

CHAPTER IV

STRATEGY OF *BERSIH 2.0* TO REALIZE THE GOOD GOVERNANCE IN MALAYSIA

In this chapter, the writer will explain the efforts of *Bersih 2.0* to realize good governance in Malaysia. *Bersih 2.0* is a non-government organization based in Malaysia and became globally that has demanded of clean government in Malaysia. As the organization that consists of people of opposition party, politic activist and civil society. To get the attention from the government, *Bersih 2.0* did the four advocacy ways through the strategy of advocacy by Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. Transnational Advocacy Network as the theory plays with civil movement as the actor that relevant internationally towards an issue or problem bounded by people's interests. With transnational advocacy network is prove that actor of non government can be an important role in International relations.

Basically the advocacy did by *Bersih 2.0* is related to the rally occurred in the Middle East. The rally is called Arab Spring. Arab Spring is the wave of revolution from the civil society to demand the reform toward its government. The rally has not occurred in one country only. In 2010 the revolution has happened in Tunisia and Egypt. The civil war also happened in Bahrain, Libya, Syria and Yemen. Furthermore, the big protests occurred in Aljazeera, Iraq, Morocco, Oman and Jordan. And various conflicts happened in Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Lebanon, Kuwait, Lebanon and Western Sahara. In 2011, the conflict of border dispute *Bersih 2.0* occurred in Palestine. It is the war between Palestine and Israel.

Protest runs by the civil society each country has the demand to reform their governmental system. The same goals as the, Arab Spring members demand the step down of the leader. Through the rally by long march and social media, they can express their opinion. The development of technology information especially social media also influences each

country to gain the mass or movement from Twitter, Facebook, Skype, YouTube and Blog.

A. The strategy of Information Politic: The Distribution and Spread the Information through Mass Media

In the theory of Transnational Advocacy Network, it uses four strategies that can be implemented to the social movements. Information politic is one of the strategies. Information politic is the ability of Transnational Advocacy Network to spread, mobilize and distribute the information rapidly and accurately. It uses politically and can direct the issues solving.⁸⁸ The issue that will be spread must be accurate and real information and after that it can be spread and publish in many ways or tools.

^ Social media became the only way from *Bersih 2.0* to spread the information. In 2006, *Bersih 2.0* has launched their only one media the official website of *Bersih* has as www.bersih.org to spread their demand for free and fair elections in Malaysia. Besides the official website of *Bersih*, on 2007 *Bersih 2.0* uses the platform of Blogging and YouTube as the way to give the information to attract civil society to run the rally. In 2011, the existence of Twitter and Facebook are dominant globally until 2012. *Bersih* is not run out of strategy, *Bersih* used Twitter and Facebook as their tools to spread the information of *Bersih* rallies, *Bersih 3.0* “*Duduk Bantah*” information and it rally run. More than 58.000 tweets under the hash tag #*Bersih* has tweeted since the *Bersih 3.0* rally runs on 28 April 2012. 24 hours after *Bersih 3.0* rally, counted that 300.000 tweets, 2.000 videos on YouTube and 300 Blog relevant with *Bersih 3.0* “*Duduk Bantah*” has been published on social media.⁸⁹ This is the historical phenomenon in Malaysia that how the impression through *Bersih* can be spread rapidly through social media.

⁸⁸ Keck & Sikkink, *Transnational Advocacy Network in International and Region Politics*, p.95.

⁸⁹ Lim, Merlyna. (2017) “*Digital Media and Malaysia’s Electoral Reform Movement*”, *Citizenship and Democratization in Southeast Asia* p.212

1. The Uses of Social Media

In the aspect of politic, social media plays a huge role in Malaysian people. The political platform has changed in Malaysia after the existence of social media appeared. In 2008 in the 12th general election, *Barisan Nasional* which known supported by media in Malaysia has suffered unprecedented losses. *Barisan Nasional* lost several states Penang, Selangor, Kedah, Perak, and Kelantan toward the coalition of opposition party Democratic Action Party (DAP), People Justice Party (PKR) and Pan-Islamic Party (PAS). Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi as the Prime Minister at that time acknowledged the power of social media said that *Barisan Nasional* has lost the online war toward the opposition party. *Barisan Nasional* is too convinced of their dominance within the government so that it can control the Malaysian media. Since the general election on 2008, *Barisan Nasional* losses vote.⁹⁰ As we know, social media began to exist in the early 2000s and is growing rapidly until today.

Besides that, the use of social media is continually by the free and fair elections movements *Bersih 2.0*. *Bersih 2.0* uses social media to spread information and opinions by *Bersih 2.0* and civil society toward the government. We can't deny the power of social media by *Bersih 2.0* has the huge impact toward the social movement in Malaysia and overseas. The power of social media has been acknowledged by the Malaysian government, opposition party and *Bersih* as the new way to spread the information effectively.

With the power and popularity of social media, in 2008 *Bersih 2.0* started a new strategy which incorporated with YouTube and Facebook to

⁹⁰ Muniandy, Lalitha., & Muniandy, Balakrishnan. "The Impact of Social Media in Social and Political Aspects in Malaysia: An Overview", International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, Center for Promoting Ideas, USA, Vol. 3 No. 11; June 2013
p.75

communicate and mobilize the strategy of *Bersih 2.0*. *Bersih 2.0* was created an official page on Facebook on 17 days before the second rally. The page created on 22 June 2011, which is the second rally held on 9 July 2011 titled "Bersih 2.0 [Official]". Unexpected fans suffered that within two weeks it attracted more than 190.000 fans on Facebook. This fan page became the center of *Bersih 2.0* supporter's activities to post and check any updates, announcement, news, photos and videos. In addition, beyond the second rally of *Bersih 2.0*, *Bersih 2.0* maintains the popularity of Facebook by spreading information to establish *Bersih 3.0* as well as *Bersih 4.0* rallies. The latest fan page was created in September 2013. It has aimed the future of the fourth rally that held in August 2015.⁹¹ Now, the number of fans "Bersih 2.0 [Official]" on Facebook until today is reached of 269.000 fans.

The other social media that used by *Bersih* is Twitter. The used of twitter is intensive during the rally. Its contents of the command and organize the rally runs from tweets spreading. Protesters and executor sent the tweets about where they must go, where the safe place to avoid from police is, how they avoid from the water cannon and tear gas. Besides that, much of tweets came along with YouTube videos link during the rally. More than 19.000 twitter users tweeted about the rally at that time. On the *Bersih 3.0* rally in 2012, collected 58.000 tweets with *#Bersih* hashtag related to *Bersih* rally.⁹²

Besides that, the using of hashtag *#Bersih* is not only in Kuala Lumpur and Malaysia as well. It also scattered into overseas and globally. The map below had shown the tweets of *#Bersih* globally on 28 April 2012.

⁹¹ Ibid, Lim, Merlyna. p.224

⁹² Ibid, Lim, Merlyna. p.223

Figure 4.1 Global Maps of *Bersih* tweets, 28 April 2018, 1 – 7 pm



Figure 4.2 Kuala Lumpur, Johor Bahru and Penang map of Bersih tweets



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Furthermore, the Malaysian map shown above in the case of *Bersih 3.0*, the majority of tweets

with *#Bersih* hashtag total of sixty-seven percent of the *Bersih* tweets were coming from Malaysia, with a high number of tweets in Kuala Lumpur, Johor Bahru, and Penang.

In the governmental field, Prime Minister Najib Razak also runs a blog and his Facebook page with the number of 2,2 million fans. His fan page is in the second position than fan page belongs to former Prime Minister Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad. Although left behind, in 2010 *Polis Diraja Malaysia* or Malaysian Royal Police, launched a social media centre and prepared for the Facebook fan page and Twitter account to share the information and to give opinions to the public. On March 2014, the Facebook fan page *Polis Diraja Malaysia* was liked by 600.207 fans. On Twitter account, *Polis Diraja Malaysia* (@pdmsia) is followed by 127.000 followers. On 2011, when the *Bersih 2.0* was deemed illegal, on the fan page of *Polis Diraja Malaysia's* Facebook released an opinion and spread video of *Bersih 2.0* rally entitled "Illegal Rally *Bersih 2.0*: A police perspective of 9th July 2011". During the *Bersih 3.0* rally, the account of @pdmsia on Twitter actively spread the chosen videos shown that "unlawful rioters" act by *Bersih*. In the other hand, Malaysian government also recruit cyber troopers to always post positive tweets about the government and always accuses *Bersih* rallies on the negative side.⁹³

From the explanation above prove that the power of social media can attract society to have movements. Social media can be tools of communication and express the opinion. Social media also can drive the public opinion about a case. Malaysian citizen successfully drives and gain sympathizer from Malaysian citizen and overseas to support *Bersih* movement held rallies. And not less also with civil

⁹³ Ibid, Lim, Merlyna. p.227

society, the government also uses social media to spread their opinion and information.

2. Mass Media by The Government

Mass media in Malaysia is controlled by the government or by the political parties in the ruling coalition. Electronic media and newspapers were licensed by the government should renew annually. Firstly, traditional media in Malaysia is protected and belongs to the government. Recently, newspaper of Malaysia and became bolder with the current issues of race relations⁹⁴ moreover the political issues.

Besides that, the news media bravely made a headline about the 1MDB scandal and accuses Najib Razak had involved in this scandal. For the example, Sarawak Report and Malaysiakini followed the corruption closely. In the other hand, on the campaign period of the general election, only UMNO and the alliance of *Barisan Nasional* who can campaign in the traditional media. It caused the *Bersih* and Malaysian citizen movement demand for the electoral reform. They want free and fair of the campaign on the media as well. Besides that, on the restrictions of media by the Malaysia government, they bring public opinion of Malaysia against *Bersih 2.0*. So the Malaysian society will assume that *Bersih 2.0* is a bad organization.

B. The strategy of Symbolic Politics: The five of Bersih 2.0 Rallies Shout Out "Bersih" as the Jargon

According to Keck and Sikkink, symbolic politic is the ability to use symbol, action or narration to give understanding towards international society about the situation that happened in the fields.⁹⁵ In addition to using social media as the media to communicate and invite the society to join this rally, *Bersih*

⁹⁴ Hays, Jeffrey. (2015). "Media and Television in Malaysia". Retrieved on March 3, 2018, from http://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Malaysia/sub5_4f/entry-3664.html

⁹⁵ Keck & Sikkink, Transnational Advocacy Network in International and Region Politics, p.95.

2.0 also uses the symbols and jargon. *Bersih* uses symbol and jargon is to make easily attract notice and attention to the government and society.

1. Jargon

In the runs of the rallies, *Bersih 2.0* uses word “*Bersih*” as the jargon. The jargon is always shouted during the rallies. “*Bersih*” means cleans. In the context of jargon, “*Bersih*” is clean, free and fair from the electoral system. In addition, shouted “*Bersih*” word, *Bersih 2.0* also uses color as a symbol for their movement. Yellow is the identity of *Bersih 2.0* and its followers. Yellow became popular. For *Bersih 2.0*, yellow means inspired hope, mobilized connectedness, instigated arrests and aroused fears.⁹⁶ The followers of *Bersih 2.0* movement always wear yellow shirts during the first rally until the last rally. Therefore, when *Bersih 2.0* holds a rally the headline on the news was always “Yellow Oceans Crowded Kuala Lumpur”.

Moreover, during the rally, protestors use the attribute or picture that shown their expression. They draw pictures of Najib Razak and added the evil horns, animal etc. They also write the demand on the poster, suggest for the clean government, against the corruption etc.

⁹⁶ Kee, Jac S. (2011). “The Color Yellow”. retrieved on 4 March 2018 from <https://designobserver.com/feature/the-color-yellow/28758>

Picture 4.1 *Bersih* Rally Attribute



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2. Song

On the other hand, *Bersih 2.0* also has a theme song to express their opinion about their demands for free and fair election. *Bersih* theme song entitled "The Bersih song: Tears of Malaysia (泪光)" has uploaded on YouTube and *Bersih 2.0* official website on April 2012.⁹⁷ In YouTube, this song was viewed by 391.000 viewers. The lyrics of this song consist of the language exist in Malaysia is English, Malay, Mandarin, Cantonese, and Tamil. The singer of this song is various. It came from the civil society and Bersih chairpersons are Maria Chin Abdullah and Ambiga Sreenevasan.

Basically, symbolic politic is the way of Transnational Advocacy Network to attract civil society to join or understand what they want. In the other hand, civil movements in Transnational Advocacy Network also run the rally in the certain date. In addition, special

⁹⁷The Bersih song: Tears of Malaysia (泪光): <http://www.bersih.org/the-bersih-song-tears-of-malaysia-%E6%B3%AA%E5%85%89%EF%BC%89/>

date or certain date is can create an appropriate moment. Peoples usually can be memorized an event easily in the special or certain date. *Bersih 2.0* uses this strategy on the several days before general election. The 12th general election on March 8th, 2008, *Bersih 2.0* held their first rally in November 2017. The 13th general election on May 5th, 2013, *Bersih 2.0* also held the third rally in April 2012. Those two rallies occurred because they want SPR as the committee of general election more free, fair and clean during the general election.

3. Preach

On the other hand, *Bersih 2.0* also doing the other strategy in case of the symbolic politic of Transnational Advocacy Network. One of the ways by *Bersih 2.0* was preaching or *Ceramah* in *Bahasa Melayu*. The approach of *Bersih 2.0* with preaching is to deliver the message and to attract society in order to support the demands of *Bersih 2.0*. *Bersih 2.0* was doing the preach in the towns and come into the villages in Malaysia. Within this action, *Bersih 2.0* has supported by the opposition party. The opposition party has the network and relation in the villages.

Picture 4.2 *Ceramah* by *Bersih* Poster



Source: Aliran News Malaysia

4. Poetry and Concert

Besides that, *Bersih 2.0* also not runs out of sense. In addition, to spread the *Bersih 2.0* identity, *Bersih 2.0* also spreading the pamphlet in order to deliver it *Bersih 2.0* messages and attracts people to support them. According to Hazizi, *Bersih 2.0* did the approach of advocacy showing the element of culture can be something interest and attract more peoples. The message of *Bersih 2.0* is not only delivered in the heavy and serious way but another way is with entertainment. Man of letters from Malaysia A. Samad Said is a person who brings *Bersih 2.0* into the element of culture. He also combines culture with poetries related to the movement of *Bersih 2.0*. On the video length 1 minute and 55 seconds, A. Samad Said expresses his masterpiece into a poet which⁹⁸:

*Semakin lara kita didera bara
Kita laungkan juga pesan merdeka:
Demokrasi sebenderang mentari
Sehasrat hajat semurni harga diri.*

*Lama resah kita – demokrasi luka;
Lama duka kita – demokrasi lara.
Demokrasi yang angkuh, kita cemuhi;
Suara bebas yang utuh, kita diam!*

*Dua abad lalu Sam Adams berseru:
(di Boston dijirus teh ke laut biru):
Tak diperlu gempita sorak yang gebu
Diperlu hanya unggun api yang syahdu.*

*Kini menyalalah unggun sakit itu;
Kini merebaklah nyala unggun itu*

⁹⁸ Said, Samad. (June 29, 2011). Lawyers for Liberty, Deklamasi Puisi Unggun Bersih A. retrieved on 18 March 2019 from <http://www.lawyersforliberty.org/1496/>

Besides the poets, *Bersih 2.0* also runs a concert as the place of aspiration to support *Bersih 2.0*. Music as the media to spread the information, attract supporters and entertain peoples. *Bersih 2.0* does believe that music concert is the soft way to get the attention of the government towards the eight demands of *Bersih* to realize by the government. Through the *Bersih 8 Tuntutan* (8T) or eight demands concert held after the *Bersih 3.0* rallies or the exact is October 13th, 2012.

Picture 4.3 *Bersih 2.0* Konsert Poster



Source: *Bersih Konsert*

C. The strategy of Leverage Politics: Mahathir Mohammad and International NGOs cooperate with *Bersih 2.0*

One of the components of strategy Transnational Advocacy Network is Leverage Politic. Leverage Politic is ability and efforts to influence international powerful actors towards the issues. The international movements or organization usually use this strategy to campaign their demand. For the example, WWF (World Wildlife Fund) as the non-governmental organization recruits Sony Pictures and make a first superhero Spiderman as the Earth Hour ambassador. WWF choose superhero as their ambassador is to

inspire individuals to use their power to become Super Heroes for the planet. Earth Hour has aims to deliver the energy efficient stoves to the people in Madagascar, help the society in the Philippines, helping build fiberglass boats as the climate impacts Typhoon Haiyan. Besides that, Earth Hour also raises funds to expand the conservation of Table Mountain National Park in South Africa.⁹⁹

As the non-governmental organization that runs the strategy of Transnational Advocacy Network which leverage politic, WWF with the program of Earth Hour successfully runs the program of 60+ Earth Hour. Earth Hour program is a campaign for the global citizen to save the electric energy in the world and take care of our nature. In the campaign, all of the global citizen suggested to turn off all of the electricity in the town at least 60 minutes or more.

This campaign had the good responses from global citizen, especially in Indonesia. In Indonesia has many region communities of WWF who campaign Earth Hour and runs the event annually. However, the regional community of WWF and Earth Hour also campaign of safe nature, save the water and save the animal.

Look at what WWF and Earth Hour have done, a civil society movement supposed to attract sympathy from the global citizen. However, Bersih 2.0 successfully took the world attention towards the achievements that Bersih 2.0 got. Besides the action of demanding for democracy, Bersih 2.0 inspires to the world with what Bersih receive. Bersih 2.0 also got the support from former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohammad who agree with Bersih 2.0 to step down of Najib Razak as the Prime Minister. Mahathir regrets what corrupt of Najib did. He said that as the Prime Minister, Najib should protect the country from the corruption. But the fact is Najib became an actor of huge corruption.

⁹⁹ Singh, Timon. (2014). "WWF Recruits Spider-Man as Earth Hour's First Superhero Ambassador", retrieved on 5 March 2018 from <https://inhabitat.com/wwf-recruits-spider-man-as-earth-hours-first-superhero-ambassador/>

1. Support from Overseas

Malaysia wins Asia Democracy and Human Right Award in Taipei. Asia Democracy and Human Right Awards are annual award held by Taiwan Foundation for Democracy. In 2017, Taiwan Foundation for Democracy presented the award to Malaysia as the coalition of civil society and non-government organization as their efforts to promote the transparency of general elections. Foundation said that Bersih 2.0 is proper to receive this award. *Bersih 2.0* has been dedicated to pushing for electoral reforms within across different political parties, races, and religions in Malaysia as the rainbow nation country. On the awarding, chief of Taiwan Foundation for Democracy wishes that Malaysia as *Bersih 2.0* can motivate, encourage and invite the social movement in promoting democracy and electoral reforms.¹⁰⁰

In the other hand, the 12th annual Asia Democracy and Human Right Award joined by five candidates who dedicate their affairs of fairness, involuntary disappearances, human rights in China and women's rights. On the awarding night, Malaysia as *Bersih 2.0* receives US\$ 100,000 and a trophy. The prize was given by President Tsai Ing-wen as the Taiwanese politician and the second president of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP).¹⁰¹

Besides that, in 2016, *Bersih 2.0* has won South Korea's 2016 Gwangju Prize for Human Rights. *Bersih 2.0* receives the award according to the effort of pushing the electoral reform in Malaysia.¹⁰² Gwangju Prize of

¹⁰⁰ Pei-ju, Teng. (2017). "Malaysian coalition won Asia Democracy and Human Rights Award", retrieved on 5 March 2018, from <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3317279>

¹⁰¹ Hsu, Stacy. "*Malaysian election group wins human rights award*", 2017, retrieved on 5 March 2018 from

<http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2017/11/16/2003682368>

¹⁰² Malaymailonline, "*Bersih 2.0 wins South Korean human rights award*", 2016, retrieved on 5 March 2018 from

Human Rights is an annual event held by South Korea to commemorate the spirit of the democratic fight by the people in Gwangju, South Korea. On May 1980, they stood up against the military regime. In the other hand, this prize was not received by Maria Chin Abdullah as the chief of Bersih 2.0. Malaysian government banned Maria's passport and didn't give visa permit to go to Korea. Related to what is occurred, *Bersih 2.0* supporters regret the government. Whereas Maria Chin Abdullah will go to Korea to receive Human Right Prize of Bersih 2.0 representative of Malaysia.

Furthermore, in campaigning for democracy, free and fair election, *Bersih 2.0* endorses by several International NGOs. *Bersih 2.0* and International NGOs are work together to collect the data, gain the mass to promote and a campaign of democracy. Additionally, *Bersih 2.0* also connected through international democracy institution such as Global Bersi, Forum-Asia, The ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, undi.info, The Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL), and International IDEA. Global Bersih is the international network and international advocacy arm of *Bersih 2.0*, a coalition of almost a hundred Malaysian NGOs. Forum-Asia is a membership-based regional human rights organisation committed to the promotion and protection of all human rights including the right to development. The Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) is Asia's first regional network of civil society organizations focused on elections and election monitoring. And International IDEA is The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) is an intergovernmental organization that supports sustainable democracy worldwide.

2. Support from Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad

As the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohammad is support Bersih 2.0 to demand of democracy, free and fair election. Mahathir Mohammad appears in the public to show his support to Bersih 2.0 was when the last rally of Bersih in 2016, *Bersih 5.0* rally. He wore the yellow shirt with the picture of "BERSIH 5" on his shirt at that time. He supports *Bersih 2.0* because he felt mad with Najib Razak did as the 1MDB scandal of corruption by Najib Razak. Tun Mahathir express his enthusiasm because a lot of peoples joined the rally and campaign of free and clean government. Mahathir Mohammad also blamed Malaysian government who always tried to ban the rallies. He said that government is coward. Always on the interview, Mahathir always blamed Najib Razak who involved in the corruption as Prime Minister. Prime Minister shouldn't do corruption, Mahathir regrets.¹⁰³ Before the day of *Bersih 5.0* rally, Mahathir shouts out of Malaysian citizen to join the rally. Mahathir invites them together along with him to express the anxiety of what happened at that time. Looking the enthusiast of Malaysian citizen, Mahathir Mohammad also felt conscious to attend the rally.

As the former Prime Minister who leads Malaysia from 1988 – 2003, he came from UMNO in political fields in Malaysia. When he was the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Mahathir 93 years-old man was leading Malaysia as the Moslem state, he always makes the controversial policy contra with western. So, on his era as the Prime Minister, a lot of critics came from western countries.¹⁰⁴ We can say that Mahathir is

¹⁰³ Suastha, "Mahathir Mohamad Ikut Demo Tuntut PM Malaysia Lengser", 2016 retrieved on March 6 2018, from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20161119160535-106-173803/mahathir-mohamad-ikut-demo-tuntut-pm-malaysia-lengser>

¹⁰⁴ Berakhirnya 22 Tahun Kekuasaan Mahathir Mohamad. (n.d.). Retrieved March

succeeded in developing and establishing Malaysia in the sector of economy. Mahathir is also known as the "Father of Modernization". A lot of academicians mentioned that Mahathir is running his era as the Prime Minister with an authoritarian system. In the fact, along 22 years Mahathir leads, he can prove that Malaysia is developed well on economic fields. But at the end of his period, he feels regret with what happened with the government and UMNO.

Mahathir's disappointment comes after he resigns from his position as the Prime Minister. In October 2003, Mahathir resigned as Prime Minister and as the leader of UMNO. He mandated his deputy, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi to replace his position as Prime Minister and leader of UMNO. He felt that Pak Lah's policy is not accordance with the right track of Malaysian government values made by Mahathir itself. Besides that, Mahathir also felt regret with Najib Razak did. Mahathir expresses his disappointment of 1MDB scandal and Najib Razak's corruption by writing on his blog "C. H. E. det" on chedet.cc.

D. The strategy of Accountability Politics: The Five Rallies of Bersih 2.0 Deliver Several Demands



Transnational Advocacy Network also implemented the Accountability Politics that emphasized the efforts to defend or control the commitment of the actor in order to hold on the policy or the principles is already agreed.¹⁰⁵ This strategy is expected by a group that demands that the actors required can control and monitor the target behavior in order to realize the demands they want. In this case, *Bersih 2.0* supported on clean and good governance in Malaysia, demands the electoral reforms and democracy.



6, 2018, from global.liputan6.com: <http://global.liputan6.com/read/2639183/31-10-2003-berakhirnya-22-tahun-kekuasaan-mahathir-mohamad>

¹⁰⁵ Keck & Sikkink, *Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics*, p.95.

In the implementing of Accountability Politics, *Bersih 2.0* did five huge rallies in Malaysia and overseas with several demands:

Table 4.1 Bersih 2.0's Rallies

No	Rally	Date and Place	Logo	Demands
1	Bersih	10 November 2007 – Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia		A thorough cleanup of the electoral roll The user of indelible ink to prevent multiple voting The abolition of postal voting for military and police personnel Fair access to the mass media for all parties.
2	Bersih 2.0 (Walk for Democracy)	9 July 2011 – Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia		Clean the electoral roll Reform postal ballot Use indelible ink Minimum 21 days campaign period Free and fair access to media Strengthen

				public institutions Stop corruption Stop dirty politics
3	Bersih 3.0 (Duduk Bantah)	28 April 2012 – Kuala Lumpur, Sabah, and Sarawak		The Election Commission must resign, as it has failed in its responsibility and has lost the confidence of the public. The electoral process must be cleaned before the 13th General Elections. Invite international observers to observe the 13th General Elections.
4	Bersih 4.0	29 – 30 August 2015 – Kuala Lumpur, Kota Kinabalu and Kuching, Malaysia		Clean elections Clean government The right to dissent Protect parliamentary democracy Save the economy

5	Bersih 5.0	19 November 2016 – Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia		Clean general election Clean government Strongest the parliament democracy The rights to arguing Equality of Sabah and Sarawak
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Besides the five rallies, *Bersih 2.0* also escorted the SPRM as the Election Committee and created a campaign entitled "*Jom Pantau*". The purpose of this campaign is to minimize mistakes at the general election. *PEMANTAU* or the person monitoring or observing the runs of the general election has invited the people of Malaysia together to ensure the choice of running well and can reduce the fraud that may occur.

According to Hazizi, around 2000 peoples were trained to be the observer. When the period of the campaign, a lot of mistaken occurred like the violence of politic, messy of the voter list, the using of indelible ink, use of machinery and government, and many more. On the abuse during the campaign period has committed any kind of violation of the General Election Act 1954 by the party, supporter of the party, and the candidate as well¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁶ Haziz, Mohammad. Thesis: "*Bersih 2.0 Suatu Kes*"(2018) Penang; Universiti Sains Malaysia