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정치학 석사학위 논문

Bersih :

The Civic Political Movement of
Malaysia

버르시:

말레이시아의 시민정치운동

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황 원 경

Bersih :

**The Civic Political Movement of
Malaysia**

**A Thesis Presented
by
Hwang Won-Kyung
To**

**Graduate Program in Area Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master
In the subject of Political Science**

Graduate School of International Studies

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Abstract

Bersih : The Civic Political Movement of Malaysia

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The *Bersih* movement is an effort of Malaysian citizens who have widespread sense of responsibility toward their civic society as participants to communicate with their soft authoritarian government. Malaysia citizens' crucial needs for the reformation of the election system and the corruption free government gave a birth to the *Bersih* movement. The *Bersih* movement delivered the voice of civic society of Malaysia to their soft authoritarian government with its slowly increased number of demands as years passed by. In ten years, the number of *Bersih* demands was increased from 4 to 11. With the analysis by items of *Bersih* demands according to its content, the *Bersih* demands were increased from two (Fair Election and Corruption Free Government) to seven (Fair Election, Corruption Free Government, Right to dissent, Strengthening Parliamentary Democracy, Saving Economy,

Resignation of Prime Minister, Empowering Sabah and Sarawak). The increase of the *Bersih* demands was due to the soft authoritarian government regime and the rigid parliament. Government and parliament did not communicate well with the civic society of Malaysia. The empowered *Bersih* steering committee due to supportive mass media, religion groups, interest groups, NGOs and its belonged oppositional political parties was able to raise its voice confidently against its soft authoritarian government. The extension of *Bersih* demands satisfied the need of the *Bersih* participants and the *Bersih* supporters in the civic society.

The *Bersih* was born by the needs of citizens, developed by the triggering factors (opposition political parties, mass media, religion groups, interest groups and NGOs) of Malaysia society, transformed by itself (from the *Bersih* to the *Bersih 2.0*), by technically (with its improved management on *Bersih* rallies) and by circumstantially (with influence of Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad). Even though the *Bersih 2.0*, the new version of the *Bersih* since 2011, proclaimed not to be under its belonged political parties' influence, the *Bersih 2.0* has not been totally free from its belonged political parties' influence.

Another *Bersih* rallies will be held before the 14th General Election on 24 August, 2018 to influence the result of the 14th General Election. 5 times' *Bersih* rallies have influenced the results of two times General Elections (the 12th in 2008

and the 13th in 2013) and even changed Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi to Prime Minister Najib Rajak.

The *Bersih* civic political movement is expected to survive its soft authoritarian regime and continue to help its belonged oppositional political parties for the reformation of the unfair election system and for achieving the majority of parliament.

Key Words: Anwar Ibrahim, Mahathir Mohamad, *Bersih*, *Reformasi*, Civic political movement, *Bersih* demands, government, parliament, Malaysia

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1. Introduction

Malaysia has a dynamic multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-lingual society. Daily lives of Malaysian citizens look very peaceful from outside. But, once we have a close look inside the society of Malaysia, we can easily find that there always have been swirls beneath its peaceful surface due to its diverse ethnic groups and racial discrimination among Malaysian citizens themselves. There have been various and continuous Malaysian civil movements by Interest groups and NGOs since the independence of Malaysia on 31 August, 1957.

Under the soft authoritarian government of Malaysia, those civil movements have had short life span and been under government control or observation without gaining much attention from outside. But, two civic political movements, the *Reformasi* movement in late 1990s and five times' *Bersih* rallies during 2007-2016, have drawn lots of international attention not to mention Malaysia citizens' interest on their civic movement. Countless number of Malaysia citizens assembled on the streets of Kuala Lumpur on certain days and chanted "*Bersih*" together while asking for the reformation of election system and for corruption free government.

This research had a careful look inside the civic society of Malaysia under soft authoritarian political regime and under influence of Islam. It is very interesting to notice that the *Bersih* civic political movement has transformed by itself and by the influence of the Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad while

expanding its demands and goals of the *Bersih* rallies in 10 years. Initially, the items of demands were two only: “Fair election system” and “Corruption free government”.

As time passed by, the items of the *Bersih* demands were expanded till seven (Fair election, Corruption free government, Right to dissent, Strengthening parliamentary democracy, Saving economy, Resignation of Prime Minister, Empowering Sabah and Sarawak) according to this research analysis. The soft authoritarian Malaysia government, conservative Malaysia parliament, empowered *Bersih* steering committee, active involvement of supportive opposition political parties, supportive mass media, supportive interest groups and NGOs, supportive religion groups have been the contributing factors for these extended *Bersih* demands.

This research dares to mention that this study might be the first trial in academic way to analyze all five times’ *Bersih* rallies in ten years together at one glance. When we mention that there have been many micro studies on *Bersih* civic political movement, this paper is a macro study on *Bersih* civic political movement in 10 years (2005-2016) from the organization till the 5th *Bersih* rally performance. This study used self-made tables, graphs and illustrative pictures to summarize facts and information about five times’ *Bersih* rallies and four times’ General Elections of Malaysia. It must be very convenient to have a look on the tables and graphs those were summarized to understand easily at one glance. They kindly delivered some ideas about the 5 times’ *Bersih* rallies during 2007-2016.

1.1. The *Bersih* and Civic Political Culture of Malaysia

Malaysia is a multiracial country that has been managed harmoniously since its independence in 1957. Even though there was a brief episode of turmoil due to economic and political issues among citizens in 1969, it was later subsided by the effort of Malaysia government. Malaysia government created a concept “*Satu* Malaysia (One Malaysia)” and it offers a valuable norm to avoid discrimination among races. Malaysian society maintains its harmony among many races with a generalized conception like “*terima* (accept)” and “*sabar* (tolerate)”.

According to the Demographic statics division of Malaysia in 2010¹, there were 28.6 million peoples at Malaysia. The population of male recorded as 14.7 million. The female recorded as 13.9 million. This considers as a suitably divided social gender ratio. Lots of women in Malaysia are participating in the politics as grassroots party members, members of Interest groups or NGOs.

According to the age ratio in 2010², more than 67% of the whole population was in age 15-64, the socially active and economically productive generations. The population ratio of age between 0-14 years was 21.4%. Age between 15-64 years was 67.6%. Age 65 years above was 5%. More than 67% of

¹<http://www.dosm.gov.my>,

<http://www.icnl.org/research/monitor/malaysia.html>, Demographic Statistics Division of Malaysia

²Demographic Statistic Division of Malaysia

Malaysian population in 2010 was above 15 and below 65 years. This ratio is important to understand the driving forces of Malaysia society and its dynamicity. The age group between 15 and 64 is the essential population group for the society that may involve in the social activities and civic movements more actively compared with other age groups.

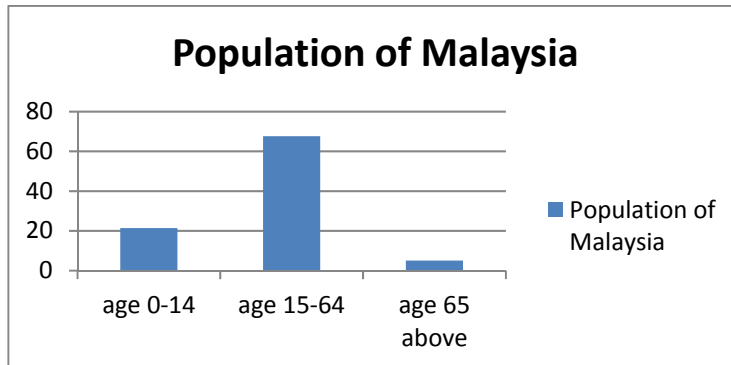
Malaysia is able to name as a young and energetic country according to this age ratio data in 2010. Among the ethnic groups in Malaysia, Malay group recorded the highest percentage. 50.1% of population of Malaysia was Malay. 22.6% was Chinese. 11.8% is indigenous. 6.7% was Indian and 0.7% was other. The remained 8.2% was non-citizens such as immigrants and from all over the world. Politics and government have been mainly occupied by Malay group³.

The religion, like Malaysia ethnic groups, is also diverse at Malaysia. According to the source of CIA World Factbook in 2010, the percentage of Muslim at Malaysia in 2010 is 61.3%. Buddhist is 19.8%. Christian is 9.2%. Hindu is 6.3%. Confucianism, Taoism, other traditional Chinese religions is 1.3%. Other is 0.4%. None is 0.8%. Unspecified is 1%. Religion groups have a tendency to encourage their followers to participate their own social activities. The religion groups have invited many followers to the *Bersih* rallies. Mostly middle class Malays were actively participated in the beginning of the *Bersih*. These Middle class Malays

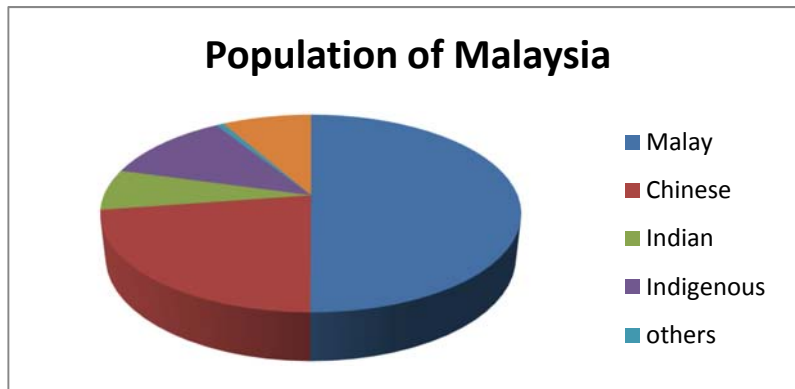
³CIA World Factbook & Demographic statics division of Malaysia in 2010

were mostly faithful Muslims who supported Anwar Ibrahim and his political party. Later, many other religion groups also participated as many other races joined the *Bersih*. It is difficult to say that the *Bersih* is indifferent with religion groups.

(Graph-1) Population age ratio of Malaysia in 2010



(Table-1) Population of Malaysia in 2010



Malaysia is also a multi-lingual society. Residents at Malaysia usually speak more than 2 languages in their daily lives. Bahasa Malaysia is an official language of Malaysia and being taught in the public schools. English is generally used among

people as second official language. Chinese and Tamil are also used by some races among themselves. But, it is not rare to hear people at Malaysia use some kind of mixed words (for example, okaylah) with Bahasa Malaysia and other languages in spoken language. The word “*Bersih*” itself also chanted by *Bersih* protestants on the street, not “*Clean*” translated in English, even though their ethnical backgrounds were different. *Bersih* protestants shouted “*Bersih*” in Bahasa Malaysia, Malaysia official national language. Daily language usage shows that Malaysia has been a well mixed society to keep their nation as a One, *Satu Malaysia*.

According to Jeong Chun Hai (2012), the Constitution of Malaysia is codified and the system of government is based on the *Westminster system*⁴. The hierarchy of authority in Malaysia, in accordance to the Federal Constitution, stipulates the three branches (administrative components) of the Malaysian government as consisting of the Executive, Judiciary and Legislative branch. Whereas, the Parliament consists of the Dewan Negara (Upper House /House of Senate) and Dewan Rakyat (Lower House /House of representatives)⁵. It is

⁴*Westminster system* is a parliamentary system of government modeled United Kingdom. Westminster system is a majoritarian system utilizing an electoral system that facilitates a two-party system and single-party government, with the executive dominating and leading in the legislature. (cited from “<http://lordsoftheblog.net/2009/03/03/the-westminster-system-of-government>”)

⁵Principles of Public Administration : Malaysian Perspectives, Jeong Chun Hai and Nor Fadzlina Nawi, Kuala Lumpur : person Publishers, 2012

important to understand about the Westminster system in Malaysia elections because this Westminster system used *Gerrymandering* for winning of the majority seats of Dewan Rakyat (House of Representatives of parliament). During more than 50 years of political history of Malaysia, UMNO and BN had never failed to gain two-thirds of majority of the parliament seats till 12th General Election in 2008.

After the 1st *Bersih* rally happened in 2007, the result of the 12th General Elections was considered as failed one by UMNO and its supporters. Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi had to resign in 2009 while being responsible for this unsuccessful General Election result. Due to the Westminster system, UMNO and BN were able to merely win in the 13th General Election even though opposition parties got more than 50% of total votes while UMNO and BN obtained 47% only. The vote rates of these 12th and 13th General Elections were influenced by 3 times' *Bersih* rallies.

There are many studies done by scholars and academicians who have studied about politics of Malaysia. But it was not easy to label the political regime of Malaysia in one word. Meredith L., Weiss (2015) mentioned that the political regime of Malaysia has been variously labeled as pseudo-democratic, illiberal democratic, statistic democratic, dominant-party democratic, soft authoritarian,

capitalist authoritarian statist, and competitive electoral authoritarian⁶. Among these labels, this study used the concept of “soft authoritarian” as the regime of Malaysia following Means, Gordon P. (1996)⁷. From the independence of Malaysia and the establishment of Malaysian soft authoritarian government, various Malaysia civic political movements have been continuously activated and given appeals to the government on behalf of the citizens of Malaysia. Since 2007, the “*Bersih*” Malaysian civic political movement, has arisen and become a big event for the citizens of Malaysia for 10 years. And, now, *Bersih* is mentioned as the representative of modern civic political movement of Malaysia. Hereby, we check the meaning of “*Bersih*”.

The word *Bersih* in bahasa Malaysia means “*bebas dari kotoran* (free from dirt), *tidak tercemar* (spotless), *suci* (chaste), *murni* (clean), *rapi* (well-organized), *jelas* (clear)”. *Membersihkan* in bahasa Malaysia means “make it clean and spotless” in English. *Pembersihan* in bahasa Malaysia means “clean up” in English. The word *Bersih* has become the representative word of civic political movement of Malaysia since the *Bersih* rally was organized and performed in 2007. Actually, the word *Reformasi* (Reformation) was more popular and generally used before 2007.

⁶ Party System Institutionalization in Asia : Democracies, Authorocracies, and the Shadows of the Past, Edited by Allen Hicken, Erik Martinez Kuhonta, Cambridge University Press, 2015, P 32

⁷ Soft Authoritarianism in Malaysia and Singapore, Means, Gordon P., Journal of Democracy 7(4), 1996, PP 103-117

But, the *Bersih* changed the Malaysia civic cultural components with more stable mixed form with its much more increased number of subjects and participants. Almond and Verba described the terminologies about parochial, citizen and participant in their book “Civic Culture (1965)”.

The 3 types of political culture can be summarized in a table below.

(Table-2) Types of Political Culture

	System as general object	Input objects	Output objects	Self as active participant
Parochial	0	0	0	0
Subject	1	0	1	0
Participant	1	1	1	1

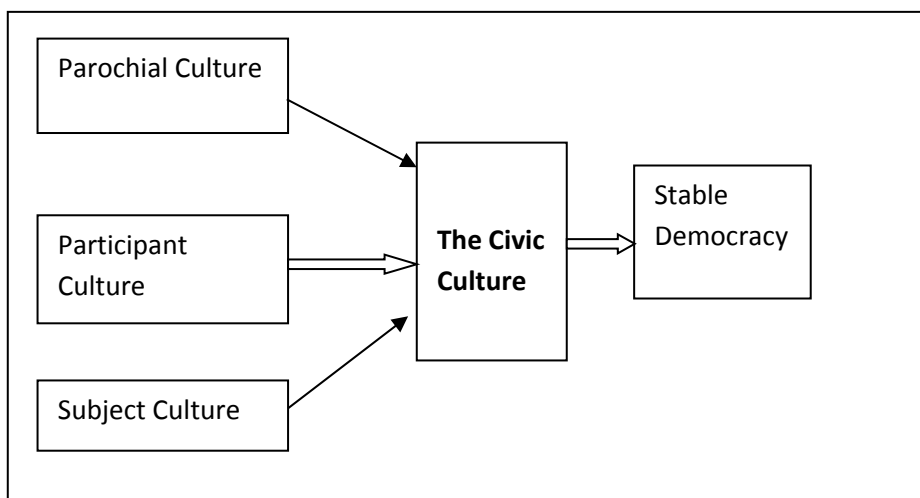
(Source : Civic Culture, Almond and Verba, The Little Brown Series in Comparative Politics, Princeton University Press, 1963, P16)

Political culture, according to Pye, L. (1995), is the sum of the fundamental values, sentiments and knowledge that give form and substance to political processes⁸. With the increased participation to the organized *Bersih* rallies and by the exposure

⁸Political Culture, Lye, L., in The Encyclopedia of Democracy, edited by S. Lipet, London and N.Y. : Routledge, PP 965-969

and with the influence of mass media which encouraged participations to the civic political movements, people's perception and cognition must have slowly changed from *parochial* toward as *participants'* and *citizens'* orientation. This perception and cognition as citizens drove them to the street rallies of the *Bersih*. This can be the one for understanding to answer the reason why the enormous number of the *Bersih* participants was able to gather at Kuala Lumpur despite government threat and sabotage for the rallies. Meanwhile the Malaysia political regime did not try to change itself. The citizens were transforming their political culture as participant culture while pushing their soft authoritarian regime toward the stable democracy.

(Picture -1) The Civic Culture toward Stable Democracy



(Source: Political Culture, in the "Political Science: A Comparative Introduction", 3rd Edition, Rod Hague & Martin Harrop, 2001, P 80)

Through the 5 times' street rallies and demonstrations against government and authorities in 10 years, citizens at Malaysia started to think and perceive that they themselves may affect their soft authoritarian political system. The *Reformasi* movement and *Bersih* rally participants expected that their government might respond to their input in some ways.

Malaysia government finally showed some gestures to show their democratic ways of communicating with citizens via Election Committee for the reformation of the election system. The *Bersih* Steering committee and Malaysia Government made an Election Committee together to review the voting system and to prepare the fair election for all parties. But, years later, even this Election Committee could not achieve much what it should do. The reformation of election system is for fair election and for the verification of the election fairness. But the majority of the parliament members did not want to reform much on it and they did not respond to the demands of the *Bersih* except the usage of indelible ink. Later this passed the parliament, but the ink was still washable in some places.

1.2. Research Context

Malaysian political participants have raised their voices and enhanced their political influences while showing active participation in the street gatherings and demonstration via *Bersih* rallies. Defining the civic culture of Malaysia as a mixed political culture with increased subjects and participants via 5 times' *Bersih* rallies in 10 years, this study explicates that the custody case of Anwar Ibrahim and the *Reformasi* (Reformation) movement by Anwar and his supporters before the *Bersih* movement was introduced in 1998. Anwar Ibrahim was the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia but was dismissed by Prime Minister Mahathir and was arrested on 20th September 1998 in charge of sodomy and corruption. From the Anwar's custody case in 1998, this study explains the power struggle between Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad almost for 20 years, till 2016. Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad, these two great political figures in the modern politics of Malaysia helped to build up the modern civic political culture of Malaysia. This study brings up the correlation between Anwar Ibrahim's *Reformasi* movement and the birth of *Bersih* movement of Malaysia. This study also presents questions whether the *Bersih* civic movement was free from the influence of political parties and whether the *Bersih* was able to maintain its neutral position from the party politics or not. To answer these research questions while overlooking the *Bersih* movement in 10 years, this research set 3 hypotheses. Through these 3 hypotheses, this study tried to understand the nature of the *Bersih* movement, its development and transformation in the multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-lingual society.

1.3. Research Hypothesis

This study set 3 hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1

Anwar Ibrahim's *Reformasi* movement contributed to the birth of the *Bersih* movement of Malaysia.

Hypothesis 2

Driving factors such as political parties, mass media, religion groups, interest groups and NGOs helped to develop the *Bersih* movement of Malaysia.

Hypothesis 3

The *Bersih* movement has transformed by itself and by circumstantially due to the power struggle and hegemony in the politics of Malaysia

1.4. Research Methodology

This study is a qualitative and empirical study. And, this is a field research on Anwar Ibrahim for 18 years and a research on the *Bersih* civic political movement of Malaysia for 10 years.

Qualitative study was done with the archival research on reference books, dissertations, online papers and articles about modern politics of Malaysia. Content analysis and review of the articles of newspapers, magazines and on-line mass media such as Berita Harian, Bernamas, Utusan Malaysia, New Strait Times, The Stars, Nanyang Sian Poau, Sinchew Hit Poh, China Press, Dewan Masyarakat, Malaysiakini etc has done. Some parts of the Constitution of Malaysia, ISA (Internal Security Act) and The Peaceful Assembly Act were also reviewed. Chronological event description on Anwar Ibrahim's custody cases, the power struggle between Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad during 1987-2016, 4 times' General Elections during 1999-2013 and the evaluation of 5 times' *Bersih* rallies were done.

Empirical study based on the data analysis on the numbers of 5 times *Bersih* rally participants, the items of 5 times *Bersih* rallies' demands and the vote results of 4 times General Election was done. Acquired collective data was put into the forms of graphs and tables.

2. The *Bersih* as a Representative Civic Political Movement of Malaysia

2. 1. *Reformasi* movement and *Bersih* movement

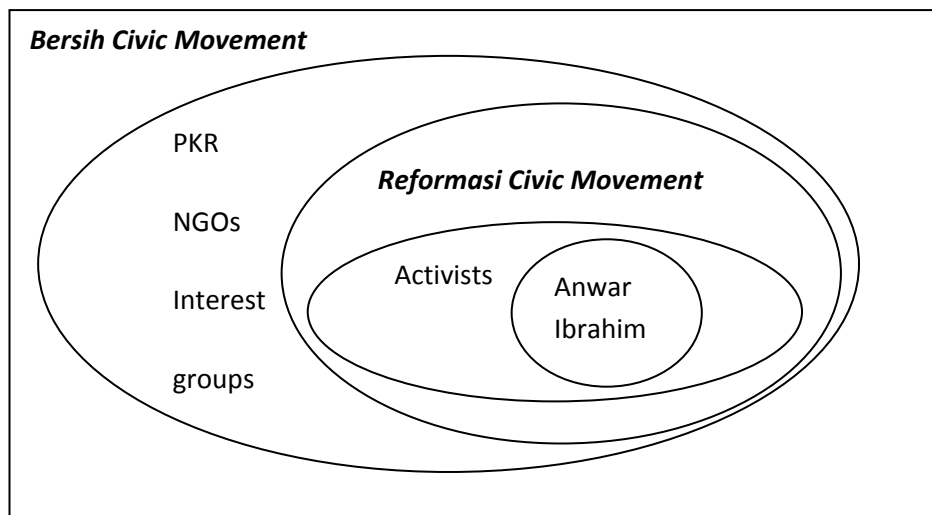
The word *Reformasi* was actively launched at Malaysia by Anwar Ibrahim and Anwar Ibrahim's supporters in 1998. Anwar Ibrahim and Anwar Ibrahim's supporters chanted *Reformasi* on the street for years before the slogan *Bersih* appeared and became absorbed in the *Bersih* movement.

The *Reformasi* movement was a form of civic protestant by Anwar Ibrahim and his supporters before Anwar Ibrahim's custody by police in 1998. Just before Anwar Ibrahim's detention, the *Reformasi* movement was arisen quickly and appealed to the citizens who were still in shock with the news. The *Reformasi* movement was assimilated with Anwar Ibrahim's progressive and challenging image toward his soft authoritarian regime and Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad. The *Reformasi* movement was initiated at Indonesia while bringing Suharto's withdrawal from the presidency due to economic crisis and corruption of Government. Anwar Ibrahim and Anwar Ibrahim's supporters brought out this *Reformasi* concept and assimilated with the image of Anwar. Fortunately, it worked. The *Reformasi* protestants gained attention by public in a short time, but they also faced arrest and detention by the police during the demonstration on the streets. The *Reformasi* movement obtained widespread attention from the citizen in

a short time in 1998. NGO like GERAK actively organized and participated in the *Reformasi* movement while chanting *Free Anwar* on the streets. More than thousands were arrested and detained during this *Reformasi* movement in 2 years (1998 - 1999). Detention of Anwar Ibrahim and dismissal from his post of Deputy Prime Minister were shocking events, not to mention about Anwar Ibrahim's sodomy allegation related with his wife's young driver.

(Picture-2)

Correlation between Anwar Ibrahim, *Reformasi* and *Bersih*



Two years after Anwar and his supporters' struggle against Mahathir Mohamad, GERAK, PRM, ABIM, JIM, other NGOs, ex-UMNO party members and Anwar's supporters organized PKR. PKR, as representative opposition political party of Malaysia, has never failed to support Anwar Ibrahim and his *Reformasi* movement.

PKR actively participated in the settlement for the organization of the *Bersih* in 2005. There was widespread agreement for the reformation of election system of Malaysia and most of the opposition political parties were seriously concerned about the unfair voting system.

The need for the reformation of unfair election system of Malaysia was getting critical, especially around the corner of General Elections. The need of reformation of election system delivered the *Bersih* movement and this *Bersih* movement embraced the spirit of the *Reformasi* with Anwar and Anwar's supporters.

Anwar Ibrahim was also the main trigger for the *Reformasi* and was the main dedicator for the birth of *Bersih* movement. There was definite overlapping between the *Free Anwar* movement and the *Reformasi* movement till Anwar Ibrahim was released from prison in 2003. The *Reformasi* movement was ignited by Anwar Ibrahim's dismissal by Mahathir Mohammad and detention due to sodomy case. But, this *Reformasi* movement was limited among Anwar Ibrahim's supporters those who chanted *Free Anwar* on the street. Citizens who did not support Anwar Ibrahim remained as observers in the society. The duration of active *Reformasi* movement was just around the late 1990s.

But, the *Bersih* movement was different. The *Bersih* movement has gained increasing support from all races of Malaysia in the whole Malaysia as time passed by. The *Bersih* movement was empowered by mass media, political party members, interest groups members, religion group members and NGO members in the society. The *Bersih* movement has progressively developed and matured itself via 10 years since its birth. The *Bersih* movement even transformed itself as *Bersih 2.0* to survive its soft authoritarian government while trying to eliminate the influence of its own belonged parties. The *Reformasi* movement by Anwar Ibrahim and Anwar Ibrahim's supporters melted into the *Bersih* movement progressively.

In the end, the *Bersih* movement embraced the *Reformasi* movement and became the representative civic political movement protesting against the unfair election system and asking for the corruption free government of Malaysia. The spirit of *Reformasi* movement remained in the *Bersih* movement. The *Bersih* movement embraced the *Reformasi* movement because Anwar Ibrahim and his political party PKR took a part in the birth of the *Bersih* movement. So, it is clearly shown that Anwar Ibrahim's *Reformasi* movement contributed to the birth of the *Bersih* movement of Malaysia.

The *Bersih* was mainly focused on the "Reformation of the Election system" and "Clean Government". These two main goals attracted and appealed *Bersih* supporters from all races of Malaysia and offered the chance for the *Bersih*

to grow, but the *Reformasi* movement was mainly for Anwar Ibrahim and Anwar's supporters. *Reformasi*'s main goal was for *Free Anwar* from detention along with insisting social reformation. When mentioning *Reformasi* and *Bersih*, in one word, it may be able to say that "the *Reformasi* melted inside the *Bersih*".

(Table-3) Brief Comparison between *Bersih* and *Reformasi*

<i>Bersih</i>	Comparison	<i>Reformasi</i>
2005-Present	Duration	Mainly 1998-1999
Fair Election Clean Government	Major Goals	Free Anwar from detention
Direct effect on the results of General Elections (12 th & 13 th), Vote rates reached up to 85%	Achievement	Establishment of PKR, Supporting Anwar Ibrahim & PKR
All through society while expanding demands of <i>Bersih</i>	Influence	Transient & Limited

2.2 Driving forces for the *Birth of Bersih* movement

For the birth of the *Bersih* movement, there have been 4 main driving forces in the civic society of Malaysia. These driving forces did voluntarily participate in the organization of the *Bersih* movement to deliver the first *Bersih* rally.

2.2.1 Political Parties

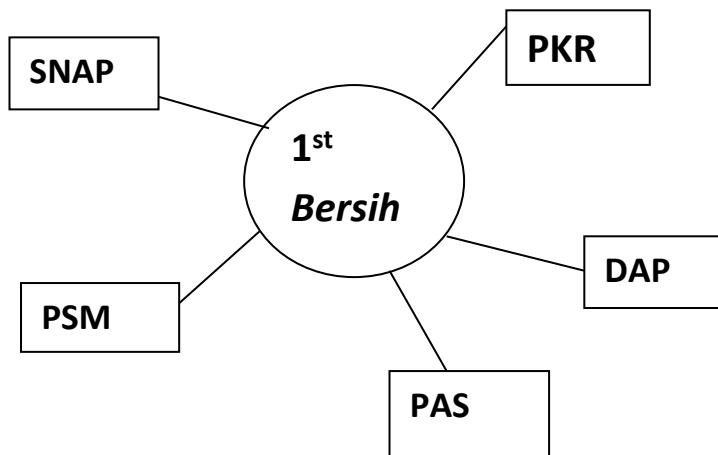
The *Bersih* movement, with citizens' widespread sense of responsibility and strong needs of the reformation, was born, has developed, has transformed and survives its soft authoritarian government for 10 years. Meanwhile, political regime of Malaysia did not try to change itself, oppositional political parties were raising their voice to get out of the hegemony from the UMNO dominant parliament system with its unfair election system.

Political parties in Malaysia might be classified as dominating political parties and non-dominating political parties. The *Bersih* civic political movement has been the opponent and protestant against the dominating parties, especially UMNO (United Malays National Organization) and BN (Barisan Nasional).

The non-dominating parties those participated in the *Bersih* civic political movement were PKR (Parti Keadilan Rakyat, People's Justice Party), PAS (Parti Islam Se-Malaysia, Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party), DAP (Democratic Action party), Pakatan Harapan (the Coalition of Hope) and other minor parties such as PSM (Parti Sosialis Malaysia) and SNAP (Sarawak National Party). PKR (Parti Keadilan Rakyat), PAS (Parti Islam Se-Malaysia), DAP (Democratic Action Party),

PSM (Parti Sosialis Malaysia) and SNAP (Sarawak National Party) were the 5 opposition parties that initiated to the 1st *Bersih* rally in 2005.

(Picture-3) 5 Oppositional Political Parties in the 1st *Bersih* 2007



These parties tried to gain public attention while protesting against the unfair national voting system. Especially, PKR under the leadership of Anwar Ibrahim and his wife, Wan Azizah Wan Ismail, were in the front line of the *Bersih* rally while asking for the reformation of the new government and the resignation of the Prime Minister via *Bersih* rallies. As dominating political parties of Malaysia, there have been UMNO (United Malays National Organization), MCA (Malaysian Chinese Association) and MIC (Malaysian Indian Council). It is almost impossible

to understand Malaysia politics without mentioning UMNO and BN (Barisan Nasional, National Front).

(Table-4)

Major components of BN (Barisan Nasional, National Front)⁹

Major Component Parties of BN
UMNO (United Malaysia National Organization)
LDP (Liberal Democratic Party)
MCA (Malaysian Chinese Association)
MIC (Malaysian Indian Congress)
Gerakan (Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia, Malaysia People's Movement party)
PBB (United Traditional Bumiputra Party)
SUPP (Sarawak United People's Party)
UPKO (United Pasokmomogun Kadazandusun Murut Organization)
SAPP (Sabah Progressive Party)
SPDP (Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party)
PBS (Parti Bersatu Sabah, United Sabah Party)
PPP (People's Progressive Party)
PBRS (Parti Bersatu Rakyat Sabah, United Sabah People's Party)
PRS (Parti Rakyat Sarawak, Sarawak People's Party)

UMNO has mainly Malay party members with belief in Islam. UMNO has always produced the Prime Minister of Malaysia as a dominating ruling party of Malaysia.

⁹http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_political_parties_in_Malaysia,

UMNO has led the PP (Parti Perikatan, the Alliance Party) coalition since 1957. This Parti Perikatan succeeded to the BN (Barisan Nasional, National Front) coalition since 1973. MCA (Malaysian Chinese Association) and MIC (Malaysian Indian Congress) have joined this coalition since 1959. The main reason for UMNO's decline after 10th General Election in 29th November 1999 was the Anwar Ibrahim factor. But even though the widespread support to Anwar and PKR, the PKR led by Wan Azizah Ismail in 10th General Election won 5 seats only. The votes could not be transformed to seats proportionally owing to the gerrymandering of the districts.

Oppositional political parties and citizens were not happy with the results of the 10th General Election. They started to make noises about the national voting system and offered the ground for the civic movement, the *Bersih*, for aiming the *Fair and Free National Election System*. Anwar Ibrahim's presence and his own political party PKR that was setup in 1999 became a causative compartment for shaping the modern civic culture of Malaysia.

2.2.2. Mass Media

For activation and growth of civic culture in a society, mass media has to play an important role to connect the citizens who are living separately at every corner of the society. Mass media is the intermediation to pass the information from citizens

to citizens. For the civic movement, it is important to activate and to make full use of the mass media to attract more participants and supporters. Due to Malaysia is a multiracial society, it is not easy to communicate with all citizens. There are diverse languages those deliver and share each other. This is the reason why there are diverse mass media in Malaysia.

There are more than 30 newspapers and tabloids in Malaysia. Mass media at Malaysia is broadcasted and printed with multi languages such as Bahasa Malaysia, English, Chinese and Tamil. The Star, New Straits Times and the Sun are mass media published in English. Malaysiakini and The Malaysian Insider are alternative mass media published in English. Sin Chew Jit Poh and Nanyang Siang Pau are published in Chinese. Mass media at Malaysia has regulated the freedom of Press by law such as the Printing Presses and Publications Act of Malaysia¹⁰.

Online alternative mass media Malaysiakini and party newspaper Harakah from PAS and Suara Keadilan from PKR were the three main *Reformasi* supporters those attracted citizens' attention broadly against Mahathir government during 1998-1999. *Malaysiakini* was established by Steven Ghan in November 1999 with the project of IT revolution on foreign investment. For this project, Government promised to guarantee the freedom of online mass media. Due to this, online alternative mass media *Malaysiakini* has quite freely criticized Malaysia Government. In January 2003, computers and main servers of *Malaysiakini* were

¹⁰https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_of_Malaysia.

taken away and detained by the Police of Malaysia. PAS party newspaper *Harakah* was defined as in house paper by government not to be delivered to the citizens who were not party members.

Newspaper such as *Bernama* in Bahasa Malaysia directly belongs to the Malaysia Government. *Bernama* tends to represent Malaysia Government rather than civic voices. *Barisan Nasional* in Bahasa Malaysia is owned by Barisan Nasional (National Front) alliance. *Barisan Nasional* tends to represent cabinet's voice rather than all parties' voice. *Radiq Radio* was active while criticizing Mahathir government during Mahathir's regime. *The Star* represents MCA but not that critical to government. *Harakah* as the opposition party media had criticized Mahathir government and increased the number of its reader after Anwar's custody case. *Harakah* was censored by Malaysia government with the excuse that party media cannot be read by publics who were not party members and limited to publish bimonthly¹¹. PAS actively used its newspaper *Harakah* to protest against Mahathir government after Anwar Ibrahim's dismissal in 1998 and quickly gained huge public support. But, soon, *Harakah* chief Editor was accused by police in January 2000. *Suara Keadilan* published by PKR demanded to release Anwar Ibrahim from custody and provoked *Reformasi* movement after Anwar Ibrahim's detention.

¹¹미디어, 언론과표상의지정학, 요시미슌야외역음, 이광호옮김, 한울출판사, 2007, p 29

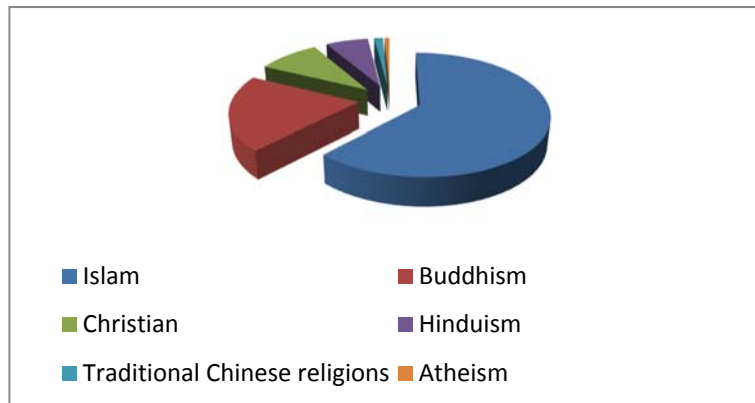
These mass media at Malaysia contributed themselves as a tool for awaking people's perception and recognition about democracy and civic political movement while sharing enormous information related with the *Bersih* movement. Mass media helped to form the union of the *Bersih* among citizens, to represent citizens' needs, to deliver information on the *Bersih* movement among participants, and to communicate with government. The role of mass media in the society of Malaysia was like oxygen in the blood for growth and survival.

2.2.3. Religion Groups

Religion groups those participated in the *Bersih* organizers have sent their followers to the *Bersih* rallies. The participation of the religion groups to *Bersih* organizers helped the *Bersih* movement to gain more participants. According to the 2010 population and housing census¹², 61.3 percent of the population is Islam, 19.8 percent is Buddhism, 9.2 percent is Christian and 6.3 percent is Hinduism. 1.3 percent is traditional Chinese religions and Atheism is 0.7 percent.

¹²https://www.dosm.gov.my/v1/index.php?r=column/cthemeByCat&cat=117&bul_id=cUxSKzBHRktuRGJqajFQK2RiRHpkUT09&menu_id=L0pheU43NWJwRWVVSZklWdzQ4TlhUUT09,http://www.icnl.org/research/monitor/malaysia.html, Source : 2010 Population and Housing census, Department of Statistics, Malaysia

(Graph-2) Religions of Malaysia in 2010



Norms like social justice, fairness and unification among races were supported by the religion groups. Islam is pronounced as the religion of the Federation of Malaysia and *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* is the head of the religion of Islam in the Federation of Malaysia according to the Constitution of Malaysia.

The Constitution of Malaysia symbolizes the importance of Islam to Malaysian society. And Malaysia government bans any publication that incites racial or religious disharmony. It is not difficult to find a mosque in Malaysia and most of the buildings provide *Surau* (praying room) for Muslim prayers.

[Article 3] Federal Constitution of Malaysia

Religion of the Federation

3 (1) Islam is the religion of the Federation; but other religion may be practiced in peace and harmony in any part of the Federation.

3 (5) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution the Yang di-Pertuan Agong shall be the head of the religion of Islam in the Federal Territories of Kuala Lumpur, Labuan and Putrajaya; and for this purpose parliament may by law make provisions for regulating Islamic affairs and for constituting a Council to advise the Yang di-Pertuan Agong in matters relating to the religion of Islam.

2.2.4. Interest Groups and NGOs

Interest group is a group of people that seeks to influence public policy on the basis of a particular common interest or concern¹³. According to Andrew J. Harding (1992), Malaysia interest groups are classified as consumer groups, environmental groups, religious groups, social reform groups, government watchdog groups, women's groups, cultural groups, educational groups, human right groups¹⁴. These interest groups joined the *Bersih* rallies and brought many demonstrators for the rally performance.

NGO is generally non-politic, non-profit international groups seeking for the benefit of the public. Meredith L. Weiss and Saliha Hassan (2003) defined NGOs as organizations that are politically oriented towards greater democratic

¹³<https://www.google.co.kr/#q=definition+of+interest+group&spf=567>

¹⁴Public interest groups, public interest law and development in Malaysia (Law, Accountability and Development Theories, Techniques and Agencies of Development), Third World Legal Studies, Annual, Andrew J. Harding, 1992

participation and good governance¹⁵. The number of NGOs in the *Bersih* rally was increasing as the *Bersih* went on. It started as 26, and then reached 62 at the 2nd *Bersih* rally. From the 3rd *Bersih* rally, it became more than 80. This active participation of NGOs to the *Bersih* rallies demonstrated the Malaysian citizens' growing enthusiasm toward the social reformation and their initiatives to confront the social contradiction. More NGOs present in Malaysia are concerned about education, consumer's right, communication and journalism, media, children, languages, disability and climate and weather, recycling and welfare of the aborigines, etc. Interest groups and NGOs in Malaysia has been actively influenced the society of Malaysia by means of protest, demonstration, arguments and sabotage against their government.

2.3. The Birth and Rebirth of the *Bersih* movement

Barisan Nasional that was led by Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi won more than 64% votes while winning 198 seats from 218 seats in the parliament in 2004 General Election. But, this 2004 General Election was later questioned as unfair voting system. Due to raised demands and necessity on the reformation of unfair electoral system on gerrymandering, phantom voters, unequal vote distribution of

¹⁵Social Movements in Malaysia : From Moral Community to NGOs, Meredith L. Weiss and Saliha Hassan (eds), London: Routledge Curzon, 2003, P 281

population, postal voting frauds, 5 opposition political parties (PKR, PAS, DAP, PSM, SNAP) stated *Joint Action Committee* in July 2005.

The *Joint Communique* was formulated in September 2006 as a result of Electoral Reform Workshop at Kuala Lumpur. Finally, five oppositional political parties and 26 NGOs¹⁶ launched the *Bersih Steering Committee* in 2006. Its official launch was on 23rd November 2006 in the Parliament Building lobby. The *Bersih* performed its 1st *Bersih* rally at *Dataran Merdeka* (Independence Square) of Kuala Lumpur in 2007. It successfully brought up lots of participants reaching roughly 40,000. The *Bersih* organizers, NGOs and participants of *Bersih* built up the foundation for the *Bersih* movement. It took almost 2 years before their 1st performance after the oppositional political parties held their first meeting to reform electoral process in Malaysia. Anwar Ibrahim and his political party PKR were considered to have another main spotlight from the mass media via *Bersih* movement. Anwar Ibrahim criticized this 2004 General Election voting system and declared it as an unfair election. Anwar Ibrahim actively involved in the *Bersih* organization and he himself performed the *Bersih* rally in the front line while encouraging the *Bersih* rally participants to protest against the unfair election system and to confront the government uncovered with disgraceful rumors on corruption. They demonstrated with the slogan of *Reformasi* and with Anwar

¹⁶Appendix-1

Ibrahim's symbolic picture with his one bruise eye that was beaten by police and his one hand high up. With the organization of the *Bersih*, the word *Bersih* became more popular while representing Malaysia civic protest against their unfair election system and against their soft authoritarian government with corruption scandals.

PKR, Anwar and Anwar's supporters raised their voices and showed their political gestures asking for the reformation of election system and corruption free Government during the 1st*Bersih* rally with other *Bersih* organizers. PKR and Anwar's supporters actively participated in the 1st*Bersih* rally while demanding corruption free government and reformation of the government for the social justice in Malaysia. At the 1st*Bersih* rally, citizens of Malaysia chanted *Bersih* and *Reformasi*. But, the word *Bersih* meant both *Bersih* and *Reformasi* as time went by via 5 time *Bersih* rallies in 10 years. This *Bersih*, Malaysia civic movement during 2007-2011, has definitely melted the word *Reformasi* inside the word *Bersih* while creating citizens' activism and enlightenment toward their soft authoritarian political system. The word *Bersih* became to embrace the word *Reformasi* and *Bersih* was reborn as *Bersih 2.0* for its survival under harsh political environment of Malaysia. It was a kind of transformation by itself when considering its harsh political environment.

The concept of *Bersih* and the performance of *Bersih* rallies via the *Bersih* movement in 10 years drove the civic political culture of Malaysia toward an ideal civic culture with the enormous participants of citizens during the rallies.

2.3.1. Setting Demands for the *Bersih* rally

When we consider whether the society is healthy or not, we can have a look whether the society has ways to communicate each other or not. The *Bersih* movement tried to communicate with government while suggesting their demands for each rally. Malaysia civic political culture was not a silent culture. It made its voices and clarified demands. *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* and the government were informed the demands of the *Bersih* what the *Bersih* wanted to appeal to them. The demands of the *Bersih* rallies gave some ideas to the government what Malaysian people ask to government and what the government should serve for citizens in need. Malaysia civic political culture was maturing itself while innovating and reforming their society by confronting soft authoritarian government via their clarified demands. The strong civic need to organize the *Bersih* was mainly due to unfair electoral system of Malaysia and due to complains from the citizens about the news and rumors on the corruption of government. About the unfair and irregular election system, opposition political parties were the main complainers because they directly got influenced by Westminster system of parliament.

Under the UMNO dominant political party system more than 50 years, it was not easy to build up another powerful oppositional political party. So the oppositional parties had to make a coalition to face against the UMNO and Barisan Nasional. Through the demands of the *Bersih* rally, oppositional parties did appeal to the government about the fair election system and clear voting process.⁵

political parties (PKR, DAP, PAS, PSM, SNAP) and 26 NGOs organized the committee for the first *Bersih* rally in 28 October 2004. The 1st *Bersih* rally was performed in 10 November, 2007. The 1st *Bersih* was chaired by Maria Chin Abdullah.

The 1st *Bersih* rally had 4 official demands¹⁷.

- 1) Clean up of the Registered Voters Roll
- 2) Use of indelible ink
- 3) Abolition of Postal Votes for military and police personnel
- 4) Free and fair access to government controlled mass media for all parties

The 2nd *Bersih* rally was held at the Merdeka Stadium of Kuala Lumpur on 9th July 2011. It was named as “*Bersih 2.0* rally” and “Walk for Democracy” while presenting 8 demands for the Clean and Fair Elections. The 2nd *Bersih* rally was organized by 4 opposition parties (PKR, DAP, PAS and Pakatan Rakyat) and 62 NGOs¹⁸. The 2nd *Bersih* was chaired by Ambiga Sreenevasan. 8 demands¹⁹ of the 2nd *Bersih* were:

- 1) Clean up of the electoral poll
- 2) Reform of postal ballot

¹⁷<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bersih>

¹⁸Appendix-2

¹⁹http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bersih_2.0_rally

- 3) Use of indelible ink
- 4) Minimum 21 days of campaign period
- 5) Free and fair access to mass media for all parties
- 6) Strengthening of public institutions
- 7) Stop corruption
- 8) Stop dirty politics

The 2nd *Bersih* rally on April 2011, the 2nd *Bersih* focused more on the reformation of national voting system asking for the fair election system. The 2nd *Bersih*, *Bersih* 2.0 gained public attention and alert on the April 2011 Sarawak election. This second *Bersih* named itself as *Bersih* 2.0 aiming to be a non-partisan civic movement to keep distance from any political influences and gave stress more on the reformation of unfair election system of Malaysia. This new version of *Bersih*, *Bersih* 2.0 was the result of transformation of *Bersih* movement to survive itself under the soft authoritarian political environment of Malaysia. Proclaiming that *Bersih* was not under the influence of belonged oppositional political parties' influence, *Bersih* movement tried to keep its position as neutral to insist the reformation of the unfair election system.

The 3rd *Bersih* was held on 28 April 2012 at *Dataran Merdeka* in Kuala Lumpur. It was a *Duduk Bantah* (sit-down protest) rally which 84 NGOs²⁰ were broadly participated in. This 3rd *Bersih* rally was the 2nd *Bersih* rally under Najib

²⁰Appendix-3

Rajak's government. Chairman of the 3rd *Bersih* was Ambiga Sreenevasan same as the 2nd *Bersih* rally. The 3rd *Bersih* was intensively asking for fair 13th General election that was scheduled on 5 May 2013. The intention of the 3rd *Bersih* rally to ask for the fair election was very clear just before the General Election. Three more demands were added on the previous 8 demands of the 2nd *Bersih*. There were 11 demands²¹ from the 3rd *Bersih*. The number of the *Bersih* demands was increasing while the items of the *Bersih* demands were expanding in detail. This means that communication between the *Bersih* and government was not efficient and the *Bersih* has to raise their voice to meet supporters' expectations from every corner of Malaysia. The 11 demands were the most among 5 *Bersih* rallies' demands.

- 1) Clean up of the electoral poll
- 2) Reform of postal ballot
- 3) Use of indelible ink
- 4) Minimum 21 days of campaign period
- 5) Free and fair access to mass media for all parties
- 6) Strengthening of public institutions
- 7) Stop corruption
- 8) Stop dirty politics
- 9) Resignation of the existing electoral commission
- 10) Implementation of the 8 demands before the 13th General election
- 11) Observation of the 13th General election by internal observers

²¹https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bersih_3.0_rally

2.3.2 *Bersih* 2.0 to be free from its belonged opposition Political Parties' influence

Five opposition political parties (PKR, DAP, PAS, PSM, SNAP) initiated the concept of *Bersih* in July 2005 as *Joint Action Committee*. *Bersih Joint Communique* was formulated as a result of Electoral Reform Workshop in September 2006. Finally, *Bersih Steering Committee* was organized and officially launched on 23 November 2006. The 5 main opposition political parties, PKR, DAP, PAS, PSM and SNAP actively joined for the organization in 2004 and participated the performance of the 1st *Bersih* rally in 2007. Named itself as “*Bersih*” that means “clean and spotless”.

But, the *Bersih* rally in 2011 named itself as *Bersih 2.0* to differentiate itself from the previous *Bersih* rally in 2007. It transformed itself with a new image being free from the belonged oppositional political parties' influence to run the *Bersih*. This transformation was self sustainable method to survive Malaysia's soft authoritarian regime. *Bersih* organizers and *Bersih* steering committee had to struggle to get the official permission from the government to hold the rallies.

Some may think what the big deal to be under the influence of its belonged political parties' influence was as long as the *Bersih* reaches its goals. But, if the *Bersih* had the image of representing its belonged political parties' voices, the *Bersih* civic political movement could not appeal properly to the multiracial Malaysia citizens with different social and political interests. And, the *Bersih* might

fail to get sufficient support from the citizens who may look for the social values such as *Justice* and *fairness*. Furthermore, soft authoritarian Malaysia government might name the *Bersih* as a counter government organization and the *Bersih* might end up as an illegal organization that could not sustain any more. There were more things to gain while proclaiming the *Bersih* itself as neutral from the influence of its belonged oppositional political parties' influence, especially when asking for the reformation of unfair election system to win the votes. The *Bersih* organizers and *Bersih* steering committee had to seriously consider about this. With these various reasons, *Bersih* transformed by itself as *Bersih 2.0* in 2011.

This name, *Bersih 2.0* is still used in 2017. People named the *Bersih* rallies as *Bersih 1*, *Bersih 2*, *Bersih 3*, *Bersih 4* and *Bersih 5* according to the *Bersih* rallies were performed in sequence. But, we should not confuse *Bersih 2* and *Bersih 2.0* as a new version of *Bersih*. *Bersih 2.0* has its symbolic meaning itself while being free from its belonged oppositional political parties to influence the government as a representative of civic political movement of Malaysia.

2.4 The Development of the *Bersih* in 2006-2012

There were held 3 times' *Bersih* rallies during 2007-2012 in Malaysia. The 1st *Bersih* rallies occurred after the 11th General Election and before the 12th General Election. The 2nd and the 3rd *Bersih* rallies occurred after the 12th General Election and before the 13th General Election.

Somehow these three *Bersih* rallies influenced the results of the 12th and the 13th General Election. With the result of the 12th General Election, *Barisan Nasional* could not reach the two thirds majority in the parliament for the first time in their history and Abdullah Badawi resigned after this 12th General Election. Najib Rajak became the 6th Prime Minister of Malaysia on 3 April 2009.

The *Bersih* rallies were held before and after the General Elections were seriously influenced the results of the General Elections and even changed the Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi, who was succeeded to Prime Minister Najib Rajak. Anwar Ibrahim, Anwar's supporters and his political party PKR were the main supporter for the *Bersih* and they attended the *Bersih* rallies in the frontline while asking for the *Fair and Free national voting system* and the *Reformation of government* that is free from corruption. Many Anwar's supporters participated with symbolic Anwar's picture posters and PKR slogans with words *Reformasi* on them.

When the political parties send their party members to rallies on the streets, it means more than the participation itself. Participation of the political parties in the *Bersih* rallies may not be free from the political parties' influence on the rallies and their political parties' agenda. Because what the party members held in their hands, such as slogans and propagandas, were usually given and distributed by their political parties, it may be difficult to be totally free from the political parties' demands. NGOs in Malaysia also joined to the *Bersih* organization. The number of

NGOs participated in the 1st *Bersih* rally was mentioned to be as many as 26. But, in the 2nd *Bersih* rally, 62 NGOs were joined. From the 3rd *Bersih* rally estimated more than 80 NGOs were participated. NGOs and interest groups in Malaysia brought more citizens to the rallies due to their structural system for calling the people that was established years ago. The time and locations of the *Bersih* gathering points were only released the day before the protests of the *Bersih* rally by word of mouth, mobile phones and emails. Social media like facebook, messenger and twitters did the important role to deliver messages among the *Bersih* protestants.

(List-1) Chronological events of *Bersih* rallies and General Election during 2004-2013

21 March, 2004: 11th General Election (BN won more than 64% votes with new Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi. The percentage of ruling party was 91 %.)

→ **10 November, 2007 - 1st *Bersih* rally**

8 March, 2008: 12th General Election (BN failed to reach 2/3 majority in parliament, Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi resigned due to the poor result of the General Election)

→ **9 July, 2011 - 2nd *Bersih* rally**

→ **28 April, 2012 - 3rd *Bersih* rally**

5 May, 2013: 13th General Election (BN merely won a simple majority. Vote rate 85%)

(Table-5) Malaysia General Elections (1999-2013) at a glance

General Election (GE)	Date	Prime Minister	Result (Ruling party/Op position party)	Percentage of Ruling party
10th GE	Monday, 29 November 1999	Mahathir Mohamad	148/45	77%
11th GE	Sunday, 21 March 2004	Abdullah Badawi	198/20	91%
12th GE	Saturday, 8 March 2008	Abdullah Badawi	140/82	51.39%
13th GE	Sunday, 5 May 2013	Najib Rajak	133/89	47.38%

The 13th General Election in 2013 recorded the highest vote rate in the election history of Malaysia. Vote rate reached till 85%. The opposition parties those composed PR (Pakatan Rakyat, Barisan Alliance) won 50.9% of the votes while BN (Barisan Nasional, National Front) got only 47.4%. According to the result of occupying the number of parliament seats turned out as a victory of Barisan Nasional. PR got only 89 seats meanwhile BN occupied 133 seats. Before this 13th General Election, there were 2 times *Bersih* rallies each in 2011 and in 2012. After

this 13th General Election, the *Bersih* successfully performed 2 more *Bersih* rallies each in 2015 and in 2016.

(Table-6) Evaluation of General Elections (1999-2013)

General Election	Evaluation
10th GE	Dropped vote till 56%, but BN (Barisan Nasional) maintained its majority. Mahathir Mohamad resigned in 2002 (after 22 years residency as Prime Minister).
11th GE	BN won more than 64% votes, recorded as <i>Pak Lah's</i> (Abdullah Badawi's) honorable success
12th GE	The 1 st <i>Bersih</i> rally was done on 10 November, 2007, 4 months before the 12 th GE on 2008. BN failed to obtain 2/3 majority in parliament and Abdullah Badawi resigned one year later, in 2009
13th GE	BN merely won. High vote rates reaching almost 85% was influenced by consecutive 2 nd and 3 rd <i>Bersih</i> rallies

(Table-7) *Bersih* rallies in 2006-2012 at a glance

1st<i>Bersih</i>	On 10 November, 2007, Chaired by Maria Chin Abdullah, at Dataran Merdeka & Istana Negara, 10,000-40,000 participants, 245 detained (34 detained) ²² , No death occurred, Presented 4 number of <i>Bersih</i> demands
2nd<i>Bersih</i>	On 9 July, 2011, Chaired by Ambiga Sreenevasan, at Merdeka Stadium, 10,000-50,000 participants, 1667 detained, 1 death occurred due to heart attack when police fired chemical laced tear gas and water cannons, Presented 8 number of <i>Bersih</i> demands
3rd<i>Bersih</i>	On 28 April, 2012, Chaired by Ambiga Sreenevasan, at Masjid Negara, Masjid India, Pasar Seni, KLCC, Jalan Sultan & Dataran Merdeka, 80,000-100,000 (officially 22,000), 512 detained, no death, Presented 11 number of <i>Bersih</i> demands

2.4.1 Multi-racial citizens' participation in *Bersih* rallies

Rafizi Ramli, PKR vice president & Pandan MP told Malay Mail Online about the 4th *Bersih* participants. "The Malay: Non-Malay ratio is likely 50:50, whereas the

²²There was a dispute about the number of detention cases during the 1st *Bersih* rally. *The Star* owned by MCA reported it as 245. But, the *Bersih* representative mentioned it as 34 only.

previous ones the ratio maybe 70:30 or 60:40²³. The opposition political parties (PKR, DAP, PAS, PSM, SNAP) asked and encouraged their party members to join the *Bersih* rallies. Anwar's supporters and his PKR were never failed to lead the front line of every *Bersih* rally during 2007 -2016. Party member's faithfulness toward Islam and the party, not only the *Reformasi* movement but also the *Bersih*, was needed. The *Bersih* rallies were easily able to meet the party members or party supporters of PAS, PKR and DAP with their party flags. PAS is Malay dominant Islamic party. PKR is basically Malay dominant, but vulnerable to Non-Malays and was cooperative with non-Malay for pursuing the common political issues. This is the reason why the *Bersih* rally was initially evaluated as Malay middle class majority demonstration rather than Malaysian citizens' rally asking for social justice.

Political parties based on the religion, especially Islam based political party like PAS, reminded their party members about Islamic disciplines and principles. It was not surprising at all when we read the news on the *Bersih* reporting the *Bersih* rally was mainly occupied with middle class Malay Muslim protestants with the proportion more than 70%. But in fact, more than 60% of the Malaysia population is Malay. The politics of Malaysia is mainly lead by Malay, too. The minor ethnic groups like Chinese and Indians might be seen less in the rally compared to Malay.

²³<http://www.themalaymailonline.com/malaysia/article/to-prove-critics-wrong-muslims-pray-at-bersih-4-rally>

But, there was racial discrimination that *Bersih* rally was activated and supported by Chinese participants to confront Malaysia government and Malay supreme ethnic discrimination.

According to Babara Harff (2003), Chinese Malaysians, in the eyes of many Malays, are immigrants who have no particular loyalties to the overwhelming Malay political establishment²⁴. This kind of ethnic tension has been underlined in the society of Malaysia. Political party like DAP did not hesitate to raise voice for the unfair economic policies by government. NEP, Malay favored economic plan established by Mahathir Mohamad, has been criticized by political parties like DAP and many Chinese citizens.

PR (Pakatan Rakyat) was led by Anwar Ibrahim during the 13th General Election and got more 50.8% votes. 13th General Election showed the declining support to the BN and UMNO while threatening Najb Rajak and UMNO supremacy in parliament.

2.4.2 *Bersih* Rallies Vs. Soft Authoritarian Government

Except the 2nd *Bersih* rally, the other 4 *Bersih* rallies did not have death casualty. Police usage of tear gas and water cannon was reduced from the 3rd rally. Police

²⁴Ethnic Conflict in World Politics, Barbara Harff, New York : Westview Press, 2003, P 69

did not use them at all during the 4th and the 5th *Bersih* rallies. The number of rally participant detention was also decreased. Serious confrontation between the *Bersih* and Counter *Bersih* on the streets did not happen due to government intervention. Anwar Ibrahim himself did participate in the *Bersih* rallies, 1st *Bersih* in 2007, 2nd *Bersih* in 2011 and 3rd *Bersih* rally in 2012. After 2007 *Bersih* rally, BN failed to get two thirds majority in the parliament and Anwar Ibrahim led coalition got the 2nd leading post in the parliament. Anwar Ibrahim was able to attend the 3rd *Bersih* rally in 2012 due to overturned verdict at the High Court on his sodomy case.

After this 3rd *Bersih* rally, the 13th General election in May 2013 resulted as the BN's mere won against opposition parties' alliance. Anwar Ibrahim could not attend in the 4th *Bersih* in 2015 and the 5th *Bersih* rally in 2016 because he was detained in the prison again since 2014. Petition Court overturned High court's verdict and sentenced that Anwar Ibrahim was guilty on sodomy case in 2008. Anwar Ibrahim's supporters and his political party PKR actively protested for *Free Anwar*. When Anwar was not able to attend, his wife and his children replaced his empty place in the *Bersih* rallies.

The 3rd *Bersih* rally recorded as having the largest participant at Kuala Lumpur. But, it was noisy rally due to provocative speech and violent action among the 3rd *Bersih* rally participants. The largest detention number was recorded during the 3rd *Bersih* rally. Anwar Ibrahim also joined the 2nd and the 3rd rally. He marched in the front line while leading the participants. Instead of Anwar Ibrahim

in jail, Mahathir appeared among the crowd and participated while supporting the *Bersih* movement from the 4th *Bersih* rally. Mahathir Mohamad strongly asked for resignation of Prime Minister Najib Rajak as an opinion leader of Malaysia. Mahathir Mohamad's presence in the *Bersih* rally encouraged the *Bersih* participants. Police did not use tear gas or water cannon toward rally participants. Rally participants also reminded themselves to restrict their violent behavior under the *Bersih*'s regulations. The *Bersih* rally supporters tried to participate in street demonstration with peaceful and harmonious manners. The 1st, the 2nd and the 3rd *Bersih* rallies were initially in the shape of chaos, but the 4th and the 5th *Bersih* rallies formed more organized structure to avoid conflict with the police and the PAA (Peaceful Assembly Act).

We should not ignore that there were also counter *Bersih* rallies by those who supported their Prime Minister Najib Rajak, Malaysia government and opposite parties of the *Bersih*. While mentioning civic culture of a country, we also need to mention the Pro government civil activists and their movements. The counter *Bersih* is also another part of civic movement that constitutes of civic culture of a country in balance. They also need to be described as participants of civic culture or citizens for civil society according to their political affection and expectation toward their political system. At Malaysia, the UMNO Youth, PEKASA and Jamal Md Yunos as an organizer of the National Silat Federation (Himpunan Rakyat Bersatu) did organize and perform the counter *Bersih* rallies. They showed their

faithful support to Prime Minister Najib Rajak and his government. Police and authoritarian had to intervene to stop and suppress any violent actions during their counter *Bersih* rallies. Their main issue for these counter *Bersih* rallies was “Respect our leader of Malaysia, Prime Minister Najib Rajak”.

Both *Bersih* and counter *Bersih* rallies were performed generally peacefully without big crash against each other. What is interesting is that Malaysia civic political participants built up their own color code via these *Bersih* and counter *Bersih* movements. Yellow color in Malaysia represents Royal family of Malaysia and people’s royalty toward their Royal family and country. Yellow color shirts written the word *Bersih* on it have worn by *Bersih* participants during rallies in 10 years. Even wearing yellow color shirts or clothes during *Bersih* rallies was considered as supporting the *Bersih* movement in the society of Malaysia. The opposition parties and counter *Bersih* wear red color shirts. Red color in Malaysia usually represents power, energy and prosperity. Counter *Bersih* parties have worn the red color shirts while being faithful and supporting their government and their parties.

Showing their color preference according to their political orientation, Malaysia civic political participants have clearly demonstrated their active political involvement into their soft authoritarian political system. But, the outcome from their soft authoritarian regime was not much. This is the reason why the *Bersih* rallies and counter *Bersih* go on till now.

3. The Transformation of the *Bersih* Civic Political Movement of Malaysia

3.1 The Triggering factors for the Transformation of the *Bersih* movement

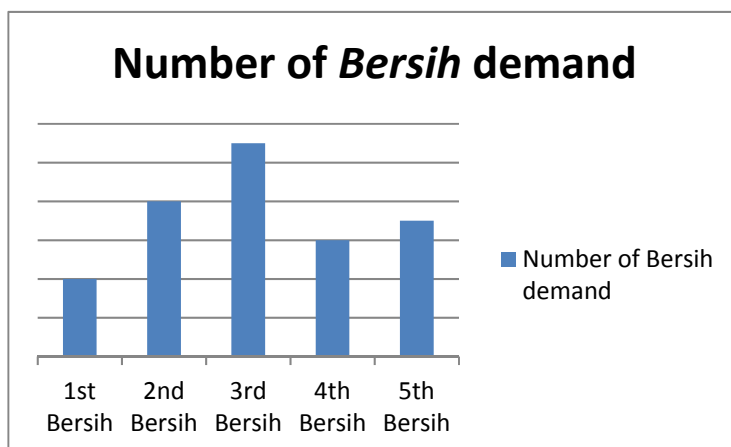
3.1.1. The Failure of Election Committee

Election Committee is compromised of BN members, opposition party members and one independent. Election Committee was established by Najib Rajak in October 2011. This Election Committee worked for the electoral reformation with the *Bersih* and gathered 22 recommendations on voting system. Some of the demands from the *Bersih* such as usage of indelible ink and the oversea voting were discussed and finally recommended to the parliament.

But, parliament did not want to approve any demand from the Election Committee. Almost all the *Bersih* demands on reformation of the election system could not pass the parliament. Even the trial of using indelible ink that passed the parliament found out as washable in 2013 General Election. This meant that after washing the ink, the same voter could go for another voting if the voter tried to. The gesture of government to listen to the demands of the *Bersih* turned out as void and it raised Citizens' disappointment toward their government. What the *Bersih* could do was the expansion of the *Bersih* demands and gathering more participants to appeal to their government. The input was persistent and expanded, but the output was not.

3.1.2. The Expansion of the Demands of the *Bersih*

(Graph-3) Number of the *Bersih* Demand (unit: 2)



The 1st *Bersih* was asking for the clean election systems (clean up of the registered Voters Roll, use of indelible ink, abolition of postal votes for military and police personnel) and free and fair access to the government controlled mass media for all parties. Its demands were only 4 items as simple as possible.

The 2nd *Bersih* was asking for the clean election systems (clean up of the electoral poll, use of indelible ink, reform of postal ballot, minimum 21 days of campaign period, free and fair access to mass media for all parties), strengthening of public institutions, corruption free government and clean politics. The demands were increased to 8 items. 4 more demands such as minimum 21 days of campaign

period and strengthening of public institutions, corruption free government and stop dirty politics were added.

The 3rd *Bersih* was asking 3 more demands in addition to the 2nd *Bersih* demands. 3 more demands were the resignation of the existing electoral commission, the implementation of the 8 demands before the 13th general election and the observation of the 13th general election by internal observers. These 3 more demands showed that the citizens and the *Bersih* were not satisfied with the government gesture to console the civic demands those were presented by the 1st and the 2nd *Bersih* rallies. The *Bersih* asked in detail how the government should do actions for the fair election to be held in 2013.

The 4th *Bersih* was asking 6 demands. Compared with previous 11 demands, its number was decreased but the content became more exclusive. The 4th *Bersih* asked for free and fair elections and a clean government as other previous *Bersih* rallies have asked. But, the 4th *Bersih* expanded its demand to the right to dissent, for strengthening the parliamentary democracy, for saving the economy of Malaysia. The 4th *Bersih* even asked for the resignation of the Prime Minister Najib Rajak. Political intervention, widespread economic concern and patriotism for Malaysia were arisen.

The 5th *Bersih* was asking 7 demands. The 5th *Bersih* just added one more demands on the 4th *Bersih* demands. It was asking for empowering Sabah and Sarawak.

The *Bersih* demands those were presented in 5 times rallies can be divided as “items” according to its belonged area by their contents. This research was able to classify all *Bersih* demands as “12 items” while analyzing 5 times *Bersih* rallies’ demands through content analysis. 5 times *Bersih* rallies’ demands can be simplified as 12 items below.

1. Fair Election
2. Corruption Free Government
3. Clean Politics
4. Strengthening Public Institution
5. Resignation of Election Committee
6. Implementation of Previous Demands
7. Presence of Internal Observers
8. Right to Dissent
9. Strengthening Parliamentary Democracy
10. Saving Economy
11. Resignation of Prime Minister
12. Empowering Sabah and Sarawak

But, item no. 2 (Corruption Free Government) item, no.5 (Resignation of Election Committee), item no. 6 (Implementation of Previous Demands) and item no. 7 (Presence of Internal observer) are included in item no.1 (Fair Election) according to the content. Item no. 4 (Strengthening Public Institution) is included in item no. 9 (Strengthening Parliamentary Democracy). So, the total number of the *Bersih*

demand items becomes 7 in the end. The following is the content of the items of the *Bersih* demands.

The 1st *Bersih* rally had 2 items: Fair Election and Corruption Free Government.

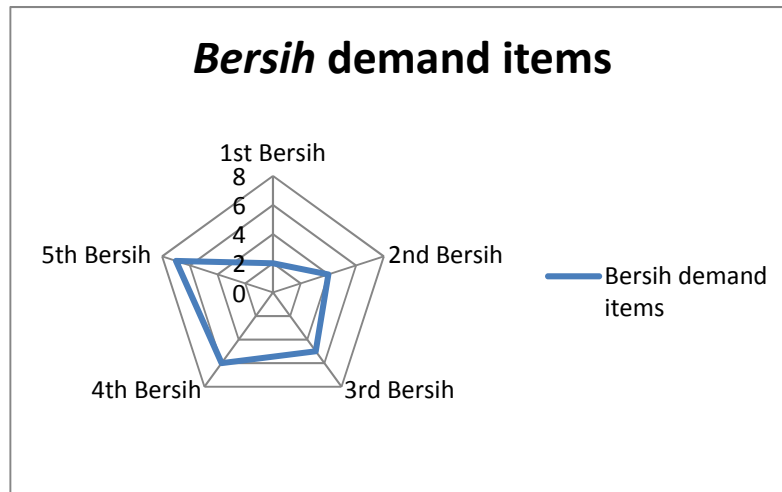
The 2nd *Bersih* rally had 4 items: Fair Election, Corruption Free Government, Clean Politics, Strengthening Public institution

The 3rd *Bersih* rally had 5 items: Fair Election, Corruption Free Government, Clean Politics, Strengthening public institution, Implementation of previous demands before the 13th General election,

The 4th *Bersih* rally had 6 items: Fair election, Corruption Free Government, Right to Dissent, Strengthening Parliamentary Democracy, Saving Economy, and Resignation of Prime Minister Najib Rajak

The 5th *Bersih* rally had 7 items: Fair election, Corruption Free Government, Right to Dissent, Strengthening Parliamentary Democracy, Saving Economy, Resignation of Prime Minister Najib Rajak, Empowering Sabah and Sarawak.

(Picture-4) *Bersih* Demand Items



The number of items and its related areas of the *Bersih* demands have changed. Actually, the item number was increased constantly as the *Bersih* rally continued till 2016. Because there was no way to appeal to and communicate with the soft authoritarian government except the increase of the number of demands of *Bersih* rallies. Input by the civic society of Malaysia via *Bersih* demands was increased as the *Bersih* rallies went on, but the output from the government and parliament was not sufficient and efficient. The output from the administrative and legitimacy could not satisfy citizens' expectation.

Fair Election system and *Corruption Free Government* are the 2 constant items of 5 times' *Bersih* rallies. These 2 items are the main goals when the *Bersih* was organized in 2005 and what the *Bersih* tried to achieve from the beginning.

But, through 10 years, these 2 items still remain as main items even though government and the *Bersih* showed the effort to improve and reform the voting system. Parliament was not consent much on what the election committee submitted. The majority of parliament was not active and initiative to change the voting system. The voting system has been favorable to the government and ruling party's parliament members. The reformation of voting system has meant challenge to the ruling party and cabinet.

3.1.3. The Presence of Mahathir Mohamad and his new Political Party

Instead of Anwar Ibrahim who was in jail due to his second sodomy case, Mahathir Mohamad appeared and participated in the 4th*Bersih* and 5th*Bersih* rally with his wife. Mahathir Mohamad himself set up a new political party PPBM after he left UMNO led by Prime Minister Najib Rajak. The 5th*Bersih* rally was more prominently asking for Corruption Free Government and Clearing the Questions on 1MDB issues, not only asking for the Fair and Clean Election system. PPBM as a Malay nationalist party led by Mahathir Mohamad joined the 5th*Bersih* rally with party members. Malaysia mass media mentioned that the 5th*Bersih* rally was the most peaceful rally among 5 times *Bersih* rallies in 10 years. Mahathir Mohamad's

presence in the *Bersih* rally prevented the police to detain the rally participants randomly and encouraged the citizens to participate more.

As a *Bersihman*, Mahathir Mohamad played enough roles to support the 4th and 5th *Bersih*. The influence of Mahathir Mohamad on the 5th *Bersih*, as a *Bersih* Steering Committee member and as a PPBM party leader, became much more increased compared to the 4th *Bersih*. Malaysian citizens started to recognize the *Bersih* as the power struggle between Mahathir Mohamad and Najib Rajak. After joining the PH, PPBM became part of the opposition parties and was able to raise its voice in the alliance. The axis of power struggle and hegemony shifted to former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad and present Prime Minister Najib Rajak. Mahathir Mohamad asked Prime Minister Najib Rajak to resign as he did to the former Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi. Mahathir Mohamad, who served 22 years as Prime Minister of Malaysia, has been doing the role as an opinion leader of civic society of Malaysia after his resignation in 2003. The demand of the *Bersih*, the resignation of Prime Minister Najib Rajak was empowered by the presence of Mahathir Mohamad since the 4th *Bersih* rally.

3.2. The Growth of the *Bersih* in 2013-2016

3.2.1. Stimulated Citizens' Participation

The 4th *Bersih* rally was held in Kuala Lumpur, Kota Kinabalu, Kuching, the major cities of Malaysia on 29th to 30th August 2016. Not only in Malaysia, there were held international *Bersih* rallies in more than 70 cities in the world. The 4th Kuala Lumpur *Bersih* rally was reported as Non-Malay participation was significantly increased as 50:50 ratio. Participants were informed to prepare their sleeping bags and food. Political parties like PKR sent their hundreds party members for the guards of the *Bersih* rallies and helped to organize the *Bersih* rallies.

Prime Minister Najib Rajak himself introduced the idea of *Satu Malaysia* on Sept 2008 when he was Deputy Prime Minister under Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi. With this *Satu Malaysia* concept, different ethnic groups in Malaysia were encouraged to consider themselves as a united nation under the guidance of government. Non-Malays, such as Chinese, Indians and other indigenous groups encouraged to consider themselves as parts of the united nation and not to discriminate each other. But, the stereotyped discriminations among ethnic groups still run down in the society. Chinese Malaysians were called as *babi* (pig) by some of the counter *Bersih* rally supporters²⁵. The voice from the Malaysian

²⁵<https://www.bersih.org/media-statement-kuala-kangsar-and-sungai-besar-by-elections-political-parties-and-candidates-must-set-higher-campaigning-standards>

civic society started to arise and the *Bersih* movement stood itself as a representative of civic society to communicate with government.

The list below shows the chronological events of 5 times *Bersih* rallies and the General Election during 2008-2016 at a glance.

(List-2) Chronological events of *Bersih* rallies and General Elections during 2008-2016

8 March, 2008: 12th General Election (BN failed to reach 2/3 majority in parliament. Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi resigned due to this result.)

3 April, 2009: Najib Rajak became Prime Minister

9 July, 2011 - 2nd *Bersih* rally

28 April, 2012 - 3rd *Bersih* rally

5 May, 2013: 13th General Election (BN merely won a simple majority.)
Historically high vote rate reaching 85%.

29-30 August, 2015: 4th *Bersih* rally

19 November 2016: 5th *Bersih* rally

Prime Minister Najib Rajak commented the *Bersih* rally participants while mentioning them having poor patriotism. The 4th *Bersih* rally participants called for the resignation of Prime Minister Najib Rajak seriously. Mahathir Mohammad was participating in the 4th *Bersih* rally while Anwar Ibrahim was serving at the Sungai Buluh Jail. The 4th *Bersih* rally was named as the “walk for democracy”. Both 4th and 5th *Bersih* rallies were not approved by government. Before the 5th *Bersih* rally, chairperson Maria Chin Abdullah and her secretariat were arrested just one day before the 5th *Bersih* started. This event did not scare the participants of the 5th *Bersih* rally. Even wearing the *Bersih* rally T shirts had mentioned that it was against the PPPA (Printing Presses and Publications Act). But later, wearing T shirt was allowed by authorities. Could wear *Bersih* rally T shirt, but was not allowed to participate the *Bersih* rally by law. The 4th and 5th *Bersih* rallies were generally cheerful and peaceful according to the news and reports of Malaysia Mass Media. Many families with young kids were participating, too.

What made the *Bersih* rallies as festival and the numerous participants of the *Bersih* rallies were able to enjoy the mood? Under the soft authoritarian regime, citizens of Malaysia were looking for the ways to raise their voice up via properly organized system. The *Bersih* satisfied citizens’ need and the goals of the *Bersih* were properly appealed to the citizens of Malaysia who have felt the responsibility for better Malaysia.

After Najib Rajak became Prime Minister in 2009, there happened 4 times *Bersih* rallies in 6 years (2011-2016) under his cabinet. Anwar Ibrahim participated in 2011 and 2012 rallies, and Mahathir Mohamad joined in 2015 and 2016 rallies. These two politicians could not meet at the rallies because Anwar Ibrahim was put in the jail. But, they met in the court when Mahathir was attending the court while supporting Anwar Ibrahim and his family. It took 17 years for these 2 politicians to shake hands each other. Anwar Ibrahim was a midwife for the birth of *Bersih*, meanwhile Mahathir Mohamad was a helper for the growth and the transformation of the *Bersih* civic political movement.

The *Bersih* got enough support and participation from multiracial Malaysian citizens through 10 years. Initially, middle class Malay citizens were the main supporters for the *Bersih*. The rate of middle class Malay participants was almost more than 60% at the initial *Bersih* rally. But, later, Chinese and Indians citizens participated increasingly till the ratio reached 50:50. The total number of *Bersih* rally participants grew enormously till it reached 500,000 unofficially. Even though many times' *Bersih* rallies were held, the goals and demands of the *Bersih* did not achieve much. The *Bersih* had no choice but to increase the *Bersih* demands and held more rallies to penetrate their input into their soft authoritarian government. The parliament was so rigid to take actions for the reformation of the election system.

(Table-8) *Bersih* rallies in 2013-2016 at a glance

4th<i>Bersih</i>	On 29-30 August, 2015 (one night two days' rally), Chaired by Maria Chin Abdullah, at many major Streets of Kuala Lumpur, 500,000 participants in KL (Officially 29,000--50,000 participants), multiple oversea <i>Bersih</i> rallies occurred, 26 detained, No death occurred, No firing of tear gas or water cannons, Presented 6 <i>Bersih</i> demands
5th<i>Bersih</i>	On 19 November, 2016, Chaired by Maria Chin Abdullah, at Streets of Kuala Lumpur, mainly from Jalan Bangsar to Dataran Merdeka, 40,000 participants (officially 15,000 participants), 12 detained (the most decreased number of detained), No death occurred, No firing of chemical laced tear gas or water cannons, Presented 7 <i>Bersih</i> demands

3.2.2 Maturation of Driving Forces of *Bersih* movement

1) Citizens' Enthusiastic Participation

The effort of the *Bersih* to appeal the reformation of the society had to be more specific to present to the government. The solution was to increase the demands of the *Bersih* before the rallies were held. This exclusively expanded *Bersih* demands appealed to the *Bersih* participants and supporters. The *Bersih* was able to attract

more participants as the rallies went on due to those exclusive *Bersih* demands. The main demands such as “Fair election system & Corruption free government” were maintained till the 5th *Bersih* rally in 2016. But added demands were increased more as the rallies went on. From the 4th *Bersih* rally, the demand on the resignation of Prime Minister Najib Rajak was added officially. More citizens attended the 4th and 5th *Bersih* rallies while hoping the rumors on the corruption scandals of government to be explained and find solution to recover economic difficulties.

Except the 1st *Bersih* rally, the other 4 times’ *Bersih* rallies were held under the Prime Minister Najib Rajak’s cabinet. The 1st, the 2nd and the 3rd *Bersih* rallies faced armed police who fired tear gas and chemical laced water cannons toward *Bersih* participants. Even there happened one casualty due to heart attack on the 2nd *Bersih* rally in 2011. But, via these 3 times’ trial and errors, the 4th and the 5th *Bersih* rallies became more organized. Participants were given enough information about the rules and the regulation of the street demonstration and encouraged the participants to abide by. Matured driving forces of the *Bersih* movement such as Mass Media, Religion groups, Interest groups and NGOs played important parts for this information sharing. More interest groups and NGOs joined these 4th and 5th *Bersih* rallies actively. The *Bersih* steering committee and thousands of the *Bersih* operating volunteers in the rallies guided the enormous members of Malaysian citizens on the street. The 4th and the 5th *Bersih* rallies are evaluated as peaceful and

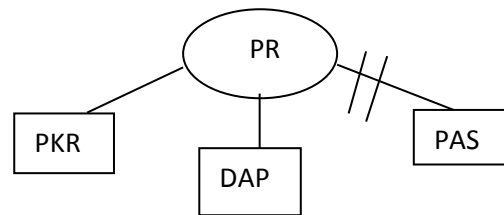
cooperative rallies even though government did not give approval for the *Bersih* rallies.

Through the *Bersih*, multiracial Malaysia citizens learned to express their political point of views and to enjoy the festival mood of civic political movements together via the rallies. The *Bersih* rallies were not only demonstration, but also festivals for the citizens who wanted to support their preferred political figures and political parties. The *Bersih* set the goals for the *Bersih* rally participants to remind them before the rallies start. This is for the efficiency of the *Bersih* and at the same time, for the popularity of the *Bersih*. The expanded goals of the *Bersih* attracted more participants of the *Bersih* rallies because it satisfied the demands of the participants toward their soft authoritarian government. If the *Bersih* did not expand the items of its goals, there was no way to express citizens' need in detail under soft authoritarian government.

2) Sufficiently Supportive Opposition Political Parties

Among oppositional political parties those supported the *Bersih*, there was a change in the party structure in June 2015 before the 4th *Bersih* rally was performed. PR (Pakatan Rakyat) dissolved and succeeded by PH (Pakatan Harapan) and GS (Gagasan Sejahtera). PH was led by Anwar's wife, Wan Azizah Wan Ismail. After the 5th *Bersih* on 19 November 2016, Mahathir's new political party joined PH on 14 March 2017.

(Picture-5) The 4th *Bersih* rally participated PR (Pakatan Rakyat) without PAS



During the 4th *Bersih* rally on 29-30 August 2015, PR (Pakatan Rakyat, People's Alliance) was participating as united party unit. But, PAS informed that they would not participate in the 4th *Bersih* rallies, but sent its representatives²⁶. PAS officially did not agree with the demand of the 4th and 5th *Bersih* rallies that was asking for the resignation of the Prime Minister Najib Rajak²⁷. PAS was continuously supportive party for the *Bersih* till the 3rd *Bersih* rally. PR was divided as PH and GS in 2016. Oppositional political party coalition, PH was formed on 22 September, 2015 with the ideologies such as Social Justice, Social liberalism, Social Democracy, Progressivism, Nationalism and Multiracialism. PH was composed with PKR, DAP, AMANAH.

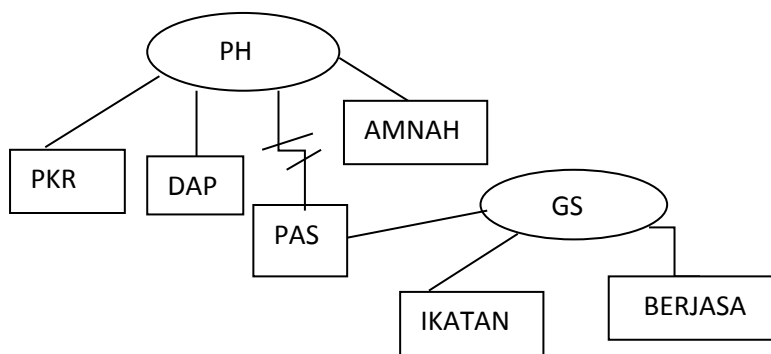
Meanwhile, GS (Gagasan Sejahtera) was composed with IKATAN (Parti Ikatan Bangsa Malaysia), BERJASA (Pan-Malaysia Islamic Front) and PAS. GS

²⁶"PAS to send only two reps for Bersih 4 rally", Malaysiakini

²⁷*Kenapa PAS dan Rakyat Tidak Turun Sertain Bersih 4.0 Yang Lepas Dan Mungkin Bersih 5.0 Juga*, Abdullah Othman, 31 August, 2015, TKO Tranungkite, Berita Terkini Pelbagai Sumber, <http://tranungkite.net/v12/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=31503>

was founded on 16 March 2016, before the 5th *Bersih* performed, withholding the agenda of Islamism and anti-racism among Malaysian. GS aims to fight against corruption and to pursue the united Malaysia.

(Picture-6) The 5th *Bersih* rally participated PH (Pakatan Harapan) as main oppositional political party alliance



Diversified oppositional political parties those dislike the racism and pursuing united Malaysia showed different opinion the demands of the *Bersih* rallies. Supportive political parties' participation to the 5th *Bersih* rally nourished the Malaysia civic political movement more dynamic way while overcoming the racial discrimination among Malaysian residents themselves. This should be estimated as a positive flow in the civic culture of Malaysia.

3) Religion Groups' Participation

Malaysia as a multiracial country has its diversity in religion. Islam, Buddhist, Christian, Hindu and traditional Chinese religions are the main religions that can be found in Malaysia. Various religion groups along with oppositional political parties accompanied with more NGOs in 2013-2016 increased the number of participants. Among 80+ NGOs, there were quite a number of religion groups that belonged to specific ethnic groups related with Islam, Buddhist and Hindu, etc.

According to the data on 2010, more than 61% of the Malaysia population is Islam. And, more than half of the *Bersih* rally participants were also Malays those who were mostly Muslims. Many rally observers estimated that more than half of the rally participants were middle class Malays. Chinese participation was increased during the 4th and the 5th *Bersih* rallies. There were 9% Christians and 6% Hindu and 19% Buddhist in Malaysia population. Not to mention Islam followers, but other religious followers such as Christians and Buddhists also joined in the form of NGOs or individually. The increased number of *Bersih* rally participants reaching the number of 500,000 (officially 50,000) must brought along their own religion and belief while participating these *Bersih* rallies.

In Malaysia, races, religions and political parties are closely related with each other. Ethnic groups bring along their religion groups. Political parties come along with their religion groups. So, race, religion and political parties are all

associated with each other in the civic culture of Malaysia. When 5 opposition political parties (SNAP, PKR, DAP, PAS, PSM) launched the *Bersih* with 26 NGOs in 2004, these political parties brought along other religion groups along with NGOs. Official launch of the *Bersih* was done 2 years later in 2006.

4) Highly activated Mass Media

Mass media played very important roles to invite participants in *Bersih* rallies, to share the information and to communicate with the government of Malaysia. The news on the *Bersih* was reported to the citizens without delay via internet. The gathering sites, time, schedules and rules & regulations were distributed via the SNS among the *Bersih* participants. People voluntarily delivered the news and the information. The information and opinions, pictures on the *Bersih* were flourishing via the internet. Festival mood was delivered in the air. During the 5th *Bersih*, the editor of *Malaysiakini*, Steven Gan actively led the *Bersih* rally in front. The *Bersih steering committee* and the *Bersih* leaders are at the top to lead the hierarchy of the *Bersih*. It was like waterfall-like information sharing structure. The *Bersih steering committee* discussed the agenda and details first. After their decision, the *Bersih* rally participants shared the information via their own SNS such as Facebook, Messengers, E-mails, Band, Blog and Twitters.

It was quite amazing and interesting to observe Malaysia citizens' voluntary participation and the overwhelming festival mood before the *Bersih* rally

started. Most participants looked happy and excited to participate in the *Bersih* rallies. They enjoyed the moments during the *Bersih* rallies. Mass media was helping to build up this festival mood in the air while delivering the information related to the *Bersih*. Mass media of Malaysia was a matured triggering factor for the development and for the maturation of the *Bersih* civic political movement. Delivering image, idea and news about the *Bersih* was done by these highly activated mass media of Malaysia for the development of the civic society of Malaysia. Dare to mention that the success of the *Bersih* movement mainly based on the highly activated mass media of Malaysia and citizens' reaction on them. The *Bersih* was partly mass media democracy.

5) Conclusion :

Driving Forces nourishing the *Bersih* Development

Political parties, mass media, religion groups, interest groups and NGOs as the driving forces of the *Bersih* contributed to the *Bersih* development and transformation with more diversified demands and with broad participation to the 4th and the 5th *Bersih* rallies. The *Bersih* demands were changed and expanded from *Bersih* to another *Bersih* due to lack of communication between civic society and Malaysia government. Government tried to show its gesture to guarantee the fair and clear electoral system, but the civic society could not satisfy the outcomes. From the every corner of the operation of the *Bersih* rallies, these components of

the *Bersih*'s driving forces ignited citizens' responsibility and interest on the *Bersih* rallies as a part of civic political movement. Without any of these, the operating of the *Bersih* would not be efficient. This is based on the specificity of Malaysia society that is consisted with multi-racial groups. For the maturation of the *Bersih* rallies, it needed the financial support by citizens' donation. Once it reached 2 million ringgits before the 5th *Bersih* rally was held. Also, the *Bersih* gained Malaysian citizens' great enthusiasm to participate the *Bersih* rallies even facing the armed police and the threat from the authorities. Arrest and detention of the *Bersih* committee members could not stop the *Bersih* rally operation. Citizens were ready to proceed for the *Bersih* rallies. The driving forces (political parties, interest groups and NGOs, religion groups and mass media) of the *Bersih* and their maturation as these triggering factors made the *Bersih* successful and successive.

3.3. The Power Struggle and Hegemony through the *Bersih*

Power struggle between Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad ended up as Anwar's custody in 1998. 16 years later, Prime Minister Najib Rajak put Anwar Ibrahim in jail due to Anwar's 2nd sodomy case in 2008 turned out as a valid verdict in 2014. Through the power struggle and hegemony in 20 years, Anwar was the main figure who never reached the top position but suffered in jails and stirred the Malaysia political fields with his trade image as a revolutionist. Anwar Ibrahim was dismissed from his posts on 2nd September 1998. He was sentenced 6 years in

jail for corruption on 14th April 1999. Anwar was also sentenced 9 years in jail on 8th August 2000 for sodomizing his wife's driver Azizan Abu Bakar, his former speech writer, Munawar Anees and his adoptive brother, Sukma Darmawan. But, Anwar was released from prison in January 2004 because his sodomy verdict was partially overturned at Malaysia's Supreme Court. Anwar officially rejoined to the politics in November 2006. While acting as an advisor of PKR (Parti Keadilan Rakyat, People's Justice Party), Anwar was in the front line in organizing the 1st *Bersih* rally in 2007. Anwar won re-election in Permatang Pauh By-election on 26th August 2008 which seat was given up by his wife, Wan Azizah Wan Ismail. Anwar was able to return to Malaysia parliament while holding the leadership of 3 political parties' opposition alliance, Pakatan Rakyat. From the restart of his return to politics, Anwar boldly criticized Prime Minister Najib Rajak. All of a sudden, online news portal Malaysiakini on 29th June 2008 revealed that Anwar sodomized his wife's driver, Saiful Bukhari Azlan. High Court cited a lack of Anwar Ibrahim's sodomy evidence and cleared Anwar Ibrahim of the charges of Sodomy on 9 January 2012. In the 2013 general election, Anwar Ibrahim led the opposition party PKR and Pakatan Rakyat. But, on 7 March 2014, the court of Appeal overturned the acquittal of Anwar and charged Anwar as guilty on sodomy. It was just before Anwar prepared to contest by-election on 23 March, 2014 to become the chief minister of Selangor. Anwar had to return to the jail in 2015 and he submitted the application for a review of his 2014 conviction. On 10 Feb 2015, the Federal Court reaffirmed the conviction and five year serving in Sungai Buluh

prison. The final appeal was not accepted by the court in December 2016, either. He was sentenced to serve the remaining 16 months in jail. Anwar Ibrahim is not able to participate in 14th General Election that is scheduled to be held on 24 August 2018.

It did not become a big matter whether Anwar Ibrahim did do something unethical or not in his private life. What really mattered in politics was whether Anwar Ibrahim was able to lead his supporters as their leader and whether Anwar Ibrahim had the capacity as a leader or not. If we look at Mahathir Mohamad's comments about Anwar Ibrahim, there are some contradiction between Anwar Ibrahim's personal image and Anwar Ibrahim's public image. And, we get confused. This is the difficult and hard part to understand and accept. Anyhow, life goes on.

According to Amy L. Freedman (2000), Anwar Ibrahim performed the very crucial part to manage the economic crisis of Malaysia during 1997-1998 as a deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. But, Mahathir Mohamad took Anwar Ibrahim's gesture as a challenge toward him. Mahathir Mohamad appointed Daim Zainuddin as a Special Functions Minister on June 24, 1998 and reduced the power of Anwar Ibrahim. Anwar Ibrahim was dismissed later and even expelled from UMNO.

On 17th November, 1998, Al Gore as Vice president of America praised Malaysians who have rallied against Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad as brave

people at the annual meeting for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum. Al Gore's speech offended Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad who was present at that night. Foreign Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi responded against Al Gore that "Malaysians would hold the U.S. accountable for any rupture of this harmony arising from this irresponsible incitement."²⁸ Abdullah Ahmad Badawi later became the 5th Prime Minister of Malaysia during 2003-2009 after Mahathir's resignation. This episode showed that how *Reformasi* rally led by Anwar's supporters tangled domestic and international political situation in 1998. According to Michael Backman²⁹, Anwar appealed to the Malays through Islam whereas Mahathir appeals to the Malays on the basis of ethnicity. Michael Backman criticized that Anwar himself may not exactly be a paradigm of virtue on the issues of corruption and nepotism in Malaysia. Meanwhile, *Reformasi* rally symbolically represented *Free Anwar Now* movement during Anwar's detention period and strongly demanded to bring Anwar back to the political power field. PKS (Pergerakan Keadilan Sosial, Social Justice Movement) was activated and led by Anwar's wife, Wan Azizah Wan Ismail shortly before Anwar's detention in 1998. As a counter reaction toward the leadership of Prime Minister Mahathir In 1998, participants of *Reformasi* rally demanded the resignation of Prime Minister

²⁸Article "Gore, in Malaysia, says its leaders suppress Freedom" written by Mark landler in The New York Times in 17th November, 1998

²⁹ "Anwar : Reformer?", Michael Backman, Far Eastern Economic Review, 21st January, 1999, P29

Mahathir Mohamad and appealed to reform the government. This *Reformasi* movement gained public attention and support domestically and internationally.

In 2003, PKN (Parti Keadilan Nasional) and PRM (Parti Rakyat Malaysia, Malaysia People's Party) were merged and finally formed PKR (Parti Keadilan Rakyat, People's Justice Party). PKR has been the major base camp for Anwar and Anwar's supporter. PKN got a victory on 29th November 1999, the 10th General Election while winning 5 seats. PKR issued Anwar's custody and Anwar's bruised eye beaten by inspector General of Police and this technical strategy worked³⁰.

But, on the 21st March 2004, the 11th General Election, only Anwar Ibrahim's wife, Wan Azizah Ismail from PKR (Parti Keadilan Rakyat) won one single seat against BN (Barisan Nasional) at Permatang Pauh, Penang. In 2004, Mahathir Mohamad was already withdrew himself from Prime Minister and Anwar Ibrahim was released after serving 6 years in jail for corruption. So, the *Reformasi* slogans with Anwar poster could not appeal to the citizens in the 11th General Election 2004 anymore. Then, from here we may guess the stimuli that drove the birth of the *Bersih* movement of Malaysia. The *Bersih* was not delivered all of a sudden. Anwar and his political party PKR participated in the preparation of organization of *Bersih* in 2005. It was a natural process for Anwar to prepare the next general

³⁰A Doctor In The House, The Memories of Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad, Mahathir Mohamad, MPH Group Publishing Sdn Bhd, 2011, P718

election and to reform the unfair voting system with coalition of the opposition political parties.

The *Bersih* civic political movement was born by the need of citizens who felt the unfairness of the election system of Malaysia after the *Reformasi* movement was fading. Mainly they were the oppositional political parties and their party members initially. But, by the widespread awareness about the need of the reformation of the voting system and corruption free government, more and more citizens participated in the *Bersih* and *Bersih* rallies. It may not overstate that power struggle between Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad brought out *Reformasi* movement during 1998-1999 and the reduction of the *Reformasi* movement contributed to give birth to the *Bersih* movement in 2005. Anwar Ibrahim was one of the midwives who helped to deliver the *Bersih*.

3.3.1. Anwar Ibrahim, Mahathir Mohamad and Najib Rajak

It is very interesting to know that Anwar Ibrahim is the main figure that has caused the turmoil in the modern politics of Malaysia. Why wasn't Anwar so popular to his bosses? The reason was that he was not obedient to his boss as a deputy and he had intention to be a Prime Minister someday. Anwar had always seeked for more power. He could not be a Prime Minister even though he was a popular politician at Malaysia. He was put in jail at his peak of his career twice in his life. Anwar

Ibrahim was close to Mahathir Ibrahim and became his Deputy Prime Minister. After dismissal of Anwar Ibrahim, Mahathir Mohammad appointed Abdullah Badawi. But, after the 12th General Election on 8th March 2008, that *Barisan Nasional* failed to reach two thirds of the seats of parliament, Abdullah Badawi resigned and Najib Rajak became Prime Minister. Abdullah Badawi just remained 4 years as a Prime Minister in the cabinet. He is respected as the cleanest Prime Minister and remembered as a gentleman.

From the 4th *Bersih* rally, Anwar Ibrahim could not attend the *Bersih* anymore. He was put in jail since 2014 due to his 2nd sodomy trial turned out as guilty. Anwar had to serve at Sungai Buluh prison till 2020. Anwar was totally out from the political field like Mahathir did to Anwar Ibrahim 20 years ago. Anwar Ibrahim was at the climax of his political career under Prime Minister Mahathir in 1998. And, again, Anwar was in uprising when he was arrested by police due to his 2nd sodomy case in 2014 under Prime Minister Najib Rajak. Mahathir attended Anwar Ibrahim's court twice while supporting Anwar Ibrahim and his family. After this, Mahathir gained the agreement from Anwar Ibrahim that Mahathir's new political party, PPBM was able to join to PH (Pakatan Harapan, Hope's pact) on 14 March 2017 where Anwar's wife, Wan Azizah Wan Ismail lead for years instead of Anwar Ibrahim.

The absence of Anwar Ibrahim in the *Bersih* during 2015-2016 was filled by the presence of Mahathir Mohamad. The 4th and the 5th *Bersih* rallies under ex-Prime

Minister Mahathir protective umbrella were peaceful. The number of detainees was the least in the *Bersih* history as 12 citizens in the 5th *Bersih* rally. Police did not fire any tear gas or water cannon at all. Some policemen were chatting cheerfully each other while standing under the trees when the *Bersih* rally participants passed by. Mahathir Mohamad was supporting the 4th and the 5th *Bersih* rallies. This 92 years old famous Malaysia politician gave some nutrition for the growth and offered some stimulating factor for the transformation of the *Bersih* under the unit of driving forces of the *Bersih* with PH (Pakatan Harapan, Hope's Pact) which was composed with DAP, PKR, AMANAH under the leadership of Anwar's wife, Wan Azizah Wan Ismail.

While participating in the 4th and the 5th *Bersih* rallies, citizens were disappointed with the government void compromise about the demands of the *Bersih* rallies. Four times *Bersih* rallies have been held under Najib's cabinet. But, not many *Bersih* demands were accepted by government. Citizens were also anxious about the rumors of IMDB (1 Malaysia Development Berhad). Citizens were worried about worsening economy situation and dropping Malaysia ringgit values. Citizens did not want to hear anymore news about the corruption of government. The pie for the economy and social welfare for the people of Malaysia was taken by someone else. People were frustrated with the situation while feeling the need of reformation and social justice. These became the reasons to bring more rally participants to the *Bersih* rallies.

Meanwhile, Najib Rajak faced the humiliation while looking at the yellow *Bersih* rallies on the Kuala Lumpur streets. But soon, a few days later, the Counter *Bersih* rallies were held by thousands of his faithful supporters wearing red shirts. Prime Minister Najib Rajk has enough good supporters to march for him. Hegemony of power politics was happening on the street of Kuala Lumpur in 2006-2012.

When we mention about the civic culture, we tend to focus on the counter government demonstrations and movements only. But, pro government citizens' participation in the civic political movements should also be considered as part of civic culture. In Malaysia, there has been dynamic pro and counter government civic political movement for years. On 24 August 2018, it is expected to be held the 14th General Election. There is a possibility that another *Bersih* rallies may happen in near future before the 14th General election.

3.3.2 The *Bersih* Steering Committee Vs. Soft Authoritarian Government

The *Bersih* demands were increasing its numbers in 10 years. Why were the demands and goals of the *Bersih* increasing? It was because the demands and goals of the *Bersih* were not efficiently listened by the soft authoritarian government of Malaysia. The demands were set by the *Bersih Steering Committee*. *Bersih Steering Committee* was composed of oppositional political parties and NGOs such

as SURAM (Suara Rakyat Malaysia), WDC (Women's Development Collective) and WAMI(Writers Alliance for Media Independence)etc.

Bersih Steering Committee is the executive and head quarter to run the *Bersih* civic political movement. Mahathir has joined the *Bersih steering Committee* since 2016. Malaysia government did not approve the *Bersih* rallies officially. The *Bersih steering committee* had to struggle to guarantee the safety of *Bersih* rally participants and the peaceful rally. Malaysia government was firm to reject the *Bersih* rally. To Malaysia government, the *Bersih* rally was a challenge toward the government authority. Via the clarified and specified *Bersih* demands of each rallies, the *Bersih* Steering Committee tried to communicate with their soft authoritarian government. Their input toward the government was not promised. Though government showed some kind gestures to acknowledge what the *Bersih* asked, accepting the *Bersih* demands and putting them into actions were another matters.

Government reduced the number of detention by police and did not fire the tear gas and water cannons at all from the 4th *Bersih* rally. The responsibility of the *Bersih* operating without government permission was asked to the head of the *Bersih* steering committee, Chairperson Mariah Chin Abdullah. She was detained by police one day before the 5th *Bersih* rally opening. But, she was released after the 5th *Bersih* rally.

The 4th and the 5th *Bersih* added the demand item such as the resignation of Prime Minister Najib Rajak while mentioning 1MDB. Prime Minister Najib Rajak denied rumors related with the 1MDB. But, *Bersih* rally participants were chanting “*Undur (resign)*” and “*Bersih (clean)*” together. The resignation of Prime Minister Najib Rajak was the new demand that was added from the 4th *Bersih* rally. These 4th and 5th *Bersih* rallies were more politically oriented.

Soft authoritarian government of Malaysia and *Bersih* Steering Committee always did not go well while repeating detention and release of the *Bersih* committee members by police.

4. Conclusion

Dynamic political environment of Malaysia and citizens' needs for the fair and clean society contributed to give birth of *the Bersih* movement. Then the *Bersih* was developed by the triggering factors such as political parties, mass media, religion groups, interest groups and NGOs in Malaysia. The transformation of the *Bersih* was made by itself sustainably and by circumstantially.

The transforming *Bersih* for 10 years has extended its demands to diverse areas of concerned, not only "*Clean and Fair Election*" and "*Corruption Free Government*" but also "The Right to dissent", "Strengthening parliamentary democracy", "Saving economy", "Empowering Sabah and Sarawak" and "*the Resignation of Prime Minister*". The *Bersih* set its demands clearly before performing *Bersih* rallies to communicate with their soft authoritarian government.

But, the *Bersih* civic political movement's effort to communicate with government has not achieved much. The communication with soft authoritarian government was not efficient and was not easy. Furthermore, parliament did not want to reform the present election system. The input toward government and parliament by the *Bersih* was sufficient, but the output from the administration and from the legislative was not satisfied.

What the *Bersih* could do was to increase the number of the *Bersih* demands while supporting the justification of the necessity of the *Bersih* rallies. Mass media,

interest groups and NGOs, religion groups and oppositional political parties helped to support this *Bersih*'s efforts to appeal toward their soft authoritarian government and parliament. Via the *Bersih* rallies in 10 years (from 2007 to 2016), it may note that Malaysia citizens have become more oriented to be participants in the civic society aiming for their stable democracy. The 5 times' *Bersih* rallies showed the potential power of Malaysia citizens to influence their soft authoritarian government.

The presence of Anwar Ibrahim in the politics of Malaysia has meant a lot. The same goes to the Mahathir Mohamad. These two great political figures in Malaysia dedicated to cultivate the *Bersih*, most representative civic political movement of Malaysia. The frame of power struggle between Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad after 20 years now has changed into the formation of cooperation and coalition. Mahathir Mohamad as an opinion leader in Malaysia society built up a new political party PPBM and made a coalition with Anwar's political party, PKR. Anwar Ibrahim's PKR has been the main supporter for the *Bersih* rallies and the *Bersih* organization for 10 years. Mahathir Mohamad joined the *Bersih* in 2015 and the *Bersih* made a dramatic turning point while even asking for the resignation of present Prime Minister Najib Rajak. Even though there happened 5 times' *Bersih* rally performances in 10 years since 2007 and changed its name as *Bersih 2.0*, the *Bersih* civic movement was not able to be totally free from its component political parties' influence.

4.1 The Transformation of Civic Political Culture of Malaysia via *Bersih* movement

The *Bersih* civic political movement continues to survive and develop while transforming itself like a living creature. The *Bersih* was born, developed and transformed by itself and by circumstantially under the influence of dynamic political environment of Malaysia. The transformation of the *Bersih* as *Bersih 2.0* to be free from the influence of their belonged political parties was self sustainable transformation. This name *Bersih 2.0* continues till the present, 2017. Technical transformation by the *Bersih* itself was made by scheduling “one night for two days”. This made the 4th *Bersih* rally like a festival mood before *Hari Merdeka* (Malaysia Independence Day). The *Bersih* claimed that it reached almost 100,000 citizens during this 4th *Bersih* rallies.

Another transformation was made by politicians like Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad along with their political parties. Anwar Ibrahim contributed for the delivery of the *Bersih* organization in 2005 and paid effort for the growth of the *Bersih* with other *Bersih* organizing members. Mahathir Mohamad joined the *Bersih* movement from the 4th *Bersih* rally on 29-30 August, 2015. His participation brought along his political supporters to the *Bersih* rallies and government did not fire any water cannon and tear gas. Was the same when Mahathir Mohamad participated in the 5th *Bersih* rally. If Anwar Ibrahim cultured the *Bersih* civic movement, Mahathir Mohamad nourished the *Bersih* civic movement.

The driving forces those enabled to develop the *Bersih* such as oppositional political parties, mass media, religions, interest groups and NGOs in Malaysia were like vital organs of the *Bersih* to maintain the *Bersih* civic political movement to be alive and to continue surviving in the modern politics of Malaysia. Political parties based on the religion and social ideology such as social justice and Malaysia as united nation participated in the *Bersih* and let their party members activate the *Bersih* movement. Mass media accelerated the spread of news related to the *Bersih* and the government. SNS did the very important role to share and to deliver the information among citizens. NGOs offered quite number of participants and made the *Bersih* more popular. While political parties offered hierarchy supports to the *Bersih* movement, participation from NGOs and Interest groups were like grassroots oriented gathering style support to the *Bersih* rallies. Members of Interest groups or NGOs were more individually participated compared to the religion based political parties.

4.2 The Transformation of Power Struggle Frame between Anwar and Mahathir

Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad became associated with the *Bersih* civic political movement of Malaysia. Anwar Ibrahim helped to deliver and to format the *Bersih* movement, meanwhile Mahathir Mohamad helped to mature the *Bersih* movement. The friendship between Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad began when Mahathir Mohamad was in jail in 1969. Mahathir Mohamad was detained due to some political issues. Anwar Ibrahim visited Mahathir Mohamad in jail and they became friends. Anwar Ibrahim led Malaysian Youth Movement and became an opinion leader among University students. Anwar Ibrahim strived to release Mahathir Mohamad from prison. Later, in 1974, Anwar Ibrahim himself also arrested by police under ISA (Internal Security Act) and was put in jail. Anwar Ibrahim served 22 months in the jail. In 1982, Anwar Ibrahim joined UMNO by the invitation of Mahathir Mohamad and started his political party carrier by his guide. 11 years later, in 1993, Anwar Ibrahim became Deputy Prime Minister in the Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad's cabinet. This was the honeymoon period between Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad. In 1998, with the detention of Anwar Ibrahim, this honeymoon period was ended and the power struggle between Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad continued for 20 years. This power struggle between Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad for 20 years (1998-2017) looked like a process of one lovely couple's miserable breakup and reunion. Mahathir changed 3 Deputy Prime Ministers including Anwar during his 22 years'

legitimacy. Mahathir himself also has made lots of antagonists against him such as Musa Hitam and Tengku Razaleigh. Indeed, Anwar was not alone. But, Anwar Ibrahim's dismissal and detention were extremely shocking to the citizens of Malaysia in 1998. Anwar was released from prison in 2004 and returned to the politics. After being sentenced to be guilty on the 2008 sodomy case at the Federal court in 10 February 2015, Anwar was immediately put in the Sungai Buluh prison again. Mahathir visited Anwar at the Federal court two times (5 September 2016 and 10 February 2017) and supported Anwar and Anwar's family. Mahathir also never forgot to discuss with Anwar about joining his new political party PPBM (Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia, Malaysian United Indigenous Party) to the Pakatan Harapan (Hope's Pact) coalition. PPBM joined the Pakatan Harapan that is led by Anwar's wife Wan Azizah Wan Ismail on 14 March 2017. Pakatan Harapan is now the coalition of PKR, DAP, AMANAH and PPBM. Anwar will serve in the Sungai Buluh prison till 2020.

When review the power struggle between Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad related with the *Bersih* civic political movement during 2007-2016, it becomes more dynamic. The 1st *Bersih* rally was launched due to Anwar Ibrahim's detention by Mahathir Mohamad in 1998 and uprising citizen's demand for the Fair and Free election system. The 2nd *Bersih* rally initiated with their pure goals for the Fair and Free Election System in 2011. The 3rd *Bersih* rally in 2012 was little bit agitated violently with the presence of Anwar Ibrahim and his supporters those who

antagonized Prime Minister Najib Rajak. The 4th *Bersih* rally in 2015 was more peaceful than the 3rd *Bersih* rally with the presence of Mahathir Mohamad. The 5th *Bersih* rally in 2016 was more politically oriented due to the sensitive issues of 1MDB and Prime Minister Najib Rajak. After all of these 5 times' *Bersih* rallies for the Fair and Free election & Corruption Free government, Malaysia civic society still needs to handle political issues against the 6th Prime Minister.

The 14th General Election will be held in 24 August, 2018. Malaysian Citizens' choice will be revealed. There is a possibility to hold another *Bersih* rallies just before the 14th General Election in 24 August 2017. The *Bersih* civic political movement has never failed to influence the results of the General Elections since 2007 while expanding their demands toward their soft authoritarian government.

Malaysia civic society has been considered weak and fragile, but with the presence of catalyst like *Bersih* participants, Anwar Ibrahim, Mahathir Mohamad, oppositional political parties, mass media, religious groups, interest groups and NGOs, the *Bersih* movement continues to communicate with their soft authoritarian government. The *Bersih* also continues to produce the citizens of civic society of Malaysia. The *Bersih* movement makes Malaysian civic society to be activated and be mobilized.

4.3 Implications for Further studies

This is a qualitative and empirical study on the *Bersih*, the civic political movement of Malaysia for 10 years (2007-2016) based on the field research after Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim was dismissed and put into the custody in 1998. This study mentioned about the *Bersih* movement in 10 years along with the history of power struggle between Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad for 20 years. The *Bersih* movement was regarded as successful to perform 5 times' *Bersih* rallies in 10 years with tremendous Malaysia citizens' participation.

This study considered the *Bersih* movement as *a living creature* that was born, has developed and has transformed by itself and by circumstantially. Self-induced transformation was done by naming itself as *Bersih 2.0* to be free from the influence of their belonged political parties. Technical trial was done by lengthening the rally period as one night two days during the 4th *Bersih* rally while attracting more rally participants. Circumstantial transformation of the *Bersih* movement was made by the influence of the politicians like Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad. The triggering factors for the *Bersih* movement's development were oppositional political parties, mass media, religion groups, interest groups and NGOs in Malaysia.

The *Reformasi* (Reformation) movement was just whistled before Anwar's detention by police in 1998. Anwar Ibrahim was successful to symbolize himself as the representative of the *Reformasi* movement of Malaysia only in a few months

after his dismissal and before his detention. He even made a base to build up his political party, PKR (Parti Keadilan Rakyat). Anwar and his supporters have protested against Malaysia Government via their political party, PKR (Parti Keadilan Rakyat: People's Justice Party).

Due to the uprising complains on the unfair election system of Malaysia, citizens and political parties assembled to make a NGO, named *Bersih* in 2005. Lots of other NGOs at Malaysia also joined the *Bersih* organization. The *Bersih* mainly has demanded "Clean and Fair Election system" and "Corruption Free Clean Government". While the *Reformasi* handled the short period of time with limited supporters, the *Bersih* was dealt with quite number of citizens composed with all races of Malaysia with different religions. The *Bersih* embraced the *Reformasi* in short.

Anwar Ibrahim and his political party PKR have been the main supporters of the *Bersih* civic movement. Anwar Ibrahim's detention and custody case in 1998 offered the dramatic turning point to citizens while requesting *Reformasi* (Reformation) of Malaysia. Anwar Ibrahim's supporters initially chanted "*Reformasi*" on the streets. Later, they chanted *Bersih* while showing *Reformasi* slogans during *Bersih* rallies. Since global financial crisis in 1997, Mahathir Mohamad and Anwar Ibrahim could not get along each other in the field of Malaysia politics for almost 20 years. But, since 2015, Anwar Ibrahim and

Mahathir Mohamad were in the destiny of riding the same boat while challenging their Prime Minister Najib Rajak via *Bersih* rallies.

The power struggle between Anwar Ibrahim and Mahathir Mohamad for almost 20 years has transformed itself into their struggle against the present 6th Prime Minister of Malaysia, Najib Rajak. Via the *Bersih*, Anwar and Mahathir hoped to make sure the resignation of Prime Minister Najib Rajak. The struggle and hegemony among these 3 political figures are still going on via the *Bersih*. The *Bersih* street rally will be held again before the 14th General Election on 24 August, 2018.

The *Bersih 2.0* tried to be more focused on demanding the transformation of Malaysia government without corruption and for the reformation of the unfair national voting system. But, as time passed by, the *Bersih* movement demanded not only “Clean and Fair Election system” and “Corruption Free Clean Government” but also Saving Malaysia Economy, Strengthening Public Institutions, the Right to Dissent, Empowering Sabah and Sarawak and Resignation of Prime Minister. The items of the *Bersih* have been extended. Even though the *Bersih* movement in 10 years could not get sufficient output from their government, the *Bersih* movement continues the sincere effort to communicate with its soft authoritarian government.

4.4 Limitation : This is Just Beginning

Analysis on the *Bersih* civic movement in 10 years period at one glance might be abstract. Determining the civic political culture of Malaysia should be evaluated according to the properly designed research methods rather than an assumption. Increasing number of the rally participants does not mean the rally participants become more citizens oriented in the civic culture. But, this study considered the development of civic culture of Malaysia with this point of view. The number of participants from different ethnical background during the *Bersih* rallies could not mention clearly due to the massive number of participants and technical method. The number of the *Bersih* participants was mentioned based on the data from the *Bersih* organization and the news from mass media. Sincerely hope that many further more studies on the *Bersih* movement of Malaysia will be done after this study.

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Appendix-1. NGOs those organized the 1st *Bersih* rally

(Source : <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bersih>)

1. Aliran Kesedaran Rakyat (AKR, The Peoples Flow of Awareness)
2. All Women's Action Society (AWAS)
3. Centre of Independent Journalism (CIJ)
4. Citizens' Health Initiative (CHI)
5. Civil Rights Committee, KLSCAH (CRC)
6. Community Action Network (CAN)
7. EMPOWER, Pusat Janadaya
8. ERA Consumer Malaysia (ERACON)
9. Gabungan Mahasiswa Islam Se-Malaysia (GAMIS)
10. Group of Concerned Citizens (GCC)
11. Jaringan Rakyat Tertindas (JERIT)
12. Labour Resource Centre (LRC)
13. Malaysian Trade Union Congress (MTUC)
14. Malaysian Voters Union (MALVU)
15. Malaysian Youth and Students Democratic Movement (DEMA)
16. Persatuan Hak Asasi Manusia (National Human Right Society, HAKAM)
17. Persatuan Ulama Malaysia (PUM)
18. Pusat Komunikasi Masyarakat (KOMAS)
19. Research for Social Advancement (REFSA)
20. Save Ourselves Penang (SOS Penang)
21. Solidariti Mahasiswa Malaysia (SMM)
22. Suara Rakyat Malaysia (Suaram)
23. Tamil Foundation Malaysia (TFM)
24. Unit Pemikiran Politik (UPP)
25. Women's Development Collective (WDC)
26. Writers' Alliance for Media Independence (WAMI)

Appendix-2. NGOs those organized the 2nd *Bersih* rally

(Source : <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bersih>)

1. Aliran Kesedaran Rakyat (AKR)
2. Anwar Ibrahim Club (AIC)
3. All Women's Action Society (AWAS)
4. Council of Churches of Malaysia (CCM)
5. Centre for Independent Journalism (CIJ)
6. Child Development Initiative (CDI)
7. Dewan Perhimpunan Cina KL-Selangor (DPC)
8. Educational, Welfare and Research Foundation Malaysia (EWRFM)
9. Empower
10. Friends in Conversation (FIC)
11. Federation of Indian Non-Governmental Organizations (FINGO)
12. Good Governance Penang (GGP)
13. Group of Concerned Citizens (GCC)
14. Indian Malaysian Active Generation (IMAG)
15. Independence People Action Committee (IPAC)
16. Islamic Renaissance Front (IRF)
17. Jaringan Rakyat Tertindas (JRT)
18. Jemaah Islah Malaysia (JIM)
19. Klang Counsumer Association (KCA)
20. Kumpulan Aktivis Media Independent (KAMI)
21. Labour Resource Centre (LRC)
22. LLG Cultural Development Centre (LLG CDC)
23. Majlis Kelab Bell Belia Tamil Malaysia (MKBBTM)
24. Malaysian Association of Indian University Graduates (MAIUG)
25. Malaysian Dravidian Association (MDA)
26. Malaysian Hindu Youth Council (MHYC)
27. Malaysian Indian Development & Unity Association (MIDUA)
28. Malaysian Indian Historical Association (MIHA)
29. Malaysian Tamil Forum (MTF)

30. Malaysian Youth and Students Democratic Movement (MYSDM)
31. Micah Mandate (MM)
32. Movement for Change, Sarawak (MCS)
33. Oriental Hearts and Minds Institute (OHMI)
34. Penang Independent Schools Education Society (PISES)
35. Permas
36. Persahabatan Semparuthi (PS)
37. Persatuan Alumni Han Chiang, Malaysia (PAHC, Malaysia)
38. Persatuan Alumni Han Chiang, Pulau Pinang (PAHC, Pulau Pinang)
39. Persatuan Hak Asasi Manusia (PHAM)
40. Persatuan IKRAM Malaysia (PIKRAM, Malaysia)
41. Pusat Komunikasi Masyarakat (PKM)
42. Research for Social Advancement (RSA)
43. Rumah Anak Teater (RAT)
44. Sahabat Wanita (SW)
45. Saya Anak Bangsa Malaysia (SABM)
46. Sembang-Sembang Forum (SSF)
47. Sisters in Islam (SIS)
48. Solidariti Mahasiswa Malaysia (SMM)
49. Southeast Asian Centre for e-Media (SACEM)
50. Students Reserve Unit (SRU)
51. Suara Rakyat Malaysia (SURAM)
52. Tamil Foundation Malaysia (TFM)
53. Tenaganita
54. University Malaya Association of New Youth (UMANY)
55. Women's Aid organization (WAO)
56. Women in Disability Association (WDA)
57. WDC (Women's Development Collective)
58. Women Institute for Research Development and Advancement (WIRDA)
59. Writers' Alliance for Media Independence (WAMI)
60. Youth for Change (YC)

Appendix-3

Hereby, I introduce one letter from *Bersih* 2.0 Steering Committee on 9 April 2017³¹.

BERSIH 2.0 is totally shocked by the fifth disappearance of social activist Peter Chong. Peter has been missing for more than two days. His son has reported to the police but to date there has been no news on his whereabouts.

The police must immediately act swiftly to search and rescue Peter as well as the other four missing persons, Joshua Hilmy, Ruth, Amri Che Mat, and Raymond Koh.

Indeed this is a very sad day for all Malaysians that disappearances are happening here in our country and yet there has been little assurances or news from the police on their efforts to locate the whereabouts of these missing persons.

We fear for the safety and security of the five missing persons and demand that the police take greater efforts to be transparent and accountable by informing and updating on the progress of their search and rescue work. They must make this their priority as this helps mitigate some of the pains and anxiety suffered by the families of the disappeared.

BERSIH 2.0 request for an urgent meeting with the IGP to obtain an update on the police actions to locate these missing persons.

We must not wait but to protest.

**Issued by,
BERSIH 2.0 Steering Committee members**

Wish all the mercy and blessing to Malaysia, the blessed country with its nourished natural resources and with its broad land under bright sunshine.

All the best wishes by Hwang Won-Kyung, *Justina*

³¹<http://www.bersih.org/press-statement-9-april-2017-police-must-immediately-act-to-search-and-rescue-of-five-missing-activist/>,

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ABIM (Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, Islamic Youth Movement of Malaysia)

AWAS (All Women's Action Society)

AMANAH (Parti Amanah Negara, National Trust Party)

AKR (Aliran Kesedaran Rakyat, The Peoples' Flow of Awareness)

BN (Barisan Nasional : National Front)

BA (Barisan Alternatif : Alternative Front)

BERJASA (Pan-Malaysia Islamic Front)

CAN (Community Action Network)

CHI (Citizens' Health Initiative)

CIJ (Centre of Independent Journalism)

CRC (Civil Rights Committee)

DAP (Democratic Action Party)

DEMA (Malaysian Youth and Students Democratic Movement)

ERACON (ERA Consumer)

GAMIS (Gabungan Mahasiswa Islam Se-Malaysia)

GCC (Group of Concerned Citizens)

Gerakan / PGRM (Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia, Malaysian People's Movement Party)

HAKAM (Persatuan Hak Asasi Manusia, National Human Right Society)

IKATAN (Parti Ikatan Bangsa Malaysia)

IMDB (1 Malaysia Development Berhad)

ISA (Internal Security Act)

JERIT (Jaringan Rakyat Tertindas)

UMNO/ PEKEMBAR (United Malays National Organization/ Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu)

KOMAS (Pusat Komunikasi Masyarakat)

LDP (Liberal Democratic Party)

LRC (Labour Resource Centre)

MALVU (Malaysian Voters Union)

MCA (Malaysian Chinese Association)

MIC (Malaysian Indian Congress)

NDP (National Development Policy)

NEP (New Economic Plan)

NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations)

MTUC (Malaysian Trade Union Congress)

PAS (Parti Islam Se-Malaysia, Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party)

PBB (United Traditional Bumiputra)

PBS (Parti Bersatu Sabah, United Sabah Party)

PBRs (Parti Bersatu Rakyat Sabah, United Sabah People's Party)

PCM (Parti Cinta Malaysia, Love Malaysia Party)

PCS (Parti Cinta Sabah, Love Sabah Party)

PH (Pakatan Harapan, Hope's Alliance)

PNAP (Sarawak National Party)

PPBM (Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia, Malaysian United Indigenous Party)

PPP (Peoples' Progressive Party)

PR (Pakatan Rakyat, People's Alliance)

PRS (Parti Rakyat Sarawak, Sarawak people's Party)

PSM (Parti Sosialis Malaysia)

PUM (Persatuan Ulama Malaysia)

PKR (Parti Keadilan Rakyat, People's Justice Party)

PKS (Pergerakan Keadilan Sosial, Social Justice Movement)

REFSA (Research for Social Advancement)

SAPP (Sabah Progressive Party)

SMM (Solidariti Mahasiswa Malaysia)

SOS Penang (Save Ourselves Penang)

SPDP (Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party)

SUPP (Sarawak United People's Party)

SURAM (Suara Rakyat Malaysia)

TFM (Tamil Foundation Malaysia)

UPP (Unit Pemikiran Politik)

UPKO (United Pasokmomogun Kadazandusun Murut Organization)

WAMI (Writers' Alliance for Media Independence)

WDC (Women's Development Collective)

Glossary

aliran (flow)
amanah (trust)
angkatan (coalition)
asasi (base, basic)
bahasa (language)
barisan (front)
bebas dari kotoran (free from dirt)
bersatu (united)
bumiputra (native Malaysian, aborigines)
cinta (love)
dataran (square)
gerakan (movement)
harapan (hope)
hak (right)
jalan (street)
jelas (clear)
keadilan (justice)
kesadaran (awareness)
mahkota (court)
mahasiswa (university student)
manusia (human being)
merdeka (independence)
murni (clean)

membersihkan (make it clean and spotless)

negara (nation)

parti (party)

pembersihan (clean up)

pertubuhan (organization)

Pergerakan Keadilan Sosial (Social Justice Movement)

pribumi (aborigine)

pakatan (alliance)

rapi (well-organized)

rakyat (people)

reformasi (reformation)

sabar (tolerate)

satu (one)

sosial (social)

suara (voice)

suci (chaste)

surau (praying room)

sungai (river)

terima (accept)

tidak tercemar (spotless)

Undang-undang Persekutuan Malaysia (Constitution of Malaysia)

Yang di-Pertuan Agong (King the ruler, who is elected among the Malay Sultans)

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Korean Abstract (국문초록)

학번 : 99873-540

황원경

서울대학교 국제대학원 지역연구 정치학 석사

버르시 운동은 부당하게 자행되어온 선거관행과 부정부패로 일그러진 정부에 대해 개혁을 요구하는 말레이시아 시민들의 요구에 의하여 탄생된 시민운동이다. 버르시 시민운동은 기득권 정당에 대항하는 야당 정당들과 언론매체, 종교집단, 이익집단, 그리고 말레이시아의 비정부 집단들이 지속적으로 버르시 운동의 성장을 도우면서 10년 동안 4번에 걸친 선거를 전후하여 5번의 평화로운 대규모 거리행진으로 시민운동을 전개해왔다. 버르시 시민운동은 *버르시 2.0*이라는 자체적인 라벨링과 1박 2일의 쿠알라룸푸르 시내도보 행진이라는 파격적인 평화적 거리시위도 진행하면서 시민들의 적극적인 참여를 기술적으로 유도하면서 말레이시아의 권위주의적인 정권에 대항하여 왔다.

이 논문은 1998년에 일어난 마하티르 모하마드 총리에 의한 안와르 이브라힘 부총리의 사임과 구속에서부터, “공정하고 깨끗한 선거”와 “부정부패가 없는 청렴한 정부”를 건설하자며 2016년까지 10년 동안 다섯 번에 걸쳐 행사된 말레이시아의 버르시 거리행진 시민운동이 다인종 다문화 국가인 말레이시아에서 생성되어지고, 발전하며 변화되어가는 모습을 담아보고 버르시 운동의 모든 요구사항들을 분석하여 보았다.

버르시 2.0 은 초기의 버르시와 차별을 두어 참여 정당들의 정치적인 영향력에서 벗어나고자 노력을 했으나, 야권 정당들과 협력하여 이루어지는 시민운동의 한계를 버르시 운동도 크게 벗어나지는 못했다고 본다. 소속정당의 입을 대변하는 것은 아니지만, 소속 정당의 요구사항들이 버르시의 요구 사항들 속에 묻혀져 있는 것이다.

“공정하고 깨끗한 선거”와 “부정과 부패 없는 청렴한 정부”를 지향하는 말레이시아 버르시 시민운동은 대대적으로 시민들의 지지를 받는다. 이 두 가지 주요 요구사항 외에도 “침체된 말레이시아 경제부양”이나 “시민권의 확대보장”, “의회 민주주의의 강화”, 그리고 마침내는 “나집 라작 총리의 사임”까지 주장하면서 그들의 요구영역을 드넓게 확대시키며 버르시 시민운동의 정체성을 변형시켜 나아간다.

버르시의 요구가 관철되지 않고 요구 사항들이 점차 늘어나기만 하는 이유는 권위주의적인 정부와 폐쇄적인 입법부 때문이며, 이에 대항하는 버르시 운동을 지지하는 시민사회의 확장으로 버르시가 힘을 얻어 그들만의 목소리를 높여갈 수 있었던 자신감이 버르시 요구사항의 확장으로 표현된 것이라고 본다. 언론, 종교단체, 이익단체, NGO 단체 그리고 야당들이 힘을 모아 버르시의 요구 사항들에 힘이 실리도록 영향력을 힘껏 행사하여 주었다.

10년 동안 다섯 번에 이르는 버르시 거리행진 행사 중 네 번의 버르시 거리행진이 나집 나작 총리의 집권 하에서 이루어지는데, 그만큼 나집 라작 총리가 말레이시아 시민사회로부터 받는 위압감도 크다고 보면 된다. 갈수록 늘어나는 국내와 해외에서의 말레이시아 시민들의 버르시 행진참여와 해가 거듭할수록 증가되는 버르시의 요구사항들을 통해 권위적인 말레이시아 정부와 소통하기 위해 말레이시아 시민사회가 버르시를 통하여 적지 않은 노력을 계속하고 있는 것으로 보여진다.

공정한 선거와 청렴한 정부를 지향하며 권위주의적인 정부에게 버르시 요구사항과 거리행진 목표이라는 분명한 지향점을 두고 시민들의 참여를 유도한 버르시는 시민운동의 성장 촉진요소 역할을 하는 야당, 언론, 종교집단, 이익집단 그리고 비정부 단체들에 의한 영향을 받으면서 더욱 성장해 나아가고, 시민운동으로서 대표성을 띠기 위한 버르시의 자발적인 변화와 함께 안와르나 마하티르 같은 유명한 정치인들의 버르시 운동개입이라는 환경에 의한 타생적 변화도 추구하면서 잘 소통하려 하지 않는 권위적인 말레이시아 정부 하에서 현재까지 굳건히 생존하고 있다는 점은 주목할만한 사항이다. 말레이시아의 시민운동은 버르시를 통해 자유민주주의와 성숙한 시민문화를 지향하며 이상적인 시민사회 문화를 조성하고 수련하고 있는 것이다.

버르시는 2018 년 8 월에 예정인 14 대 총선을 준비하면서 다시 한두번의 추가 가두행진을 개최할 것으로 보인다. 안와르 이브라힘, 마하티르 모하마드 그리고 나집 라작 총리는 권력의 헤게모니 안에서 서로 경쟁적으로 정권 장악을 도모하는 중이다. 이 헤게모니 속에서 버르시가 굳건히 존재하고 있다.

권위주의적인 말레이시아 정부가 제공하는 척박한 민주주의 토양에서도 버르시는 선거제도의 개선과 부정부패가 없는 깨끗한 정부를 주요 요구사항으로 표방하며 계속 성장하고 생존해 나갈 것이다.

주요어: 안와르 이브라힘, 마하티르 모하마드, 버르시, 리포마시, 시민운동, 버르시 요구사항, 정부, 의회, 말레이시아

