad kept on talking without permission until the Chairperson had to make eight orders separately for him to sit, remind and notify as follows ‘Tidak bagi jalan Yang Berhormat’ **“Not giving a way Your Honour” (Interruption 33)**, ‘Duduk Yang Berhormat’ **“Sit Your Honour” (Interruption 34)**, ‘Yang Berhormat Kinabatangan tidak bagi jalan Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Kinabatangan not giving a way Your Honour” (Interruption 35)**, ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam’ **“Honourable Shah Alam” (Interruption 36)**, ‘Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour” (Interruption 37)**, ‘Yang Berhormat dalam *Dewan* ini kalau hendak mencelah kena minta izin Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour in this House you need to ask for permission if you are to interrupt” (Interruption 38)**, ‘Dia tidak bagilah’ **“He is not giving” (Interruption 39)**, and finally ‘Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour” (Interruption 40).** As the person who owned the floor, Bung Mokhtar tried a few times to gain back his control, but he was unfortunate. The session became worst when Zulkifli Nordin (Independent) interrupted and criticized Khalid Samad’s personal issues which related to his marriage. Khalid Samad and Zulkifli Nordin kept arguing each other that the Chairperson interrupted not less than seventeen times to them. At the end of the argument, Dzulkefly Ahmad (PAS) also tried to convince the irrational argument from Zulkifli Nordin. During this situation, the Chairperson often asked them to sit, reminder on the Standing Order and also warning, as follows; ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam, Yang Berhormat Kulim Bandar Baharu’ **“Honourable Shah Alam. Honourable Kulim Bandar Baharu” (Interruption 41)**, ‘Yang Berhormat Kulim Bandar Baharu, Yang Berhormat Shah Alam. Duduk Yang Berhormat. Biar Yang Berhormat Kinabatangan habiskan Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Kulim Bandar Baharu, Honourable Shah Alam. Sit Your Honour. Let Honourable Kinabatangan finish [his speech] Your Honour” (Interruption 42)**, ‘Ya, Yang Berhormat Kinabatangan’ **“Yes, Honourable Kinabatangan” (Interruption 43)**, ‘Yang Berhormat Kulim Bandar Baharu. Duduk Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Kulim Bandar Baharu. Sit Your Honour” (Interruption 44)**, ‘Duduk Yang Berhormat’ **“Sit Your Honour” (Interruption 45)**, ‘Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat duduk Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable members sit Your Honour” (Interruption 46)**, ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam’ **“Honourable Shah Alam” (Interruption 47)**, ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam, Kulim Bandar Baharu duduklah Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Shah Alam, Kulim Bandar Baharu sit Your Honour” (Interruption 48)**, ‘Yang Berhormat Kinabatangan’ **“Honourable Kinabatangan” (Interruption 49)**, ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam duduk Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Shah Alam sit Your Honour” (Interruption 50)**, ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam, Yang Berhormat Kulim Bandar Baharu, duduklah Yang Berhormat...’

“Honourable Shah Alam, Honourable Kulim Bandar Baharu, sit Your Honour” (Interruption 51), ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam. Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat...’ **“Honourable Shah Alam, Honourable members”** (Interruption 52), ‘Yang Berhormat Kulim Bandar Baharu dan Yang Berhormat Shah Alam minta duduk Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Kulim Bandar Baharu and Honourable Shah Alam, have a sit Your Honour”** (Interruption 53), ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam, Yang Berhormat, Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat. Tidak boleh macam ini Yang Berhormat. Tolong, tolong ya tolong’ **“Honourable Shah Alam, Your Honour, Honourable members. This can’t be like this Your Honour. Please, please ok please”** (Interruption 54), ‘Yang Berhormat. Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour. Honourable members”** (Interruption 55), ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam. Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat yang bersorak itu kenapa ini, tabiat barukah? Kita tidak boleh bersorak dalam *Dewan*. Kita pakai tepuk meja, tidak boleh bersorak’ **“Honourable Shah Alam. Why are you Honourable members cheering, is that a new habit? We are not allowed to cheer in this House. We do knock tables but not cheer”** (Interruption 56). Soon after the order to not to cheer in the house and a warning to Dzulkefly Ahmad to not to define the Standing Order **“No. Don’t define the standing order because of something like this is not allowed”** (Interruption 57), the situation was under control again. Most of the interruptions made after that were only to notify Bung Mokhtar (person in-turn) that there were requests for giving way to speak or interrupt, as follows; ‘Hendak bagi jalan Yang Berhormat?’ **“Would you like to give a way Your Honour?”** (Interruption 58), and again he repeated ‘Hendak bagi jalan Yang Berhormat?’ **“Would you like to give a way Your Honour?”** (Interruption 59), ‘Dia minta jalanlah itu Yang Berhormat’ **“He is asking for a way Your Honour”** (Interruption 60), similar request like the previous one ‘Dia minta jalan Yang Berhormat’ **“He is asking for a way Your Honour”** (Interruption 61). After a few times been notified by the Chairperson, Bung Mokhtar could not neglect anymore requests so he asked whether Honourable Kepong would like a way. The Chairperson answered him ‘Ya’ **“Yes”** (Interruption 62). Bung Mokhtar gave the way to Tan Seng Giaw (DAP/Kepong) and notified him to stand and speak ‘Ya, silakan Yang Berhormat Kepong’ **“Yes, please proceed Honourable Kepong”** (Interruption 63). Tan Seng Giaw started his speech with a reminder to the house that when someone stood up, for sure they were asking for permission to speak. But, Bung Mokhtar told the floor it was not the case for Khalid Samad who was being impolite. The Chairperson asked Tan Seng Giaw to focus on his speech and interrupted him with ‘Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour”** (Interruption 64). Starting at this point, there was a sequence of conversation between the Chairperson and Tan Seng Giaw that to not to focus on the partition between

government and opposition when making remarks on the Standing Orders which should be abide by both. The Chairperson told Tan Seng Giaw ‘Yang itu untuk semua, sebelah sini pun kena juga’ **“That one is for all, this side as well” (Interruption 65)**, and when Tan Seng Giaw agreed with him, the Chairperson responded ‘Ya, kedua-dua belah’ **“Yes, both sides” (Interruption 66)**. Tan Seng Giaw’s stood up to emphasize on his statement that there should not be a problem if one has different political background, and also should not be put in the University of Kemunting (ISA Prison). Bung Mokhtar continued his speech but not for long. Khalid Samad again stood made noise until the Chairperson had to notify him as ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam bangun Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Shah Alam raise up Your Honour” (Interruption 67)**. When Bung Mokhtar gave the permission, the Chairperson made an order ‘Ya, silakan Yang Berhormat’ **“Yes, proceed Your Honour” (Interruption 68)**. Khalid Samad stood up just to clarify on political issues and to warn Bung Mokhtar to not to make accusations if he did not know the truth. Bung Mokhtar quickly thanked him as he wish to continue. Not long after that, another MP stood up and the Chairperson asked ‘Hendak bagi jalan Yang Berhormat’ **“Would you like to give a way Your Honour” (Interruption 69)**, but Bung Mokhtar would not allow. After that, Bung Mokhtar did manage to receive interruptions from other MPs without interruption from the Chairperson. But until Liang Teck Meng (GERAKAN-BN) stood up, the Chairperson had to notify Bung Mokhtar with ‘Yang Berhormat Simpang Renggam bangun Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Simpang Renggam, raise up Your Honour” (Interruption 70)**. While Liang Teck Meng trying to convey his message, Chua Tian Chang stood up, but he was reminded by the Chairperson to behave which politely said ‘Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour” (Interruption 71)**. It was near the end of Bung Mokhtar’s floor, and the content conveyed was not serious. Bung Mokhtar only explained on general issues like security of the people. Bung Mokhtar received last interruption from an MP Salleh Kalbi (UMNO/Silam) which the Chairperson notified him with ‘Yang Berhormat Silam bangun Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Silam, raise up Your Honour” (Interruption 72)**. Salleh Kalbi asked whether the genuine enforcement of the SOSMA would maintain the survival of the government and the society. Bung Mokhtar ended his turn by emphasizing his support for SOSMA and confident with the new Act, Malaysia will achieve at its best level of society development when compare to other countries in the world.

The debate session continued with an opposition Mahfuz Omar (PAS/Pokok Sena) as the seventh speaker. Mahfuz Omar’s turn was under control with minimum interruptions by the Chairperson and slower pace of interruptions by other MPs. At his early speech, Mahfuz Omar

took-off by making synical remarks to the person who introduced SOSMA as ‘not a father of a monkey’. His remark sounded controversial which might be referring to the Prime Minister until the Chairperson had to interrupt him with ‘Yang Berhormat, are you reflecting to the Prime Minister? Jangan buat begitu’ **“Your Honour, are you reflecting to the Prime Minister? Don’t do that” (Interruption 73)**. Mahfuz Omar denied that he was referring the statement to the Prime Minister, yet the Chairperson still warn him with **“Control yourself” (Interruption 74)**. The following interruptions during Mahfuz Omar’s turn were only to notify him of permission to speak by other MPs and also reminding of time. The Chairperson notified Mahfuz Omar when Khalid Samad stood up ‘Yang Berhormat Shah Alam bangun Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Shah Alam, raise up Your Honour” (Interruption 75)**, and followed by reminding the time ‘Yang Berhormat Pokok Sena 10 minit tinggal’ **“Honourable Pokok Sena, 10 minutes left” (Interruption 76)**. The Chairperson interrupted Mahfuz Omar twice on notifying him that Honourable Jasin was trying to gain permission to speak ‘Yang Berhormat Jasin bangun’ **“Honourable Jasin is arise” (Interruption 77)** and ‘Yang Berhormat Jasin bangun’ **“Honourable Jasin is arise” (Interruption 78)**. Mahfuz Omar was conveying his messages on the disagreement to SOSMA by making statements that the Act was meant to be an advantage to the government to control their opponents. The Chairperson interrupted him several times making reminder on the time ‘Yang Berhormat Pokok Sena, boleh gulung Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Pokok Sena, [you] may conclude Your Honour” (Interruption 79)**, ‘Habiskan Yang Berhormat’ **“Finish it Your Honour” (Interruption 80)**, ‘Yang Berhormat, Yang Berhormat Pasir Salak bangun tetapi masa Yang Berhormat sudah habis’ **“Your Honour, Honourable Pasir Salak raise up but your time is up” (Interruption 81)**. Mahfuz Omar kept on delivering his speech which made the Chairperson annoyed and said ‘Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour” (Interruption 82)**. Again, the Chairperson had to remind Mahfuz Omar twice before he ended that the time is up ‘Masa sudah habis Yang Berhormat’ **“Time is up Your Honour” (Interruption 83)**, ‘Masa sudah habis Yang Berhormat’ **“Time is up Your Honour” (Interruption 84)**. Mahfuz Omar ended his speech with supporting the idea on bringing SOSMA for review under Select Committee. The Chairperson warned him to not bad mouth other party which he referred to Mahfuz Omar previous statement on the abbreviation of UMNO stands for ‘United Myanmar-Nepal Organisation’. The Chairperson warned Mahfuz Omar ‘Yang Berhormat, kalau nanti ada Ahli Yang Berhormat UMNO berucap, kemudian diistilah lain nama parti Yang Berhormat nanti, macam mana? Tidak bolehlah sebut UMNO itu ada Nepal Yang Berhormat. It’s not right’ **“Your Honour, what if when Honourable UMNO member speak up and make names of**

your party? It is not allowed to mention UMNO has Nepal Your Honour. It's not right” (Interruption 85). Mahfuz Omar did not accept the warning and responded that the UMNO might be one day changed to a Myanmar-Nepal Organisation. To that extent, the Chairperson had to made firm that the action was unnecessary that he said ‘Ia mengundang’ **“It is alluring” (Interruption 86)** and may cause others to counter-back. Mahfuz Omar’s synical statement might allured others into argument that the Chairperson told him ‘Nanti daripada UMNO cakap, PAS itu dia ubah sedikit, DAP itu dia ubah sikit. Tidak eloklah’ **“Later the UMNO will say PAS changed a bit, DAP changed a bit. This is not good” (Interruption 87).** Mahfuz Omar was being ignorant and told the floor that he did not care if the opponents would counter back and the Chairperson told him ‘Sebenarnya tidak perlulah Yang Berhormat. Okey tidak perlu. Yang Berhormat Pasir Salak’ **“Actually, it is not necessary Your Honour. Okey, not necessary. Honourable Pasir Salak” (Interruption 88).** That was the end of Mahfuz Omar’s floor and the session continued with Tajuddin Abdul Rahman.

The eighth speaker of the day was Tajuddin Abdul Rahman, a member of UMNO from Pasir Salak. Tajuddin Abdul Rahman’s (UMNO/Pasir Salak) session received fifteen interruptions by the Chairperson which due to his own actions. There was only once that other MP (Tan Seng Giaw/DAP/Kepong) interrupted him and the Chairperson responded. During his session also, the Chairperson shifted from Ronald Kiandee to Pandikar Amin Mulia. Tajuddin Abdul Rahman made an opening speech by sharing his personal experience as an ex-detainee of the ISA. Not long after his introduction, some MPs (Mohd. Hatta Md. Ramli/PAS/Kuala Krai and Hamim bin Samuri/UMNO/Ledang) rose up and starting to talk without permission. The Chairperson interrupted N. Gobalakrishnan (IND/Padang Serai) with ‘Yang Berhormat Padang Serai’ **“Honourable Padang Serai” (Interruption 89).** It seems like N. Gobalakrishnan was speaking without permission but it was not recorded in the Hansard. Tajuddin Abdul Rahman continued on his experience under ISA detention and told the floor that as an UMNO member, he did not received any privileged during detention. Tan Seng Giaw (DAP/Kepong) stood up to request permission to talk, and the Chairperson notified him ‘Yang Berhormat Kepong bangun Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Kepong is arise Your Honour” (Interruption 90).** Unfortunate for Tan Seng Giaw, Tajuddin Abdul Rahman did not grant his request, so the Chairperson told him ‘Tidak bagi jalan Yang Berhormat’ **“Not giving a way Your Honour” (Interruption 91).** It was 4pm in the afternoon, and the Chairperson shifted from Ronald Kiandee to Pandikar Amin Mulia. Soon after he was settled on the chair, he was amused with Tajuddin Abdul Rahman’s attire and also speaking English while debating. Pandikar Amin

Mulia made a comment ‘Yang Berhormat Pasir Salak, Yang Berhormat Pasir Salak... [ketawa]’ **“Honourable Pasir Salak, Honourable Pasir Salak...” (Laughing) (Interruption 92)**. Tajuddin Abdul Rahman said ‘Yes?’ as to respond to him. The Chairperson told him ‘Yang Berhormat Pasir Salak, Yang Berhormat Pasir Salak, pakai Baju Kebangsaan berhujah dalam Bahasa Inggeris, makin menjadi... [ketawa] Sila teruskan, sila teruskan’ **“Honourable Pasir Salak, Honourable Pasir Salak, wearing national attire, debate in English, that is merely ... (laughing) Please proceed, please proceed” (Interruption 93)**. It was maybe the comments made by the Chairperson that was hilarious and the hall burst in laughter that the Chairperson had to control the session with ‘Exercise control sedikit... [ketawa]’ **“Exercise to control a bit... [laughter]” (Interruption 94)**. Not long after that, Tajuddin Abdul Rahman continued his speech but was interrupted by the Chairperson that he only had 5 minutes left ‘Ada lima minit lagi Yang Berhormat, lima minit’ **“[you] have five minutes Your Honour, five minutes” (Interruption 95)**. From then, Tajuddin Abdul Rahman aware that the Chairperson was focusing on him and he kept on mentioning ‘Tuan Yang di-Pertua’ in his speech. The continuing utterance made the Chairperson responded **“Go ahead, I am listening...” (Laughing) (Interruption 96)**. Other MPs was trying to interrupt Tajuddin Abdul Rahman but they were not entertained. The situation became worst that most of them were speaking without microphone. Other MPs was not happy when Tajuddin Abdul Rahman was sort of giving warning signal if the country do not have SOSMA, the condition in Malaysia will be worsen like what had happened recently in Egypt. The Hall was bustling until the Chairperson told them ‘Ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat, ahli-ahli Yang Berhormat lain, kalau pun hendak mencelah, celah dengan cara baik. Sila teruskan Yang Berhormat. Ada dua, tiga minit lagi Yang Berhormat. Sila.’ **“Honourable members, other Honourable members, if you are to interrupt, [please] do it nicely. Please proceed Your Honour. [You] have two, three minutes more Your Honour. Please” (Interruption 97)**. The Chairperson also noticed an MP from Parit Buntar, Mujahid Yusof Rawa had interrupted the session without asking permission ‘Hari ini kenapa Yang Berhormat Parit Buntar begitu?’ **“Why is it Honourable Parit Buntar [is acting] like that today?” (Interruption 98)**. Tajuddin Abdul Rahman (UMNO/Pasir Salak) was feeling uneasy with the continuous interruption and he asked whether he can resume on the speech. But not long after that, Tajuddin Abdul Rahman was asked to conclude and the Chairperson told him ‘Sila gulung Yang Berhormat’ **“Please conclude Your Honour” (Interruption 99)**. Instead of making conclusion, Tajuddin Abdul Rahman made a strong criticisms to the opposition for being meek when referring to an occasion that Chua Tian Chang (PKR/Batu) got caught by the police. The Chairperson had to interrupt him ‘Yang

Berhormat Pasir Salak’ **“Honourable Pasir Salak” (Interruption 100)** and again remind him the time is up ‘Yang Berhormat, Yang Berhormat. Boleh gulung Yang Berhormat. Masa, masa’ **“Your Honour, Your Honour. [You] may conclude Your Honour. Time, time” (Interruption 101)**. The Chairperson was aware at that time Tajuddin Abdul Rahman was not listening to his order until he had tell him ‘Yang Berhormat, Yang Berhormat. Can I disturb you by invoking the peraturan mesyuarat?’ **“Your Honour, Your Honour. Can I disturb you by invoking the meeting rules [Standing Order]?” (Interruption 102)**. Tajuddin Abdul Rahman responded to him and said ‘Yes’. The Chairperson told him ‘Masa Yang Berhormat’ **“[its] Time You Honour” (Interruption 103)**. With that direct order from the Chairperson, Tajuddin Abdul Rahman

The session continued with the ninth speaker of the day, an opposition PKR Saifuddin Nasution Ismail from Machang. During his speech, Saifuddin (PKR/Machang) received interruptions from MPs and he handled it all without any help from the Chairperson. The Chairperson was given time to listen and just supervising the session with grace.

The tenth speaker in-turn was a member of BN from the party PBB, Nancy Shukri from Batang Sadong, Sarawak. Nancy Shukri (PBB/Batang Sadong) stood with a firm stand and voice her support towards the newly introduced Bill. She told the floor that the opposition was finding excuses and showing disrespect of the effort on the newly introduced Bill by under estimating it. Nancy Shukri also took the opportunity to praise the Prime Minister for proposing such a Bill which would be benefited by all. During her speech, Nancy Shukri only received five interruptions by the Chairperson which mostly dedicated to another MP. Nancy Shukri successfully managed all interruptions by other MPs from Sri Gading (UMNO), Kota Belud (UMNO), Batu (PKR), Sungai Petani (PKR) and Padang Terap (PAS) and Arau (UMNO). When Nancy Shukri granted N. Gopalakrishnan (Independent) a way, he stood up and made a direct criticism towards the Chairperson for being unfair. The Chairperson tried to calm him down and made a remark ‘Yang Berhormat Padang Serai’ **“Honourable Padang Serai” (Interruption 104)**. The interruption was followed by sequence between the Chairperson and N. Gopalakrishnan. The Chairperson asked him ‘Apa benda yang saya tidak berlaku adil?’ **“What is that [you mean] I am not being fair?” (Interruption 105)** but he was not answered. Instead, N. Gopalakrishnan told the Chairperson to make himself aware of his own doings. The Chairperson could not help himself after listening to N. Gopalakrishnan (IND/Padang Serai) that he burst into laughter. Ahmad Kassim (PKR/Kuala Kedah) stood up to mention on the

Standing Order that N. Gobalakrishnan was acting prejudiced by saying the Chairperson was unfair. The Chairperson responded to Ahmad Kassim ‘Tidak apa, tidak apa Yang Berhormat Kuala Kedah. Tidak apa’ **“It is okay. It is okay Honourable Kuala Kedah. It is okay” (Interruption 106)**. Ahmad Kassim (PKR/Kuala Kedah) was not happy but the Chairperson ordered N. Gobalakrishnan to proceed ‘Sila, sila teruskan. Teruskan’ **“Please, please proceed. Proceed” (Interruption 107)**. Soon after No. Gobalakrishnan made his point, Nancy Shukri took the floor again. She focused on the advantages of SOSMA which are the exceptional conditions and leniency offered towards person under the age of 18 years old and women. Then, Ismail Kasim (UMNO/Arau) stood up to ask permission for a way but the Chairperson interrupted her ‘Respons kepada ini Yang Berhormat, kali penghabisan, because times...’ **“Response to this Your Honour, for the last time, because times...” (Interruption 108)**. Nancy Shukri followed as ordered and she did not take long to conclude her speech on supporting the Bill.

The business of the day was getting more attention from the House. The eleventh speaker in-turn was a member of DAP party, Tan Seng Giaw an opposition from Kepong. Being a medical doctor, Tan Seng Giaw’s speech was ingeniously well-structured which he was praised as being a ‘good opposition’ by an MP. Tan Seng Giaw also successfully managed his interruptions well which the Chairperson did not have to interrupt his turn. The only moment the Chairperson interrupted him when he asked about the time. The Chairperson answered him ‘Tujuh minit’ **“Seven minutes”** which for the purpose of this study, it does not count as an interruption.

Next, it was Abdul Rahman Dahlan (UMNO/Kota Belud) turn. Being as the twelfth speaker in-turn, Abdul Rahman Dahlan was good at managing interruption from fellow MPs. He started his speech with synical criticisms to the oppositions and specifically mentioned the opposition leader’s (Anwar Ibrahim/PKR/Permatang Pauh) speech which was not relevant to the point for upholding SOSMA as one of an important Bill. There were four MPs which was granted way to speak namely Chua Tian Chang (PKR/Batu), Ismail Kasim (UMNO/Arau), Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff (PKR/Balik Pulau) and Siti Zailah Mohd. Yusoff (PAS/Rantau Panjang). While Abdul Rahman Dahlan was about to answer Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff, he was interrupted by the Chairperson ‘Masa Yang Berhormat’ **“[It is] Time Your Honour” (Interruption 109)**. As one MP stood but yet to speak, the Chairperson had to remind again on the time ‘Saya memperingatkan masa sahaja Yang Berhormat’ **“I am just reminding you the time Your Honour” (Interruption 110)**. Abdul Rahman Dahlan proceed with his speech replying to

questions from MPs. But not long after that, he was interrupted by Siti Zailah Mohd. Yusoff. Siti Zailah Mohd. Yusoff spoke without granted permission from Abdul Rahman Dahlan. The Chairperson noticed that and had to remind him ‘Yang Berhormat jawab, gulung, ya silakan Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour answer, [then] conclude, yes please Your Honour” (Interruption 111)**. Abdul Rahman Dahlan did not take much time that he finally concluded his speech giving supportive remarks towards the Bill.

Another MP who did not receive much interruptions by the Chairperson was Azmin Ali (PKR/Gombak). Azmin Ali started his speech with supporting remarks on the abolishment of the ISA. Azmin Ali then criticized the newly introduced Bill which added another three components namely sabotage, espionage and member of an organized group. According to him, these new elements need to be aligned with an efficient and professional team of polices. During his speech, Azmin Ali only received four interruptions by fellow MPs namely Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff (PKR/Balik Pulau), Salahuddin Ayub (PAS/Kubang Kerian), Azan Ismail (PKR/Indera Mahkota) and Abdul Rahman Dahlan (UMNO/Kota Belud). When Azan Ismail requested for a way, the Chairperson reminded Azmin Ali that he had three minutes left ‘Yang Berhormat, kalua hendak bagi peluang itu ada tiga minit Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour, if you are about to give the chance [way] [you] have three minutes Your Honour” (Interruption 112)**. Azmin Ali responded to Azan Ismail question that the Bill was introduced as one of political agenda from the government. Not long after that, Abdul Rahman Dahlan stood up and he was granted to speak. Soon after Abdul Rahman Dahlan completed, Azmin Ali told the floor that he wanted to proceed with his speech and the Chairperson told ‘Ya, sila gulung Yang Berhormat’ **“Yes please conclude Your Honour” (Interruption 113)**. Azmin Ali showed a good example for a smooth presentation to the whole House with manageable interruptions by other MPs. He concluded his speech with rejection of the Bill that it may allure to malpractices and against the basic human rights.

The House continued with an UMNO MP, Ahmad Hamzah from Jasin, Melaka. Ahmad Hamzah (UMNO/Jasin) praised SOSMA that for him, it balances between national security and fundamental rights of the people. During his turn, Ahmad Hamzah received lively interruptions from MPs who wanted to ask permission to speak. Yet, Ahmad Hamzah only granted five interruptions which he successfully managed all without any help (interruption) from the Chairperson. Among MPs who were given chance to speak were Abdul Rahman Dahlan (UMNO/Kota Belud), Chua Tian Chang (PKR/Batu), Mahfuz Omar (PAS/Pokok

Sena), Ngeh Koo Ham (DAP/Beruas) dan Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff (PKR/Balik Pulau). While Ngeh Koo Ham asked for an explanation, the Chairperson reminded Ahmad Hamzah ‘Yang Berhormat Jasin boleh bagi tetapi ada dua minit Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Jasin [you] may give [way] but there is two minutes Your Honour” (Interruption 114)**. Not long after Ahmad Hamzah responded to Ngeh Koo Ham, he was again reminded by the Chairperson ‘Gulung Yang Berhormat’ **“Conclude Your Honour” (Interruption 115)**. Ahmad Hamzah did not take long after that he concluded with support towards the Bill.

The next speaker in-turn was Chua Soon Bui, an independent party SAPP from Tawau, Sabah. According to Chua Soon Bui (SAPP/Tawau), he agreed with the abolishment of the ISA and the effort for replacement with SOSMA. Yet, he questioned on most enforcement drafted under the Bill with direct examples of occasions in Sabah. Chua Soon Bui mentioned whether or not an action against His Majesty Yang Di-Pertuan Agong (YDPA) is equivalent to action against Yang Di-Pertua Negeri (YDPN) (any state which does not have King will be represented by the Yang Di-Pertua Negeri). He also questioned on the categorization of actions regarded as disloyal or discontented to the YDPA or YDPN. Chua Soon Bui did not take long to complete his speech as it was brief and succinct. During his turn, he did not encounter interruptions neither from fellow MP nor the Chairperson.

It was approaching 7pm in the evening but the House was still continuing its business. The sixteenth speaker of the day was P. Kamalanathan a/l Panchanathan a MIC member from Hulu Selangor. At the start of his speech, P. Kamalanathan (MIC/Hulu Selangor) was questioning the Ministry on certain aspects of the Bill that is the definition of ‘*dengan segera*’ “with urgency”, standard procedures on hijacking communications from other countries and age limit of detention for older people. As P. Kamalanathan did not speak long, he received only one interruption from Ismail Kasim (UMNO/Arau) and none from the Chairperson. After all of his pondering questions, P. Kamalanathan concluded his speech with supporting the Bill and criticized that the opposition was only ‘playing politics’ for rejecting it.

The session continued with Kamaruddin Jaffar, a PAS member from Tumpat, Kelantan. By sharing his experience as an ex-detainee of the ISA, Kamaruddin Jaffar was critical against the newly introduced Bill but supporting the abolishment of the ISA. According to him, the national security in Malaysia was at stake as there were many instances of racial tensions among ethnic. He convey a fair worryness of the situation in Malaysia that he would not want

it to be like in Thailand. During his speech, Kamaruddin Jaffar managed interruptions from five MPs namely Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd Yusoff (PKR/Balik Pulau), R. Sivarasa (PKR/Subang), Dzulkefly Ahmad (PAS/Kuala Selangor), Wan Abdul Rahim Wan Abdullah (PAS/Kota Bharu) and Ngeh Koo Ham (DAP/Beruas). When Dzulkefly Ahmad asked permission to speak, the Chairperson reminded Kamaruddin Jaffar that he had only two minutes left ‘Yang Berhormat, ada dua minit lagi Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour, there is still two minutes Your Honour” (Interruption 116)**. Soon after the reminder, Kamaruddin Jaffar did not take long to conclude his speech by proposing that the Bill will be under a Special Commission to be reviewed.

Then it was Mohamad Shahrum Osman, an UMNO member from Lipis, Pahang. Since earlier of his turn, Mohamad Shahrum Osman (UMNO/Lipis) received lively interruptions which sometimes he could not managed. In the meantime, the Chairperson shifted from Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaafar to Ronald Kiandee. Wan Abdul Rahim Wan Abdullah continuously interrupted him until the Chairperson had to ask ‘Yang Berhormat hendak bagi jalan Yang Berhormat?’ **“Your Honour, would you like to give a way?” (Interruption 117)**. Mohamad Shahrum Osman was reluctant but in the end he gave up because Wan Abdul Rahim Wan Abdullah kept standing and talking while he was giving speech. The Chairperson granted the way to him ‘Sila Yang Berhormat’ **“Proceed Your Honour” (Interruption 118)**. Not long after that, another MP requested to speak. The Chairperson notified Mohamad Shahrum Osman ‘Yang Berhormat Batu bangun Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Batu is arise Your Honour” (Interruption 119)**. Mohamad Shahrum Osman was being witty that he told the Chairperson that he gave the way as he do not want to be bitten (by the ear) by Chua Tian Chang. But when Chua Tian Chang kept on standing and making respond to the answers, the Chairperson reminded him ‘Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour” (Interruption 120)**, and again ‘Yang Berhormat Batu’ **“Honourable Batu...” (Interruption 121)**. Mohamad Shahrum Osman did not entertain the provocation and resume his talk by welcoming Tajuddin Abdul Rahman (UMNO/Pasir Salak) to speak. The Chairperson noted ‘Ya sila’ **“Yes proceed” (Interruption 122)** as to note that the floor belongs to another MP for a moment so Chua Tian Chang would stop his provocations. After responding to Tajuddin Abdul Rahman, Mohamad Shahrum Osman concluded his speech with support and suggestions for betterment of the Bill.

The debate continued with the nineteenth speaker in-turn, Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff, a PKR member from Balik Pulau, Pulau Pinang. Being a lawyer, Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff

(PKR/Balik Pulau) delivered his direct and succinct points to the floor. Almost more than 10 minutes, he was not interrupted by MPs. The floor was challenged by Abdul Rahman Dahlan (UMNO/Kota Belud) question. It did not end there, Abdul Rahman Dahlan kept hassling Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff which was against the standard procedure while debating. The Chairperson only interrupted the floor when he noticed Wan Abdul Rahim Wan Abdullah was holding a handphone during the session ‘Yang Berhormat, sebentar Yang Berhormat. Yang Berhormat Kota Bharu tidak boleh ambil video tanpa kebenaran Tuan Yang di-Pertua’ **“Your Honour, hold on Your Honour. Honourable Kota Bharu [you] can’t take [make] video without permission [from the] Speaker” (Interruption 123)**. Soon after that, Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff was about to resume his speech, but the Chairperson interrupted him ‘Yang Berhormat Balik Pulau boleh habiskan’ **“Honourable Balik Pulau [you] may conclude” (Interruption 124)**. The floor was unrest due to continuous interruption by Abdul Rahman Dahlan. Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff tried to avoid Abdul Rahman Dahlan until he also rejected Ismail Kasim (UMNO/Arau) request for a way. Even though the Chairperson noticed of actions by Abdul Rahman Dahlan, he did not interrupt on the actions, yet reminding Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff three times to complete his speech ‘Baik habiskan Yang Berhormat’ **“Alright, [you may] conclude Your Honour” (Interruption 125)**, ‘Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour...” (Interruption 126)** and finally ‘Habiskan’ **“Conclude” (Interruption 127)**. Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff concluded his speech with a remark towards the failure of the Prime Minister on convincing the floor that SOSMA was a real reform agenda.

The night was approaching and also the debate was still on going. It was a MP from GERAKAN (BN) Liang Teck Meng’s turn. Liang Teck Meng (GERAKAN/Simpang Renggam) started his speech with praises to the Prime Minister that had made his promises on abolishing the ISA. He continued with a direct comparison between the ISA and SOSMA with which SOSMA would be a better Act than the ISA. But not long after he continued his speech on the opposition’s support towards the human rights issue like same sex marriage, a few MPs stood up for a chance to speak, namely Ismail Kasim (BN/Arau) and Chua Tian Chang (PKR/Batu). The Chairperson had to notify ‘Hendak bagi jalan Yang Berhormat?’ **“[would you like to] give a way Your Honour?” (Interruption 128)**, and continued with ‘Yang Berhormat Arau’ **“Honourable Arau” (Interruption 129)** when he got a signal from Liang Teck Meng on the approval to speak. The Chairperson also had to remind other MPs to take their seat when he saw some of them are still standing ‘Yang Berhormat yang lain duduk Yang Berhormat’

“Other Honourable members sit Your Honour” (Interruption 130). Ismail Kasim was about to convey his messages but was interrupted by the Chairperson when Teresa Kok (DAP/ Seputeh) was talking without microphone but too loud as it could be heard by him ‘Yang Berhormat Seputeh suara macam microphone oh!’ **“Honourable Seputeh [your] voice is like microphone oh” (Interruption 131).** Liang Teck Meng was very lenient to other MPs that he was interrupted by several MPs at one time. After Ismail Kasim completed his message and asked for opinion on the security of multiracial issues in Malaysia, Liang Teck Meng was interrupted by Ngeh Koo Ham objected on the accusation that the opposition was asking for a supreme rights. Again, before Liang Teck Meng got the chance to answer, Khairy Jamaluddin (UMNO/ Rembau stood up and automatically the Chairperson noted ‘Ya sila’ **“Yes proceed” (Interruption 132).** Khairy Jamaluddin made his point on the correction of understanding on the category of crimes which not to be mistaken between ordinary crime and terrorism. Ismail Kasim (UMNO/ Arau) stood up again while Khairy Jamaluddin was yet to complete his speech and asked Liang Teck Meng’s consent to continue speaking. When looking at the peculiar rotation on MPs interruption, quickly the Chairperson asked ‘Yang Berhormat Simpang Renggam, hendak bagi lagi Yang Berhormat, Yang Berhormat Simpang Renggam? Ya Yang Berhormat Arau’ **“Honourable Simpang Renggam, [would you] give a way Your Honour, Honourable Simpang Renggam? Yes Honourable Arau” (Interruption 133).** The floor was really interesting at that time until it received more requests from MPs namely R. Sivarasa (Subang) and Abdul Rahman Dahlan (UMNO/ Kota Belud). Liang Teck Meng gave his consent to Abdul Rahman Dahlan (UMNO/Kota Belud) to convey his messages. Liang Teck Meng got his floor back on track and tried to focus on the responses towards the questions and opinions asked by other MP. But his intention was not smoothly done as Ngeh Koo Ham continuously interrupting him without any intention to ask for a way until the Chairperson had to remind him ‘Yang Berhormat, lepas ini berucap Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour, your turn is next Your Honour” (Interruption 134).** Another MP which showed interested to speak up was Teresa Kok (DAP/ Seputeh). She made attempt several times to ask for a way from Liang Teck Meng but was rejected. The Chairperson had to notified her a few times on the rejections ‘Tak bagi jalan Yang Berhormat’ **“Not giving a way Your Honour” (Interruption 135),** ‘Yang Berhormat Seputeh, duduk Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Seputeh, sit Your Honour” (Interruption 136)** and finally with a bit of anger ‘Tak bagilah’ **“Not giving [a way]” (Interruption 137).** Liang Teck Meng continued his speech towards the end, but he gave another way to Hamim Samuri (UMNO/ Ledang) a chance to speak. Finally, he ended with a support towards the Act.

Next speaker in-turn was Ngeh Koo Ham an opposition DAP from Beruas, Perak. Ngeh Koo Ham had a succinct and compact script for debate as he spoke with complete articles for references and also well-structured accordingly to the issues and themes arise under SOSMA. His turn was only interrupted by two MPs namely Wan Abdul Rahim Wan Abdullah (PAS/ Kota Bharu) and Teresa Kok (DAP/ Seputeh). The Chairperson interrupted Ngeh Koo Ham only once in order to notify the request permission to talk from Wan Abdul Rahim Wan Abdullah (PAS/ Kota Bharu) ‘Yang Berhormat Kota Bharu Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Kota Bharu, Your Honourable” (Interruption 138)**. Ngeh Koo Ham did not take long to make his support on the objection of SOSMA by making a direct statement on supporting the protection of human rights in Malaysia.

The 22nd speaker of the day was Hamim Samuri (UMNO/Ledang). Hamim Samuri’s turn was a bit longer among the evening’s turn speakers as he got attention from most MPs namely, Teresa Kok (DAP/ Seputeh), Khairy Jamaluddin (UMNO/ Rembau), Abdul Rahman Dahlan (UMNO/ Kota Belud), Chua Tian Chang (PKR/ Batu), Salleh Kalbi (UMNO/ Silam), Ngeh Koo Ham (DAP/ Beruas), R. Sivarasa (PKR/ Subang) and Ahmad Hamzah (UMNO/ Jasin). Hamim Samuri did not have any concrete speech on the debate but he tried to respond as much as he can to all interruptions by MPs. At times, he was just started making his first point on the opposition’s stand for not supporting the Act until the end of the world, he got the attention and interrupted by MPs Halimah Mohd. Sadique (UMNO/ Tenggara) and Teresa Kok (DAP/ Seputeh). Hamim Samuri proceed his speech on explaining on the accusations made by the opposition on the issue of seizure judiciary system in Malaysia which according to him will never happened. Hamim Samuri then gave the floor to Khairy Jamaluddin (UMNO/ Rembau) which conveyed his message on criticizing the opposition’s logical stands on the ISA. The question was not answered by Hamim Samuri as he received another request from Ngeh Koo Ham (DAP/ Beruas) to explaining on the misunderstood of the judiciary system in Malaysia. Next, Hamim Samuri gave the floor to Abdul Rahman Dahlan (UMNO/ Kota Belud) and the Chairperson notified him ‘Yang Berhormat Kota Belud bangun Yang Berhormat’ **“Honourable Kota Belud is arise Your Honour” (Interruption 139)**. Teresa Kok tried to interrupt the session but she was reminded by the Chairperson ‘Yang Berhormat, tidak boleh’ **“Your Honour, it is not allowed...” (Interruption 140)** and again ‘Yang Berhormat Seputeh’ **“Honourable Seputeh” (Interruption 141)**. The floor was too noisy as a few MPs kept on harassing Hamim Samuri for a way. Chua Tian Chang (PKR/ Batu) requested for a way and

the Chairperson notified ‘Hendak bagi jalan Yang Berhormat? Yang Berhormat Batu bangun’ **“[would you] give a way Your Honour? Honourable Batu is arise” (Interruption 142).** Hamim Samuri rejected him but he tried his luck again and the Chairperson told ‘Hendak bagi jalan Yang Berhormat?’ **“[would you] give a way Your Honour?” (Interruption 143).** Chua Tian Chang requests was supported by Teresa Kok that she convinced the floor ‘*Bagilah!*’ ‘Just give a way’ When a few requests was rejected several times, Chua Tian Chang tried to interrupt the session. Chua Tian Chang then was warned by the Chairperson ‘Yang Berhormat, tidak boleh mencelah’ **“Your Honour, [you] can’t interrupt” (Interruption 144).** After the warning given by the Chairperson, there were argument and insinuation among UMNO and PKR’s MPs namely Salleh Kalbi (UMNO/ Silam) and Abdul Rahman Dahlan (UMNO/ Kota Belud) against R. Sivarasa (PKR/ Subang) and Chua Tian Chang (PKR/ Batu). It all started when Salleh Kalbi (UMNO/ Silam) synically told the floor that Chua Tian Chang (PKR/ Batu) is stubborn and being acting ‘*kepala batu*’ or pig-headed. R. Sivarasa mentioned that the word pig-headed is unparliamentary and should not be used in the Parliament. The Chairperson had to interrupt as they started arguing on the rules ‘Ya, ada peraturan mesyuarat mengatakan bahawa tidak sesuai menggunakan perkataan kepala batu. Fasal itu bukan kawasan dia Yang Berhormat’ **“Yes, there is meeting rules on not suitable to use the word pig-headed. Because that is not his constituency Your Honour” (Interruption 145),** explaining on the correct constituency of MP Chua Tian Chang is Batu ‘Kawasan dia adalah kawasan Batu’ **“His constituency is Batu” (Interruption 146)** and finally as to meet a fair resolution he told the floor ‘Tidak apalah Yang Berhormat. Rujuk “Batu” ini sebagai kawasan Ahli Parlimen Batu’ **“It is ok Your Honour. Refer ‘Batu’ as the constituency of Honourable Batu” (Interruption 147).** The Chairperson was also annoyed by the attitude of Chua Tian Chang (PKR/ Batu) for continuously interrupting the session without proper channel and told him ‘Yang Berhormat, Yang Berhormat mencelah pun tidak ikut peraturan. Baik, Yang Berhormat Batu. Yang Berhormat Subang tidak bagi peraturan mesyuaratkah Yang Berhormat Batu mencelah tidak kena tempat’ **“Your Honour, You are interrupting not through the rules. Okay, Honourable Batu. Did not the Honourable Subang gave you the meeting rules [Standing Order] that you Honourable Batu interrupted randomly? (Interruption 148).** Due to the time limit, the Chairperson reminded Salleh Kalbi (UMNO/ Silam) to make brief on his speech ‘Ya, ringkaskan Yang Berhormat Silam’ **“Yes, make it brief Honourable Silam” (Interruption 149).** After the continuous interruptions and argument, Hamim Samuri got back his floor. He was about to respond to Salleh Kalbi (UMNO/ Silam) but was again interrupted by Ngeh Koo Ham (DAP/ Beruas). The Chairperson interrupted the situation but it

was unsure to whom he was making the remark as ‘Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour” (Interruption 150)**. It could be to Ngeh Koo Ham because he tried to ask for a way to speak, or it could be to Hamim Samuri himself as a time reminder. The Chairperson was giving final chance to Ngeh Koo Ham that he made a notification to Hamim Samuri ‘Yang Berhormat Ledang, Yang Berhormat Beruas bangun’ **“Honourable Ledang, Honourable Beruas is arise” (Interruption 151)**. As told earlier, Hamim Samuri’s turn was alluring that most MPs wanted to speak up. Probably it was approaching to the end of debate. Abdul Rahman Dahlan requested for a way to speak and as Hamim Samuri granted, the Chairperson notified others ‘Yang Berhormat Kota Belud sahaja. Yang lain duduk, Yang Berhormat. Yang Berhormat’ **“Only Honourable Kota Belud. Others [have a] sit Your Honour. Your Honour” (Interruption 152)**. When Abdul Rahman Dahlan started to speak, the Chairperson interrupted him to make it brief ‘Ringkaskan’ **“Make it brief” (Interruption 153)**. Ngeh Koo Ham was also trying his luck to speak again and requested for a way and the Chairperson asked ‘Yang Berhormat Ledang hendak bagi jalan, Yang Berhormat?’ **“Honourable Ledang would [you like to] give a way Your Honour?” (Interruption 154)**. The request was rejected that Hamim Samuri told the floor he would give a way to Chua Tian Chang (PKR/ Batu) only after he made some remarks. Ngeh Koo Ham requested again to speak up and mentioned that he would make some remarks towards Abdul Rahman Dahlan’s speech, but the Chairperson reminded him ‘Yang Berhormat Beruas’ **“Honourable Beruas” (Interruption 155)** as to show respect of the decision made. Hamim Samuri worked his promise on allowing Chua Tian Chang (PKR/ Batu) to speak. Chua Tian Chang was only demanding for a stand from Hamim Samuri that he was once supporting the ISA, but when the government abolished it, he then changed his stand on supporting the abolishment. Hamim Samuri tried to respond to Chua Tian Chang’s charges but he was interrupted by Ahmad Hamzah who requested for a chance to speak. Not long after that, the Chairperson reminded Hamim Samuri on the time ‘Yang Berhormat, boleh habiskan Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour, you may conclude, Your Honour” (Interruption 156)**. When Hamim Samuri was about to conclude his speech, Ngeh Koo Ham requested to speak for half a minute which the Chairperson had to remind him ‘Sudah habis masa, Yang Berhormat Beruas’ **“The time is up, Honourable Beruas” (Interruption 157)** and ‘Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour” (Interruption 158)**. Hamim Samuri completed his speech by supporting the ideas on abolishing the ISA and introducing SOSMA. The Chairperson reminded him to not prolong the conclusion ‘Sudah habis masa, Yang Berhormat. Habiskan’ **“The time is up Your Honour. Finish it” (Interruption 159)**. When Hamim Samuri asked whether he had some more time, the Chairperson replied him ‘Habis, sudah’ **“It is the end,**

done” (Interruption 160). Hamim Samuri made a final remark that he was yet to hear any convincing points on the need of a special task force on reviewing SOSMA.

Finally it was the end of the speaker in-turn, a MP from opposition party DAP, Gobind Singh Deo from Puchong, Selangor. As a lawyer, Gobind Singh Deo also had a well-structured speech and manageable interruptions from fellow MPs. Gobind Singh Deo gave the chance to speak to MPs namely, Abdul Rahman Dahlan (UMNO/ Kota Belud), R. Sivarasa (PKR/ Subang), Ismail Kasim (UMNO/ Arau), and Chua Tian Chang (PKR/ Batu). The Chairperson only interrupted him twice on time reminder ‘Yang Berhormat, you have four minutes left’ **“Your Honour, you have four minutes left” (Interruption 161)** and when it is almost the end ‘Ya, habiskan Yang Berhormat’ **“Yes, finish it Your Honour” (Interruption 162)** when it is about 9.30pm at night. Not long after he reminded Gobind Singh Deo to finish his lines, Chua Tian Chang rose up. The Chairperson was becoming strict that he knew it would drag longer if he allowed for another interruption by a MP. Therefore, he ordered Chua Tian Chang to sit ‘Yang Berhormat Batu duduk Yang Berhormat Batu’ **“Honourable Batu [have a] sit Honourable Batu” (Interruption 163).** Gobind Singh Deo was trying to conclude his speech but was interrupted by Abdul Rahman Dahlan provocations. The Chairperson had to interrupt him ‘Yang Berhormat cukuplah Yang Berhormat’ **“Your Honour it is enough Your Honour” (Interruption 164)** and finally again when he started to speak without healer ‘Yang Berhormat Kota Belud’ **“Honourable Kota Belud” (Interruption 165).** Gobind Singh Deo made his vital remark on the applicable laws which could be abide by laymen and he also thanked the team member for such commitments.

The session on 16th April was continued to the next day 17th April 2012 with replying all remarks made during debates from the authorized minister Mohamed Nazri Abdul Aziz, a minister from the Prime Minister’s Department. This part of the debates is not analyzed as the study focused only the interruption by the Chairperson during the second reading of the Bill. In total, the debate on SOSMA involved 23 MPs namely; 8 from UMNO, 1 from MIC, 2 from PAS, 4 from PKR, 4 from DAP, 1 from GERAKAN, 1 from SAPP and 2 from Independent (details of affiliation see Table 5.2). The debates incurred 165 interruptions by the Chairperson. Interruptions occurred at different phases and speakers of the debates. Some were in the middle of the debates, some were towards different party members and some were because interruptions made by other MPs which the Chairperson had to barged in. There were also

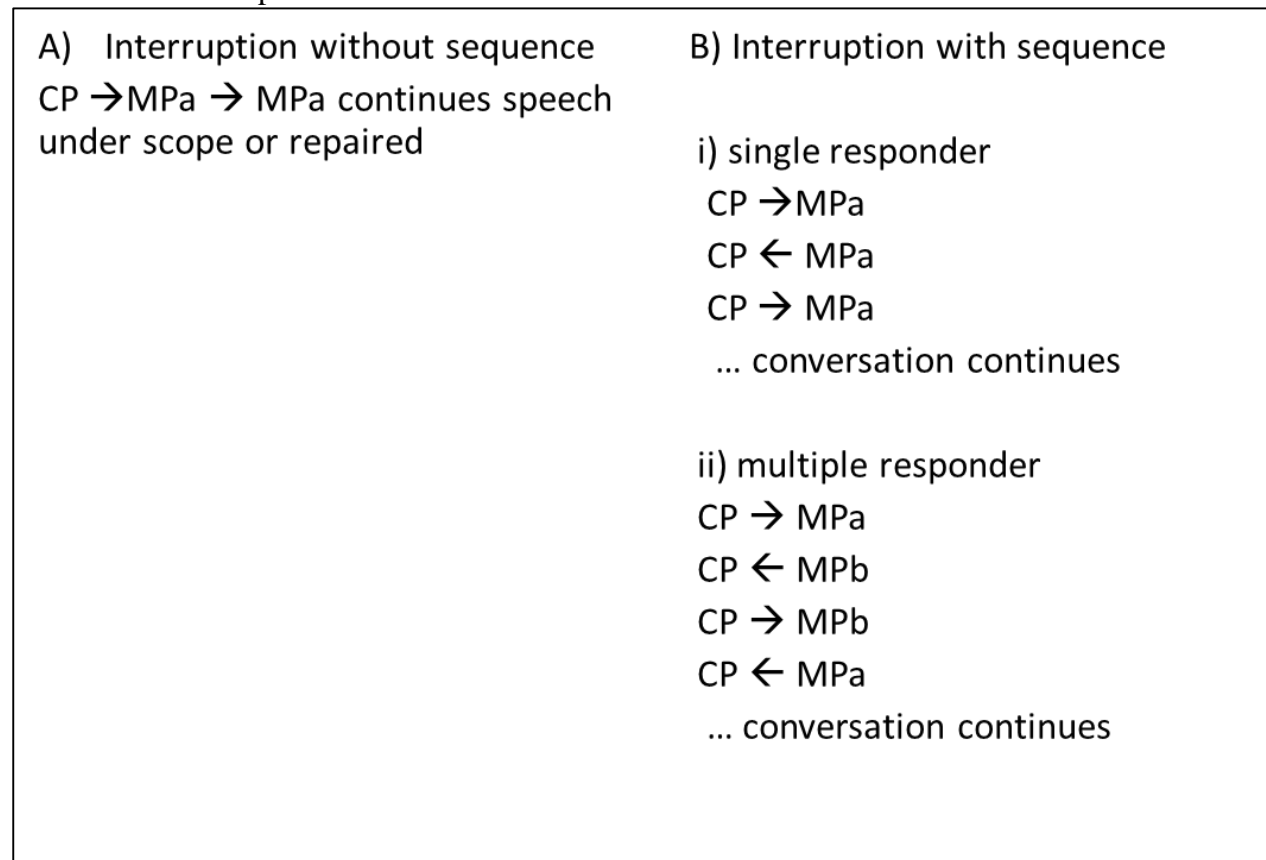
interruption which made by the Chairperson but not counted or analysed because it did not refer to the issue of discussed matter, in this case is SOSMA.

4.2 Analytical Process on Utterances of Chairperson in the Malaysian Parliament

The analysis on the Chairperson's interruptions was based on the instances of utterances made by the Chairperson to the MPs. While I agree with the need to identify the sequences of interaction in using CA (as explained in chapter 3), I exclusively focused on the occasions of utterances by the Chairperson in this chapter and left the analysis of the utterances (power and partisanship) in later chapters. By doing so, I could focus on the different occasions in which the Chairperson accomplished accountability without being distracted by further responses of the MPs. As such, this chapter sets the scene for the subsequent empirical chapters where I broadened the scope of the analysis to the sequences of interactions between the Chairperson and the MPs. Therefore, in this chapter, I provide some extracts to show the utterances made by the Chairperson, and I returned to these extracts in subsequent chapters to examine the interactions or further conversations with the MPs.

The first analysis focused on the instances where the Chairperson's interruptions were not followed by further interactions with MPs or known as without sequence (section 4.3). I found five mechanisms of this type of interruptions, namely (i) request for clarification, (ii) reminder or notification, (iii) warning, (iv) relevance, and (v) maintaining order during the debate. The second analysis showed a variety of patterns of sequences and participators (section 4.4). For example, I showed how the sequences occurred when an MP was challenged by the ruling of the Chairperson. Another group of responders was multiple speakers or different MPs involved in conversations with the Chairperson. For instance, the Chairperson was also interrupted by MP (a) even though his ruling was directed to MP (b). In this study, I showed that interruptions with sequence had occurred when the Chairperson (i) reminded the MPs about the rules, (ii) made assurance, (iii) clarified or stressed relevance, and (iv) imposed ideas (see Figure 1.1 for both patterns of interruptions).

Figure 1.1: Patterns of interruptions by Chairperson in Malaysian Parliament debates on the Internal Security Bill on 20th and 21st June 1960, and Security Offences (Special Measures) Bill 2012 on 16th April 2012



4.3 Interruption without sequence

In parliamentary debates, the Chairperson has full authority to control the flow of the discussion or the management of the ongoing debates, such as by interrupting the discussion when necessary. Interruptions in parliamentary debates can occur with and without sequence. The analysis first explains the interruptions without sequence by the Chairperson. The Chairperson interrupted MPs more often without sequence. In the Internal Security Bill debates, there were five occasions when the Chairperson interrupted, namely when he (1) requested clarification on uncertainties, (2) gave a reminder, (3) gave warnings, (4) requested the relevance of the speech, and (5) maintained order during debates.

4.3.1 Interruptions without sequence-request clarification on uncertainties

I will start by examining the instances in which Chairperson accomplished accountability through interruptions by requesting further clarification on uncertainties. I will use two extracts for this purpose.

Extract 1

While discussing the amendments to the Internal Security Bill, Lim Kian Siew (from the Alliance) argued with Tun Abdul Razak (from the Alliance) on Tun's suggestion to add another phrase to Section 8 (1) (b) ... "shall be for such period, not exceeding two years..." Lim Kian Siew said there was a 'simpler way' to amend this sub-section by introducing a phrase at the introduction of the clause as an introduction to sub-section (a) and (b) because sub-section (1) (a) also contains a phrase mentioning 'not exceeding two years'. Later, the Chairperson interrupted him:

Chairperson [Mohamed Noah Omar]: *I want to know whether this is an amendment to the amendment or not, because we already have an amendment to sub-clause (b) introduced by the mover of this Bill.*

Extract 2

Lim Kian Siew then suggested an amendment to Section 59 under sub-section (1), (2) and (3). He proposed to discard the word "outside" because it is read from the first line of the sub-sections "Any person who whether within or outside a security area..." which could mean there would be no boundaries between a secured and unsecured area in the security perimeter. Therefore, he suggested to rephrase the introduction by removing the word "whether" and "or outside" so that the new sentence would read "Any person who within a security area..." Before Lim Kian Siew could proceed with his explanation, the Chairperson interrupted him:

Chairperson [Mohamed Noah Omar]: *I am not quite sure whether you want to amend also subsections (2) and (3). I think you have to.*

In the two examples above, the Chairperson made the MPs accountable for their suggested amendments of the Internal Security bill. The Chairperson accomplished this in two ways. The first was by constructing a state of uncertainty and requesting justification on the suggestions made by the MP. In extract 1, accountability was accomplished with the phrase 'I want to know whether...' Here, the word 'whether' indicates the Chairperson's uncertainties on the discussed issue. Similarly, in extract 2, the Chairperson's use of 'not quite sure' and 'whether' was to construct the availability of unyielding uncertainties, which needed further justification from the MP.

In both extracts, the Chairperson's request for further justification on the statement or suggestion made by the MP appeared significant for the discussion. In extract 1, this was

achieved when the Chairperson said ‘because we already have an amendment to sub-clause (b) made by the mover...’ which indicates a further impact on the amendment made. In extract 2, a further request for justification on the statement made by the MP is evident from the use of ‘whether you want to amend also subsections...’ which implies the need for further confirmation on the amendment proposed by the MP.

The Chairperson also made the MPs accountable for their proposals through interruptions by vindicating his interruptions. In extract 1, the Chairperson rationalized his interruptions by giving a reminder or recall to previous statements by saying ‘because we already have an amendment to sub-clause (b) introduced by the mover...’ Meanwhile, in extract 2, he vindicated his action stronger by imposing his idea by stressing that ‘I think is have to’. In both cases, the Chairperson indirectly justified his interruptions. In extract 1, he explained his uncertainties of the proposals by mentioning or reminding the MPs that the amendment proposed had been proposed earlier by another MP. The justification for this interruption appears indirect by the use of the word ‘because’ as a conjunction in the middle of a sentence. It shows the need to confirm uncertainties derived from the proposal of the MP. The Chairperson also used this conjunction to vindicate his interruptions as being necessary by justifying the uncertainties and the need for further confirmation. In extract 2, the reference to action was made by first introducing the uncertainty and later imposing ideas to it. The combination of ‘I think’ and ‘you have to’ indirectly assessed the MP’s previous actions on his proposals as being insufficient, indicating the need for further confirmation. Like extract 1, the reference to uncertainties appears indirect. The uncertainties were introduced by saying ‘I am not quite sure whether...’ which also appears indirect.

In the above extracts, the Chairperson attempted to make the MPs accountable by requesting further justification on the uncertainties in the debate. The Chairperson also challenged the MP to be accountable for his words. The Chairperson accomplished this by making his interruptions appeared factual rather than subjective by vindicating his actions using the facts or statements made by the MP. Furthermore, the Chairperson’s attempt to impose his ideas or suggestions to take action appears indirect by formulating the idea to amend subsection 1 and subsection 2 as uncertainties (rather an assertion), requesting for justification or further clarification on points mentioned by the MP.

Overall, in the above extracts, the Chairperson made his interruptions as convincing and reliable, thus making the MPs accountable for their speeches. In doing so, the Chairperson also protected himself from arguing with the MPs because of his interruptions by referring to the statements made by the MPs or previous speakers. Therefore, the Chairperson's interruptions in the above cases were multi-purpose: to make the MPs accountable, to make clear the uncertainties during the debates, and to impose his ideas or suggestions on the discussion.

4.3.2 Interruptions without sequence-reminder

Another way the Chairperson interrupts is by affirming the statements made earlier by the MP. Sometimes, the affirmations may also transform into a 'gentle' reminder or notification as a response to the MP's statements.

Extract 3

While emphasizing Section 28 of the Internal Security bill, Karam Singh (from the Socialist Front) mentioned that the section was too vague on the matter that 'no one to judge whether a statement is false or not'. He then asked whether the government would arrest him if he criticized the Alliance government as 'international beggary', which might depress, humiliate or make them despondent. Suleiman Abdul Rahman (from the Alliance) interrupted him by saying that "we will laugh at that". Then, the Chairperson interrupted:

Chairperson [Mohamed Noah Omar]: *I don't like to interrupt you. But these points have already been raised in the House by many people.*

In extract 3, the Chairperson reminded Karam Singh that the point he made had also been mentioned earlier by other MPs. In this case, the Chairperson accomplished his interruption by using his authority to stop the MP from repeating the same point. The sentence "...points have already been raised..." is to emphasize that no further repetition was needed. The reminder from the Chairperson indicates good time management during the debate. The reminder also made the MP accountable for his next speech.

Some MPs tended to elaborate their statements by repeating the same point to reach an understanding. That is, they would first use similar points from other MPs and then elaborated them by using their examples or sometimes experiences. By interrupting the MPs from

elaborating the same points, the Chairperson minimized the potential variations in problem solving and solutions.

A reminder could also be made for various reasons, such as to remind the MPS to observe the Standing Order, time, and attitudes while debating the issues, as seen below. The Chairperson reminded the MPs more often, especially when their time was up or for a break.

Extract 4 (Reminder on Standing Order)

When Bung Mokhtar Radin (UMNO/Kinabatangan) was constantly interrupted by Zulkifli Noordin (Independent/Kulim Bandar Baharu) and Khalid Samad (PAS/Shah Alam), the Chairperson had to interrupt the session continuously by asking both to sit. The orders were being neglected until Bung Mokhtar Radin had to explain to Khalid Samad that he supported Zulkifli Nordin's expulsion from the party (PKR) because of the firm principal he holds. Khalid Samad was not satisfied with the remark from Bung Mokhtar that he told the floor of the conditions that Zulkifli Noordin was a 'political puppet' that he 'sold' his chair and became Independent. The floor burst into cheers from some MPs. The Chairperson was not happy with the action of cheering and reminded them:

Timbalan Yang di-Pertua [Datuk Ronald Kiandee]: *No. Don't define the standing order kerana ada sesuatu yang macam ini tidak boleh. (No. Do not define the Standing Order as this (action) is not allowed).*

The Standing Order did not stipulate any of cheering regulations. The Chairperson was only referring to the conflict between Khalid Samad and Zulkifli Noordin and asked them not to use any of the Standing Order as an excuse.

Extract 5 (Reminder on time)

When he was presenting his point, Mahfuz Omar (PAS/Pokok Sena) allowed Khalid Abdul Samad (PAS/Shah Alam) to interrupt him. Soon after Khalid Abdul Samad completed his point, and Mahfuz Omar was about to resume his point, the Chairperson interrupted him by giving a reminder:

Timbalan Yang di-Pertua [Datuk Ronald Kiandee]:
Yang Berhormat Pokok Sena 10 minit tinggal.
(Honourable Pokok Sena, 10 minutes left).

Rules of Debates in the Standing Order explained ‘Time and manner of speaking’ 35(7) “The Speaker or Chairman may, if he thinks fit, prescribe the time limit for speeches.” Therefore, the Chairperson was making a bold reminder by not giving chance to Mahfuz Omar directly resume his speech, but quickly interrupted him and reminded on the time which left only 10 minutes.

Extract 6 (Reminder on attitudes)

It was Khairy Jamaluddin’s (UMNO/Rembau) turn when he was interrupted by Bung Mokhtar Radin (UMNO/Kinabatangan) dan Khalid Abdul Samad (PAS/Shah Alam). However, Khairy Jamaluddin had to refer to the Chairperson when he could not control the situation.

Tuan Khairy Jamaluddin Rembau: Tuan Yang di-Pertua.
(Mr. Chairperson)

Timbalan Yang di-Pertua [Datuk Dr. Wan Junaidi bin Tuanku Jaafar]: Yang Berhormat saya memperingatkan peraturan sahaja Yang Berhormat.
(Honourable Member, I am just reminding the rules).

Tuan Khairy Jamaluddin Rembau: Ya.
(Yes).

Timbalan Yang di-Pertua [Datuk Dr. Wan Junaidi bin Tuanku Jaafar]: Kalau seorang bercakap yang lain duduk. Itu sahaja.
(If one speaks, others should remain seated. That is all).

Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaafar was reminding Khalid Samad and Bung Mokhtar unacceptable manner during Khairy Jamaluddin’s turn. They were both standing and kept talking without permission which was against the Rules of Debates 35(2) “If two or more members rise at the same time, the Chair shall call upon the member who first catches his eye.” As for this case, Khalid Samad and Bung Mokhtar had been speaking without any call by the Chairperson.

4.3.3 Interruption without sequence-warnings

How the Chairperson interrupts through affirmations can also be seen in the instances of warnings. Sometimes, warnings can also be in the same category of notifications and reminder. However, a sign of warning could be easily discerned, as shown in the following extracts:

Extract 7

Ahmad Said (from the Alliance) had the floor to second the bill and wished to explain the serious threat of the communist party in Malaya. He wanted to read a report that contained information on the communist movements reported in the Standard Merdeka Souvenir. The article was entitled “Time Was Ripe”. Before he started, the Chairperson asked him how long he would take to read the report. He told the Chairperson that he would read only half of the article. However, after reading about eight sentences, the Chairperson suddenly interrupted him.

Chairperson: Panjang nampaknya itu!
(That seems long!)

Extract 8

Othman Abdullah (from the Parti Islam SeMalaysia [PAS]) explained that there might be a misunderstanding of PAS’s stance on the previous amendment to the Constitution as the PAS members were ‘pro-communist’. He took the accusation seriously and mentioned that one of the MPs was keen to smear PAS during the campaign. When Othman Abdullah tried was trying to explain the misunderstanding more, he was interrupted by the Chairperson.

Chairperson: Jangan meleret.
(Do not drag on).

Extract 9

Othman Abdullah continued his speech to support the Internal Security bill. He mentioned about some MPs who previously joined the *Kesatuan Melayu Muda* (KMM) and ‘Wataniah’ as among the groups responsible for supporting the British in Malaya. He also added that the matter should not have been debated, but some MPs provoked him to do so. The Chairperson instantly interrupted him.

Chairperson: Dalam Parlimen tidak boleh mengata2.
(Insulting is not allowed in Parliament).

Othman Abdullah: Tadi kawan saya itu berchakap lebeh dahshat daripada itu tidak kena tegor? Tuan Yang di-Pertua...
(Continued his speech until it was completed).
(Just now my friend spoke more terrible things than that but was not warned? Tuan Yang di-Pertua...)

Warnings are often used in parliamentary debates because they are allowed by the Standing Order. Despite the written rules in the Standing Order, the Chairperson also used warnings to ask justification of the points of speech. In extract 7, Ahmad Said read the article after he had told the Chairperson that he would read half of it. In this situation, the Chairperson did not

know how long the article was but was convinced by Ahmad Said that it was not long. The Chairperson interrupted Ahmad Said after eight lines. Because this study could not ascertain how long it would take to read the article, including the tempo or laps, it could not accurately analyze the merit of the warning. However, the Chairperson assumed that the article was “too long” after eight lines were read. After confirming that the article was not long, Ahmad Said then continued two more sentences from the article and proceeded with his speech.

Meanwhile, in extract 8, the Chairperson interrupted Othman Abdullah for dragging his speech by giving unnecessary points or examples. He warned Othman Abdullah soon after the latter tried to explain the misunderstanding of PAS being branded as a ‘pro-communist’ party. The debate was about the amendment to the Internal Security Bill. The Chairperson warned Othman Abdullah to not waste his speech by explaining or attempting to ‘clean’ the party from being linked with the communist party. The Chairperson’s ruling was to make sure that the debates did not dwell on a different topic.

Extract 9 also shows that Abdullah was again interrupted by the Chairperson when he tried to respond to some provocations on PAS stance being pro-communists, replying that some MPs supported the British during colonial era. Interruptions are ‘invited’ because MPs often provoke others. In this case, at this point, the Chairperson had to interrupt Othman Abdullah because he gave examples about his opponents’ alleged provocations. Othman Abdullah was ‘invited’ to respond to the provocations, but he was interrupted and warned by the Chairperson as a result. Othman Abdullah continued his speech and retorted that other MPs were not warned or interrupted by the Chairperson even though they did the same.

From Extract 7, 8 and 9, the Chairperson has varies of interruption purposes as mechanism through warning. Indirectly, the Chairperson ‘form’ a way of asking a justification on a point of debate (Extract 7), hybrid form of warning which turns into a reminder and controlling the point of discussion (Extract 8) and maneuvering the point of discussion through warning which again became a reminder to the respective MP (Extract 9). Hence, warning may not be a sole mechanism for a strict reminder, but also an option to maneuver a discussion.

4.3.4 Interruptions without sequence-relevance

The political discourse production assumes that speakers usually “start from their personal mental model of an event or situation” (Van Dijk 2002:211). Therefore, relevance implies one’s possession of knowledge or mental condition. In this regard, the Chairperson’s interruptions appear to be ‘subjective interruptions’. Consider the following extracts.

Extract 10

Darma Raja Seenivasagam (PPP/Ipoh) was explaining the differences in perception of support for China’s among the government and the opposition. He contended that when the government showed support to China’s entry into the United Nations, nobody said anything and it was accepted.¹⁷ In contra to that, when the PPP showed their support, the PPP were labelled as ‘looking at the Rising Sun for inspiration’ and a communist. During post Cold War, any support on China would mean support to Communist ideology. He asked whether the party would be regarded as engaging in subversive activity and jeopardize the security of Malaya after the Bill had passed? While debating the ISA Bill, the Chairperson did not see any relevance of Darma Raja Seenivasagam’s point on the support to China by the government, and asked him:

Chairperson: Is that relevant?

Extract 11

Karam Singh (from the Socialist Front) was explaining the relevance of having strict control of freedom and giving too much power to the police. He was worried that the country would have empty independence with no basic freedom of expression. He was referring to the Internal Security Bill that does not allow the expression of speeches deemed to be subversive or the publication of subversive articles. Karam Singh was against the curtailment of freedom of expression anything deemed subversive. He was worried about the future generations and mentioned that the curtailment would not breed great thinkers such as George Bernard Shaw. Suddenly, the Chairperson interrupted him and asked:

Chairperson: How is that relevant to the debate on this Bill?

¹⁷ Darma Raja Seenivasagam mentioned that it was only two days ago (19th June 1960) that the Prime Minister said: “We will support the entry of China into the United Nations”.

Extract 12

It was the floor for Lim Kean Siew (from the Alliance). He stood up and started to explain the advantages and disadvantages of the Bill. He told the floor that he did not disagree with the Deputy Prime Minister as the minister to maintain internal security, instead Lim Kean Siew doubted on the power granted to the Assistant Minister of Information which could gain access for excessive investigation but what if the Assistant Minister of Information Lim Kian Siew was being sarcastic and gave example of the Assistant Minister of Information who made a statement on spies and traitors on Radio Malaya which might be the main source for information during Emergency. He explained further that the people who were working with Radio Malaya would feel inferior towards being detained (because of disseminating various information which they have no time to verify the true sources) until they leave the bathroom doors open. At this point, the Chairperson suddenly interrupted him.

Chairperson: How is that relevant? (Laughter)

In extract 10, Seenivasagam was explaining that subversion could be misinterpreted because its definition was unclear. He was concerned that such misinterpretation could be used to accuse the oppositions falsely. Seenivasagam was referring to the Prime Minister's support for China's entry into the UN. The Chairperson's use of "is" indicates how the support for China was relevant to the debate on the ISA Bill? Seenivasagam promptly answered that his example of the support for China was relevant so that the term 'subversion' in the Bill would not be misconstrued and manipulated differently among the use by the government or the opposition.

Interrupting a debate to ask about relevance is not an easy task. It could risk the credibility of the Chairperson of whether he knows and is aware of the issues being discussed. However, when MPs use examples, Chairperson could determine the relevance of the example used to make a point as in extract 11. Karam Singh was criticizing the ISA Bill by specifically mentioning Clause 32, Chapter IV on Control of Entertainment and Exhibitions. According to Karam Singh, the word 'control' of entertainment and exhibitions of the clause was to contain any subversive activities in the country. The idea was absurd that Karam Singh gave an example on book exhibitions which 'controlled' by the government and the reading choices will only be anything favoured by the government. This would deprive freedom of press and freedom of exhibitions which in the end would lead to the lack of creative and critical minds within the society. The Chairperson interrupted by using the word "how" to emphasize the

connection of his example to his speech. Karam Singh replied by confirming that if such of ‘control’ on entertainment and exhibitions would proceed, the Alliance government will bear the cost of ‘no original mind, no thinker, no creative mind’ in the country.

Meanwhile, subjective interruptions sometimes occur when MPs use anecdotes or jokes to give examples, causing the floor to laugh. In extract 12, Lim Kian Siew was using Assistant Minister of Information as an example. The Chairperson, who was also laughing at the example, interrupted Lim Kian Siew by asking “how” relevant was the example given. Lim Kian Siew answered that the example was relevant because it specifically focused on the ‘identity’ of the Minister who would be responsible for the Bill.

4.3.5 Interruptions without sequence-maintaining order during debates

According to Carbó (1992), one of the characteristics of interruption is the place where it occurs (location). MPs usually know when and where to interrupt or the ‘transition-relevance’ places. As for the Chairperson, this study found that most interruptions observed the Standing Order, especially when they were related to time management. Consider the following extract.

Extract 13 (in conjunction with extract 7 in 4.3.3)

Ahmad Said (from the Alliance) supported the Bill by reminding about the *Kesatuan Melayu Muda* (KMM), and how the KMM was accused to be untruthful movement because secretly helped the Japanese army to enter Malaya. Ahmad Said wanted to read a review from ‘Standard Merdeka Souvenir’ that contained the developments and movements of communists in Malaya. Suddenly, Onn Jaafar interrupted him to correct his statement by saying that the false movement was ‘Angkatan Pemuda Insaf’, not the KMM. When Ahmad Said wanted to continue reading, he was interrupted by the Chairperson.

Chairperson: Berapa panjang hendak di-bachakan itu?
 (*How long do you want to read that?*)

For reading an article from ‘Standard Merdeka Souvenir’, Ahmad Said was interrupted twice. The second interruption was indicated in 4.3.3 as a ‘warning’. Before that, he was interrupted by the Chairperson who asked Ahmad Said how long would it take for him to read the article. The Chairperson asked about such a question because he was worried that Ahmad Said would take more time allocated to him.

4.4 Interruptions with sequence

The second part of the analysis involved the interruptions by the Chairperson that occurred with the sequence. Interruptions with sequence happened on several occasions. Based on the analysis, I found that the Chairperson received some responses after he had interrupted for (1) reminding the MPs about the rules or standing procedure of the debates, (2) being dissatisfied with the justification of relevance made by MPs in their speeches, and (3) requesting further clarifications. Interruptions with sequence happened in two different groups of the responders. Occasionally, a single responder or one MP replied or responded to the Chairperson's interruption. The following section analyses the interruptions with sequence, i.e., when the Chairperson reminded the MPs about the standing procedure during debates in the Parliament.

The Chairperson has wide accountability during parliamentary debates. He has to pay attention to what is happening in the house or hall. Every house has different standing procedures that apply to all members of the Parliament. Unfortunately, not every MP abide by these procedures. This sub-section does not focus on why the MPs did not follow the rules because this topic was covered in Chapter 2 (Literature Review). Instead, this sub-section is about how the Chairperson interrupted the MPs and how the latter responded to the former.

Extract 14

On 22 June 1960, Mohamed Sulong Mohd Ali (from the Alliance) had the floor and supported the Internal Security Bill. He was criticizing the remark from opposition Darma Raja Seenivasagam (refer Extract 10 at Section 4.3.4) on the support towards communist ideology after the Prime Minister's return from Europe when the Chairperson interrupted him.

Chairperson: Perkara itu saya sudah tahan, jangan di-bahathkan dalam *Dewan* ini lagi.
(*I had stopped/halted that issue, do not debate it further in this House*).

Mohamed Sulong: Terima kaseh. Sebab saya dengar sa-malam dia membawakan [...]
(*Thank you. Because yesterday I heard him brought [...]*)

Before Mohamed Sulong could even complete his sentence on why he mentioned about the oppositions' remark, the Chairperson interrupted him.

Chairperson: Saya sudah tahan dia.
(*I had stopped/halted him*).

The Chairperson interrupted Mohamed Sulong even when he tried to verify his action against another MP. Mohamed Sulong was trying to convince the Chairperson that he was counter-arguing the statement made by the previous speaker because he was provoked or ‘invited’ (Carbó 1992). However, the Chairperson maintained that Mohamed Sulong should not argue further on the matter because the Chairperson had made the speaker accountable earlier by asking him to stop the point of discussion. The ruling made by the Chairperson was to control the debate and assure Mohamed Sulong that he had taken action against another MP who had violated the rule. However, even though Mohamed Sulong tried to explain again why he did that, the Chairperson again affirmed that he had stopped the MP from discussing the matter.

Extract 15

Liu Yoong Peng (from the Alliance) was having the floor to oppose the Internal Security Bill. He remarked that the society would feel intimidated by the Bill if it were to put into practice because the Bill allocates too much power to the government. Liu Yoong Peng disagreed with the statement made by the Minister of External Affairs that the press is free in this country. An MP from the Alliance, Azahari Ibrahim, interrupted Liu Yoong Peng’s speech, who wanted to complain about Liu Yoong Peng. The sequence of interruptions went as follows:

- Azahari Ibrahim: On a point of order. He is reading his speech.
Chairperson: What is the point of order?
Azahari Ibrahim: I know according to one of the Standing Orders he cannot read his speech.
Chairperson: He is not reading. Please proceed.
Liu Yoong Peng: It is only notes, Sir.
Chairperson: You can glance at your notes, but don't lift your notes, so long as it is on the table it is all right.

Liu Yoong Peng then continued his speech by saying “Yes, Sir...” He agreed with the Chairperson to continue reading with the notes remained on the table. This extract may not be directly read as an interruption during a debate. However, it is important to be examined because the Chairperson was using his discretion to tolerate Liu Yoong Peng’s action. According to Standing Order 20 (2), MPs are only not allowed to lift their notes or any paper from the table. However, the Order does not prevent the MPs from ‘reading’. Liu Yoong Peng did not object to the suggestion that he was ‘reading’. Nonetheless, the Chairperson reminded him to leave the notes on the table and let him ‘glance’ at them. In this case, ruling on a matter with one’s discretion is subjective, and it signifies the definition of unwritten rules of the Standing Order derived from one’s mental context (Van Dijk 2002).

Extract 16

Cheah Theam Swee (from the Alliance) stood in the House to counter argue the speech made by Liu Yoong Peng (SF) about a free election. Cheah Theam Swee wanted to respond on the Ampang election incident which was mentioned in Liu Yoong Peng's speech and alleged that it was tactically used or mentioned in the speech as to make an emphasis on the incident. Cheah Theam Swee was interrupted by Seenivasagam (from the People's Progressive Party) through the Chairperson as shown below.

- Seenivasagam: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of order. The Ampang election incident is now sub judice in a Court in Kuala Lumpur, and under the Standing Orders what is sub judice cannot be discussed in this House. I ask you, Sir, to rule any reference to the Ampang election incident out of order.
- Chairperson: I rule that this matter is sub judice and cannot be discussed here.
- Cheah Theam Swee: Mr. Speaker, Sir, if I may, I would like to comment on what the Honorable Member from Rawang remarked.
- Chairperson: You must obey my ruling; you cannot argue with my ruling. Do not touch on this matter in this House.
- Cheah Theam Swee then continued with his speech.
- Cheah Theam Swee: Yes, Mr. Speaker, then I will not touch on this specific matter but on elections in general. In elections, in general, Mr. Speaker, in recent elections in Local Councils we have read reports and we have made our own inquiries.

Then, he was again interrupted. This time he was interrupted by Tan Siew Sin (from the Alliance). The conversation continued as follows:

- Tan Siew Sin: Sir, I rise on a point of order. If we are not allowed to refer to the election incident in Ampang, could the comments made on it by the Honourable Member from Rawang (Liu Yoong Peng) be similarly deleted?
- Chairperson: I did not know at that time this matter was sub judice.
- Lim Kean Siew (from the Alliance): On a point of clarification, Sir, I do not think the Honourable Member from Rawang (Liu Yoong Peng) mentioned any specific names; he just mentioned recent local elections.
- Tan Siew Sin: He did mention Ampang.
- Chairperson: Well, if he has mentioned Ampang that will be deleted from the records. Please proceed.

Cheah Theam Swee then continued his speech by making a counter-argument to the remarks made by Liu Yoong Peng on the election incidents in Ampang. Cheah Theam Swee did not mention the word 'Ampang', but he was describing the 'pre-arranged plans' that he denied was

made by the Alliance. He was explaining the details of the event until he was interrupted by Karam Singh as follows:

- Karam Singh: On a point of order, Sir, I think the Honourable Assistant Minister is coming back by the backdoor to the Ampang incident which is sub judice.
- Chairperson: He did not mention that.
- Cheah Theam Swee: I made no mention of Ampang, Sir.
- Chairperson: But make it as short as possible on those incidents. We are dealing with the second reading of the Bill, and I want Honourable Members to confine themselves to this Bill as much as possible.
- Cheah Theam Swee: Yes, Sir. But the issue of that was based on free elections and I was commenting...
- Chairperson: Yes, make it as short as possible.
- Cheah Theam Swee: Well, if you please, Sir, I will make just one more comment and sit down. As I was saying, in places where we were winning back, Sir, we saw incidents blazing out; in places where we had been defeated there had been peace and quiet. So, Mr. Speaker, you can see that the allegation of the Honourable Member from Rawang is not a case of genuine representation to this House.

Cheah Theam Swee ended his speech by affirming that the speech made by Liu Yoong Peng was not 'a genuine case' to be presented in the debate. From the conclusion of the debate, it was obvious that Cheah Theam Swee made attempts to defend his party during the Ampang election event. This act, however, was against the Standing Order 36 (2) which forbids MPs from referring to any matter that is still a court trial. Despite the Chairperson's ruling the discussion, the MPs still made attempts to continue speaking or mentioning about it.

Extract 17

Lim Kean Siew (from the Alliance) stood in the House to propose the deletion of the whole Section 21 of the Internal Security Bill. He proposed the deletion because he found that Section 82 which mentions that 'no person should be punished twice for the same offence' contradicts Section 21 which says "The detention of any person under this Chapter shall be without prejudice to the taking of any criminal proceeding against such person, whether during or after the period of his detention." He was then interrupted by the Chairperson.

- Chairperson: Under Standing Order 57 (7), if you are to delete any clause, you have to propose "That this House doth disagree with this clause".
- Lim Kean Siew: I am sorry, Sir.

- Chairperson: Although the meaning of your proposal is the same, i.e. the deletion of the clause, it is better to use this term.
- Lim Kean Siew: I haven't got it in my section here, Sir. (Laughter).
- Chairperson: You simply say "That this House doth disagree with clause 21". Then I can open your amendment for debate.
- Lim Kean Siew: Yes, Sir. I propose that this House doth disagree with clause 21.

After proposing his disagreement, Lim Kean Siew was interrupted by Razak Hussein, who was against the proposal, and the conversation between them was continued with several other proposals without any interruptions from the Chairperson. From this extract, the Chairperson reminded Lim Kean Siew about the rule of offering or disagreeing with a proposal where he should use the terms stipulated in the Standing Order.

Extract 18

It was the turn for the Minister of Interior, Suleiman Abdul Rahman (from the Alliance). He started his speech by making references to the points of other MPs. He also offered some counter-arguments, especially the points that contradicted the Internal Security Bill. Suleiman Abdul Rahman went further by explaining a case of a detainee (Balan) whose release was supported by MPs from Damansara (Karam Singh) and Bungsar (V. David). He made a provocative remark on how the MP from Bungsar (V. David) knew that he would receive a letter from Balan who was still under detention. V. David suddenly stood and interrupted Suleiman Abdul Rahman through the Chairperson.

- V. David: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would just like to know from the Honourable Minister whether or not he accepts my charge that a letter was sent by Balan.
- Chairperson: When you stand up, you must say whether you are standing up on a point of information, clarification or explanation, or on a point of order.
- V. David: On a point of clarification, Sir.
- Chairperson: Wait a minute. I have not finished yet. You can only rise in this House on two points: one is on a point of information, clarification or explanation and the other is on a point of order. If you rise on a point of order, you must quote under what Standing Order you are interrupting, in which case the Member who is speaking must sit down, and I think I need not have to explain this. But I have to explain in the case of an explanation. When you rise on a point of explanation, then it is up to the Member whether to give way or not. If he does not give way, you cannot force him to sit down. I think that is quite clear. This is the second time that I have to say this to you.
- Suleiman: He is asking a question, Sir, so I am replying now.

Chairperson: Do not make it too long.
Suleiman: If you ask me not to make a reply to him, Sir, I will withdraw.
Chairperson: This has nothing to do with this Bill as far as I can see. Make your reply as short as possible.

Despite reminding the MPs about the Standing Procedures of the debate, the Chairperson allowed Suleiman Abdul Rahman to continue with his reply to V. David. Even though the Chairperson was aware that the issue was not relevant to the discussion and could disallow the interruption by V. David (Standing Order 37 (2)), he still allowed Suleiman to proceed to answer but with a reminder to make it short.

Extract 19

The Chairperson could not hide his dissatisfaction during the debate as he sought to understand every word uttered by the MPs. In two occasions the Chairperson interrupted with sequence to the MP which had exposed his effort for inquiry. The first interruption of dissatisfaction was when the Chairperson asked for the justification of the relevance of the speech. A conversation took place among five different speakers until the Chairperson interrupted. Lim Kean Siew (from the Alliance) was proposing an amendment to the Internal Security Bill, particularly Section 13 that says that the Minister will pay attention to the suggestions of the Advisory Board on the person which had been detained for several months. Razak Hussain (from the Alliance) countered Lim twice and indicated his disagreement with Lim's proposal to the amendments. Seenivasagam supported the amendment, but his support was again rejected by Razak Hussain. Ismail Abdul Rahman (from the Alliance) interrupted by giving a simple analogy on the matter of accepting the Advisory Board's suggestions. Karam Singh rose and told the House how he thought that the amendment was appropriate. Karam explained by quoting a speech of the Deputy Prime Minister said "If we [the government] had any power over the Review Committee, the Honourable Member for Bungsar [Karam Singh] would not be sitting here." For Karam Singh, the Deputy Prime Minister was making a statement which "they [government] will do everything in their power to prevent the release of any political opponents whom they may have laid their hands on.

At this point that the Chairperson suddenly interrupted Karam Singh.

Chairperson: How is that relevant to this debate?
Karam Singh: I am supporting the amendment, Sir. I think it is relevant.
Chairperson: I do not see any relevancy at all. The amendment we are now debating is an amendment moved by the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat.

Karam Singh: Now, for these reasons, I urge this House to accept the amendment.

In extract 19, Karam Singh was interrupted because the Chairperson was not satisfied with his example. Karam Singh was using another MP, and the Deputy Prime Minister as an analogy, but the Chairperson did not consider this behavior 'friendly'. Instead, the Chairperson saw it as against the Standing Order 36 (6) because Karam had provoked and ascribed negative character of another member.

Extract 20

Karam Singh had the floor to speak about his proposal on the Internal Security Bills. He was giving an example to Section 25 of the Bill which states that "Any person who, by word of mouth or in writing or any newspaper, periodical, book, circular or other printed publication or by any other means spreads false reports or makes false statements likely to cause public alarm or despondency, shall be guilty of an offence against this Part." As an example to the 'false statements' in Section 25, Karam Singh asked whether he would be locked up or banned from political activities if he criticized the Prime Minister as an 'international beggar' who had just come back from Germany and promised a gift of one million marks. He was interrupted by the Chairperson soon after Suleiman said that "we will laugh at that".

Chairperson: Is that relevant?

Karam Singh: Yes, Sir.

Chairperson: It is not the issue at all. You can give example, but it is not relevant. Up to that point you are all right, don't proceed any further on that (Laughter)

Karam Singh: But, Mr. Speaker, Sir, we find that it is not necessary to go against any armed forces lawfully in the Federation if it is going to be a Malayan force. So, it is obvious that the armed force mentioned here must be a foreign armed force and not an armed force of the Malayan Government.

Chairperson: Yes, proceed!

Karam Singh: And we will persist in our stand, as I have said, until the complete withdrawal of the last foreign troop. Lastly, what does this Bill make of Malaya? It makes Malaya a complete police State. (Laughter). The Alliance Minister can laugh because they are not at the receiving end.

Karam Singh was interrupted during his speech for not using an appropriate example. The Chairperson believed that the example of the Prime Minister as an 'international beggar' was

provocative (Standing Order 36 (6)), which could result in uneasiness in the debate. Karam Singh continued his speech after the Chairperson accepted his explanation.

Extract 21

The next interruption that shows dissatisfaction of the Chairperson was when he requested further clarification on certain issues. One example was when Lim Kean Siew (from the Alliance) rose to propose an amendment to clause 73(1) and (2). The Chairperson interrupted him by asking him to use a better word, clause, or sentence in his proposed amendments as follows.

Chairperson: Why do you want the words "of police"?

Lim Kean Siew: Otherwise the word "inspector" may be mistaken for an Inspector of Vehicles.

Chairperson: But you already have the words "police officer".

Lim Kean Siew: I propose that we include the words "not below the rank of Inspector".

Chairperson: That is better.

Razak Hussain continued the discussion by rejecting Lim Kean Siew's proposal. He said that the suggestion was not acceptable because there would not be enough police with the rank Inspector when needed. Here, the Chairperson acted to demonstrate his accountability by being a moderator. His concern with the words used by MPs showed that he was aware of the ongoing discussion, and hence, managed it well. However, the Chairperson interrupted Lim Kean Siew by proposing his ideas.

4.5 Summary and conclusion

In the present chapter, I examined different ways in which the Chairperson interrupted, work up particular issues to legitimize his interruptions and the sequence of the interruptions. I also showed that, in doing so, the Chairperson consistently attended to his accountability.

These findings are consistent with those of interruptions in Parliament by Carbó (1992) and Van Dijk (2002), which used discourse analysis to show the accomplishment of accountability. In Carbó, the MPs accomplished accountability through interruption by mostly provoking and engaging in polemic behavior with each other, repeating previous statements, and asking the wh-questions quite often. In the present study, the Chairperson's interruptions were quite similar to those of the MPs. In particular, the Chairperson demonstrated his accountability through questions, but as a mediator of the debates, his questions were more direct. It was also

quite often that the Chairperson interrupted the MPs by asking for the relevance of the examples used. The way the Chairperson formulated the questions through interruptions to the MPs served the following purposes: to make MPs accountable and to attend to his accountability. Hence, the Chairperson's interruptions were multi-purpose: to make the MP accountable, to make clear of uncertainties during debates, and to impose his ideas or suggestions towards the discussion.

The analytic findings in this chapter are also consistent with CA research. The findings are parallel with Pomerantz's (1988) in that it is possible to observe an account by placing it against an alternative account. Furthermore, how the Chairperson attended to his accountability contributes to the CA research by showing which 'polemic' and 'problems of understanding' are used in the context (e.g. Extract 18). In particular, the use of 'polemic' and 'problems of understanding' make it possible for the Chairperson to attribute authorship of the challenging aspects of interruption to the MPs, a strategy that has also been found to be frequently used by a discussant when introducing new ideas to shape discussion (Ramón & Maestro 2013).

In this chapter, I examined different ways in which the Chairperson used interruption to work up particular issues to reflect accountability while also attending to accountability. In doing so, I began to address the first research question: how does the Chairperson interrupt during the debate? I will continue pursuing this question in the subsequent two chapters by examining the sequences of interaction between the Chairperson and the MPs in relation to matters that could be constructed as holding accountability.

The next the chapter specifically addressed the second research question: to which party did he interrupt and why? In pursuing this question, the study will provide significant insights into the pattern of interruption by the Chairperson.

The interactions between the Chairperson and the MPs in parliamentary debates to establish the Internal Security Act on 21st and 22nd June 1960 and the Security Offences and Special Measures (SOSMA) on 16th April 2012 are summarized in Table 4.1 and Table 4.2.

Table 4.1 Interruptions made by the Chairperson in *Dewan Rakyat* on 21st and 22nd June 1960 in debate of Internal Security Bill

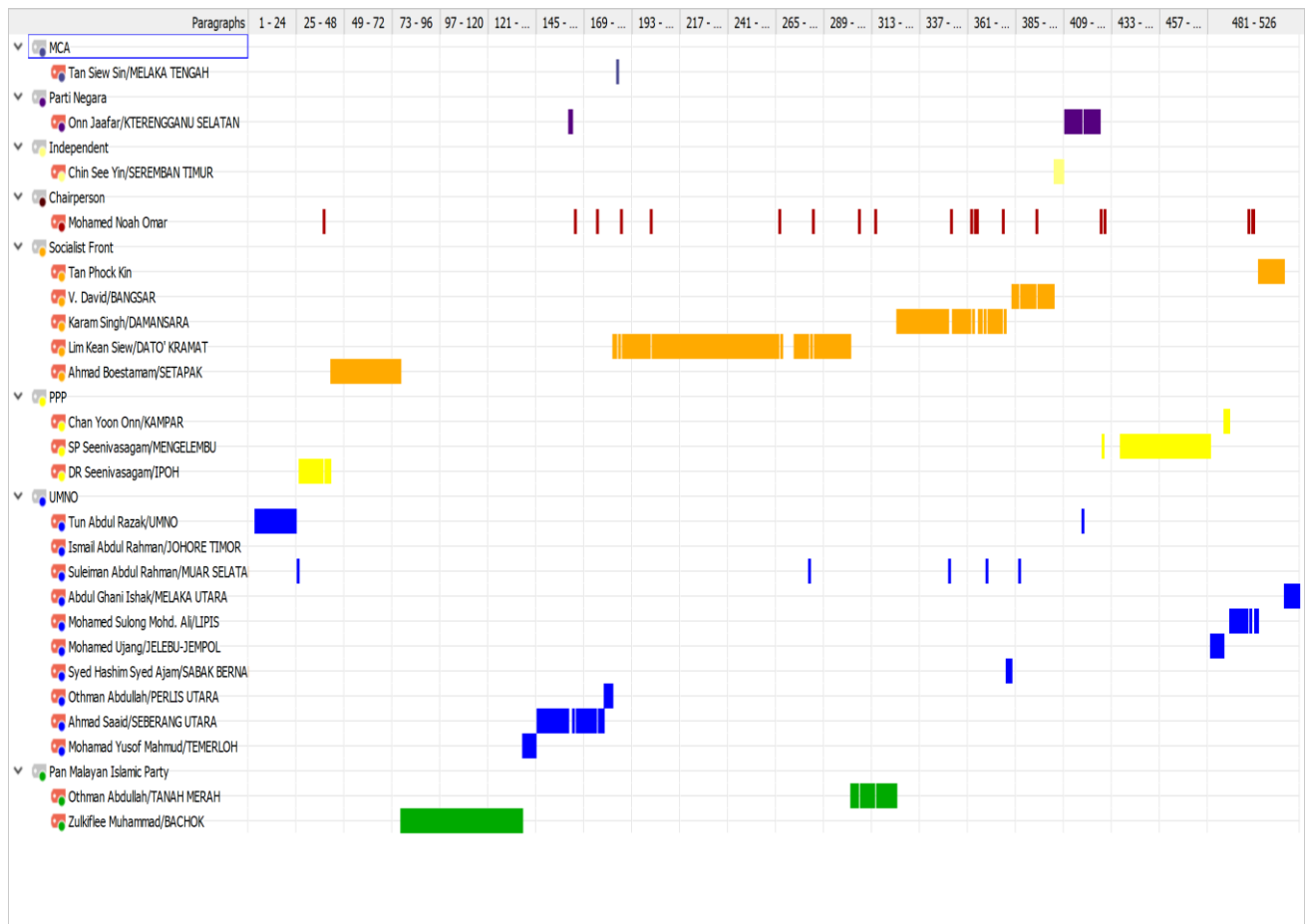
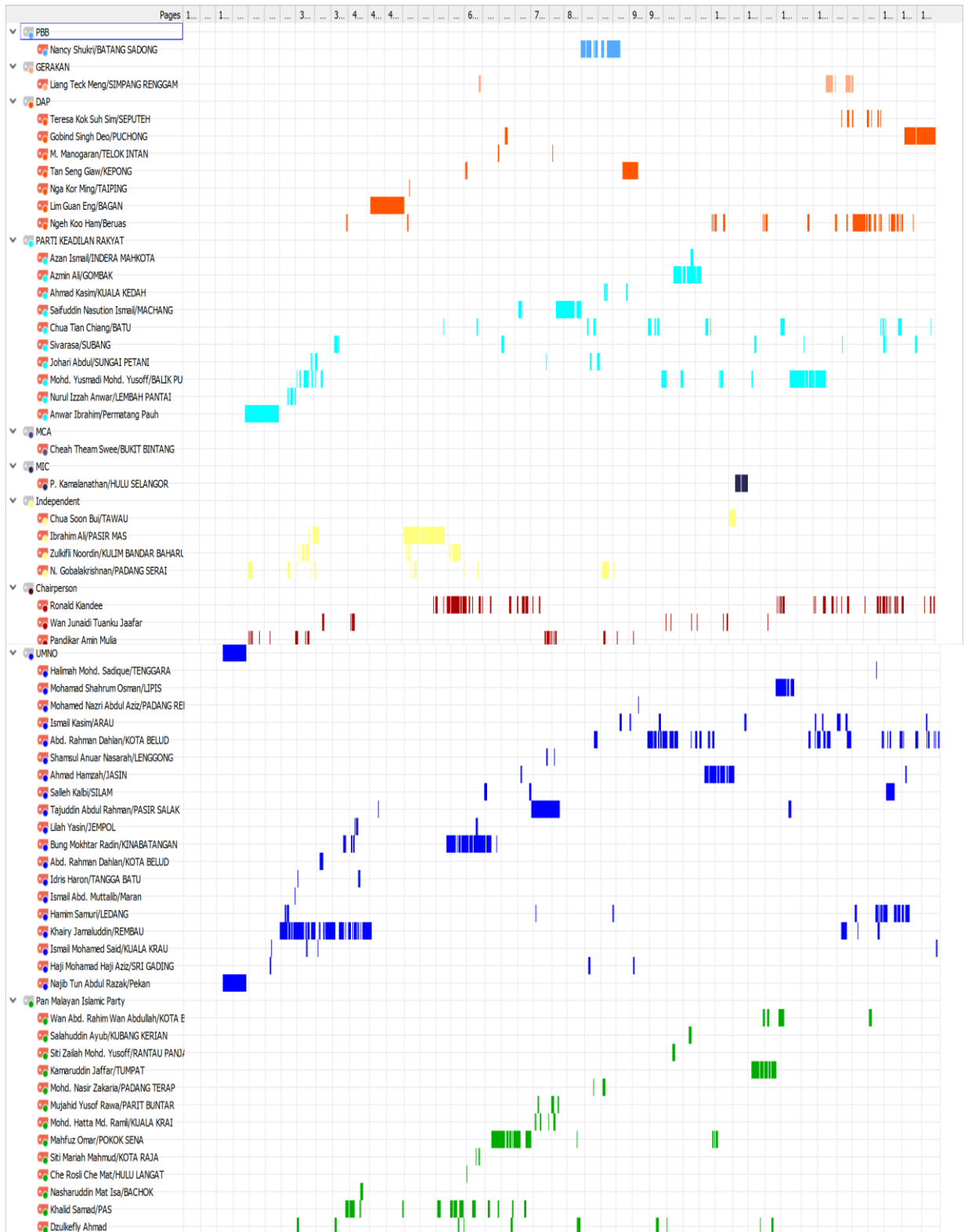


Table 4.2 Interruptions made by the Chairperson in *Dewan Rakyat* on 16th April 2012 on debate of the Security Offences and Special Measures (SOSMA) Bill



CHAPTER 5

DEVELOPING POWER AND PARTISANSHIP THROUGH UTTERANCES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the findings presented in the previous chapter of how accountability was accomplished through utterances and provide further insights into how the Chairperson interrupted the MPs during the debates. In this chapter, I examined the sequences of the interaction between the Chairperson and the MPs with regards to the orientation of power and partisanship. Specifically, I analyzed the accomplishment of accountability through interruptions from two attributes—(i) political party and (ii) reasons for interrupting—to address the second research question on the interaction between the Chairperson and the MPs in relation to strategies. The analysis revealed different ways in which accountability was brought to the fore through interruptions.

Research on parliamentary accountability mostly focuses on the adversarial interactions between MPs during a debate. MPs will act defensively when they know that the oppositions will make counter-arguments on the points the latter uttered (Flinders 2001, Judge 1983). MPs perform accountability directly by showing partisanship through ideas and support in representing their political party. We assume that the Chairperson is likely not to be partisan to ensure a natural and fair discussion during a debate. In particular, unlike a discussant in an open debate or meeting in an organization, where those formulating the challenges and those being challenged belong to the same group (e.g. board of directors), in the present context, the Chairperson is a ‘gate-keeper’ for the MPs. The Chairperson is elected based on the votes from the MPs, but only after he or she has passed the stage of selection or proposal. It is not a requirement for the Chairperson to renounce his or her political position. Furthermore, at the end of a term (usually five years) when the Cabinet is resolved, the Chairperson could play an active role to support his or her political affiliation. With regard to the impartiality of a Chairperson in parliament, this hypothesis can be challenged through analysis of his or her interruptions during debates.

5.2 Analytic procedure

The analysis presented in this chapter was performed using a collection of excerpts in which the Chairperson confronted the MPs with challenges with and without sequences. It involves

two consecutive days on 21st and 22nd June 1960 and on 16th April 2012. In Chapter 4, preliminary analysis showed that the two days debates on the ISA Bill incurred 30 interruptions with 26 MPs in-turn. Meanwhile, debates on SOSMA incurred 165 interruptions with only 23 MPs in-turn. The gap of interruptions between the ISA and SOSMA was not corresponding with the numbers of MPs in turn. In undertaking the initial analysis, I was struck by the ‘direct’ interruption and MPs’ responses. The literature on Chairperson’s accountability for his or her roles and functions in parliament suggests that the challenges would be made and responded to directly (to which party) and abruptly (pattern). The debates on SOSMA received more attention and interruptions by MPs. Why is it so? Based on this literature, I decided to examine this issue further. I also noted that how the MPs responded to the interruption depended on how the Chairperson formulated the challenges. I, therefore, decided to organize the findings around how the interruptions were put forward by the Chairperson to MPs.

5.2.1 Interruptions by Chairperson during Internal Security Bill 1960 debate

The Internal Security Bill was debated for two consecutive days on 21st and 22nd June 1960. It was chaired by one Speaker of the House or Chairperson, namely Mohamed Noah Omar. The debate on Internal Security Bill involved 26 MPs in-turn, namely 10 from UMNO, 2 from MCA, 1 from MIC, 2 from PMIP, 6 from SF, 3 from PPP, 1 from PAN and 1 from Independent party (see Table 5.1 for details). The Chairperson interrupted 30 times to the MPs, notably to the MPs in-turn and some to the other MPs who barged into the session (see Appendix 1 Simplified Interruption 1960 for details).

The session on 21st June 1960 started with the proposal for second reading by the Deputy Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak on the Internal Security Bill. It was seconded by the Minister of the Interior, Suleiman Abdul Rahman. Next, it was Darma Raja Seenivasagam’s turn (PPP/Ipoh) and he was interrupted by the Chairperson to ask for relevancy on his speech which he said “... It was only two days ago that the Honorable Prime Minister said, “we will support the entry of China into the United Nations”” The Chairperson ask him directly “Is that relevant?” Darma Raja Seenivasagam answered the Chairperson that he would like to give examples on the some occasions that might misconstrued the term subversive.

The next MPs in turn were not interrupted by the Chairperson, namely Ahmad Boestamam (SF/Setapak), Zulkiflee Muhammad (PMIP/Bachok) and Mohamed Yusof Mahmud (UMNO/Temerloh). When it was Ahmad Saaid’s (UMNO/Seberang Utara) turn, he was

interested to read on an article written on the Communist influence in Malaya. The Chairperson interrupted him by asking how long it was going to be. Ahmad Saaid answered that it will not take long because he was going to read only a part of it. But when he read six paragraphs of the article, the Chairperson interrupted him with a warning signal saying that the article was long “*panjang nampaknya itu!*” “That is long!” Ahmad Saaid continued with another two paragraph of the article and then resumed his speech.

After Ahmad Saaid completed his speech, Othman Abdullah (UMNO/Perlis Utara) stood up for his turn. He did not speak long and received no interruption from the Chairperson. Soon after Othman Abdullah sat, Lim Kean Siew (SF/Dato Kramat) took the floor and started his speech by giving a statement that if someone who were unqualified to be as MP, they will be ‘vociferous’ during speech. Lim Kean Siew told the floor that MP from Seberang Utara (Ahmad Saaid/UMNO) was one of the example. Tan Siew Sin (MIC/Malacca Tengah) stood up objecting on the statement that it did not apply to all. Lim Kean Siew applied that he did not reject what Tan Siew Sin contended but still insist that Ahmad Saaid was not excluded. Looking at the situation, the Chairperson interrupted Lim Kean Siew to proceed with his speech. The Chairperson again interrupted Lim Kean Siew asking for relevancy of his speech when he was giving an example on the staffs who were working at the Radio Malaya would leave the toilet open because of suspicious to the spies and traitors during Emergency. When it was about time to lunch break, the Chairperson had to interrupt Lim Kean Siew and ask him to stop with “The time is up now”. The session on 21st June 1960 resumed in the afternoon at 2.30pm. Lim Kean Siew proceed with his speech on each of the respective Sections in the Bill. When Lim Kean Siew was explaining on the word ‘despondency’ which could be misinterpreted by others, Suleiman Abdul Rahman (UMNO/Muar Selatan) stood up and mocked him that it was true. Lim Kean Siew responded him “You might” and looking at that situation, the Chairperson quickly asked him “Please proceed” so that it might not prolong the session.

Another MP in-turn was Othman Abdullah (PMIP/Tanah Merah) stood on defending his party stance on the proposed Bill. Othman Abdullah told the floor that his party was misunderstood as against the Bill due to their argument on previous Constitution amendment debate. He was exaggerating on giving examples that one of the Minister told the audience in Kelantan not to trust PMIP as they are communist. At this moment, the Chairperson interrupted him “*Jangan meleret*” “Do not drag on”. Othman Abdullah replied that he did not exaggerate but only

justifying the situation on PMIP was accused of what they were not. The Chairperson interrupted Othman Abdullah because of the speech mentioning other MP who had joined KMM but swore on not being affected by the ideology, and also denoting another MP who had joined 'wataniah' (military service) which helped the British coming into Malaya. The Chairperson did not like the situation on bad mouthing and told Othman Abdullah "*Dalam Parlimen tidak boleh mengata-ngata*" "Insulting is not allowed in Parliament". Othman Abdullah replied that he heard even worst from other MPs speeches before but the Chairperson did not warn them.

As the next speaker in-turn, Karam Singh (SF/Damansara) started his speech with the lineage of the security Bill and also detailed out Sections from the Bill which caused tensions among the oppositions. By the time Karam Singh reached to the point that when the Prime Minister was about to receive one million marks from Germany (after returning from a tour in Europe in 1960), the Chairperson interrupted him "I don't like to interrupt you. But these points have already been raised in the House by many people. Please proceed" The Chairperson had the intention to not to debate on the matter of 'receiving one million marks' from Germany which will drag the focus of discussion. After that, Karam Singh resume his speech focusing on the specific section of the Bill which related to the provision of the rights to not to make any complaints on the presence of foreign troops in Malaya. At this point, it was where the Chairperson and Karam Singh were in a sequence of dialogue. The Chairperson asked its relevance "Is that relevant?" and Karam Singh answered him simply "Yes sir" But the Chairperson did not comfortable with the examples and asked Karam Singh to proceed with other points of discussion. Karam Singh made effort to justify his speech with convincing the Chairperson that the word 'armed forces' in the proposed Bill was referring to the foreign troops. After listening to the answer, the Chairperson was satisfied and asked him to continue "Yes, proceed!" Not long after that, Karam Singh received interruption again when was giving example that if the freedom of speech was undermined by the government and even George Bernard Shaw (great creative mind) was not care of what Prime Minister was thinking or even if there were 10 Deputy Prime Minister. The Chairperson asked him "How is that relevant to the debate on this Bill?" Karam Singh responded that if freedom of speech was undermined, there will be no future thinker in Malaya. Karam Singh completed his turn and passed the floor to Syed Hashim Syed Ajam (UMNO/Sabak Bernam) who received no interruption by the Chairperson.

Being a lawyer, V. David (SF/Bangsar) structured his speech accordingly and made points for every single section that he found flawed and oblivious. By the time he mentioned about the sentence ‘no loyal citizens should dispute over the provisions of this Bill’, V. David got emotional that he raised his voice until the Chairperson interrupted him “You need not shout!” V. David resume his speech until completed without further interruption.

The following speaker in-turn was not interrupted by the Chairperson. Chin See Yin (IND/Seremban Timor) reminder the floor on being extra careful for not to create a ‘monster’ that will one day harm themselves. The other speaker was Onn Ja’afar (PAN/Kuala Terengganu Selatan) who suggested that the Bill should be first referred to the Select Committee before it was endorsed by the House. The session on 21st June 1960 ended with Onn Ja’afar and it was adjourned to the next day.

The speaker in-turn on 22nd June 1960 was S.P Seenivasagam (PPP/Mengelembu) who spoke quite lengthy but was not interrupted by any MP or the Chairperson. S.P Seenivasagam’s speech was also well structured and complete with detailed sections and provisions referring to the proposed Bill. He concluded his speech by mentioning the Malaya representative in the United Nations would be genuine on report on human rights as the power in government now was hold by a dictator.

The debate session continued uninterrupted with Mohamed Ujang (UMNO/Jelebu) who did not speak long and showed full support towards the Bill. According to him, if the Bill was to be rejected, the worst situation could happened like it was during early expansion of the Japanese and the British in Malaya.

Chan Yoon Onn (PPP/Kampar) was given the chance to debate on the proposed Bill. Chan Yoon Onn made his speech short, succinct and uninterrupted. Chan Yoon Onn firmly opposed the Bill and wished that the government would consider changing some of the clauses in order to prevail freedom in the country.

Another MP who received interruption with sequence was Mohamed Sulong Mohd. Ali (UMNO/Lipis). At start, Mohamed Sulong Mohd. Ali was responding to almost all critics by the opposition towards the Bill. When Mohamed Sulong Mohd. Ali tried to refer to a critic by the opposition to the government on the Prime Minister’s support for China, the Chairperson

noted him that “*Perkara itu saya sudah tahan, jangan di-bahathkan dalam Dewan ini lagi*” “I had stopped/halted that issue, do not debate it further in this House” But Mohamed Sulong Mohd. Ali responded to the Chairperson that he heard it yesterday that the opposition was trying to make it as an issue. Before he completed the justification, the Chairperson interrupted him again “*Saya sudah tahan dia*” “I had stopped/halted him” Mohamed Sulong Mohd. Ali accepted ruling by the Chairperson and made his final remark on supporting the Bill.

The debate continued with Tan Phock Kin (SF/Tanjong) who were uninterrupted. He objected the Bill as it contained undemocratic features in preserving democracy. Tan Phock Kin concluded his speech with urging the government to not to use any undemocratic means to preserve democracy as it will only portray that the main objective was only to preserve themselves in the government.

Abdul Ghani Ishak (UMNO/Malacca Utara) stood as the next speaker in-turn. He supported the Bill as it was a good plan to fight anarchy and on preserving security and harmony in the country. Abdul Ghani Ishak welcomed the Bill as he believed it will benefit the country by all means.

The next speaker in-turn was the Minister of Interior, Suleiman Abdul Rahman (UMNO/Muar Selatan) who started speech with responding each of the opposition’s remarks. Suleiman Abdul Rahman explained every criticism of the opposition until he reached to V. David (SF/Bangsar) critics that the government suspended the letter from a detainee to him. V. David stood and asked Suleiman Abdul Rahman to accept the charges that there was a letter sent by detainee to him. The Chairperson interrupted him as V. David suddenly stood and responded to Suleiman Abdul Rahman. The Chairperson stated that “When you stand up, you must say whether you are standing up on a point of information, clarification or explanation, or on a point of order”. V. David answered him that he stood on a point of clarification. But the Chairperson was not satisfied and halted V. David and told him “Wait a minute. I have not finished yet. You can only rise in this House on two points—one is on a point of information, clarification or explanation and the other is on a point of order. If you rise on a point of order, you must quote under what Standing Order you are interrupting, in which case the Member who is speaking must sit down, and I think I need not have to explain this. But I have to explain in the case of an explanation. When you rise on a point of explanation, then it is up to the Member whether to give way or not. If he does not give way, you cannot force him to sit down. I think that is

quite clear. This is the second time that I have to say this to you” The conversation with sequence continued with Suleiman Abdul Rahman continued that he wanted to answer V. David’s question. But the Chairperson told him not to make it too long. Somehow, Suleiman Abdul Rahman was deemed confident of his actions and stated to the Chairperson “If you ask me not to make a reply to him, Sir, I will withdraw” The Chairperson was being lenient to him as he replied “This has nothing to do with this Bill as far as I can see. Make your reply as short as possible”. At this point, the Chairperson was using his discretion and personal judgment on the issue of letter from a detainee to an MP.

The debate resumed with another three speakers from the Alliance uninterrupted by the Chairperson, namely Ismail Abdul Rahman (UMNO/Johore Timor), V.T Sambanthan (MCA/Sungei Siput) and Tan Siew Sin (MIC/Malacca Tengah).

The debate was approaching its final speaker. Liu Yoong Peng (SF/Rawang) stood to convey his speech on the Bill. As he was speaking, Azahari Ibrahim (UMNO/Kubang Pasu Barat) stood to interrupt Liu Yoong Peng for reading while giving speech. The Chairperson asked him “What is the point of order?” and he answered that he did not know which from the Standing Order that specifically mentioned on the regulation. The Chairperson told him that Liu Yoong Peng did not read his speech and asked him to proceed. Liu Yoong Peng responded that it was only notes. The Chairperson told him that it was only permissible to glance at the notes. Liu Yoong Peng resumed his speech and concluded with a critic towards the Minister of Interior for being frivolous.

The last speaker in-turn was Cheah Theam Swee (MCA/Bukit Bintang) from the Alliance. Cheah Theam Swee started his speech with a critic to Liu Yoong Peng (SF/Rawang) that he tactically mentioned the issue of election incident. Nevertheless, D. R. Seenivasagam (PPP/Ipoh) stood and remind the Chairperson that the Ampang election incident was an on-going case which should not be discussed as it was sub judice. The Chairperson interrupted and told the floor that the matter should not be discussed in the House. Being firm, Cheah Theam Swee told the Chairperson that he just want to reflect from Liu Yoong Peng’s remark. Not in the mood to continue the argument, the Chairperson used his bold and firm authority to ask Cheah Theam Swee to obey him as follows “You must obey my ruling; you cannot argue with my ruling. Do not touch on this matter in this House”. The following interruptions was also related to the Ampang election. Tan Siew Sin (MIC/Malacca Tengah) stood up to request the

Chairperson that the comments made on Ampang election be deleted. The Speaker responded to him that while Liu Yoong Peng (SF/Rawang) mentioned on the issue, he did not know that it was a sub judice. The Chairperson then ruled that “Well, if he has mentioned Ampang that will be deleted from the records. Please proceed” When Cheah Theam Swee resumed his speech, he made remarks referring on the Ampang incident again and specifically mentioned the Socialist Front who had attacked the Alliance’s supporter. Karam Singh (SF/Damansara) stood up to made claim to the Chairperson that Cheah Theam Swee was again referring to the Ampang incident. The Chairperson did not agree with him and said “he did not mention that”. Cheah Theam Swee confirmed his speech had nothing to do with Ampang incident which was not true because he resumed his speech earlier making remark on the occasions happened during the Ampang election. The Chairperson told him “But make it as short as possible on those incidents. We are dealing with the second reading of the Bill and I want Honourable Members to confine themselves to this Bill as much as possible” Cheah Theam Swee was not satisfied and still wanted to justify his action and told the Chairperson that he was only referring to the ‘free election’ issue of the country. The Chairperson permitted him with condition to not make it long “Yes, make it as short as possible”.

The sitting was suspended at 1pm on 22 June 1960 and scheduled to be resumed at 2pm on the same day as to hear answer from the proposer of the Bill, Tun Abdul Razak. Overall, the analysis found that the Chairperson made interruptions to six members to the opposition which compose of the PPP, SF, PMIP and PAN members. Meanwhile, only four members of the Alliance were interrupted namely from UMNO, MCA and MIC. The study also found that only one independent member was interrupted. Table 5.1 shows detailed information on the interruptions made by the Chairperson according to speech in-turn in *Dewan Rakyat* on 21st and 22nd June 1960.

Table 5.1 List of members of parliaments on 21st and 22nd June 1960. The debates on the Internal Security Bill were chaired by the Yang Dipertua *Dewan Rakyat* Mr. Mohamed Noah Omar

DAYS	IN-TURN NO.	NAME	AFFILIATION	INTERRUPTION
DAY 1	1	TUN ABDUL RAZAK	UMNO/Pekan	NO

21 ST JUNE 1960	2	D.R. SEENIVASAGAM	PPP/Ipoh	YES
	3	AHMAD BOESTAMAM	SF/Setapak	NO
	4	ZULKIFLEE MUHAMMAD	PMIP/Bachok	NO
	5	MOHAMED YUSOF MAHMUD	UMNO/Temerloh	NO
	6	AHMAD SAAID	UMNO/Seberang Utara	YES
	7	OTHMAN ABDULLAH	UMNO/Perlis Utara	NO
	8	LIM KEAN SIEW	SF/Dato Keramat	YES
	9	OTHMAN ABDULLAH	PMIP/Tanah Merah	YES
	10	KARAM SINGH	SF/Damansara	YES
	11	SYED HASHIM SYED AJAM	UMNO/Sabak Bernam	NO
	12	V. DAVID	SF/Bangsar	YES
	13	CHIN SEE YIN	IND/Seremban Timor	NO
	14	ONN JA'AFAR	PAN/Kuala Terengganu Selatan	NO
	DAY 2 22 ND JUNE 1960	15	S.P. SEENIVASAGAM	PPP/Menglembu
16		MOHAMED UJANG	UMNO/Jelebu- Jempol	NO
17		CHAN YOON ONN	PPP/Kampar	NO
18		MOHAMED SULONG MOHD. ALI	UMNO/Lipis	YES

	19	TAN PHOCK KIN	SF/Tanjong	NO
	20	ABDUL GHANI ISHAK	UMNO/Malacca Utara	NO
	21	SULEIMAN ABDUL RAHMAN	UMNO/Muar Selatan	YES
	22	ISMAIL ABDUL RAHMAN	UMNO/Johor Timor	NO
	23	V.T. SAMBANTHAN	MCA/Sungai Siput	NO
	24	TAN SIEW SIN	MIC/Malacca Tengah	NO
	25	LIU YOONG PENG	SF/Rawang	YES
	26	CHEAH THEAM SWEE	MCA/Bukit Bintang	YES

5.2.2 Interruptions by Chairperson during Security Offenses and Special Measures Bill debates 2012

The Security Offenses and Special Measures (SOSMA) Bill was debated on the 16th April 2012. It was chaired by three Speaker of the House or Chairperson, namely Pandikar Amin Mulia, Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaafar and Ronald Kiandee. The debate on SOSMA involved 23 MPs namely; 8 from UMNO, 1 from MIC, 2 from PAS, 4 from PKR, 4 from DAP, 1 from GERAKAN, 1 from SAPP and 2 from Independent (details of affiliation see Table 4.2). The debates incurred 165 interruptions by three Chairperson.

The session started with a proposal for second reading by the Prime Minister Najib Abdul Razak on SOSMA Bill. The bill was seconded by the Deputy Prime Minister Muhyiddin Mohd. Yassin. After receiving support from a party member, the debate session started with a representative from the opposition, Anwar Ibrahim. Anwar Ibrahim (PKR/Permatang Pauh) received six interruptions from Pandikar Amin which only one of the interruption was specifically dedicated for him to proceed his speech (Interruption 4). Others were only orders to N. Gobalakrishnan (IND/Padang Serai) and other MPs to maintain disorder during debates.

The next speaker in-turn was Khairy Jamaluddin (UMNO/Rembau) who received 19 interruptions from Pandikar Amin and Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaafar. Among 19 interruptions,

only three of them were directly for Khairy Jamaluddin to maintain order-asking to sit (Interruption 16), a mix of reminder to other MPs but included an order for Khairy Jamaluddin to proceed with his speech (Interruption 23) and also another mixture of order to other MPs but included an order for Khairy Jamaluddin to proceed (Interruption 25). Other 16 interruptions were meant to maintain order like giving reminder, warning, quite often asking other MPs to sit down, there were at times just mentioning 'Your honour' in order to convey his reminder to other MPs to behave. Among MPs who made frequent interruptions during Khairy Jamaluddin's turn and received orders from the Chairpersons were namely Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff (PKR/Balik Pulau), Khalid Samad (PAS/Shah Alam), Bung Mokhtar (UMNO/Kinabatangan) and Lilah Yasin (UMNO/Jempol).

The third speaker was Lim Guan Eng (DAP/Bagan) who was not interrupted by the Chairperson. Lim Guan Eng gave Khalid Samad (PAS/Shah Alam) a way to interrupt him and the session continued smoothly until he completed the speech. Ibrahim Ali (IND/Pasir Mas) continued as the next speaker. Not long after he started, he was reminded by the Chairperson that the session will be adjourned to the afternoon session. Altogether, Ibrahim Ali received six interruption which only one directly for him to continue in the afternoon. Another five interruptions were mainly for two MPs namely Khalid Samad (PAS/Shah Alam) and Chua Tian Chang (PKR/Batu). Khalid Samad was asked to sit a few times by the Chairperson while trying to ask for a way to talk. In the meantime, Chua Tian Chang stood at the end of Ibrahim Ali's turn and the Chairperson reminded him that the time was almost up.

Bung Mokhtar (UMNO/Kinabatangan) was among MP who receive many interruptions from the Chairperson. In total, Bung Mokhtar received 41 interruptions from the Chairperson. In spite of the massive interruptions, only twelve interruptions made to him for notifying or asking him on whether to allow other MPs who stood up for a chance to speak. The rest of the interruptions were mainly to order other MPs like Khalid Samad (PAS/Shah Alam) and Zulkiflee Noordin (IND/Kulim Bandar Baharu) to sit down and be calm. At times, the Chairperson also issue warning for them to behave while debate session resumes.

Another speaker who received immense interruptions was Mahfuz Omar (PAS/Pokok Sena). Naturally, Mahfuz Omar was very direct and firm on his position. During his turn, Mahfuz Omar received interruptions from fellow MPs namely Khalid Samad (PAS/Shah Alam), M. Manogaran (DAP/Telok Intan), R. Sivarasa (PKR/Subang), Gobind Singh Deo

(DAP/Puchong), Dzulkefly Ahmad (PAS/Kuala Selangor), Ahmad Hamzah (UMNO/Jasin) and Saifuddin Nasution (PKR/Machang). He managed to control the floor and at times responding to the additional information from other MPs. Being himself (vocal and loud), Mahfuz Omar received six warnings and six reminders on time from the Chairperson (Ronald Kiandee). He also received three notifications and one reminder without specific notice like “Your Honour” from the Chairperson. Mahfuz Omar received warning because he was using impolite words which was deemed to be dedicated to the previous Prime Minister, Najib Abdul Razak. Another set of warning also was to stop him from slandering other party with word like ‘Myanmar-Nepal’¹⁸

Tajuddin Abdul Rahman (UMNO/Pasir Salak) succeeded the turn as the 8th speaker in –turn. During his turn, it was Pandikar Amin Mulia who chaired the session. Pandikar Amin Mulia was seemed to be amused that he laughed with joy when he saw Tajuddin Abdul Rahman wore national attire and spoke English. The Chairperson reminded Tajuddin Abdul Rahman quite often on time. At this session, the Chairperson’s reminder on time was different as it may appear differently instead of directly mentioning the time left. The Chairperson also could mixed the interruptions with reminder on time and also other MPs to act accordingly if they were to ask for permission to speak. The Chairperson was also showing his over-politeness to Tajuddin Abdul Rahman when using question like “...Can I disturb you by invoking the meeting rules [Standing Order]?” instead of just asked him to conclude or stop. Hence, from this session, it is interesting that the Chairperson could maneuver a ‘reminder-time’ to a form of ‘reminder-question-time’.

The business continued with the 9th speaker in-turn, Saifuddin Nasution (PKR/Machang). He received only one interruption from MP Dzulkefly Ahmad (PAS/Kuala Selangor) and none from the Chairperson. The Chairperson only responded once to him at the early speech that Saifuddin Nasution mentioned that he might use two language (English and Malay).

The Chairperson do not only interrupted due to the speaker in-turn’s actions. At times, there were occasions where the session was interrupted due to fellow MP’s interruptions. For instance, it happened during Nancy Shukri (PBB/Batang Sadong) as the 10th speaker in-turn.

¹⁸ Mahfuz Omar was referring UMNO abbreviation as ‘United Myanmar-Nepal Organisation’ instead of United Malays National Organization. This term was referring to a critic of UMNO bringing in many Myanmar and Nepal workers in Malaysia, and gave them identity card for casting vote during election.

At early of her speech, Nancy Shukri managed to conduct well interruptions by fellow MPs. But, the Chairperson had to interrupt her when N. Gobalakrishnan (IND/Padang Serai) claimed that he was treated unfair by all Chairperson since that morning. Nancy Shukri did not received any reminder from the Chairperson that she only noticed of her time while the Chairperson noted to the last MP (Ismail Kasim/UMNO/Arau) not to make a long remark.

The next following three MPs received similar notifications from the Chairperson namely on reminder-time and reminder-conclude. They were Abdul Rahman Dahlan (UMNO/Kota Belud), Mohamed Azmin Ali (PKR/Gombak) dan Ahmad Hamzah (UMNO/Jasin).

The following speakers did not received any interruptions by the Chairperson namely Tan Seng Giaw (DAP/Kepong), Chua Soon Bui (IND/SAPP/Tawau) and P. Kamalanathan (MIC/Hulu Selangor).

The rest of speakers who were in-turn received interruptions by the Chairperson only on debate management issues like ask way-permission to talk, or notifying someone was standing to ask permission to talk. The Chairperson discharging his functions on managing debate towards Kamaruddin Jaffar (PAS/Tumpat) which was reminded by the Chairperson on reminder-time. Meanwhile, Mohamad Shahrum Osman (UMNO/Lipis), Liang Teck Meng (GERAKAN/Simpang Renggam) and Ngeh Koo Ham (DAP/Beruas) were on notification to ask for a way or someone was standing. Towards the end, the Chairperson only made reminder-time and conclude to three respective MPs namely to Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff (PKR/Balik Pulau), Hamim Samuri (UMNO/Ledang) and Gobind Singh Deo (DAP/Puchong). Nevertheless, it does not mean that the respective speakers were not interrupted by other means of interruptions. The three Chairpersons did interrupt with reminder-notify, warning, reminder-without issue (to stop interruptions towards MP in –turn) and others which were listed on Appendix 2 (Simplified Interruptions 2012). As the focus of the study is only on the interruptions of the Chairperson towards MP in-turn, therefore, other interruptions are just supporting the whole analysis. Hence, the next discussion will explain on the analysis of each of the interruption by the Chairperson.

The sitting was suspended at 9.34pm on 16th April 2012 and scheduled to be resumed at 10am on the next day as to hear answer from the proposer of the Bill. Overall, the analysis found that the Chairpersons made interruptions to nine members to the National Alliance which compose

of the UMNO, PBB and GERAKAN members. Meanwhile, only seven members of the opposition were interrupted namely from the PKR, DAP and PAS. The study also found that only one independent member was interrupted. Table 5.2 shows detailed information on the interruptions made by the Chairperson according to speech in-turn in *Dewan Rakyat* on 16th April 2012.

Table 5.2 List of members of parliaments on 16th April 2012. The debates on Rang Undang-Undang Kesalahan Keselamatan (Langkah-Langkah Khas) were chaired by Ronald Kiandee, Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaafar, and Pandikar Amin Mulia.

DAYS	IN-TURN NO.	NAME	AFFILIATION	INTERRUPTION
DAY 1 16 TH APRIL 2012	1	MOHD. NAJIB TUN ABDUL RAZAK	UMNO/Pekan	NO
	2	ANWAR IBRAHIM	PKR/Permatang Pauh	YES
	3	KHAIRY JAMALUDDIN	UMNO/Rembau	YES
	4	LIM GUAN ENG	DAP/Bagan	NO
	5	IBRAHIM ALI	IND/Pasir Mas	YES
	6	BUNG MOKHTAR RADIN	UMNO/Kinabatangan	YES
	7	MAHFUZ OMAR	PAS/Pokok Sena	YES
	8	TAJUDDIN ABDUL RAHMAN	UMNO/Pasir Salak	YES
	9	SAIFUDDIN NASUTION ISMAIL	PKR/Machang	NO
	10	NANCY SHUKRI	PBB/Batang Sadong	YES
	11	TAN SENG GIAW	DAP/Kepong	NO
	12	ABD. RAHMAN DAHLAN	UMNO/Kota Belud	YES
	13	MOHAMED AZMIN ALI	PKR/Gombak	YES

	14	AHMAD HAMZAH	UMNO/Jasin	YES
	15	CHUA SOON BUI	IND/SAPP/Tawau	NO
	16	KAMALANATHAN A/L PANCHANATHAN	MIC/Hulu Selangor	NO
	17	KAMARUDDIN JAFFAR	PAS/Tumpat	YES
	18	MOHAMAD SHAHRUM OSMAN	UMNO/Lipis	YES
	19	MOHD. YUSMADI MOHD. YUSOFF	PKR/Balik Pulau	YES
	20	LIANG TECK MENG	GERAKAN/Simpang Renggam	YES
	21	NGEH KOO HAM	DAP/Beruas	YES
	22	HAMIM SAMURI	UMNO/Ledang	YES
	23	GOBIND SINGH DEO	DAP/Puchong	YES

5.3 Interrupting different parties differently

In this section, I begin by examining several instances in which the Chairperson interrupted the MPs differently based on the latter's political background.

Extract 9

Othman Abdullah (PMIP/Tanah Merah) continued giving his points to support the Internal Security Bill. He mentioned some MPs who had previously joined the KMM and 'Wataniah', among many groups responsible for supporting the British in Malaya. Othman Abdullah added that the matter did not have to be mentioned or challenged in the debate; however, some MPs provoked him to mention it. The Chairperson instantly interrupted him.

Chairperson: Dalam Parlimen tidak boleh mengata2.
(*Insulting is not allowed in Parliament*).

Othman Abdullah: Tadi kawan saya itu berchakap lebih dahshat daripada itu tidak kena tegor? Tuan Yang di-Pertua...
(Just now my friend had spoken more terrible than that but was not warned? Tuan Yang di-Pertuan...)

(Continued until he completed his speech).

In the above extract, the Chairperson challenged a member of PAS (an opposition party) not to insult other MPs during a debate. The challenge was based on the Chairperson had said, ‘insulting is not allowed in parliament’. The challenge was a response to a statement made by the MP deemed to provoke or violate the rules. By stating that “Just now my friend had spoken more terribly than that but was not warned?” Othman Abdullah highlighted the different treatment given to him in a similar case. Such a statement was also a strategic move aimed to vindicate his insults and complete his speech. In this particular extract, the study found that, occasionally, the Chairperson’s ruling was different for different MPs. Indeed, the Chairperson was ‘accepting’ the counter-argument made by Othman Abdullah by not replying or rebuking his statement.

According to Carbó (1992), a Chairperson may answer to ratify his or her position by giving explanatory remarks, based on which sometimes the decision may be altered because of the objection or request from MPs; but this happens “without explicit acknowledgement of the fact” (Carbó 1992: 36). By not declaring or providing further justification on his actions was, therefore, a strategy of the Chairperson of not opening the discussion further on his ‘different treatment’, which could later reveal his preferences or impartiality while ruling the debate.

5.4 Interrupting to impose ideas

In the concept of discourse analysis by van Dijk (2002), a mental context is a significant factor in determining one’s speech or rationality of utterances. Occasionally, the study found how the Chairperson indirectly imposed his ideas. Consider the following extracts.

Extract 2

Lim Kian Siew (SF/Dato Keramat) suggested an amendment to Section 59 under sub-section (1), (2) and (3). He proposed to discard the word “outside” because the first line of the sub-sections that reads “Any person who whether within or outside a security area...” means there would be no boundaries between a secured and unsecured area in the security perimeter.

Therefore, he suggested to rephrase the introduction by removing the word “whether” and “or outside” so that the new sentence will be “Any person who within a security area...” Before Lim Kian Siew proceeded with his explanation, the Chairperson interrupted him:

Chairperson: I am not quite sure whether you want to amend also subsections (2) and (3). I think you have to.

Extract 3

When emphasizing Section 28 of the Internal Security Bill, Karam Singh (SF/Damansara) argued that the section was too vague on the matter that ‘no one to judge whether a statement is false or not’. He also asked whether the Alliance government would be depressed, humiliated, and despondent if he criticized them for demonstrating ‘international beggary’. He then asked whether the government would arrest him for doing so. Suleiman Abdul Rahman (SAR from Alliance) interrupted him by saying that “we will laugh at that”. Then, the Chairperson interrupted.

Chairperson: I don’t like to interrupt you. But these points have already been raised in the House by many people.

The Chairperson could control an MP’s speech through a reminder or warning. In extract 3, the Chairperson reminded the opposition of the Socialist Party (i.e., Karam Singh) that he had repeated the points raised by other MPs. He said “...points have already been raised...” to emphasize no further repetition was needed. A reminder as a strategy through interruption indicates good time management during a debate. However, reminding MPs for not repeating a point could be challenging because the regulation or procedure on repeating a point or an example is not clear; while some points could be the same, the examples, nonetheless, could vary. The Chairperson should allow ‘freedom of speech’ on the points or examples raised because such an exercise will flourish ideas and solutions to a problem. The curtailment will result in the shrinking of ideas or the maintenance of the status quo.

Meanwhile, in extract 2, the Chairperson emphasized his proposal by saying “I think you have to”. By doing so, he tried to make the MP (a member of the Alliance, but was opposing the Bill) accountable on two ground: (i) you must do it (by saying “...you have to”) and (ii) you may do it if you want (by saying “I think...”). In this regard, the Chairperson looked as if he was not autocratic even though he was the one proposed and authorized it. The Standing Order does not mention at all about whether the Chairperson could impose or suggest an idea during

a debate. Therefore, the Chairperson could use his ‘understanding’ when asking for justifications or clarifications from the MPs. The absence of such regulation could be an opportunity for the Chairperson to use his or her power to ‘dwell’ into issue toward meeting a certain agenda.

5.5 Interrupting for relevance

In chapter 4, I examined how the Chairperson had used relevance as a key tool for a subjective interruption during a debate because of his limited power. Most of the time, the oppositions were interrupted by the Chairperson on the relevance of their point in their speeches (see extract 10, 11 and 12 in section 4.3.4 and extract 17 in section 4.4). I also observed that only once the Chairperson interrupted a member of the Alliance party (Lim Kean Siew), who was against the Bill (extract 12 in section 4.3.4).

Van Dijk (2002) suggested that a rational speech depends on the mental context of the speaker. In this study, the Chairperson had performed his accountability by indirectly revealing his preferences while ruling the debates. The analysis found that the Chairperson showed his ‘tolerance’ to the speeches by using a “how...” question when interrupting the speaker to ask about relevance. However, in many cases, the Chairperson accepted all justifications responded to him. Only in the case of the opposition (Karam Singh in extract 19) that the Chairperson was not satisfied with the first justification, and he had to engage in talks with Karam Singh in sequence. The action of asking for relevance during a debate is a subjective interruption that gives the Chairperson an advantage of ‘shaping ideas’ into a specific direction or maintaining while curtailing the freedom of ideas.

5.6 Interrupting to shape discussion

Many possibilities or mechanisms exist to shape or tune a discussion towards a preference or objective. By nature of his position, the Chairperson has the advantage to rule the debate. The analysis indicated that the Chairperson could shape the discussion through subjective interruptions, particularly when asking about the relevance or giving a warning and reminder. To accomplish this, the Chairperson used his judgment about an issue, which, according to van Dijk (2002), is the mental context for his rationality.

The Chairperson can choose not to be responsible for his actions, particularly for changing a decision after receiving complaints or objections from the MPs. The study found that this was the case because the Chairperson in most cases was affiliated with the 'majority party'. The Chairperson could change his or her decision or ruling on a debate without giving any explicit acknowledgement of the fact to the House (Carbó 1992).

5.7 Summary and discussion

This chapter started with the analysis of both Hansards on the 1960 and 2012 to scrutinize on the interruptions made by the Chairperson, to whom and whether it was continuous or only at once. The Internal Security Bill involved 26 MPs in-turn, namely 10 from UMNO, 2 from MCA, 1 from MIC, 2 from PMIP, 6 from SF, 3 from PPP, 1 from PN and 1 from Independent party. Meanwhile, in 2012, the debate on SOSMA involved 23 MPs namely; 8 from UMNO, 1 from MIC, 2 from PAS, 4 from PKR, 4 from DAP, 1 from GERAKAN, 1 from SAPP and 2 from Independent.

The study found that the Chairperson seldom used the exact clauses stipulated in the Standing Order. This was accomplished when most of the interruptions was circling the main reasons asking for i) relevance ii) warning iii) reminder. Although we know that it is the general function of a Chairperson, yet, the frequencies and rationality of interruption can be questioned.

As Henley (1977) argued that power is 'based on the control of resources, and their defense' (in Shaw 2000), power is also possible to be viewed 'in terms of asymmetries between participants in discourse events' (Fairclough 1995: 1). The extent to which a Chairperson controls the resources on the debate floor, as evidenced by using 'unwritten-rules' in interruptions, determines the extent the Chairperson has power to 'shape' the decision-making process. Such a definition of power as being able to control a debate hinges on the Chairperson's attributes, one of which is his or her preference. In this study, the debates on policy were able to achieve a consensus because the Chairperson's specific 'political background' had 'unconsciously' contributed to or shaped the consensus according to his preference.

In this chapter, I examined the way the Chairperson accomplished accountability by interrupting different MPs (opposition and government) and demonstrating his treatment. By

adopting this focus, this chapter was able to build on the findings of chapter 4 and address the second research question: to which party did he interrupt and why? In pursuing this research question, the analysis revealed the most frequent interruption mechanism (relevance, reminder, and warning) used by the Chairperson and the reason or strategy for accomplishing it, thereby providing preliminary insights into the third research question: how did the Chairperson practice accountability for managing the debates? In the next chapter, I will pursue the third research question in more depth by examining different ways in which the Chairperson accomplished accountability through interruptions by ‘subjective ruling’ mechanisms.

CHAPTER 6

DISCRETION AND POSITIONING IDENTITY OF THE CHAIRPERSON IN *DEWAN RAKYAT*

6.1 Introduction

As the Chairperson is one of the significant players in a decision-making process in Parliament, his or her inaction or partiality can be damaging to his or her career and prestige. Hence, the mere possibility of such damage could act as a constraint. As a mediator, the Chairperson is expected to be impartial. However, whether he or she can exercise impartiality in mediating a debate provides significant insights into the pattern of his or her interruption. In this chapter, I pursued the third research question. In particular, I explored the mechanisms used by the Chairperson in managing debates, namely discretion and ‘positioning identity’ while accomplishing interruptions. The findings revealed different ways of how the Chairperson performed such strategies. In addition, this chapter also connect the sense of clientelism from the perspective of ‘liability’ for the party and the its effect to the institution, particularly the Parliament of Malaysia.

6.2 Discretion as subjective ruling

Laundy (1960) contended that a Chairperson does not need to stick to the Standing Orders but to use his discretion while applying it to the House. Discretion is widely used by the Chairperson while managing debates in the *Dewan Rakyat*, despite its weak definition and characteristics. Why do we say discretion is ‘weak’ by definition and characteristic? Discretion is a significant concept in examining one’s thought or perspective. From the legal literature, discretion found its basis from two academic works, namely (i) Hart and Sacks, and (ii) Dworkin. According to Hart and Sacks, discretion is “the power to choose between two or more courses of action, each of which is thought of as permissible” (in Rubin 1996: 1300).

In conjunction to this study, discretion was analyzed as attributes for preferences of choices. Meanwhile, according to Dworkin, discretion is “... like the hole in the doughnut, does not exist except as an area left open by a surrounding belt of restriction” (Goodin 1986). Dworkin added that there are two types of discretion which he contends that when discretion is limited by vague norms like the public interest or anything which one think ‘fair and reasonable, it is known as ‘Big Discretion’. Meanwhile, if discretion is limited by strict rules, it is a ‘Small Discretion’. Dworkin also mentioned on ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ discretion. ‘Weak discretion’

occurs when (i) the person is required to exercise judgment in order to reach a decision, or (ii) the person “has final authority to make a decision and cannot be reviewed and reversed by any other official” (in Rubin 1996: 1301). Meanwhile, ‘strong discretion’ is when the actor “is simply bound by standards set by the authority in question” (Rubin: 1301). The distinction between both ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ discretion is that the actor is bound by standards when making a decision or managing a session of any kind of meeting.

In addition to the practice of discretion in Parliamentary setting, discretion has been used widely without any clear guidelines. In order to perform impartial and without prejudice, discretion in parliamentary setting can be bound to certain procedures. Significantly, the chairperson on duty might change shift as the session can take longer time than usual. As alternative, Davis suggested that discretion must be limited, structured and monitored from time to time (in Fletcher 1984). Davis suggested that discretion can be confined through a) eliminating and limiting discretionary power, b) structured its exercise in an orderly pattern, and c) checked by others as a protection against arbitrariness.

For this study, it is found that the type of discretion is very close to Hart and Sacks concept of discretion that it is ‘power to choose’ and ‘permissible thought’, and also ‘weak discretion’ by Dworkin that the Chairperson had to make clear of a statement made by MP. Analysis shows that preference is a more salient variable than reaching an ideal policy in contributing to the Chairperson’s control of the floor. This can be seen through Extracts 10, 11 and 12 (in section 4.3.4) in which the Chairperson emphasized the relevancy of the speeches. As there was no specific rule on this ruling in the Standing Order, the Chairperson had to use his ‘mental context’ and subjective discretion (weak discretion).

I also analyzed an instance in which the Chairperson order a warning to an MP. This extended extract (Extract 9 in section 4.3.3) allowed me to explore the limitations of accountability of the Chairperson when managing a debate according to his discretion (interruption with sequence). In this situation, the Chairperson could be ‘trapped’ with his ruling (as in Extract 9 when the Chairperson was criticized for giving different treatments to different MPs). Through his warning, projects different treatment which had invited a strong criticism against the Chairperson for not being impartial or having preferences while on duty.

6.3 Positioning in parliament

Along with the analysis on developing power and partisanship through utterances of the Chairperson, this study also found that the Chairperson exhibited two types of identity when managing debate: (a) his official duty as the leader of the House of Representatives, which is the ‘voice’ of all representatives in the parliament, and (b) as a member of a political party (of which he did not totally abstain from political activities and still abided by the party disciplines). Despite the contradictory functions while ruling a debate, the Chairperson is still obliged to be as impartial as he could.

While accomplishing his interruption through relevance, reminder and warning, the positioning of the Chairperson towards an issue discussed by the MPs can be analyzed. The choice of locations and types of questions asked about relevance are some of the significant mechanisms used to observe on positioning. In a parliamentary debate, MPs will debate a motion or amendment to the existing Acts or new Bills. The government always defend their preference and the opposition will pursue the contrary. Such contradiction reflects the concept of ‘party discipline’ that urges party members to be loyal and uphold the same vision of the top leaders (Kam 2009). Another point on positioning is that the Chairperson’s utterances were cautiously made in awareness of the Standing Order. Despite trying to manage the debate, the Chairperson did resist to intervene and authorize his point of view (which he should not have done) as shown in Extract 21 (in section 4.4). By consciously stressing his point of view, the Chairperson could be accused of not exercising impartiality. A conscious action through language is an identity positioning and part of ‘ideological process and structures’ (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; 585). In my analysis on whom the Chairperson preferred to interrupt and with what specific mechanisms, I found that the Chairperson was prone to position himself to the majority of the House. Hence, Davis’s suggestion on confining discretion should be adopted in parliamentary setting, specifically on the Chairperson to safeguard its empowerment over the debates and decision-making process.

6.4 Accountability and Clientelism: Is it Possible?

A Chairperson or Speaker of the House represents the nation, dignity and symbol of freedom and liberty to the nation. Therefore, the post should be ‘free’ (from any political influence) and should be occupied by a person with outstanding ability and impartiality. The subject of accountability of a Chairperson is of the essence during decision-making process that should

be triumphed. Erskine May (Millar et. al, 2011: 451) projected the Chairperson should have full control of the House to enforce order as such;

“In so large and active an assembly as the House of Commons, it is absolutely necessary that the Speaker should be invested with authority to repress disorder and to give effect promptly and decisively to the rules and orders of the House”

Erskine May had earlier mentioned specifically how the assembly or the Hall or the House which refers to the session for decision-making chair by the Chairperson or the Speaker will be in mass. The member of the Lower House (House of Representatives) could be as minimum as in Vatican City with only 7 MPs or as massive as in China with 3,000 MPs (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2021). In order to have an effective and succinct outcome during decision-making process, the focus of attention should be at the Chairperson who controls the flow of the debate. Erskine May highlighted that the Chairperson should be given uncontested power to avoid unnecessary business during debates. Thus, it is the Chairperson who should know how and when to enforce his or her orders while chairing the debate.

Nevertheless, since we know that the Chairperson elected must have joined or become a member of any political party, it is almost impossible to not to make any connection towards the Chairperson’s actions. We always heard on complaints that the Chairperson is being partial or ‘not listening’ to the MPs especially the opposition (more examples as discussed at Section 2.2.1). But at the same time, the Chairperson also may face hardship to carry out the task while at the same time been elected by the party member (or ex-party member). At this point, the Chairperson could have had the sentimental sensation like being ‘in-debt’ or ‘honored’ or ‘liable’ to the party member who elected him or her. Thus, this make the Chairperson as a client to serve to the party member or also known as ‘clientelist’ or ‘clientelism’.

In Malaysia, the case of ‘clientelist’ relationship among party members is obviously seen like the ‘patron-client style’ (Weiss, 2020) and also ‘relational clientelism’ with practical actions such as arrangements of government funds for basic amenities, welfare and close connections with local authorities (Berenschot and Aspinall 2020) (read more of clientelism at Section 2.6). Thus, this ‘intimate’ relationship of ‘clientelist’ may not impose directly to the Chairperson, rather it may render some sentimental sense of ‘belonging’ or ‘liability’ for the party or ex-

party member. Thus, this relationship is sometimes define as being ‘partial’ or sometimes criticized as the ‘lapdog’ to the government.

On the other side of the coin, we can also assess the character of the Chairperson as a good mediator or positively trying to be impartial. The Chairperson as the center of attraction when it comes to debates in the Lower House. Debate session cannot start or resume without a Chairperson in the House which makes the position sanctified and should be respected. It is significant that the Chairperson should gain respect from or be given respect by the House. At this point, it will be much easier if the elected Chairperson has no connection with either group of the members of the House (government and opposition). Therefore, the Chairperson will be ‘free’ to manifest the power during debates. Nevertheless, there was also occasion when the Chairperson was ‘penalized’ for not ‘listening’ to the party member like what had happened in Lok Sabha (India) the Speaker Shri. Somnath Chatterjee was expelled by his party (Communist Party of India/Marxist also known as CPM) for not allowing motions to be discussed in the debate. Hence, this makes a peculiar justification on accountability of a Chairperson that would be assessed from its own characteristic or the party’s.

Another point of view which might be interesting is when the elected Chairperson is not from any party of the House and even never joined politics before being elected. This case is similar to the newly elected Speaker of the *Dewan Rakyat* Azhar Azizan Harun. As a lawyer and experienced Chairman for the Election Commission, Azhar was nominated as the Speaker of the House in 2020 by the Perikatan Nasional Prime Minister Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin. Being nominated from the government block make Azhar as the ‘government person’ from the eyes of the opposition. Since his appointment, Azhar was restless and always in trouble to repress disorder and rule the House. The opposition keeps on ‘pushing’ the Speaker Azhar and making the House into uncontrolled and ineffective decision-making platform. Thus, from this occasion, the election of a Speaker is again not fully accepted by the House or suspicious (particularly by the opposition, at least in the *Dewan Rakyat*).

After revising on the two revelation of the strategies by Chairperson namely the subjective ruling and positioning, the study may add to another perspective of power manipulation by the Chairperson while ruling the debate. As the study is not to the extent of knowing the genuine of actions made by the Chairperson, it is only limited to what are the actions saw and utterances recorded. Therefore, the accountability of a Chairperson could also be directed to another

perspective of power which essentially ‘honored’ to him or her. In order to understand this more, let us get back to the early phase of selection of a Chairperson.

As stipulated under Article 57 (1) of the Federal Constitution states that the *Dewan Rakyat* shall elect a member of the *Dewan Rakyat* or a person who is qualified for election as such a member as the Speaker of the *Dewan*. The procedure of such election is regulated by the Standing Orders 3 and 4 of the *Dewan Rakyat*, set of rules pursuant to Article 62(1) of the Federal Constitution to regulate the parliamentary procedures. From this article, the process of proposing the Chairpersons comes from the floor (members of the House). By nature, the proposals will come from two blocks, the government and the opposition. Nevertheless, there are some occasions when the proposal from the government is not contested as the opposition might know that the result will not be on their side (lose to votes from the majority). At this point, most likely the elected Chairperson will not have an easy path to chair sessions in the House (at least in the *Dewan Rakyat*).

Accountability of a Chairperson lies on his functions and effectiveness while chairing sessions. The power invested to the post is the more than the parliament could render as Erskine May had stated “The ultimate authority on all these matters is the House itself; but the Speaker is the executive officer by whom its rules are enforced” (Millar et. al, 2011:451). From the analysis, the study found that the Chairperson carry out the duty through various forms of mechanisms in order to keep the House in order and to produce the best outcome from debates. The Chairperson also holds the disciplinary powers to penalize MPs for infringements of rules, breaches of order or decorum. With these power, the Chairperson has more than enough authorization to make MPs obey the Standing Order and in order. Nonetheless, it is more likely to happened when the Chairperson is ‘doubted’ from the early election process by the opposition.

From the analysis as well, both Bills (The Internal Security Act and SOSMA) was chaired by different Chairpersons, yet the functions of the Chairperson are still the same. Even though the premise that each of the Chairperson might have different personality or background which might affect their ruling, but this study shows that it does not project as it is. The variables that in the limelight are the ‘political background’ or ‘being a candidate proposed by the majority’. Consequently, the elected Chairperson is still not a favorable candidate by the opposition.

6.5 Summary and discussion

In this chapter, I focused on the instances in which the Chairperson used his discretion and how it transformed into positioning preferences in the debates. I began by examining discretion through an interruption in which the Chairperson utilized relevance, reminder, and warning at times when he thought they would be appropriate actions. The analysis revealed that the Chairperson had a variety of strategies at his disposal to accept a counteraction from MPs, such as allowing the MPs to proceed after questioning for relevance. From the analysis also, the study revealed that the Chairperson was unconsciously positioning himself within the discussion. Selecting whom to interrupt reflects the positioning or preferences of the Chairperson to which party or discussion (against or supporting the discussion).

Overall, the present chapter addressed the third research question of this study: how did the Chairperson practices accountability in managing the debates? The present chapter pursued this research question by focusing on the most significant mechanism of accountability which was accomplished by the Chairperson through an interruption in the context of a parliament setting, namely through relevance, reminder and warning.

The accountability relationship between the Chairperson and the party is influenced by clientelism is sometimes known as clientelistic accountability (Kitschelt and Wilkinson, 2007:2) or patron-client accountability (Lindberg, 2009: 12). As discussed on the functions of the Chairperson earlier, answerability tends to be weak because the interaction between the Chairperson and the party members is dyadic (one to one). The results from analysis suggest that while a large majority of the House expressed their preference for a Chairperson, there are still groups of MPs who did not support or accept the elected Chairperson. Hence, this occasion on preference of a Chairperson will always be the center of attention once the House first resume and the same issue of ‘preference candidate’ will always be the drama which keep on repeating.

From the perspective of good governance and management, the accountability of a Chairperson lies in the hand of the auditor. If a Chairperson did not obey the party member, he or she will be expelled from the position or party, when the Chairperson did not ‘listen’ to the opposition, he or she will be pressured of being ‘partial. In addition to that, from outside of the House, the

Chairperson should be liable to the Public Complaints Bureau (PCB) as the “ombudsman”¹⁹ which is under the Department of the Prime Minister. Ombudsman is the external auditor for the Chairperson which the most important criteria should be accountability which always share or report the critics and actions taken to the public. This is significant for the ombudsman as to ensure that they are free from the government or any political party with interests. However, the function of ombudsman in Malaysia still off the beaten track for it is situated under the Department of the Prime Minister which means under the control of the majority government. Thus, in order to bring back the ‘check and balance’, the PCB should be ‘freed’ from the Department of the Prime Minister or maybe administered by other agencies which does not have any accountability towards the ruling government.

¹⁹ Ombudsman is a “department or a body instituted through the constitution or the legislative assembly or the parliament headed by a high ranking public officer who is non-partisan who can be responsible to the legislative assembly or the parliament, who accepts complaints from anyone who has grievances against any agencies, officers and employers or those who act independently to investigate and recommend solutions to improve the situation and produce reports” (Sanusi, 2000).

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided readers with the mechanics of the Chairperson while managing debates in the Parliament. It also elaborated the occasions when the Chairperson had to interrupt even when they were not stipulated in the Standing Order. At this stage of this research, it is hoped that readers understand the actors in the Parliament, specifically the Chairperson, and how their conversation and arguments affect the outcome or the final decision of policy.

The Malaysian Parliament continues to be a significant political institution, and the commentary on its proceedings form a part of a broader political discourse. Empirical indicators, such as the increase in public participation in elections, the media and public attention paid to politically critical moments (such as voting preferences, etc.) in Parliament, and the importance afforded to parliamentary proceedings in the public sphere verify the need for critically investigating the applicability of the decline hypothesis or reformulating alternate conceptual frames to interpret the significance of Malaysian parliament as an effective policy-making institution.

Towards this goal, I re-conceptualized the function of a parliamentary debate in the Malaysian context using analytical lenses on accountability and partisanship, facilitating the re-integration of (usually excluded) emotions and exaggerated and aesthetic elements of legislation within a political analysis. I argue that such lenses could shed further insight into the Chairperson's behavior and responses and strong partisan emotions as seen on the floor of the *Dewan Rakyat*.

The goal of this thesis is to steadily provide an incremental analysis of the role of accountability, impartiality, and strategies during a deliberative process on the floor of the Malaysian Parliament. This finding is significant in that it offers an alternative to the traditional view and more accurately maps the multitude of representative dynamics at play within the legislation in the Malaysian context. Moreover, it questions the traditional (Western-centric) perception of political deliberation or perhaps representation--defined here very minimal, non-normative way--as "a process of public reasoning geared toward generating political decisions or public opinion about how to resolve shared problems" (Smith and Brasset 2008:72; Kapoor

2002: 461-462) or “MPs are active in Parliament to signal to voters that they are working for them, hoping to boost their re-election chances” (Otjes and Louwse 2013: 3). The following paragraphs delineate how and why my thesis has achieved such a conclusion.

Previous chapters also covered parliament as an institution and focused on the structural aspects of the Chairperson and the influencing behavior while accomplishing his/her routines. The position of a Chairperson in the House of Representatives is getting more attention parallel with the rise of the mechanism for the selection of the Chairperson. The mechanism has been controversial and complicates the government and opposition in selecting their preferred candidates. While I do not critique these mechanisms for being flawed, as each has its strengths and weaknesses, I argue that such mechanism would only produce more ‘rubber-stamping’ policies and ‘cycling’ or ‘collective irrationality’ during a policy-making process. My work can be viewed as institutionalist in that I emphasize the practices of a single institution, the parliament, and consider how it has impacted the accountability of a Chairperson.

I also reviewed power and discourse through knowledge as not everyone knows everything. Interestingly, the discourse could also transform into behavior through ‘tailored’ or ‘crafted’ utterances. These types of utterances are always used as a strategy to achieve objectives. Rather than critiquing the validity of ‘tailored’ and ‘crafted’ utterances in parliament, I used interruptions to critically interpret the strategy of a Chairperson within the context of talk-in interaction in the parliament seating.

For a quick recap, this study examined political accountability within the context of a Chairperson’s accountability towards the Malaysian parliamentary MPs. The study focused on the interaction between the Chairperson and MPs, particularly how the Chairperson interrupted MPs when such behavior was not stipulated or written in the Standing Orders. In pursuing this examination, I made use of conversation analysis (Sacks and Jefferson 1995), a method that enabled me to analyze the conversational devices employed by the Chairperson and MPs and the interactional purposes these fulfilled.

In this final chapter of the dissertation, I will assess how the empirical chapters have addressed the research questions outlined in the study (Section 7.1), provide a synthesis of the main findings (Section 7.2), evaluate the analysis (Section 7.3), and outline how I addressed the issues of generalization and validity (Section 7.4). I will discuss the various contributions of

the dissertation. In particular, I will focus on the theoretical framework and methodological contributions to existing research within political science and social psychology (Section 7.5), and the potential practical contributions of the dissertation (Section 7.6). I will then end this chapter with a summary of the study (Section 7.7).

7.2 Assessment of the findings

Overall, the present study was concerned with the following research focus: How does a Chairperson perform his/her political accountability in practice? As indicated in chapter 2, I split this broad research focus into three more specific research questions:

4. How does the Chairperson interrupt an MP/an ongoing debate?
5. To which party did he interrupt and why? (These questions will lead to the categorization and pattern of interruptions by the Chairperson).
6. How does the Chairperson practice accountability in managing the debates? (The challenging issues between being impartial and his actual duty as a mediator).

Each research question was addressed in two or more empirical chapters. In chapter 4, I mainly addressed the first research question by examining how the Chairperson accomplished accountability through interruptions. The findings suggested that as well as making the MPs accountable for their speeches, the Chairperson attended to his accountability by ensuring a brief discussion within the allocated time frame. Therefore, even though the mechanism of accountability is there, it has to be constantly justified by the Chairperson to ensure smooth interactions and his credibility while chairing the debates.

In chapter 5, I followed up the findings in chapter 4 by examining the accomplishment of accountability through interruptions from two attributes. They are (i) political party, and (ii) reasons for interrupting. By doing so enabled me to begin addressing the second research question in exploring the interaction between a Chairperson and MPs in relation to strategies. The analysis revealed different ways in which accountability was brought to the fore through interruptions.

In chapter 6, I further pursued the second research question and provided initial insights into the third research question. In particular, the chapter explored the mechanisms for managing debates more in-depth by focusing on the types of mechanisms, namely discretion and ‘positioning identity’ while accomplishing interruptions. The findings revealed different ways

in which a Chairperson performed such strategies. Furthermore, I also analyzed an instance in which the Chairperson was pursued an answer. This extended extract allowed me to explore the limitations of accountability in an instance where the Chairperson's accountability for answering or responding to MPs questions (interruption with sequence) was demonstrated.

7.3 Synthesis of the key analytical findings

At least three themes emerged when pursuing the research questions outlined for the study: (a) the way in which the Chairperson attended to the stake and interest in formulating interruptions; (b) the way in which the Chairperson and MPs attended to interruptions as a problematic interaction; and (c) the limits of accountability in practice. I will consider each theme separately, although it is worth to mention that the themes are overlapping throughout the dissertation.

7.3.1 Attending to accountability through interruptions

My analysis revealed a variety of ways in which the Chairperson attend to his accountability through interruptions. While performing his official function, the Chairperson used interruptions under his discretion or unwritten in the Standing Orders to address particular issues (like asking for relevance in section 4.3.4) as accountable while at the same time attending to his own accountability. In chapter 4, I showed how the Chairperson's interruptions had made the MPs accountable while at the same time indirectly attending to the stake and interest through interruptions. Furthermore, in chapter 5, the way in which the interruptions were formulated served two purposes: (a) making the MPs accountable for taking actions, and (b) attending to matters of stake and interest through interruptions by the Chairperson. Great care is taken by the Chairperson to make the interruptions appear reasonable and legitimate (discussed in-depth in chapters 4 and 5) makes it more difficult for MPs to treat these interruptions as biased.

Using the MPs' previous statements before formulating an interruption is one way how the Chairperson attends to matters of stake and accountability through interruptions, as I showed in chapter 4 and further examined in chapter 5. As I showed in the analysis, the use of MPs' statements in the formulation of interruptions serves two purposes. The first purpose is to hold the MPs accountable. This can be accomplished in a variety of ways, such as by establishing 'problems of understanding' or 'reminder' to MPs to abide by the Standing Orders. The second

purpose is to enable the Chairperson to attend to his own accountability, especially in cases where the interruptions are perceived as a challenge following the questions from MPs. Indeed, in chapter 5, I showed that using the MPs' previous statements can serve the purpose of making challenges appear indirect, thereby mitigating their interactional character. This is parallel with Carbó's work on the consequences of interruptions with a sequence like revealing the Chairperson's preference and changing their decision without any explicit acknowledgement (Carbó 1992: 35-36). Also, as I showed in chapter 5, MPs' previous statements can also be used to legitimate polemical interruptions. In the final section of chapter 6, I identified how the Chairperson accomplished his functions by legitimizing his actions.

Another way in which the Chairperson attends to matters of stake and accountability, as I showed in chapter 4, is by proposing his ideas as suggestions during interruptions on 'problems of understanding' or 'request for justification'. Proposing ideas to MPs is seen as an attempt or strategy to shape the discussion.

7.3.2 Attending interruptions as a problem in interactions

Another recurring theme in this study is how the Chairperson and MPs attend to the problems of natural interaction during interruptions. The Chairperson accomplished his function not only according to the Standing Orders but also through 'unwritten' rules based on his discretion. For example, in chapter 5, I showed how 'requesting for clarification' and 'relevance' could be used as a 'subjective' interruption to make the MPs change or out of focus. This was accomplished, especially when the Chairperson asked for further clarification from the MPs on their previous statements, causing the MPs to repeat their points (in section 4.3.1). The Chairperson was accountable when he asked further clarification because at times there was occasion when the 'asking for clarification' will change to imposing 'new subject' or 'new ideas' which will not be genuine to the debate (like in extract 21 section 4.4). At times, 'asking for clarification' also may be projected through interruptions as 'reminder' (in extract 3 section 4.3.2). When the Chairperson indirectly maneuver ideas when he reminds on subjects being repeated by MPs. If the Chairperson did not interrupt the speech, MPs may convey their messages with full colours of examples which in the end may end up with a concrete decision for all.

In countering the speech on relevancy or further clarification, the Chairperson undermined his accountability indirectly towards his 'natural position'. The Chairperson accomplished this in

various ways. For example, in chapter 5, I showed how the Chairperson expressed disagreement or discomfort when some MPs were criticizing the government, especially when the MPs were from the opposition party (see extract 10 in section 4.3.4). Furthermore, in chapter 6, I examined the instances when the Chairperson used his discretion on certain rulings in taking actions on particular issues. The Chairperson attributes his preference and self-positioning clearly when an MP criticized him for giving different treatment (warning) to different MP (see extract 9 in section 4.3.3). This in the end vindicates that discretion was used by the Chairperson as a mechanism for his preferences in the decision-making process.

7.3.3 Accountability and its limitations through interruptions

The mechanisms of accountability, such as interruptions by a Chairperson during parliamentary debates, can be ineffective in circumstances when the Chairperson imposes ideas and vindicates actions. This theme came out most strongly in chapter 6, where I examined the instances in which the Chairperson attempted and, in some cases, succeeded in imposing his ideas on the MPs. The analysis revealed that the Chairperson used a variety of strategies to impose ideas, such as constructing a situation where he could remind the MPs about their previous statements. The difficulty in preventing the Chairperson from imposing his ideas was brought in sharp relief by considering an instance in which that the ideas must consistent with discussion and MP could on the first hand accept or decline. Hence, this suggest that the Chairperson should be bound by strict guidelines in order to control his preference or positioning in the parliament.

Another way the study provides insight into the limits of accountability is presented in chapter 4, where I showed the instance when the Chairperson was challenged to take action on issues raised by MPs. The Chairperson was challenged by the MPs when an interruption with sequence took place (see extract 14 to extract 21 in section 4.4). In particular, the Chairperson attributed the lack of action or control during ‘interruption with sequences’ on three basis namely when the Chairperon made a reminder on the Standing Order or rules, when he was not satisfied to the response after asking for relevance or justification and finally when he asked for further or extra clarifications on subjects mentioned during debate. While emphasizing his continued motivation and authority to rule the ongoing debate, indirectly the Chairperson was downplaying his own accountability through the two-way interaction (sequence) with MPs.

Taken together, these findings indicate that the existence of particular mechanisms for accountability (e.g., Chairperson) is not enough. We also need to consider how these mechanisms are used in practice as stay significantly impartial towards both sides, government and opposition.

7.4 Evaluation of the analysis

This section reflects my shortcomings when performing a conversation analysis and what I did to address them. According to Ambert et al. (1995), a researcher is likely to face three problems when doing a qualitative study: (a) doing research without any idea or knowledge; (b) rambling on points of discussion and quotes; and (c) using shorthand terms and jargon. I will address each of these and show how my analysis avoided them.

The first problem is that qualitative research is often mistaken as ‘exploratory’ of the literature and often mistakenly called ‘exploratory’ because it is unguided research. Researchers must review the literature in-depth and present a clear connection between the literature and the problem studied. Researchers should know the key studies and literature and be able to compare and contrast the literature as it is related to the research questions. I avoided this problem by analytically and comprehensively reviewing the relevant literature, as shown in chapter 2 and some parts in the introductory chapter.

Secondly, according to Ambert et al. (1995), some evaluators also found that researchers undertaking a qualitative study tend to ramble their points everywhere in the research without providing hints on where it is going and how it gets there. Two main reasons could explain the situation. Firstly, the researcher maybe is a novice in doing research, and secondly, qualitative data are so rich that the researcher is overwhelmed. Researchers sometimes may find tempting to add quotes, observations or conceptualizations in their research without understanding their relevance, resulting in weak and simplistic analyses. I avoided this problem by planning what needs to be included in relation to the research questions and chose only relevant extracts without losing the detail and subtlety of the original context. Furthermore, I analyzed the extracts in-depth regarding the function of particular mechanisms and the sequences of the actions by other speakers.

The third problem mentioned by Ambert et al. (1995) is the use of shorthand terms and jargons while doing an analysis (i.e., constructing categories, groups, or factors) which can only be understood by fellow researchers in the same field but not the evaluators or readers. Researchers should be responsible for specifically explaining the techniques used and how the categories are developed. Nevertheless, the use of jargons is acceptable, but the researchers have to explain them to help the readers understand what they mean and in what context. I avoided this type of problem by only using terms which were developed from the framework presented in chapter 1 and chapter 4.

7.5 Subjects of generalization and validity

A research exercise should be susceptible to the critique of replicability, or reliability, or reliability of findings (LeCompte and Goetz 1982). A study should also be able to be extrapolated to other circumstances other than its own. Due to its small sample, CA has often been criticized for its limited generalizability (Hutchby 2006). I overcame this problem in several ways. To begin with, the study compiled data from two-day debates instead of a one-day debate. This enabled me to collect data on a complete session of the topic (Internal Security Bill) under the ruling of one Chairperson and several MPs from the same House.

I also acknowledged the issue of generalization by transversely analyzing several extracts instead of them in isolation. In doing so, I was able to identify an unusual phenomenon and considered the approach to overturn or substantiate my claims. By doing so, I was able to virtually construct the rules and sequences that could be applied to more types of interactional phenomenon. By crossing several extracts also, I was able to recognize the small distinctions between the extracts, and doing so had helped me exemplify the approach for interactions or sequences that I could use in different ways. For example, in chapter 4, I presented a variety of ways how the Chairperson could use the MPs' statements to interrupt. Each of these was shown by several extracts, thereby strengthening my analytic claims and making them easier to generalize to other circumstances.

Validity refers to the extent to which the findings can be corroborated. By using CA as a method of analysis, it allowed me to address this issue in several ways. Firstly, conforming to the CA procedure (Wooffitt 2005), I presented the data in a raw form directly before the analysis. Readers can check the validity of my analytic claims by referring to the relevant line numbers

(provided alongside the analytic claims) within the data. Secondly, I used an irregular phenomenon to substantiate my analytic claim by demonstrating how the phenomenon of exceptions changed the general patterns identified. While doing the analysis, I verified all my claims using the data rather than having *a priori* assumptions (Antaki et al. 2003). I also used the ‘next-turn’ procedure (Wooffitt 2005) to ensure that my analytic claims could be validated through the way in which they were attended by interactions with sequences.

My findings are consistent with the existing academic corpus and can, therefore, be extrapolated outside the official position of a Chairperson. Many procedures identified in my analysis could be found in other contexts. In the concluding section of each chapter, I presented how my findings are consistent with those from other CA studies carried out in different contexts.

7.6 Theoretical and methodological contributions

The present study is the first to undertake an in-depth examination of the verbal interactions between a Chairperson and MPs in the context of parliamentary debates. The analysis has theoretical and methodological implications, particularly in the fields of political science and social psychology. One strong focus of the research on a Chairperson’s accountability is how power and party positioning influence the interactions between a Chairperson and other MPs. According to this body of work, the Chairperson understands that he or she has the full authority in parliamentary settings; hence, any rulings he or she imposes are mandatory for the MPs to obey (Jennings 1970; Green-Pedersen and Mortensen 2010). We might, therefore, assume that subjective rulings are likely to engender polemic and subjective interruptions.

The analysis in the present study, therefore, stands in stark contrast to the political science literature by highlighting the indirectness of positioning, particularly in presenting the behavior and revealing the positioning of a person through the power of discourse that has the ability to shape a discussion. Nonetheless, the study cautioned that examining the power of interaction is not solely an analysis of interaction because the interaction is also influenced by other factors (i.e., idiosyncratic).

A tentative explanation for the discrepancy between my analysis and the findings of political science research is that the latter largely focuses on the functions, roles and selection of a

Chairperson to the office with occasional explanations on the mechanisms while ruling debates when discussion a Chairperson's accountability towards a parliament. As the debates within the parliament are within a structured setting and mediated, a list of speakers and time allocation is prepared by the Chairperson (or at least endorsed by him). That is, the focus of political science research is behavior rather than the whole speech during the interaction between the Chairperson and MPs. Hence, the discrepancy could be due to a lack of attention to the details of the discussion in political science research. As discussed in chapter 4, CA can also be performed to analyze other means of confrontational mechanisms, such as provoking interviewees using an acceptable form like footing (e.g. Atkinson and Drew 1979). My analysis is, therefore strengthened by other CA findings from different institutional settings.

The rich corpus of the existing political science literature recognizes the mechanisms of accountability in the context related to the study. In contrast, the present study uses the context of a Chairperson's accountability to examine how, in practice, interruptions are used or accomplished in a parliament debate ruling. In doing so, the study provides surprising insights. For example, as I showed in chapter 6, there are limitations to which MPs can be made to answer questions asked by the Chairperson. The findings such as this indicate the need to look more closely at how the accountability mechanisms are used or performed and their specific boundaries.

As mentioned earlier in the introductory chapter, this study is a combination of perspectives of political science and social psychology. Therefore, the study also has important implications for social psychology. One can gain much more understanding of individual or group behavior by using real-life data. Indeed, with various facets of findings soar the examination on manipulations of accounts within the official position. For instance, like the positioning of Chairperson may be from his meta-concept of being part of the government party. Another example is when the Chairperson execute his order through discretion, this may portray as his preferences or mood of the day. Specifically, the study saw during Pandikar Amin Mulia was laughing during Tajuddin Abdul Rahman (UMNO/Pasir Salak) was giving speech. The Chairperson (Pandikar Amin Mulia) felt amusing when he saw Tajuddin Abdul Rahman wore traditional dress and converse in English. From this example, it is clear that the Chairperson might be affected by their mood while chairing a session.

The study also sets an example for using a social psychological perspective to investigate political phenomena such as a Chairperson's accountability and establish the importance that such a perspective can enrich other fields of research (e.g. political science). As a final point, the study adds to the growing number of doctoral dissertations in social psychology that has practical implications as elaborated below.

7.7 Contributions to the body of knowledge

The analysis showed that this study has important practical implications through the process of Chairperson's accountability mechanisms (e.g. discretion, positioning). In particular, the analysis showed that regardless of party politics, issues of stake and interests are in the middle of the interactions between the Chairperson and MPs. A subjective discretion is used as a result of the situation at hand and not employed as *a priori* decisions to sabotage the process. Hence, the Chairperson may be able to provoke issues and shape the discussion towards his preference by constructing them through interruptions. However, it is evident that a Chairperson who identifies with a specific political group is almost unlikely to be impartial.

The study also has significant implications for democracy, particularly institutionalism. Whereas the political science literature frequently asks questions about accountability mechanisms, my study shows how interruptions are formulated and responses received *in situ*. The analysis also highlights the negotiated nature of account during an interruption. The insights delivered in my analysis in relation to this topic can be useful in raising the consciousness of how a Chairperson and other public figures can downplay their accountability for acting on particular issues and at the same time be impartial. In turn, this increased consciousness can be used to counter such attempts at downplaying accountability to make impartial and fair decisions.

As a final point, the present findings will open to a broader playing arena to people experienced with such interactions and those who lack such experience. These findings would allow novices to political debates to find the most effective way of presenting their perspectives without getting their arguments undermined from the challenges as a result of their utterances.

7.8 Conclusion

This study uses conversation analysis to examine a Chairperson's accountability towards the Malaysian members of parliament (MPs). The use of CA has offered insights into the ways in

which the speakers (Chairperson and MPs) manage the interruptions made by the Chairperson when he requests clarification, gives a reminder, and even is challenged during interruptions with a sequence. For instance, I highlighted the strategy taken by the Chairperson to make the interruptions appear reasonable and legitimate by challenging MPs to be accountable towards the interruptions without appearing to be bias or defensive. The dissertation is the first to examine a Chairperson's accountability within a parliamentary context using CA, and the findings have important theoretical, methodological, and practical implications.

REFERENCES

- Abdul Aziz Bari (2001) *Perlembagaan Malaysia: Asas-asas dan Masalah*, Kuala Lumpur; Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Abdul Aziz Bari (2006) *Undang-Undang Antarabangsa: Asas, Pelaksanaan dan Masa Depan*, 18:3 KANUN 1, Kuala Lumpur; Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- Abdullah Sanusi A, Norma M & Abdul Kuddus A. (2003). *The Malaysian bureaucracy: Four decades of development*, Petaling Jaya: Pearson-Prentice Hall.
- Ahmad, Z. H., & Alatas, S. M. (1999). *Malaysia: in an uncertain mode. Driven by Growth: Political Change in the Asia-Pacific Region*, 176-196.
- Ahmad, Z. H. (1989). *Malaysia: Quasi-Democracy in a Divided Society*” dalam *L. Democracy in Developing Countries. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner, Jilid ke-3: Asia*.
- Ali, H. (2003) *The politics of meritocracy in Malaysia*, MA thesis at Naval Postgraduate School, available at Dudley Knox Bosun files at http://library.nps.navy.mil/uhtbin/cgisirsi/Tue+Jan+17+19:23:24+PST+2006/SIRSI/0/518/0/03Dec_Ali.pdf/Content/1?new_gateway_db=HYPERION
- Ambert, A. M., Adler, P. A., Adler, P., & Detzner, D. F. (1995). *Understanding and evaluating qualitative research. Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 879-893.
- Andaya & Andaya, p. 324 and Means, G.P.(1976) *Malaysia Politics*, 2nd Ed., London, Hodder & Stoughton, p. 403.
- Andrews, J. T. (2002). *When Majorities Fail: The Russian Parliament, 1990–1993*, Cambridge University Press.
- Antaki, C., Billig, M., Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (2003). *Discourse analysis means doing analysis: A critique of six analytic shortcomings*.
- Anwar, N.I. (2015) [KEADILAN will initiate a civil suit to nullify UMNO-BN held seats during the 13th GE following WSJ and SR Allegations](http://www.nurulizzah.com/site/2015/07/08/keadilan-will-initiate-a-civil-suit-to-nullify-umno-bn-held-seats-during-the-13th-ge-following-wsj-and-sr-allegations/), retrieved at <http://www.nurulizzah.com/site/2015/07/08/keadilan-will-initiate-a-civil-suit-to-nullify-umno-bn-held-seats-during-the-13th-ge-following-wsj-and-sr-allegations/>
- Arah Aliran Malaysia: *Penilaian Pilihan Raya* (<http://www.iseas.edu.sg/trends120.pdf>) (PDF)
- Atkinson, J. M., & Drew, P. (1979). *Order in court*. Springer.
- Atkinson, J. M., Heritage, J., & Oatley, K. (Eds.). (1984). *Structures of social action*. Cambridge University Press.
- Barbara Andaya, B.W. & Andaya, L.Y.(2001) *A history of Malaysia*, 2nd ed., Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, p.298, and also Emmerson, D.K. (1999) *A tale of three*

countries, *Journal of Democracy*, vol.10, no.4,p. 35-53, retrieved at http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v010/10.4emerson.html

Berenschot, W. (2018). The political economy of clientelism: A comparative study of Indonesia's patronage democracy. *Comparative political studies*, 51(12), 1563-1593.

Berenschot, W., & Aspinall, E. (2020). How clientelism varies: Comparing patronage democracies. *Democratization*, 27(1), 1-19.

Bracher, Karl D. (1963), 'Problems of Parliamentary Democracy in Europe', in Stephen R. Graubard (ed.), *A New Europe?*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse studies*, 7(4-5), 585-614.

Carbó, T. (1992). Towards an interpretation of interruptions in Mexican parliamentary discourse (1920-60). *Discourse & Society*, 3(1), 25-45.

Case, W. (1993). Semi-democracy in Malaysia: Withstanding the pressures for regime change. *Pacific Affairs*, 183-205.

Case, W. F. (1996). Elites and regimes in Malaysia. *Revisiting a Consociational Democracy*. Clayton: Monash Asia Institute.

Case, W. (2002) *Politics in Southeast Asia. Democracy or less*, Richmond; Curzon Press, p. 120.

Challis, R. (2001). *Shadow of a Revolution: Indonesia and the Generals*. Sutton Pub Limited.

Chee, S., (1991). Public Accountability in Malaysia: Form and Substance, in G.B.N. Pradhan and M. A. Reforma, eds., *Public Administration in the 1990s: Challenges and Opportunities*. Manila: EROPA: 105-126

Cheibub, J. A., & Limongi, F. (2010). From conflict to coordination: Perspectives on the study of executive-legislative relations. *Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos Legislativos*, 1(1), 38-53.

Chester, N., Chester, D. N., & Bowring, N. (1962). *Questions in parliament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Chuah, M. (1992). Bibliographic sources to Malaysian parliamentary papers. *Kekal Abadi*.

Clayman, S., & Heritage, J. (2002). *The news interview: Journalists and public figures on the air*. Cambridge University Press.

Copeland, G. W. and Patterson, S. C., (1997). Changing an institutionalized system. In: Gary W. Copeland and Samuel C. Patterson (eds.). *Parliaments in the Modern World: Changing Institutions*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 151-160

- Coulter, J. (1983). Contingent and a priori structures in sequential analysis. *Human Studies*, 361-376.
- Crombez, C. (2000). Institutional reform and co-decision in the European Union. *Constitutional Political Economy*, 11(1), 41-57.
- Crouch, H. (1991) The military in Malaysia, in Selochan, V.(ed.), *The Military, the state and development in Asia and the Pacific*, Boulder, Westview Press, p. 121-137
- Crouch, H. A. (1996). *Government and society in Malaysia* (p. 75). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Dechenwangdilachungpa (2021) ‘A critical analysis of the Office of the Speaker of India’. *Sikkim Express*. Retrieved at <http://www.sikkimexpress.com/news-details/a-critical-analysis-of-the-office-of-the-speaker-in-india>.
- Department of Statistics Malaysia (2011) Census 2000. Retrieved at <http://www.mycensus.gov.my/index.php/census-product/publication/census-2000>
- Diamond, L., Linz, J.J. & Lipset, S.M. (1988) *Democracy in developing countries: Asia*, vol. 3, Boulder; Lynne Rienner Publishers, p.xvii
- Diamond, L. (2002). Elections without democracy: Thinking about hybrid regimes. *Journal of democracy*, 13(2), 21-35.
- Dolný, B. (2011). Possible application of deliberative democracy in Parliament. *Human Affairs*, 21(4), 422-436.
- Döring, H. (Ed.). (1995). *Parliaments and majority rule in Western Europe*, Frankfurt: Campus.
- Döring, H. (2001). Parliamentary agenda control and legislative outcomes in Western Europe. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 145-165.
- Earnshaw, D., & Judge, D. (1993). The European Parliament and the sweeteners directive: from footnote to inter-institutional conflict. *J. Common Mkt. Stud.*, 31, 103.
- Elgie, R., & Stapleton, J. (2006). Testing the decline of parliament thesis: Ireland, 1923–2002. *Political Studies*, 54(3), 465-485.
- Embong, A. R. (2001). 2. The Culture and Practice of Pluralism in Postcolonial Malaysia. In *The politics of multiculturalism* (pp. 59-85). University of Hawaii Press.
- Enloe, C. H. (1978). The issue saliency of the military-ethnic connection: Some thoughts on Malaysia. *Comparative politics*, 10(2), 267-285.
- Fakeh, S. (2004). *Memoir Shamsiah Fakeh: dari AWAS ke rejimen ke-10*. Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

- Feldman, S. (1988). Structure and consistency in public opinion: The role of core beliefs and values. *American Journal of political science*, 416-440.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media discourse* (pp. 9-14). London: Edward Arnold.
- Farouk, A. F. A. (2011). The Limits of Civil Society In Democratising The State: The Malaysian Case. *Kajian Malaysia: Journal of Malaysian Studies*, 29(1).
- Fletcher, G. P. (1984). Some unwise reflections about discretion. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 47(4), 269-286.
- Flinders, M. (2002). Shifting the balance? Parliament, the executive and the British constitution. *Political Studies*, 50(1), 23-42.
- Franklin, M. and Norton, P. (1993). *Parliamentary Questions*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Garfinkel, H. (1963). A conception of and experiments with “trust” as a condition of concerted stable actions. *The production of reality: Essays and readings on social interaction*, 381-392.
- Garfinkel, H. (1967) *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Goetz, A. M., & Jenkins, R. (2005). Reinventing accountability. *Making Democracy Work for Human Development. Primera Edición. Gran Bretaña: Palgrave Macmillan*.
- Goldberg, J. A. (1990). Interrupting the discourse on interruptions: An analysis in terms of relationally neutral, power-and rapport-oriented acts. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14(6), 883-903.
- Goodin, R. E. (1986). Welfare, rights and discretion. *Oxford J. Legal Stud.*, 6, 232.
- Green-Pedersen, C., & Mortensen, P. B. (2010). Who sets the agenda and who responds to it in the Danish parliament? A new model of issue competition and agenda-setting. *European Journal of Political Research*, 49(2), 257-281.
- Hajer, M. A. 2005. “Rebuilding Ground Zero. The Politics of Performance.” *Planning Theory & Practice* 6 (4): 445–464.
- Harden, J. J., & Carsey, T. M. (2012). Balancing constituency representation and party responsiveness in the US Senate: the conditioning effect of state ideological heterogeneity. *Public Choice*, 150(1-2), 137-154.
- Harding, A. J. (1996). *Law, government and the constitution in Malaysia*, London; Kluwer Law International.
- Harding, A. (2012). *The constitution of Malaysia: A contextual analysis*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Harris, S. (2001). Being politically impolite: extending politeness theory to adversarial political discourse. *Discourse & society*, 12(4), 451-472.

- Heath, C., & Luff, P. (1992). Media space and communicative asymmetries: Preliminary observations of video-mediated interaction. *Human-Computer Interaction*, 7(3), 315-346.
- Heath, C. (1997). The analysis of activities in face to face interaction using video. *Qualitative Sociology*, 183-200.
- Heritage, J. (1997). Conversation analysis and institutional talk: Analyzing data. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative analysis: Issues of theory and method* (pp. 161-182). London; sage.
- Heritage, J. (2001). Goffman, Garfinkel and Conversation. *Discourse theory and practice: A reader*, 5, 47.
- Hicken, A. (2011). Clientelism. *Annual review of political science*, 14, 289-310.
- Hindustan Times (2014) 'Rahul Gandhi slams Lok Sabha Speaker'. Retrieved at <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/rahul-gandhi-slams-partial-lok-sabha-speaker/story-A1Ozf1rF5IEgDP0scPCEwM.html>
- Hix, S., Noury, A., & Roland, G. (2005). Power to the parties: cohesion and competition in the European Parliament, 1979–2001. *British Journal of Political Science*, 35(2), 209-234.
- Huber, J. D. (1996). The vote of confidence in parliamentary democracies. *American Political Science Review*, 90(2), 269-282.
- Hutchby, I. and Wooffitt, R. (1998). *Conversation Analysis: principles, practices and applications*. Cambridge; Polity.
- Hutchby, I., (2006). *Media Talk: Conversation Analysis and the Study of Broadcasting*. Open University, Maidenhead
- Hobolt, S. B., & Klemmensen, R. (2005). Responsive government? Public opinion and government policy preferences in Britain and Denmark. *Political Studies*, 53(2), 379-402.
- Ibrahim, M.I (2018, November 1). 'Speaker kena adil, tak boleh partisan'. *Berita Harian Online*. Retrieved at <https://www.bharian.com.my/berita/nasional/2018/11/493322/speaker-kena-adil-tak-boleh-partisan>
- Ilie, C. (2001). Semi-institutional discourse: The case of talk shows. *Journal of pragmatics*, 33(2), 209-254.
- Ilie, C. (2006). Talk shows. *Encyclopedia of Language and linguistics*, 12, 489-94.
- Ilie, C. (2010). Strategic uses of parliamentary forms of address: The case of the UK Parliament and the Swedish Riksdag. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(4), 885-911.
- Interfax-Ukraine “Yanukovych: Ukraine will remain a neutral state” on 7th January 2010. Retrieved on 14 January 2015 at <http://www.kyivpost.com/content/politics/yanukovych-ukraine-will-remain-a-neutral-state-56539.html>.

- Inter-Parliamentary Union (2021). Members. Retrieved at <https://www.ipu.org/about-ipu/members>
- Jefferson, G. (1984). On stepwise transition from talk about a trouble to inappropriately next-positioned matters. *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*, 191-222.
- Jennings, W. I. (1970). *Parliament*. (2nd ed.) Cambridge; University Printing Hall.
- Jenny, M., and Müller, W. C. (1995). Presidents of Parliament: Neutral Chairmen or Assets of the Majority?. *Parliaments and majority rule in Western Europe*, 326-364.
- Johnson, L. K. (2005). Accountability and America's secret foreign policy: Keeping a legislative eye on the central intelligence agency. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 1(1), 99-120.
- Judge, D., and Earnshaw, D. (2003). The Future is Parliamentary? Parliamentarisation and Legitimation in the EU. Retrieved at http://aei.pitt.edu/6511/1/001333_1.PDF
- Kam, C. J. (2009). *Party discipline and parliamentary politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kapoor, I. (2002). Deliberative democracy or agonistic pluralism? The relevance of the Habermas-Mouffe debate for third world politics. *Alternatives*, 27(4), 459-487.
- Kanapathy et.al. (1989) The Mahathir era: Contributions to national economic development, Petaling Jaya; International Investment Consultant, p. 91
- Kelly, N. J., & Enns, P. K. (2010). Inequality and the Dynamics of Public Opinion: The Self-Reinforcing Link Between Economic Inequality and Mass Preferences. *American Journal of Political Science*, 54(4), 855-870.
- Khoo Boo Teik (2003) Beyond Mahathir-Malaysian Politics and its discontents, London; Zed Books Ltd., p. 6-7
- Khoo, J. (2010) Creating a purposeful Parliament, The Nut Graph, retrieved at <http://www.thenutgraph.com/creating-a-purposeful-parliament/>
- Kitschelt, H., & Wilkinson, S. I. (Eds.). (2007). *Patrons, clients and policies: Patterns of democratic accountability and political competition*. Cambridge University Press.
- Laundy, P. (1960). The Speaker of the House of Commons. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 14(1960sep), 72-79.
- LeCompte, M. D., & Goetz, J. P. (1982). Problems of reliability and validity in ethnographic research. *Review of educational research*, 52(1), 31-60.
- Levenson, R. W., & Gottman, J. M. (1983). Marital interaction: physiological linkage and affective exchange. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 45(3), 587.
- Liebert, U. and Cotta. M., (Eds) (1990). *Parliament and democratic consolidation in Southern Europe : Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Turkey*. London and New York: Pinter.

- Lijphart, A. (1977) *Democracy in Plural Societies*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Lijphart, A. (1984). *Democracies*. Yale University Press.
- Lim H.H. (2002). Public administration: The effects of executive dominance in Loh K.W and Khoo B.T (eds.), *Democracy in Malaysia; Discourses and Practices*, London: Curzon.
- Lindberg, S. I. (2009). Accountability: the core concept and its subtypes. *Africa Power and Politics Programme Working Paper, 1*.
- Loh, K. W. 2002. Developmentalism and the limits of democratic discourse. In *Democracy in Malaysia: Discourses and practices*, eds. K. W. Loh and B. T. Khoo. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.
- Lubeck, P. M. (1992). Malaysian industrialization, ethnic divisions and the NIC model: the limits to replication. *States and Development in the Asian Pacific Rim, London: Sage*.
- Mahathir Mohamad (1981) *The Malay Dilemma*, Singapura: The Books International.
- Maley, Y. (1987). The language of legislation¹. *Language in society, 16*(1), 25-48.
- Mansor, N. and Nordin, A., (1990). Public Accountability – The Malaysian Case, in *Issues and Challenges for National Development. Selected Papers Presented at the 21st Anniversary Conference of the Faculty of Economics and Administration, Universiti Malaya: 267-288*
- Maurer, A. (2003). The legislative powers and impact of the European Parliament. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 41*(2), 227-247.
- Mauzy, D. K. (1993). *Driven by Growth: Political Change in the Asia-Pacific Region*. Edited by James W. Morley. The East Asian Institute of Columbia University. Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 1993. 382 pp. 18.95. *The Journal of Asian Studies, 52*(3), 694-695.
- McDougall, L. (1998). What women have done to Westminster [Edited transcript of an address to the Sydney Institute on 4 May 1998]. *Sydney Papers, The, 10*(3), 12-21.
- Millar, D., Hutton, M., Patrick, S., Johnson, C., Jack, M., and Sandall, A. (2011). *Erskine May's Parliamentary Practice*. London. Lexis-Nexis.
- Mohd Foad Sakdan (1999). *Pengetahuan Asas Politik Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Moraski, B. J., & Shipan, C. R. (1999). The politics of Supreme Court nominations: A theory of institutional constraints and choices. *American Journal of Political Science, 1069-1095*.
- Morlino, L. (2004). What is a 'good' democracy?. *Democratization, 11*(5), 10-32.
- Muno, W. (2010, August). Conceptualizing and measuring clientelism. In *Paper to be presented at the workshop on Neopatrimonialism in Various World Regions, giga German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg*.

- Musolf, D.L. & Springer J.F. (1977) Legislatures and divided societies: The Malaysian Parliament and Multi-Ethnicity, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, vo. 2. No. 2, p.113-136.
- Müller, W., & Strøm, K. (Eds.). (1999). *Policy, Office, or Votes?: How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions* (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511625695
- Müller, W. C., Bergman, T., Graham, B., & Gates, S. (2003). In Müller, W., & Strøm, K. *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*.
- Norris, P. (2012). 7. Does Democratic Satisfaction Reflect Regime Performance?. In *How Democracy Works* (pp. 115-136). Amsterdam University Press.
- Norton, P. (1990). Parliaments: A framework for analysis. *West European Politics*, 13(3), 1-9.
- Olson, D. M., & Norton, P. (Eds.). (1996). The new parliaments of Central and Eastern Europe (Vol. 2). Psychology Press.
- Ornstein, N. J. (1992). Foreign policy and the 1992 election. *Foreign Affairs*, 71(3), 1-16.
- O'donnell, G. (2003). Horizontal Accountability: The Legal. *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, 34.
- Ornatowski, C. (2010). Parliamentary discourse and political transition. *Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture (DAPSAC)*, 223.
- Otjes, S., Louwse, T., & Parties, D. P. (2013). Patterns of coalition-opposition voting in parliamentary systems: exploring case of the Netherlands. In *ECPR General Conference, Bordeaux, 4-- 7 September*.
- Parkinson, J. (2012). Democratizing deliberative systems. *Deliberative systems: Deliberative democracy at the large scale*, 151-172.
- Pepinsky, T. B. (2007). Malaysia: Turnover without change. *Journal of Democracy*, 18(1), 113-127.
- Pomerantz, A. (1988). Offering a candidate answer: An information seeking strategy. *Communications Monographs*, 55(4), 360-373.
- Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). Discourse analysis. *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 104, 1125-1149.
- Potter, J. (1996). Ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. In *Representing reality: Discourse, rhetoric and social construction* (pp. 42-67). London: SAGE Publications Ltd doi: 10.4135/9781446222119.n3
- Proksch, S. O., and Slapin, J. B. (2012). Institutional foundations of legislative speech. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(3), 520-537.

Putnam, R. (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Puyok, A. (2013) Malaysia's election: Barisan Nasional's paltry win, East Asia Forum, retrieved at <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2013/05/29/malaysias-election-barisan-nasionals-paltry-win/>

Rai, S. M. (2010). Analysing ceremony and ritual in parliament. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 16(3), 284-297.

Roald, V., & Sangolt, L. (2012). *Deliberation, rhetoric, and emotion in the discourse on climate change in the European Parliament*. Eburon Uitgeverij BV.

Rodan, G., & Hughes, C. (2014). *The politics of accountability in Southeast Asia: The dominance of moral ideologies*. OUP Oxford.

Rubin, E. L. (1996). Discretion and its Discontents. *Chi.-Kent L. Rev.*, 72, 1299.

Russell, M., and Paun, A. (2007). *The House Rules?*. London; *The Constitutio Unit*. Retrieved at <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.436.4026&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

Saaty, T. L. (2008). Decision making with the analytic hierarchy process. *International journal of services sciences*, 1(1), 83-98.

Sacks, H. (1972). Notes on police assessment of moral character. *Studies in social interaction*, 280-293.

Sacks, H. (1974). An analysis of the course of a joke's telling in conversation. *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking*.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1978). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn taking for conversation. In *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction* (pp. 7-55). Academic Press.

Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on conversation: Volume I. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell*.

Sacks, H., & Jefferson, G. (1995). *Lectures on Conversation. Human Studies*, 18(2).

Sanusi, O. (2000) Hisbah dari perspektif politik dan NGO, *Majalah Detik*.

Schegloff, E. A., (1981). Discourse as an Interactional Achievement. In Tannen, D., (Ed.) *Analyzing Discourse: Text and Talk*, 71-93. Georgetown: Georgetown University Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (1991). Reflections on talk and social structure. *Talk and social structure*, 44-70.

Schegloff, E. A. (1992). Repair after next turn: The last structurally provided defense of intersubjectivity in conversation. *American journal of sociology*, 97(5), 1295-1345.

- Schegloff, E. A. (1997). Whose text? Whose context?. *Discourse & society*, 8(2), 165-187.
- Shaw, S. (2000). Language, gender and floor apportionment in political debates. *Discourse & society*, 11(3), 401-418.
- Siddique, N. A. (2006). Pradoxes of Public Accountability in Malaysia: Control Mechanisms and Their Limitations. *International Public Management Review*, 7(2), 43-65.
- Silverman, D. (1998). *Harvey Sacks: Social science and conversation analysis*. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Smith, W., & Brassett, J. (2008). Deliberation and global governance: liberal, cosmopolitan, and critical perspectives. *Ethics & International Affairs*, 22(1), 69-92.
- Steiner, J., Bächtiger, A., Spörndli, M., & Steenbergen, M. R. (2005). *Deliberative politics in action. Analysing parliamentary discourse*. Cambridge University Press.
- Strøm, K. (1995). Parliamentary government and legislative organization in Döring, H Parliaments and majority rule in Western Europe, 51-82 Frankfurt: Campus.
- Strøm, K., and Müller, W. C. (1999). The keys to togetherness: Coalition agreements in parliamentary Ö democracies. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 5(3-4), 255-282.
- Strøm, K. (2000). Delegation and accountability in parliamentary democracies. *European journal of political research*, 37(3), 261-290.
- Suksi, M. (2011). *Sub-state governance through territorial autonomy: A comparative study in constitutional law of powers, procedures and institutions*. Springer Science & Business Media.
- Tannen, D. (1987). Remarks on discourse and power. *Power through discourse*, 3-10.
- Tannen, D. (1994). *Gender and discourse*. Oxford University Press.
- ten Have, P. (1999). Transcribing Talk-in-interaction. *Doing conversation analysis: a practical guide*. London: Sage Publications, 78-9.
- The National Council, The May 13 Tragedy: A Report, Kuala Lumpur, October 1969, p.88
- The Institute for Government (2021) What is the role of the Speaker of the House of Commons? Retrieved at <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/speaker-house-commons>
- Tsebelis, G. (1995). Decision making in political systems: Veto players in presidentialism, parliamentarism, multicameralism and multipartyism. *British journal of political science*, 25(03), 289-325.
- Tsebelis, G. (1999). Veto players and law production in parliamentary democracies: An empirical analysis. *American Political Science Review*, 93(03), 591-608.

- Tsebelis, G. (2000). Veto players and institutional analysis. *Governance*, 13(4), 441-474.
- Turner, M. (2002). Choosing items from the menu: New public management in Southeast Asia. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 25(12), 1493-1512.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2002). Political discourse and political cognition. *Politics as text and talk: Analytic approaches to political discourse*, 203, 203-237.
- Veiga, F. J., & Veiga, L. G. (2004). Popularity functions, partisan effects, and support in Parliament. *Economics & Politics*, 16(1), 101-115.
- Vinod, G. (2021, July 26). "Are you the Govt's lapdog?": Bukit Gelugor MP whacks Dewan Rakyat Speaker. *Focus Malaysia*. Retrieved at <https://focusmalaysia.my/are-you-the-govts-lapdog-gelugor-mp-whacks-Dewan-rakyat-speaker/>
- Vuković, M. (2012). Positioning in pre-prepared and spontaneous parliamentary discourse: Choice of person in the Parliament of Montenegro. *Discourse & Society*, 23(2), 184-202.
- Weiss, M. L. (2020). Clientalism, Institutional Change, and Civil Society Activism in Malaysia. *Georgetown Journal of Asian Affairs*.
- Werker, J. F., & McLeod, P. J. (1989). Infant preference for both male and female infant-directed talk: a developmental study of attentional and affective responsiveness. *Canadian Journal of Psychology/Revue canadienne de psychologie*, 43(2), 230.
- Wodak, R. and van Dijk, T. A. eds. (2000). Racism at the top: Parliamentary Discourses on Ethnic Issues in Six European States. Klagenfurt, Austria: Drava Verlag.
- Wooffitt, R. (2005). *Conversation analysis and discourse analysis: A comparative and critical introduction*. Sage.
- World Bank (2006). *World development report 2006: equity and development* (Vol. 28). World Bank Publications.
- Yaacob, J. F. (2019, July 17). 'KJ kecewa Speaker tidak adil'. *Sinar Harian Online*. Retrieved at <https://www.sinarharian.com.my/article/38289/BERITA/Politik/KJ-kecewa-Speaker-tidak-adil>
- Yaakob, A. F., Kadir, N. A., and Jusoff, K. (2009). Accountability from the perspective of Malaysia governance, *Journal of Politics and Law*, 2 (48).
- Zakaria Haji Ahmad, Malaysia: Quasi-democracy in a divided society, in ed. Diamond, L., Linz, J.J. & Lipset, S.M. (1988) *Democracy in developing countries: Asia*, vol. 3, Boulder; Lynne Rienner Publishers, p. 365
- Zanden, J. L., Buringh, E., and Bosker, M. (2012). The rise and decline of European parliaments, 1188–1789 1. *The Economic History Review*, 65(3), 835-861.
- *Official Documents on Parliament Hansard of the Parliament of Malaysia are retrievable at <https://www.parlimen.gov.my/hansard-dewan-rakyat.html?uweb=dr&arkib=yes>

Appendix 1

Simplified interruptions by the Chairperson on the Internal Security Bill 21st and 22nd June 1960

Speakers in-turn (sequence)	In-turn/Affiliation	Interruptions by Chairperson (sequence)	Utterances	Category	Remarks
2	D.R. Seenivasagam PPP	1	“Is that relevant?”	Without sequence-relevance	
6	Ahmad Saaid UMNO	2	“How long do you want to read that”	Without sequence-maintaining order	
		3	“it seems long!”	Without sequence-warning	
8	Lim Kean Siew SF	4	“how is that relevant?”	Without sequence-relevance	
		5	“The time is up now!”	Without sequence-reminder	
		6	“Please proceed”	Without sequence-maintaining order	
9	Othman Abdullah PMIP	7	“Do not drag on”	Without sequence-warning	
		8	“Insulting is not allowed in Parliament”	Without sequence-warning	
10	Karam Singh SF	9	“I don’t like to interrupt you. But these points have already been raised in the House by many people. Please proceed”	Without sequence-reminder	
		10	“Is that relevant?”	With sequence-relevance	
		11	“It is not the issue at all. You can give example, but it is not relevant. Up to that point you are all right, don’t proceed any further on that”	With sequence-warning	
		12	“Yes, proceed”	Without sequence-maintaining order	
		13	“How is that relevant to the debate on this Bill?”	Without sequence-relevance	

12	V. David SF	14	“You need not shout!”	Without sequence-reminder	
18	Mohamed Sulong Mohd. Ali UMNO	15	“I had stopped/halted that issue, do not debate it further in this House”	With sequence-warning	
		16	“I had stopped/halted him”	With sequence-reminder	
21	Suleiman Abdul Rahman UMNO	17	“When you stand up, you must say whether you are standing up on a point of information, clarification or explanation, or on a point of order”	With sequence-justification	To V. David SF
		18	“Wait a minute. I have not finished yet. You can only rise in this House on two points—one is on a point of information, clarification or explanation and the other is on a point of order. If you rise on a point of order, you must quote under what Standing Order you are interrupting, in which case the Member who is speaking must sit down, and I think I need not have to explain this. But I have to explain in the case of an explanation. When you rise on a point of explanation, then it is up to the Member whether to give way or not. If he does not give way, you cannot force him to sit down. I think that is quite clear. This is the second time that I have to say this to you”	With sequence-reminder/maintaining order	To V. David SF
		19	“Do not make it too long”	With sequence-reminder	
		20	“This has nothing to do with this Bill as far as I can see. Make your reply as short as possible”	With sequence-reminder	
25	Liu Yoon Peng SF	21	“What is the point of order?”	With sequence-clarification	Azahari Ibrahim UMNO
		22	“He is not reading. Please proceed”	With sequence-maintaining order	Azahari Ibrahim UMNO

		23	“You can glance at your notes, but don’t lift up your notes, so long as it is on the table it is alright”	Without sequence-reminder	
26	Cheah Theam Swee MCA	24	“I rule that this matter is sub judice and cannot be discussed here”	With sequence-maintaining order/reminder	D. R. Seenivasagam
		25	“You must obey my ruling; you cannot argue with my ruling. Do not touch on this matter in this House”	With sequence-warning	
		26	“I did not know at that time that this matter was sub judice”	With sequence-reminder	Tan Siew Sin
		27	“Well, if he has mentioned Ampang, that will be deleted from the records. Please proceed”	Without sequence-maintaining order	
		28	“He did not mention that”	With sequence-reminder	Karam Singh
		29	“But make it as short as possible on those incidents. We are dealing with the second reading of the Bill and I want Honourable Members to confine themselves to this Bill as much as possible”	With sequence-maintaining order	
		30	“Yes, make it as short as possible”	With sequence-maintaining order	

Colours indicates:

	Government
	Opposition

Appendix 2

Simplified interruptions by the Chairpersons on the Security Offenses and Special Measures (SOSMA) Bill 16th April 2012

- Pandikar Amin Mula (PA)
- Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaafar (WJ)
- Ronald Kiandee (RK)

CHAIRPERSON	Speakers in-turn (sequence)	In-turn/Affiliation	Interruptions by Chairperson (sequence)	Utterances	Category	Remarks
PA	2	Anwar Ibrahim	1	“Honourable Padang Serai, he is not giving any way, please sit Sir”	Without sequence-maintain order	N. Gopalakrishnan
			2	“Honourable Padang Serai, he is not giving permission to interrupt”	Without sequence-maintain order	N. Gopalakrishnan
			3	“Honourable Permatang Pauh, please have a sit for a while, Honourable Padang Serai, please read the Meeting Rules kindly. Do not use it for the sake of hassling the debate. Please, I want to hear it”.	With sequence-Reminder	N. Gopalakrishnan
			4	“Thank you Honourable Sir. Proceed”.	Without sequence-maintain order	
			5	“Honourable members, it is enough Sir. Proceed”.	Without sequence-maintain order	MPs
			6	“Honourable members, please reserve the interruption during election campaign. Proceed”.	Without sequence-maintain order	MPs
	3	Khairy Jamaluddin	7	“Honourable members, take turns”	Without sequence-maintain order	MPs
	8		“We do not hear who is debating”	Without sequence-maintain order	MPs	

			9	“Honourable members, honourable members consume time, honourable members, do not interrupt”	Without sequence-reminder	MPs
			10	“Consume [the] time Honourable members”	Without sequence-reminder	MPs
			11	“Honourable members, honourable members [have a] sit Your Honour”	Without sequence-maintain order/ duduk	MPs
			12	“Have a sit Honourable Rembau, sit. Honourable members [have a]sit. Honourable member Kulim Bandar Baharu, have a sit Your Honour”	Without sequence-maintain order/ duduk	MPs
			13	“Honourable members, have a sit Your Honour”	Without sequence-maintain order/ duduk	MPs
			14	“Have a sit Your Honour. Honourable members. Honourable members, I allowed you to debate. I allowed. I listened with patience, yet please remember the Meeting Rules (Standing Order). Do not offend others while debating. Don’t. Speak with facts, and let the response with facts as well. Don’t when only there is Honourable Prime Minister (present), everybody is showing their characters. Please proceed Honourable Rembau”	Without sequence-maintain order/ duduk/warning	MPs

WJ			15	“Okey, have a sit Your Honour”	Without sequence-maintain order/ duduk	Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd Yusoff
			16	“Honourable Rembau you may sit as well. Honourable Rembau have a sit first. Honourable Rembau”	Without sequence-maintain order/ duduk	
			17	“Honourale Balik Pulau, Honourable Rembau have a sit first for a while. Thank you Your Honour. I purposely do not speak Your Honour, 10 minutes breathing in first. It is because when I observe the whole floor while debating, the ruling book (Standing Order) is kept in the dustbin. When there is problem, then we call “Mr. Speaker, please tell that he spoke wrongly” But when I speak, you do not listened. Walk the talk Your Honour please let the freedom given to the floor in the House is not a random, it is by rule. If we ourselves do not protect the rules in the House, how can we give an open freedom to the people outside the House and how will it look like if there is none government agency to protect the freedom. Law should be protected. Therefore, I apologize of saying like that. Please protect/follow the rules in the House so that we can show to the outside that we	Warning	Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff MPs

				are qualified to receiving freedom. Please proceed Honourable Rembau”		
			18	“Honourable members, Honourable members”	Menegur tanpa isu	Khalid Abd. Samad Bung Mokhtar
			19	“Honourable members”	Menegur tanpa isu	Khalid Abd. Samad
			20	“Honourable members, I am just reminding the meeting rules (Standing Order)”	Reminder	MPs
			21	“When someone is giving speech, the rest [should] sit. That is all”	Reminder	MPs
			22	“Because it was me, so a bit only Your Honour”	Notify	Lilah Yasin
			23	“Your Honour, in any situation of democracy there will be certain rules and laws which need to be enforced including the one in this House. Please proceed Honourable Rembau. Anyone who stand up, when only Honourable Rembau said yes, then you may speak up”	Reminder	
			24	“That is Rule 43. Crystal clear. If we here do not follow the law, how are the people would follow the law?”	Reminder	
			25	“So, ask for it. Please proceed Honourable Rembau”	Reminder	
		Lim Guan Eng	No interruption			
		Ibrahim Ali	26	“Your Honour, continue in the afternoon Your Honour”	Reminder/Time	
RK			27	“Not giving a away, sit”	Notify	Abd. Khalid Samad

			28	“Honourable Shah Alam, sit Your Honour”	Duduk	Abd. Khalid Samad
			29	“Honourable Shah Alam, sit”	Duduk	Abd. Khalid Samad
			30	“Sit Honourable Shah Alam”	Duduk	Abd. Khalid Samad
			31	“It is almost finish Your Honour”	With sequence-Reminder	Chua Tian Chang
		Bung Mokhtar	32	“Would you give a way Your Honour”	Asking	
			33	“Not giving a way Your Honour”	Notify	Khalid Samad
			34	“Sit Your Honour”	Duduk	Khalid Samad
			35	“Honourable Kinabatangan not giving a way Your Honour”	Notify	Khalid Samad
			36	“Honourable Shah Alam”	Menegur	Khalid Samad
			37	“Your Honour”	Menegur	Khalid Samad
			38	“Your Honour in this House you need to ask for permission if you are to interrupt”	Reminder	Khalid Samad
			39	“He is not giving”	Notify	Khalid Samad
			40	“Your Honour”	Menegur	Khalid Samad
			41	“Honourable Shah Alam. Honourable Kulim Bandar Baharu”	Menegur	Khalid Samad Zulkifli Nordin
			42	“Honourable Kulim Bandar Baharu, Honourable Shah Alam. Sit Your Honour. Let Honourable Kinabatangan finish [his speech] Your Honour”	Duduk	Khalid Samad Zulkifli Nordin
			43	“Yes, Honourable Kinabatangan”	Maintaining order	
			44	“Honourable Kulim Bandar Baharu. Sit Your Honour”	Duduk	Zulkifli Nordin

			45	“Sit Your Honour”	Duduk	Zulkifli Nordin
			46	“Honourable members sit Your Honour”	Duduk	Zulkifli Nordin Dzulkefly Ahmad
			47	“Honourable Shah Alam”	Menegur tanpa isu	Khalid Samad
			48	“Honourable Shah Alam, Kulim Bandar Baharu sit Your Honour”	Duduk	Khalid Samad Zulkifli Nordin
			49	“Honourable Kinabatangan”	Maintaining order	
			50	“Honourable Shah Alam sit Your Honour”	Duduk	Khalid Samad
			51	“Honourable Shah Alam, Honourable Kulim Bandar Baharu, sit Your Honour”	Duduk	Khalid Samad Zulkifli Nordin
			52	“Honourable Shah Alam, Honourable members”	Menegur	Khalid Samad MPs
			53	“Honourable Kulim Bandar Baharu and Honourable Shah Alam, have a sit Your Honour”	Duduk	Khalid Samad Zulkifli Nordin
			54	“Honourable Shah Alam, Your Honour, Honourable members. This can’t be like this Your Honour. Please, please ok please”	Warning	Khalid Samad Zulkifli Nordin
			55	“Your Honour. Honourable members”	Menegur tanpa isu	MPs
			56	“Honourable Shah Alam. Why are you Honourable members cheering, is that a new habit? We are not allowed to cheer in this House. We do knock tables but not cheer”	Maintaining order- Warning	Khalid Samad MPs
			57	“No. Don’t define the standing order because of	Maintaining order- Reminder	Dzulkefly Ahmad

			something like this is not allowed”		
		58	“Would you like to give a way Your Honour?”	Asking	
		59	“Would you give a way Your Honour?”	Asking	
		60	“He is asking for a way Your Honour”	Notify	
		61	“He is asking for a way Your Honour”	Notify	
		62	“Yes”	Answering/Notify	
		63	“Yes, please proceed Honourable Kepong”	Maintaining order	
		64	“Your Honour”	With sequence-Menegur tanpa isu	Tan Seng Giaw
		65	“That one is for all, this side as well”	With sequence-reminder	Tan Seng Giaw
		66	“Yes, both sides”	With sequence-Reminder	Tan Seng Giaw
		67	“Honourable Shah Alam raise up Your Honour”	Notify	
		68	“Yes, proceed Your Honour”	Maintaining order	Khalid Samad
		69	“Would you like to give a way Your Honour”	Asking	
		70	“Honourable Simpang Renggam, raise up Your Honour”	Notify	
		71	“Your Honour”	Menegur tanpa isu	Chua Tian Chang
		72	“Honourable Silam, raise up Your Honour”	Notify	
	Mahfuz Omar	73	“Your Honour, are you reflecting to the Prime Minister? Don’t do that”	With sequence-warning	
		74	“Control yourself”	With sequence-Warning	

			75	“Honourable Shah Alam, raise up Your Honour”	Notify			
			76	“Honourable Pokok Sena, 10 minutes left”	Reminder			
			77	“Honourable Jasin is arise”	Notify			
			78	“Honourable Jasin is arise”	Notify			
			79	“Honourable Pokok Sena, [you] may conclude Your Honour”	Reminder			
			80	“Finish it Your Honour”	Reminder			
			81	“Your Honour, Honourable Pasir Salak raise up but your time is up”	Reminder			
			82	“Your Honour”	Menegur tanpa isu			
			83	“Time is up Your Honour”	Reminder			
			84	“Time is up Your Honour”	Reminder			
			85	“Your Honour, what if when Honourable UMNO member speak up and make names of your party? It is not allowed to mention UMNO has Nepal Your Honour. It’s not right”	With sequence-Warning			
			86	“It is alluring”	With sequence-Warning			
			87	“Later the UMNO will say PAS changed a bit, DAP changed a bit. This is not good”	With sequence-Warning			
			88	“Actually, it is not necessary Your Honour. Okey, not necessary. Honourable Pasir Salak”	With sequence-warning			
				Tajuddin Abdul Rahman	89	“Honourable Padang Serai”	Menegur tanpa isu	
					90	“Honourable Kepong is arise Your Honour”	Notify	
					91	“Not giving a way Your Honour”	Notify	Tan Seng Giaw

PA			92	“Honourable Pasir Salak, Honourable Pasir Salak...” (Laughing)	With sequence- Menegur tanpa isu	
			93	“Honourable Pasir Salak, Honourable Pasir Salak, wearing national attire, debate in English, that is merely ... (laughing) Please proceed, please proceed”	With sequence- Notify	
			94	“Exercise to control a bit”	With sequence- Reminder	
			95	“[you] have five minutes Your Honour, five minutes”	Reminder	
			96	“Go ahead, I am listening...” (Laughing)	Maintaining order	
			97	“Honourable members, other Honourable members, if you are to interrupt, [please] do it nicely. Please proceed Your Honour. [You] have two, three minutes more Your Honour. Please”	Reminder	
			98	“Why is it Honourable Parit Buntar [is acting] like that today?”	Asking	
			99	“Please conclude Your Honour”	Reminder	
			100	“Honourable Pasir Salak”	Menegur tanpa isu	
			101	“Your Honour, Your Honour. [You] may conclude Your Honour. Time, time”	Reminder	
			102	“Your Honour, Your Honour. Can I disturb you by invoking the meeting rules [Standing Order]?”	With sequence- Asking	
			103	“[its] Time You Honour”	With sequence- Notify	

		Saifuddin Nasution	No interruption	“That [should] ask permission from me, the Speaker”	Reminder (before debate resumes)	X
		Nancy Shukri	104	“Honourable Padang Serai”	With sequence-Menegur tanpa isu	N. Gobalakrishnan
			105	“What is that [you mean] I am not being fair?”	With sequence-Asking clarification	N. Gobalakrishnan
			106	“”It is okay. It is okay Honourable Kuala Kedah. It is okay”	With sequence-Notify	N. Gobalakrishnan
			107	“Please, please proceed. Proceed”	With sequence-Maintaining order	N. Gobalakrishnan
			108	“Response to this Your Honour, for the last time, because times...”	Reminder	
	Tan Seng Giaw	No interruption	“Seven minutes”	Answering		
WJ		Abd. Rahman Dahlan	109	“[It is] Time Your Honour”	Without sequence-Reminder	
			110	“I am just reminding you the time Your Honour”	Without sequence-Reminder	
			111	“Your Honour answer, [then] conclude, yes please Your Honour”	Without sequence-Reminder	
		Azmin Ali	112	“Your Honour, if you are about to give the chance [way] [you] have three minutes Your Honour”	Without sequence-Reminder	
			113	“Yes please conclude Your Honour”	Without sequence-Reminder	
		Ahmad Hamzah	114	“Honourable Jasin [you] may give [way] but there is two minutes Your Honour”	Without sequence-Reminder	
			115	“Conclude Your Honour”	Without sequence-Maintaining order/Reminder	
		Chua Soon Bui	No interruption			
		P. Kamalanathan	No interruption			

		Kamaruddin Jaffar	116	“Your Honour, there is still two minutes Your Honour”	Without sequence-Maintaining order/Reminder		
RK		Mohamad Shahrum Osman	117	“Your Honour, would you like to give a way?”	With sequence-Asking		
			118	“Proceed Your Honour”	Without sequence-Maintaining order	Wan Abd. Rahim Wan Abdullah	
			119	“Honourable Batu is arise Your Honour”	Without sequence-Notify		
			120	“Your Honour”	Without sequence Menegur tanpa isu	Chua Tian Chang	
			121	“Honourable Batu...”	Without sequence Menegur tanpa isu	Chua Tian Chang	
			122	“Yes proceed”	Without sequence-Maintaining order	Tajuddin Abdul Rahman	
		Mohd. Yusmadi Mohd. Yusoff	123	“Your Honour, hold on Your Honour. Honourable Kota Bharu [you] can’t take [make] video without permission [from the] Speaker”	Without sequence-Warning	Wan Abd. Rahim Wan Abdullah	
			124	“Honourable Balik Pulau [you] may conclude”	Without sequence-Reminder		
			125	“Alright, [you may] conclude Your Honour”	Without sequence-Reminder		
			126	“Your Honour...”	Menegur tanpa isu	Abd. Rahman Dahlan	
			127	“Conclude”	Without sequence-Reminder		
				X	“Your Honour, it is done Your Honour. Honourable Simpang Renggam”	Without sequence-Reminder	Abd. Rahman Dahlan
		Liang Teck Meng	128	“[would you like to] give a way Your Honour?”	With sequence-Asking		
			129	“Honourable Arau”	With sequence-Notify		

			130	“Other Honourable members sit Your Honour”	With sequence-Duduk	
			131	“Honourable Seputeh [your] voice is like microphone oh”	Without sequence-Menegur dgn isu	Teresa Kok
			132	“Yes proceed”	Without sequence-Reminder Consent	Khairy Jamaluddin
			133	“Honourable Simpang Renggam, [would you] give a way Your Honour, Honourable Simpang Renggam? Yes Honourable Arau”	Without sequence-Asking	
			134	“Your Honour, your turn is next Your Honour”	Without sequence-Reminder	Ngeh Koo Ham
			135	“Not giving a way Your Honour”	Without sequence-Notify	Teresa Kok
			136	“Honourable Seputeh, sit Your Honour”	With sequence-Duduk	Teresa Kok
			137	“Not giving [a way]”	With sequence-Notify	Teresa Kok
		Ngeh Koo Ham	138	“Honourable Kota Bharu, Your Honourable”	Notify	
		Hamim Samuri	139	“Honourable Kota Belud is arise Your Honour”	Without sequence-Notify	
			140	“Your Honour, it is not allowed...”	With sequence-Reminder	Teresa Kok
			141	“Honourable Seputeh”	With sequence-Menegur tanpa isu	Teresa Kok
			142	“[would you] give a way Your Honour? Honourable Batu is arise”	With sequence-Reminder Asking and notify	
			143	“[would you] give a way Your Honour?”	Without sequence Asking	
			144	“Your Honour, [you] can’t interrupt”	Without sequence-Warning	Chua Tian Chang
			145	“Yes, there is meeting rules on not suitable to use the	With sequence-Reminder Warning	R. Sivarasa Salleh Kalbi

				word pig-headed. Because that is not his constituency Your Honour”		
			146	“His constituency is Batu”	With sequence-Reminder Notify	R. Sivarasa
			147	“It is ok Your Honour. Refer ‘Batu’ as the constituency of Honourable Batu”	With sequence-Reminder Notify	Abd. Rahman Dahlan
			148	“Your Honour, You are interrupting not through the rules. Okay, Honourable Batu. Did not the Honourable Subang gave you the meeting rules [Standing Order] that you Honourable Batu interrupted randomly?”	With sequence-Warning	Chua Tian Chang
			149	“Yes, make it brief Honourable Silam”	Without sequence-Reminder	Salleh Kalbi
			150	“Your Honour”	Without sequence-Menegur tanpa isu	Ngeh Koo Ham
			151	“Honourable Ledang, Honourable Beruas is arise”	Without sequence-Notify	
			152	“Only Honourable Kota Belud. Others [have a] sit Your Honour. Your Honour”	With sequence-Duduk	Other members
			153	“Make it brief”	Without sequence-ReminderReminder	Abd. Rahman Dahlan
			154	“Honourable Ledang would [you like to] give a way Your Honour?”	Without sequence-Asking	
			155	“Honourable Beruas”	Without sequence-menegur tanpa isu	Ngeh Koo Ham
			156	“Your Honour, you may conclude, Your Honour”	With sequence-Reminder	
			157	“The time is up, Honourable Beruas”	With sequence-reminder	Ngeh Koo Ham

			158	“Your Honour”	Without sequence Menegur tanpa isu	Ngeh Koo Ham
			159	“The time is up Your Honour. Finish it”	With sequence Reminder	
			160	“It is the end, done”	With sequence Reminder	
	Gobind Singh Deo		161	“Your Honour, you have four minutes left”	Without sequence- Reminder	
			162	“Yes, finish it Your Honour”	Without sequence- Reminder	
			163	“Honourable Batu [have a] sit Honourable Batu”	Without sequence- Duduk	Chua Tian Chang
			164	“Your Honour it is enough Your Honour”	Without sequence- Reminder	Abd. Rahman Dahlan
			165	“Honourable Kota Belud”	Without sequence- Menegur tanpa isu	Abd. Rahman Dahlan

Colour indicates:

	Government
	Opposition

Appendix 3: Role of parliamentary Presiding Officers by Russel and Paun (2007)

	UK House of Commons	Australian House of Reps	Australian Senate	German Bundestag	New Zealand House of Reps	Scottish Parliament
Title of presiding officer(s)	Speaker (plus three Deputies).	Speaker (plus two Deputies).	President (plus one Deputy).	President (and currently six Vice-Presidents).	Speaker (plus one Deputy and two Assistants).	Presiding Officer (plus two Deputies).
Method of selection of presiding officer	Secret ballot of all members (since 2001).	Secret ballot of all members but, in practice, predetermined.	Secret ballot of all members but, in practice, predetermined.	Secret ballot of all members but, in practice, predetermined.	Open ballot of all members but, in practice, predetermined.	Secret ballot of all members.
Party of presiding officer	Previously by convention from governing party. Now may be either.	By convention, governing party.	By convention, governing party.	By convention, largest governing party.	By convention, governing party. An exception occurred when government majority was tight.	From either governing or opposition parties. Two of 3 POs have come from opposition.
Party of deputy presiding officers	Previously all from governing party by convention. There is now balance between govt and oppn parties.	By convention one Deputy (the more junior) comes from the opposition.	By convention Deputy comes from opposition.	All parties get at least one Vice-President. SPD currently has two.	Previously often came from governing party. Present incumbent is from opposition.	The Scotland Act mandates that the PO and two deputies cannot all come from one party. In practice the three positions have been shared between three parties.
Neutrality of presiding officer	Abandons party affiliation once elected and is strictly neutral in office.	Retains party affiliation and may be active in party politics. Can act in a partisan fashion including from chair.	Retains party affiliation and may be active in party politics but is seen as less partisan than House Speaker.	Retains party affiliation and may be active in party politics but is strictly neutral as chair.	Retains party affiliation and may be active in party politics. Can act in an openly partisan fashion.	Abandons party affiliation in Parliament once elected and is strictly neutral in office.
Does presiding officer vote in divisions?	Only to break ties.	Only to break ties.	Yes, with party.	Yes, with party.	Yes, with party.	Only to break ties.

Key political roles of the presiding officer	Selecting speakers in debates, selecting amendments, ruling on Urgent Questions, interpreting procedure.	Calling speakers preselected by the whips. Selecting a 'Matter of Public Importance' for debate if more than one is submitted.	Calling speakers preselected by the whips. (Matters of Public Importance are decided by drawing from a hat).	Calling speakers preselected by the whips. Chairs the business committee.	Calling speakers preselected by the whips. Chairs the business committee.	Selecting speakers in debates, selecting amendments. Chairs the business committee.
Key administrative roles of the presiding officer	Significant administrative role, including chairing House of Commons Commission.	Significant administrative role, much of it jointly with Senate President.	Significant administrative role, much of it jointly with House Speaker. Chairs the Standing Committee on Appropriations and Staffing.	Significant administrative role including chairing the Presidium.	Significant administrative role including chairing the Parliamentary Service Commission, negotiating the budget.	Significant administrative role including chairing the Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body.

Appendix 4

List of Chairpersons from selected Commonwealth Countries (Malaysia, the United Kingdom, Australia and India) (Source: Author's emphasis)

TABLE 1 DEWAN RAKYAT (MALAYSIA)

Parliament session	Name of Speakers	Duration		Background/ Political Affiliation	Profession
		Start	End		
1st	Mohamad Noah Omar	11 September 1959	1 March 1964	UMNO	- Politician - Businessman
2nd, 3rd	Syed Esa Alwee	18 May 1964	24 November 1964	UMNO	- Politician - Chief Commissioner Scouts
3rd	Chik Mohamed Yusuf Sheikh Abdul Rahman	25 November 1964	20 March 1969	State Representative UMNO	- Orang Besar (traditional positions of the authority appointed by the royalty) in the state of Perak
		20 February 1971	31 July 1974		
4th	Nik Ahmad Kamil Nik Mahmood	4 November 1974	20 December 1977	UMNO	- Politician - State Secretary Kelantan - Deputy Chief Minister Kelantan - Chief Minister Kelantan
5th	Syed Nasir Ismail	9 January 1978	12 June 1978	UMNO	- Politician
		31 July 1978	29 March 1982		
6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th	Mohamed Zahir Ismail	14 June 1982	19 July 1986	UMNO	- Politician - Malaysian Lawyer - Kedah State EXCO - Chief Minister Kedah
		6 October 1986	4 October 1990		
		3 December 1990	6 April 1995		
		7 June 1995	10 November 1999		
		20 December 1999	4 March 2004		
		17 May 2004	14 October 2004		
11th	Ramli Ngah Talib	22 November 2004	13 February 2008	UMNO	- Malaysian Politician - Chief Minister Perak
12th, 13th	Pandikar Amin Mulia	28 April 2008	3 April 2013	UMNO	- Malaysian Politician - Speaker of Sabah State Legislative Assembly - Senator and Minister in the Prime Minister's Department
		28 June 2013	10 May 2018		
14th	Mohamad Ariff Md Yusof	16 July 2018	13 July 2020	PAS, AMANAH (PH)	-Lawyer, Commissioner
14th	Azhar Azizan Harun	13 July 2020	-incumbent	Independent	-Lawyer, Chairman of the Election Commission Malaysia

TABLE 2 HOUSE OF COMMONS (UNITED KINGDOM)

Parliament session	Name of Speakers	Duration		Background/Political Affiliation	Profession
		Start	End		
1st	Henry Addington	June 1789	1801	Tory	- Prime Minister - Home Secretary
1st	John Mitford	February 1801	1802	Tory	- Barrister of the Inner Temple - Member of Parliament - Lord Chancellor of Ireland
2 nd , 3 rd , 4 th , 5 th	Charles Abbot	February 1802	1817	Tory	- Barrister - Member of Parliament - Chief Secretary
5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th , 11 th	Charles Manners-Sutton	January 1817	1835	Tory	- Judge Advocate General
12 th , 13 th	James Abercromby	February 1835	1839	Whig	- Member of Parliament - Judge Advocate General
13 th , 14 th , 15 th , 16 th	Charles Shaw-Lefevre	May 1839	1857	Whig	- Members of Parliament - Privy Council
17 th , 18 th , 19 th , 20 th	John Evelyn Denison	April 1857	1872	Liberal	- Member of Parliament - Privy Council
20 th , 21 st , 22 nd	Henry Brand	February 1872	1884	Liberal	- Chief Whip - Keeper of the Privy Seal
22 nd , 23 rd , 24 th , 25 th	Arthur Peel	February 1884	1895	Liberal	- Member of Parliament - Parliamentary Secretary to the Poor Law Board - Political activist
26 th , 27 th	William Gully	April 1895	1905	Liberal	- Member of Parliament
27 th , 28 th , 29 th , 30 th , 31 st	James Lowther	June 1905	1921	Conservative	- Member of Parliament - Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
31 st , 32 nd , 33 rd , 34 th	John Henry Whitley	April 1921	1928	Liberal (Coalition)	- Member of Parliament - Junior Lord of the Treasury - Deputy Chairman of Ways and Means - Privy Councillor
34 th , 35 th , 36 th , 37 th	Edward Fitzroy	June 1928	1943	Conservative	- Member of Northamptonshire Country Council - Member of Parliament - Deputy Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means - Privy Councillor
37 th , 38 th , 39 th	Douglas Clifton Brown	March 1943	1951	Conservative	- Member of Parliament - Privy Council
40 th , 41 st	William Morrison	October 1951	1959	Conservative	- Member of Parliament - Parliamentary Secretary - Financial Secretary - Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries

					- Minister of Food - Postmaster-General
42nd, 43rd	Sir Harry Hylton-Foster	October 1959	1965	Conservative	- Solicitor General for England and Wales
43rd, 44th, 45th	Dr. Horace King	September 1965	1971	Labor	- First Labor Prime Minister - Chairman of Ways and Means - Deputy Speaker
45th, 46th, 47th	Selwyn Lloyd	January 1971	1976	Conservative	- Member of Parliament - Reserve Officer - Staff of the Second Army
47th, 48th	George Thomas	March 1976	1983	Labor	- -Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs - Secretary of State for Wales
49th, 50th	Bernard Weatherill	June 1983	1992	Conservative	- Member of Parliament - Vice-Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household
51st, 52nd	Betty Boothroyd	April 1992	2000	Labor	- Member of Parliament - Assistant Government Whip - Member of the Select Committee on Foreign Affairs - Deputy Speaker
52nd, 53rd, 54th	Michael Martin	October 2000	21 June 2009	Labor	- Member of Parliament - Parliamentary Private Secretary
54th, 55th, 56th, 57th	John Bercow	June 2009	Incumbent	Conservative	- Councillor - Special adviser - Secretary of State for International Development

TABLE 3 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (AUSTRALIA)

Parliament session	Name of Speakers	Duration		Background Political Affiliation	Profession
		Start	End		
1st	Hon. Sir Frederick Holder	9 May 1901	23 July 1909	Independent	- Premier of South Australia - Member of the Inaugural Parliament Australia
2nd	Hon. Dr. Carty Salmon	28 July 1909	19 February 1910	Commonwealth Liberal	- Politician
3rd	Hon. Charles McDonald	1 July 1910	23 April 1913	Labor	- Politician - Queensland legislative assembly
4th	Hon. Sir Elliot Johnson	9 July 1913	30 July 1914	Commonwealth Liberal	- Politician - Member of the Federal House of Representatives
5th	Hon. Charles McDonald	8 October 1914	26 March 1917	Labor	- Politician - Queensland legislative assembly
6th	Hon. Sir Elliot Johnson	14 June 1917	6 November 1922	Nationalist	- Politician - Member of the Federal House of Representatives
7th	Rt. Hon. William Watt	28 February 1923	3 October 1925	Nationalist	- Politician - Prime Minister of Australia
8th	Hon. Sir Littleton Groom	13 January 1927	16 September 1929	Nationalist	- Australian Federal Minister - Serving federal parliamentarian
9th	Hon. Norman Makin	20 November 1929	27 November 1931	Labor	- Australian politician - Diplomat
10th	Hon. George Mackay	17 February 1932	7 August 1934	United Australia	- Australian politician
11th	Hon. Sir George John Bell	23 October 1934	27 August 1940	United Australia	- Australian soldier - Politician
12th	Hon. Walter Nairn	20 November 1940	21 June 1943	United Australia	- Australian politician
13th	Hon. Sol Rosevear	22 June 1943	31 October 1949	Labor	- Australian politician
14th	Hon. Archie Cameron	22 February 1950	9 August 1956	Liberal	- Australian politician - South Australian house assembly
15th	Hon. Sir John McLeacy	29 August 1956	31 October 1966	Liberal	- Australian politician - Lord Mayor of Adelaide
16th	Hon. Sir William Aston	21 February 1973	27 February 1975	Liberal	- Australian politician - Member of the NSW legislative assembly
17th	Hon. Jim Cope	27 February 1973	27 February 1975	Labor	- Australian politician
18th	Hon. Gordon Scholes	27 February 1975	11 November 1975	Labor	- Australian politician - President of the Geelong Trades Hall Council

19th	Rt. Hon. Sir Billy Snedden	17 February 1976	4 February 1983	Liberal	- Australian politician - Cabinet minister
20th	Hon. Dr. Harry Jenkins	21 April 1983	20 December 1985	Labor	- Australian politician
21th	Hon. Joan Child	11 February 1986	28 August 1989	Labor	- Australian politician - The first woman to be Speaker of the Australian House of Representatives
22th	Hon. Leo McLeay	29 August 1989	8 February 1993	Labor	- Australian politician - Member of the House of Representatives
23th	Hon. Stephen Martin	4 May 1993	29 January 1996	Labor	- Australian politician - Senior academic - Rugby league referee
24th	Hon. Bob Halverson	30 April 1996	3 March 1998	Liberal	- Australian politician - Air force officer - Diplomat
25th	Rt. Hon. Ian Sinclair	4 March 1998	31 August 1998	National	- Australian politician - Government minister
26th	Hon. Neil Andrew	10 November 1998	31 August 2004	Liberal	- Australian politician - Member of the Australian House of Representatives
27th	Hon. David Hawker	16 November 2004	17 October 2007	Liberal	- Australian politician - Member of the Australian House of Representatives - Representing the division of Wannon, Victoria - Former Prime Minister
28th	Harry Jenkins	12 February 2008	24 November 2011	Labor	- Australian former politician - Member of the Australian House of Representatives - First Speaker whose father was a Speaker
29th	Hon. Peter Slipper	24 November 2011	9 October 2012	Independent	- Parliamentary Secretary - Whip - Committee Chairman
30th	Hon. Anna Burke	9 October 2012	12 November 2013	Labor	- Former Australian politician - Members of the Administrative Appeals
31th	Hon. Bronwyn Bishop	12 November	2 August 2015	Liberal	- Australian politician - Representing the Division of Mackellar in New South Wales - Represented New South Wales in the Senate

32th	Hon. Tony Smith	10 August 2015	Present	Liberal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Australian politician - Research assistant at the Institute of Public Affairs - Media adviser - Senior political adviser - Deputy leader
-------------	-----------------	-------------------	---------	---------	--

TABLE 4 LOK SABHA (INDIA)

Parliament session	Name of Speakers	Time of Period		Background Political Affiliation	Profession
		Start	End		
1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd	Jawaharlal Nehru	2 April 1952	4 April 1957	Indian National Congress	- Barrister - Writer - politician
		5 April 1957	31 March 1962		
		2 April 1962	27 May 1964		
4 th	Gulzari Lal Nanda	27 May 1964	9 June 1964	Indian National Congress	- Prime Minister - Minister of Home Affairs
5 th	Lal Bahadur Shastri	9 June 1964	11 January 1966	Indian National Congress	- Academic - Activist
6 th	Gulzari Lal Nanda	11 January 1966	9 June 1964	Indian National Congress	- Prime Minister - Minister of Home Affairs
7 th	Satya Narayan Sinha	24 January 1966	3 March 1967	Indian National Congress	- Politician - Minister of Parliamentary Affairs
8 th , 9 th	Indira Gandhi	4 March 1967	27 December 1970	Indian National Congress	- Politician
		15 March 1971	18 January 1977		
10 th	Morarji Desai	24 March 1977	28 August 1979	Indian National Congress	- Activist - Politician
11 th	Charan Singh	28 August 1979	22 August 1979	- Janata Party - Indian National Congress - Bharatiya Lok Dal	- Prime Minister of India - Minister of Finance - Deputy Prime Minister of India - Minister of Home Affairs
12 th	Indira Gandhi	14 January 1980	31 October 1984	Indian National Congress	- Politician
13 th	Rajiv Gandhi	31 October 1984	27 September 1989	Indian National Congress	- Aircraft pilot - Politician
14 th	Vishwanath Pratap Singh	2 December 1989	10 November 1990	- Jan Morcha - Indian National Congress - Janata Dal	- Prime Minister - Minister of Defense - Minister of Finance - Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh
15 th	Chandra Shekhar	10 November 1990	13 March 1991	- Janata party - Congress Socialist Party - Indian National Congress - Independent - Janata Dal	- Politician - Prime Minister
16 th	Arjun Singh	9 July 1991	5 December 1991	- Minister of Human Resource Development - Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh	- Politician

				-was with Trinamool Congress -recently joined Bharatiya Janata Party	
17th	P.V. Narasimha Rao	6 December 1991	10 May 1996	-Indian National Congress	- Lawyer - Politician - Writer
18th	Atal Bihari Vajpayee	16 May 1996	31 May 1996	- Prime Minister - Minister of External Affairs -a member of Bharatiya Janata Party	- Writer - Politician - Poet
19th	Ram Vilas Paswan	4 June 1996	4 December 1997	Lok Janashakti Party	- Minister of Consumer Affairs, Food, and Public Distribution - Minister of Chemicals and Fertilizers - Minister of Mines - Minister of Railways
201th, 21th	Atal Bihari Vajpayee	19 March 1998	26 April 1999	- Prime Minister - Minister of External Affairs - a member of Bharatiya Janata Party	- Writer - Politician - Poet
		13 October 1999	6 February 2004		
22th	Pranab Mukherjee	22 May 2004	26 June 2012	- Indian National Congress - Rashtriya Samajwadi	- President of India - Minister of Finance - Minister of External Affairs
23th	Sushilkumar Shinde	3 August 2012	18 May 2014	- Indian National Congress - United Front United Progressive Alliance	- Minister of Home Affairs - Minister of Power - Governor of Andhra Pradesh - Chief Minister of Maharashtra
24th	Narendra Modi	25 May 2014	Incumbent	Bharatiya Janata Party	- Prime Minister of India - Chief Minister of Gujarat