Was GE13 Free and Fair?

An Interim Observation Report on Malaysia's 13th General Election

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CONTENTS

SECTION 5: KEY OBSERVATIONS FROM THE PERIOD BETWEEN NOMINATION DAY AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESULTS

SECTION 6: CONCLUDING REMARKS – WAS GE13 FREE AND FAIR?

SECTION 7: RECOMMENDATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

SECTION 1:

INTRODUCTION TO OUR ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION

1.1 THE SCOPE OF THIS REPORT

This election observation mission was conducted to assess the freedom and fairness of Malaysia's GE13 against international standards. It is important to note that the phrase "free and fair" needs to be defined clearly to allow this report to be read in the most appropriate context. After reviewing various benchmarks, we decided on using the widely-accepted "Declaration on Criteria for Free and Fair Elections" that is adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)[1], of which Malaysia is a member. This benchmark provides a clear and concise definition of the phrase.

Our mandate was to _observe, record, analyse and report_ the overall conduct of GE13, including the key events leading up to it.

The scope of our observation mission does not authorise us to intervene or propose recommendations before GE13. Our mandate was to produce a report _after GE13_ to evaluate if the conduct of GE13 was free and fair.

Our findings cover two areas – the wider perspectives on events prior to nomination day (Section 4), and the findings from our short-term observation on the field between nomination day and the announcement of results (Section 5). Although our appointment was only official for the period between dissolution of parliament and polling day, we include our analysis of the broader perspectives leading up to GE13 for readers to obtain a deeper appreciation of this report's context.

We were appointed by the EC to observe the electoral conduct in Peninsula Malaysia. Therefore, Section 5 of this report presents our findings for Peninsula Malaysia only.

The terms and conditions of our appointment set by the EC states that a final version of this report must include the EC's official responses to our findings. This report was submitted to the EC at 9:30am on Wednesday, 8th May 2013. We anticipate incorporating the EC's response in a separate section once received.

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1 http://www.ipu.org/cnl-e/154-free.htm

1.2 OUR DEPLOYMENT AND METHODOLOGY

Upon receiving formal accreditation on 31 January 2013, we commenced recruiting and training of short-term observers. Our team travelled to all 11 states and the Federal Territories of Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya in Peninsula Malaysia to recruit members of the public, and subsequently to run training sessions on the election observation process. Altogether, we conducted 22 training events over seven weeks to recruit and train our short-term observers.

Our research team examined the political and legal contexts of GE13. They examined the relevant laws and regulations, including recent developments following the recommendations made by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Electoral Reform.

Our research team also developed a set of nine forms to be used by short-term observers, covering nomination day, the campaign period, advanced voting, polling day, and the counting, tallying and announcement of results. The forms were designed through consultations with MAFREL and Merdeka Center. The full set of forms is available in Appendix A.

Our team set up telephone and email hotlines to receive public reports of electoral misconduct. A webpage was also designed to:

- Publicise our recruitment efforts
- Receive reports from members of the public, including pictures and videos of alleged misconduct
- Receive observation reports from our short-term observers

In total our team deployed 311 short-term observers to 99 out of 165 parliamentary constituencies in Peninsula Malaysia (60% of the total number of constituencies). For a complete list of constituencies covered in our observation, please refer to Appendix B.

In addition to our observers in Malaysia, we also had two observers in France, two in Switzerland, one in the USA, two in Hong Kong, two in the UK and five in the UAE to observe overseas voting on 28 April 2013.

SECTION 2:
FORMATION OF GE13 OBSERVATION MISSION FOR PENINSULA MALAYSIA

2.1 HOW THE MISSION WAS FORMED

On 28 May 2012, the EC invited five organisations – IDEAS, Merdeka Center, TI-M, PROHAM and NIEI – for a meeting to discuss potential accreditation as domestic election observers for GE13.

The EC suggested the five organisations work collaboratively to observe the conduct of the electoral process in Peninsula Malaysia[1], and ultimately submit a common report on their observation. The organisations agreed, and formed a joint steering committee to commence the planning and establishment of an election observation mission.

While the opportunity to observe the most closely contested election in the country's history was exciting, it also created operational challenges. Since none of the organisations were election observation experts, they did not have the funding, machinery, manpower and expertise to lead a successful and rigorous project.

Benchmarking election observation missions internationally, our initial plan to observe 165 constituencies in Peninsula Malaysia would have required:

- Recruiting, training and deploying 990 observers, assuming 6 observers per constituency;

- Establishing a full-time central secretariat to coordinate all field activities, including the submission and analysis of the observation reports;
- Conducting long-term observation and developing the final observation report;
- Raising more than RM2 million (USD675,000) to fund the entire mission

NIEI and PROHAM decided to decline the invitation from the EC and withdraw from the election observation mission, citing lack of resources. CPPS was then invited by the EC to join the project.

The remaining organisations – IDEAS, CPPS, Merdeka Centre, and TI-M – negotiated the terms and conditions of the election observation mission prior to accepting official accreditation. During these negotiations, we found the EC to be open to most suggestions by the organisations. Similarly, the organisations were receptive to the EC's explanations. We found the spirit of the negotiations to be cordial, with all sides committed to ensuring the success of the observation mission.

Our final meeting with the EC was on 13 December 2012. At this meeting, the EC had also invited the Malaysian Youth Council (MBM) to be a member of the observation mission. At this meeting, all the organisations and the EC jointly agreed to the terms and conditions of the election observation mission, as per Appendix C. The EC also informed the organisations that they were no longer expected to work collaboratively or to submit a common report.

On 4 January 2013, TI-M decided decline the EC's invitation, citing disagreement with the terms and conditions of the election observation mission (Appendix D and E).

Unlike MBM, the remaining organisations did not have a large pool of volunteers to conduct observation field work. Thus, the organisations decided to continue working together in partnership to raise funds, and to develop the processes, mechanisms and analytical tools for the project.

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1 Sabah, Sarawak and Labuan are not within the remit

In mid-January 2013, the EC invited the Malaysian Confederation for the Disabled (MCD) to observe the challenges of disabled voters in the Petaling Jaya Utara and Lembah Pantai constituencies. MCD joined our election observation partnership in February 2013.

On 31 January 2013, the EC officially appointed IDEAS, CPPS and the remaining organisations as accredited domestic election observers for GE13.

Between February and May 2013, the partnership in the election observation mission evolved as follows:

- Merdeka Centre conducted their own recruitment and deployment of observers;
- IDEAS and CPPS agreed to a request by MCD to extend their observation to include the challenges faced by the disabled;
- IDEAS and CPPS formed a closer partnership, culminating in the production of this common report

It is important to note that the opinions and recommendations contained in this report are entirely the responsibility of IDEAS and CPPS only, and do not represent the views of the other organisations appointed as election observers in Peninsula Malaysia.

2.2 ISSUES ARISING FROM THE PROCESS OF APPOINTMENT

2.2.1 *Lack of transparency in the appointment process*

While the EC had stated that the organisations were appointed as election observers "because they were considered non-partisan and were professional bodies"[1], the process and criteria of selection were not transparent. None of the organisations appointed had previous experience of observing elections.

The criteria for selection was also not consistent. Even though the term "NGO observers" was widely used, only IDEAS, CPPS, MCD and MBM were not-for-profit organisations, while Merdeka Center was a for-profit company.

The lack of transparent and consistent criteria in the appointment of observers created justified and valid public doubts on their ability to conduct an effective observation mission.

2.2.2 *Lack of funding created a hurdle*

The EC had informed all appointed organisations from the onset that no financial assistance would be provided. This created a significant challenge given the extremely stringent timelines to prepare for the observation mission[2].

To obtain financial assistance, we wrote to the Prime Minister's Office, all state governments in Peninsula Malaysia, corporate foundations and companies. None of these organisations responded to our request.

IDEAS eventually secured funding from several high commissions and foundations based in other countries. In April 2013, the EC confirmed that they too would provide some funds for the training of volunteers. However, the amount of money raised by IDEAS (circa RM247,000) and by CPPS (RM50,000 from the EC only) was still insufficient to allow us to conduct all the observation activities that we had planned to do. This forced us to revise our scope of observation substantially.

A high proportion of funding received by IDEAS for this project was sourced from abroad. IDEAS viewed this as risky, given the vocal opposition towards foreign funding by some quarters in Malaysia. In particular, it was highly contentious for IDEAS to receive funds from the Open Society Foundations[3], given the controversial image its founder, George Soros, has in the eyes of certain quarters in Malaysia.

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1 New Straits Times, 25 June 2012, "Five groups selected as polls observers"

2 The formal accreditation was only issued on 31 January 2013. The organisations were then expected to conduct a volunteer recruitment exercise within 30 days, and to pay for the process themselves.

3 CPPS did not receive funds from the Open Society Foundations

While receiving foreign funds would result in significant reputational risks, refusing them would have rendered IDEAS unable to conduct this mission. IDEAS believes that fulfilling the public and the EC's expectations were ultimately more important than employing an overly cautious approach towards protecting our reputation. As always, all funding was accepted on the strict understanding that funders must not influence or interfere in the operations of the project or in the production of this report.

2.2.3 *There was not enough time for proper preparations*

IDEAS' negotiations with the EC began on 28 May 2012 and CPPS joined soon afterwards. However, our official appointment as an independent election observer was eight months later on 31 January 2013 despite repeated requests to the EC to expedite the appointment process.

The long delay in our formal appointment led to several challenges:

- We could not meet our target of recruiting 400 short-term observers within the EC's five-week deadline
- We were not able to conduct in-depth training for our volunteers
- We did not have sufficient time to raise the necessary funds given that almost all potential funders needed to see an official accreditation document

SECTION 3:
THE CONTEXT LEADING UP TO GE13

3.1 OVERVIEW OF MALAYSIA

The Federation of Malaya – what today comprises Peninsula Malaysia – gained independence from the British in 1957. In 1963, the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak collectively formed what is known today as Malaysia. In 1965, Singapore became an independent, sovereign country.

Malaysia comprises the 13 states of Sabah, Sarawak, Johor, Pahang, Trengganu, Kelantan, Perlis, Kedah, Penang, Perak, Selangor, Malacca, Negri Sembilan, and the three Federal Territories of Kuala Lumpur, Putrajaya and Labuan.

According to Census 2010[1]:
- Malaysia has a population of 28.3 million
- From the citizenry, 67.4% is Bumiputera[2], 24.6% Chinese, 7.3% Indians, and 0.7% others
- The Malays form the predominant (63.1%) ethnic group in Peninsula Malaysia. The Ibans constitute 30.3% of the population in Sarawak, while the Kadazan/Dusun is 24.5% in Sabah (note that these communities are Bumiputera, see footnote 2 below)
- Islam is the most widely professed religion with 61.3% being Muslims. Buddhists form 19.8% of the population, Christians 9.2% and Hindus 6.3%
- Malaysia has a young population, with almost 50% aged below 25, and 70% below 40 years old

According to the EC[3], Malaysia has 13,268,002 registered voters, made up of:
- 12,992,661 normal voters,
- 272,387 advanced voters (the armed forces and the police)
- 2954 overseas postal voters

Data from Merdeka Center suggests that the percentage of first-time voters is relatively high, at about 25% of the electoral roll. Almost 50% of registered voters are aged below 40.

Malaysia uses the first-past-the-post voting system.

3.2 GOVERNMENT[4]

Malaysia is a parliamentary democracy with a constitutional monarchy. The federal Head of State is the Yang di-Pertuan Agong (i.e. the King), and the head of government is the Prime Minister.

The highest legislative body is the Parliament, consisting of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the Dewan Negara (upper house) and the Dewan Rakyat (lower house). Members of the Dewan Negara are appointed, while members of the Dewan Rakyat are elected.

Each of the 13 states has its own unicameral State Legislative Assemblies (Dewan Undangan Negeri, DUN). The size of the state assemblies vary from one state to another, but in combination there are 576 DUN seats across the 13 states. Every seat is elected by simple majority in single member constituencies.

In GE13, Malaysians voted to choose the 222 members of the Dewan Rakyat, and 505 members of the DUN. The state of Sarawak is not holding their DUN election this year.

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1 2010 Population and Housing Census of Malaysia, Malaysian Department of Statistics
2 Bumiputera literally means the "son of the soil". The ethnic Malays are the main Bumiputera in Peninsular Malaysia. In Sabah, the main Bumiputera are ethnic Kadazan, Bajau and Murut, while in Sarawak they are Iban, Malay, Bidayuh and Melanau.

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3 Suruhanjaya Piliharaya Malaysia, Daftar Pemilih Terkini sehingga ST 4/2012
4 This part is mainly taken from the website of the Malaysian parliament and the Federal Constitution.

3.3 THE ELECTION LAWS IN MALAYSIA

GE13 is governed by the following laws:
  a) the Federal Constitution
  b) the States' Constitutions
  c) the Election Commission Act 1957
  d) the Elections Act 1958
  e) the Election Offences Act 1954
  f) the Election Regulations (Conduct of Elections) 1981
  g) the Election Regulations (Registration of Electors) 2002
  h) the Election Regulations (Postal Voting) 2003

3.4 THE ELECTION MANAGEMENT BODY

The election management body in Malaysia is the Suruhanjaya Pilihanraya Malaysia (the Election Commission of Malaysia, EC).

The EC is mandated under Article 113 of the Federal Constitution to govern the electoral process in Malaysia. This includes preparing and revising electoral rolls, reviewing and delineating electoral constituencies, as well as monitoring the conduct of elections in accordance with the Election Act 1958 and the Election Offences Act 1954. The EC also has rule-making powers to regulate the registration of voters and the conduct of elections.

The EC's membership consists of a chairman, a deputy chairman and five members. All appointments are made by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong after consultation with the Conference of Rulers. In accordance with Article 114(2) of the Federal Constitution, such appointments "shall have regard to the importance of securing an Election Commission which enjoys public confidence".

Under Article 115(1) of the Federal Constitution, the EC is empowered to appoint its own staff to carry out its duties. This principle ensures the independence of the EC and prevents it from being perceived as a government department.

3.5 THE ELECTORAL ROLL

The right to universal suffrage is protected under Article 119 of the Federal Constitution, where a citizen may register as a voter upon turning 21 years of age.

The registration of voters in Malaysia is not automated; it requires submission of an official paper to a post office or to the offices of the Election Commission. The EC will then register a voter after verifying their details with the National Registration Department (NRD) database.

The power to gazette the electoral roll belongs to the Election Commission. Since 2001, and following amendments to the Elections Act 1958, once the electoral roll has been gazetted, it can no longer be questioned or be judicially reviewed in court.

For GE13, the EC announced that only voters who registered before 31 December 2012 would be entitled to vote.

3.6 POST-ELECTIONS COMPLAINTS MECHANISM

The results of the Malaysian election can only be challenged in court through an election petition, which must be submitted within 21 days of the election results being gazetted. An election petition can be made on several grounds, including:

  a) Bribery, extortion or any form of misconduct which could affect the elections
  b) Non-compliance with the provisions of law and rules of elections
  c) Corrupt or illegal acts found committed by candidates or their agents
  d) The candidate or his agent being found to be unfit to participate in the elections

3.7 THE ADVANCED AND POSTAL VOTING

For the first time in Malaysia's history, GE13 saw the implementation of advanced voting. Advanced voting is allowed for members of the security forces and their spouses who have been assigned duties on the normal polling day. Should they be unable to vote at advanced polling centres due to their duties, these individuals can apply to vote by post.

Others who are eligible to vote by post are:
• Journalists and the EC officers who are on duty on normal polling day
• Malaysians residing abroad (other than in Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand)

According to the EC , in GE13 there were:
• 272,387 military and police personnel (including their spouses) registered as advanced voters, and;
• 2,954 Malaysians registered as overseas voters.

3.8 THE PARLIAMENTARY SELECT COMMITTEE ON ELECTORAL REFORMS

In response to increasing pressure to improve Malaysia's electoral processes, a Parliamentary Select Committee on Electoral Reform was established in April 2012, made up of five MPs from BN, three from PR, and one independent. The committee made 22 recommendations.

Of these 22, only some recommendations have been fully or partially implemented such as allowing postal voting for media personnel, allowing Malaysians residing overseas to vote from abroad, lengthening the campaign period, and the cleaning up of the electoral roll.

3.9 THE CONCEPT OF CARETAKER GOVERNMENT

The concept of a caretaker government is not provided for under the Federal Constitution or any other election laws in Malaysia. Therefore the incumbent government continues to perform the duties of government after dissolution of parliament and throughout the campaigning period. The PSC on Electoral Reform recommended that the EC prepares a guideline and code of conduct for a caretaker government, but the EC stated that this is outside of their purview.

3.10 THE ELECTION OBSERVERS

The EC made a bold and laudable move to accredit 17 organisations as domestic election observers, 5 in Peninsula Malaysia, 9 in Sarawak, and 3 in Sabah. These appointed organisations were empowered to recruit individuals as their accredited observers. The volunteers were managed by the organisations themselves.

Through the 17 organisations, the EC accredited a total of 1,176 individuals as observers. Selangor had the highest number of observers with 174 people, Sabah 135, Perak 129, Kelantan 122, Kuala Lumpur 94, Sarawak 93 and Johor 83. The EC did not interfere with the recruitment process of observers, and the organisations were given full autonomy to recruit, train and deploy their volunteers within the terms and conditions of their appointment.

The EC had also invited seven individuals each from Cambodia, Indonesia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Thailand, and the Asean Secretariat as international observers . These international observers were taken by the EC to visit several polling stations in Negeri Sembilan, Kuala Lumpur and Selangor. Their visit to Malaysia, as well as their operational costs while conducting their observation was partially funded by the EC.

3.11 THE MAIN POLITICAL ACTORS IN GE13

Barisan Nasional (BN) is a coalition made up of 13 political parties[1]. BN is a registered entity and uses a common logo to represent all its candidates, regardless of the component party they represent.

BN's predecessor was the Alliance Party (Perikatan), which won the Federation of Malaya's first general election in 1955. The coalition has formed the federal government since Malaya's independence from Britain on 31st August, 1957, and frequently commands the crucial 2/3 majority in Parliament that provides them the legal ability to amend the Federal Constitution. Prior to GE13, BN had only lost the 2/3 majority twice; the first in 1969, and second in 2008.

Logo of BN

Of the 13 component parties in BN, three are considered the main parties representing the major ethnic groups in Malaysia. The United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) is the biggest and most dominant party, especially in Peninsula Malaysia. The President and Deputy President of UMNO are automatically Chairman and Deputy Chairman of BN, and subsequently Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia. The current President of UMNO is Dato' Seri Mohd Najib bin Tun Abdul Razak (hereafter "Najib Razak") and the Deputy President is Tan Sri Muhyiddin bin Mohammad Yassin (hereafter "Muhyiddin Yassin).

The other two main parties are also ethnic-based: the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC). While the rest of the BN component parties in Peninsular

Malaysia do not intentionally target specific ethnic groups, their memberships are mostly dominated by a particular ethnicity.

In Sarawak, the leading BN component party is Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB), which is the largest political party in the state. Members of the party belong to ethnic groups in the Bumiputera category (i.e. the Ibans, Bidayuhs, several other Dayak people as well as Sarawakian Malays). The President of PBB, Pehin Sri Haji Abdul Taib bin Mahmud, has been the Chief Minister of Sarawak since 1981.

In Sabah, the previous state government (prior to its dissolution) was led by Chief Minister Musa Aman from UMNO. UMNO is a relatively new entrant in Sabah, having been formed there in 1991. Two other parties that play significant role in Sabah politics are Parti Bersatu Sabah (PBS) and United Pasokmomogun Kadazandusun Murut Organisation (UPKO). All the three parties, together with several smaller parties, form the Sabah BN.

Pakatan Rakyat (PR) is the federal opposition, which is a coalition comprising three political parties – Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR), the Democratic Action Party (DAP) and Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS).

PR is not a registered coalition. An application to register the coalition with the Registrar of Societies is pending, and this matter is discussed further in Section 4.5. As a result, PR contested in GE13 using three different logos.

From left to right: Logos of PKR, DAP and PAS

The head of PR is Dato' Seri Anwar bin Ibrahim (hereafter "Anwar Ibrahim"). In terms of membership, PAS' members are mainly Malay Muslims, DAP members are mainly ethnic Chinese, while PKR has a mix of members from various ethnicities.

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1 http://barisannasional.org.my/parti-komponen

There are other, smaller, parties that contested in GE13 such as the **Socialist Party of Malaysia (PSM)** and the **Barisan Jemaah Islamiah Se-Malaysia (BERJASA)** as well as independent candidates. However, the main actors for GE13 were BN and PR.

3.12 THE POLITICAL CLIMATE

The 2008 general election was dubbed as a "political tsunami" for the BN as they lost their customary 2/3 majority in the Dewan Rakyat for the first time since 1969. This relatively poor performance led Tun Abdullah Haji Ahmad Badawi to step down as Prime Minister. He was replaced by his deputy, Najib Razak.

The campaign for GE13 effectively started as soon as Najib Razak became Prime Minister on 3 April 2009. But although political commentators expected him to call for a snap election soon after his leadership succession, Najib Razak actually waited until 3 April 2013 - the fourth anniversary of his premiership, and just 27 days before parliament would have automatically dissolved on 30 April 2013 – to request a dissolution of Parliament from the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

Throughout Najib Razak's four-year premiership, Malaysia experienced growing populism. Both BN and PR promised or delivered handouts to the public in various disguises, culminating in the publication of their manifestos that contained an extensive list of handout promises. As the party in government, BN introduced various welfare programmes, many of which are aggressively promoted under the "1Malaysia" brand.

Throughout the four years, Malaysia also saw growing racial polarisation. Hardliners from the Malay, Chinese and Indian ethnic groups became increasingly vocal.

In particular, a group of ethnic Malays from the organisation PERKASA became an influential pressure group determined to safeguard what they interpreted as the privilege of Malay "rights". Senior leaders of PERKASA have been frequently accused of racism. In GE13, BN fielded PERKASA's Deputy President in the Shah Alam parliamentary constituency, while in the Pasir Mas parliamentary, the BN candidate did not file his nomination papers, paving the way for PERKASA's President to contest against the PR candidate in a straight fight. PERKASA has openly supported BN, and former Prime Minister and former UMNO President Tun Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad is PERKASA's advisor.

Since early 2012, there has also been an increase in the usage of rhetoric surrounding politically related violence. PR leaders had used the Arab Spring to stir public sentiment towards a change and BN leaders reacted by implying that PR was calling for a regime change, including through violence or undemocratic means[1].

Malaysia also saw sizable demonstrations organised by BERSIH, a coalition of civil society organisations campaigning for free and fair elections. BERSIH held 3 rallies in 2007, 2011 and 2012. In all three demonstrations, the police responded with chemical-laced water cannons and tear gas. An inquiry by the Malaysian Human Rights Commission (SUHAKAM) on 17 April 2013 found that the police was guilty of using disproportionate force against BERSIH demonstrators in 2012. However, various media and BN leaders have insinuated that the BERSIH demonstrators are violent and that they are part of the opposition's "movement"[2, 3].

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1 Anwar set to create Arab Spring, http://www.kualalumpurpost.net/anwar-set-to-create-arab-spring-in-malaysia-tun-mahathir-2/, 7 February 2013, accessed 12.33pm
3 http://agendadaily.com/Muka-Hadapan/muhyiddin-minta-polis-segera-tunjuk-video-bukti-tidak-bertindak-ganas-masa-demo-bersih.html; accessed 7 May 2013, 2.35pm.
4 http://www.utusan.com.my/utusan/info.asp?y=2012&dt=0429&pub=Utusan_Malaysia&sec=Muka_Hadapan&pg=mh_01.htm; accessed 6 May 2013, 8.13am

BN billboards insinuating that the "other" side
is not averse to undemocratic means.

"We respect the rule of law, not the rule of the jungle"

"We develop the country, not demolish it"

SECTION 4:
WIDER PERSPECTIVES ON GE13

To ensure GE13 is examined within the right context, IDEAS and CPPS conducted a review (long-term observation) of the situation leading up to 5 May 2013. This section provides a critical analysis of the relevant issues that may have an impact on the outcome of GE13.

4.1 THE MEDIA WAS HEAVILY BIASED TOWARDS BN

Two government agencies have a direct impact on GE13 media campaigning - Radio Televisyen Malaysia (RTM) and the Malaysian National News Agency (Bernama). Both of these agencies are under the Ministry of Information, Communication and Culture.

RTM runs two free-to-air TV channels and several radio stations. Bernama is a content provider for newspapers, TV and radio stations, global wire services and internet news portals. Both openly and consistently favoured BN in their coverage and reporting.

Many other key media organisations are also connected to the government or to BN. For example, Media Prima is a conglomerate that runs 4 TV channels, 4 daily newspapers, and 3 radio channels. The top shareholders of Media Prima are the Employee's Provident Fund, a government-linked investment company, and two UMNO-linked companies, Gabungan Kesturi Sdn Bhd and Altima Inc. The Star, Malaysia's most widely-read English daily newspaper, is linked to BN's MCA while Utusan Malaysia, a Malay daily, is linked to BN's UMNO.

Campaign advertising in the media was overwhelmingly dominated by BN, both in broadcast and print media. However, since party financing and spending in Malaysia are not transparent, we were unable to ascertain the sources of funding for all these advertisements, nor do we know if the parties received significant discounts for their advertisements from the media platforms linked to them.
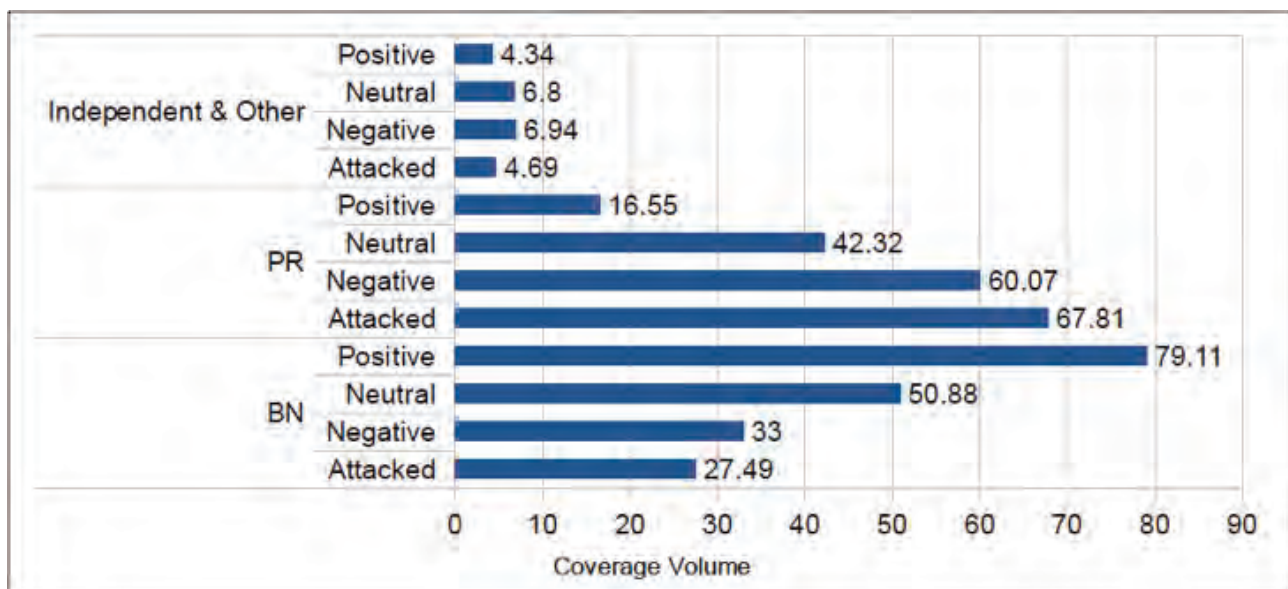
Tone of coverage of political parties in Malaysian media during GE13 campaign period.
(Source: "Watching the Watchdog Release 5", CIJ and UNMC)

Top: *Muhyiddin Yassin at Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan Seri Payong, Terengganu on 2 May 2013. (Source: http://www.pmo.gov.my/tpm/)*

Left: *Najib Razak at Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan Sungai Petai, Kelantan on 1 May 2013. (Source: http://www.utusan.com.my/utusan/Pilihan_Raya/20130503/px_11/Wujud-negara-Islam-bermaruah#ixzz2SKy2xpLm*

The government offered PR a 10-minute, pre-recorded slot on RTM to air their manifesto. This offer was rejected by PR on the basis that 10 minutes was insufficient compared to the continuous positive coverage that BN had on almost all TV and radio stations, as well as in the majority of mainstream print media.

The Centre for Independent Journalism (CIJ) in partnership with the University of Nottingham Malaysia Campus, conducted extensive media monitoring during the GE13 from 7 April to 7 May 2013. Their monitoring confirmed that the media gave a higher positive coverage to BN. BN received the highest level of positive coverage, while PR received the highest level of attacks and negative coverage.

The media environment therefore is heavily dominated by BN-friendly coverage. While this was particularly prevalent during the official campaign period for GE13, in reality it had been going on for many years. This would certainly have an impact on voting decisions.

4.2 GOVERNMENT AND ARMED FORCES FACILITIES WERE REPEATEDLY USED DURING THE OFFICIAL CAMPAIGNING PERIOD

During the campaign period, we observed repeated usage of government facilities, especially government schools, for BN campaigns. There were also cases of political speeches being delivered in army camps. Often, these events were not organised by the parties and were not officially named as a party event. However, we found the message in the main speeches to be clearly partisan campaigning, calling for voters to vote for BN. PR was not allowed to enter the same facilities. These instances created an uneven field as it allowed BN to campaign using government facilities paid for by taxpayers.

Top: *UMNO Vice President at an event at in Penrissen Army Camp, Sarawak, which was also attended by BN parliamentary candidates for Stampin Datuk Yong Khoon Seng and Kota Samarahan Rubiah Wang. (Source: http:// www.theborneopost.com/2013/04/23/kerajaan-laksana-program-pembangunan-tentera/)*

Left: *Former prime minister Mahathir Mohamad delivered a talk entitled "Unity towards the 13th General Election" at the Lumut Naval Base on 23 April 2013. BN candidate for Lumut, Kong Cho Ha, also attended. (Source: http://www. freemalaysiakini2.com/?p=78240)*

4.3 THE EC'S IMPARTIALITY AND COMPETENCY WERE REPEATEDLY QUESTIONED

The EC has undertaken several steps to improve Malaysia's electoral processes.

- In dealing with allegations of the existence of 'phantom' voters, the EC introduced the indelible ink to prevent multiple voting
- Some efforts have been made to clean up the electoral roll
- Advanced voting was introduced for members of the military and police. Previously there were allegations of wrong-doings[1] when these groups were allowed to vote by post only
- Overseas voting was introduced to enable Malaysians living abroad to cast their vote abroad

- Disabled voters were allowed to be accompanied by a trusted individual into the polling centre to assist them in the voting process
- Several organisations were appointed to be independent election observers

However, despite all the efforts by the EC, they continue to face criticism from many quarters. There is widespread perception that the EC is not politically independent. Three factors may have contributed to this.

Firstly, almost all current members of the EC are from civil service backgrounds and many of EC's staff is also seconded from the civil service. This raises serious credibility challenge, especially when the issue is examined in the wider context of the civil service itself often being perceived or accused of partisanship[2].

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1 or example, it has been alleged that some soldiers did not get their ballot papers because their superiors marked the papers for them, and there have also been accusations that some army officers gave instructions how their men should vote.

2 See for example Media Selangorku, 25 June 2012, 'Dato Dr Ali HamsamemulakanlangkahsilapsebagaiKSN" (http://www. selangorku.com/?p=10170)

Secondly, there were instances in which the EC had issued statements that were inconsistent with the dignity of its office. For example:

- When questioned on the GE13 polling day about the effectiveness of the indelible ink, the Deputy Chairman of the EC was quoted as saying, "I am not worried if the indelible ink is washed off today because tomorrow you cannot vote"[3]. This did not appease public concerns about the supposed indelibility of the ink.
- When the Leader of the Opposition claimed that there were foreigners registered as voters, the Deputy Chairman of the EC was quoted as saying, "He is bluffing. Flat-out bluffing."[4]. This is disrespectful to the head of an elected block in Parliament.
- When the Leader of the Opposition requested that the Australian Government sends observers for GE13, the Deputy Chairman of the EC was quoted as saying that the action was "disgusting and an embarrassment to the people"[5]. This is also disrespectful, and contradicts the EC's own actions of inviting foreign observers.

In the context of the EC's remarks about PR leaders, we did not record the EC using the same language towards BN leaders.

Thirdly, the EC was overly-defensive when dealing with criticisms on its internal governance and operations, especially in relation to the revision and cleaning up of the electoral roll. When commenting on the Malaysian Electoral Roll Analysis Project (MERAP) project led by Dr Ong Kian Ming, the Deputy Chairman of the EC was quoted as saying "From the beginning until today, he has never come to the EC to discuss with us or even write us a letter. What kind of a human is this?"[5]. We believe a more appropriate approach would have been for the EC to have initiated a meeting with MERAP.

4.4 THE INTEGRITY OF THE ELECTORAL ROLL CONTINUES TO BE QUESTIONED

One of the main concerns surrounding GE13 was the integrity of the electoral roll[6]. A survey by Merdeka Center in 2012 found that 92% of voters want the electoral roll cleaned up before GE13, and 48% feels that the present electoral roll was inaccurate[7].

We examined comments made by various quarters[8], but found that a study by the Malaysian Electoral Analysis Project (MERAP) to be the most comprehensive. While we observed that MERAP may be viewed as partisan due to its leader joining PR, our analysis found its reports to be robust.

Among others, MERAP discovered that the electoral roll contains multiple cases of:

- voters sharing the same name and address;
- voters sharing the same old Identity Card (IC) number;
- mismatch between gender indicated by IC and data on EC database;
- incomplete house addresses

There are many detailed examples provided by MERAP and readers should refer to their full report[9] for more information.

We also recorded cases of individuals who had not registered as voters finding their names on the electoral roll. For example, the Malaysian Confederation for the Disabled (MCD) received reports of 3 individuals with learning disabilities and another 6 with visual impairments who were on the electoral roll despite never registering themselves as voters.

These cases have fuelled intense speculation, and were further augmented by subsequent developments. For example, when the BN Secretary-General confirmed that "friends of

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3 http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/litee/malaysia/article/ec-says-not-worried-about-flawed-indelible-ink ; accessed 6 May 2013, 8.00am
4 http://fz.com/content/ge13-how-do-you-know-they-are-foreigners-ec-asks-anwar
5 http://www.nst.com.my/nation/general/anwar-rapped-for-overture-to-aussie-govt-1.175559

6 See for example http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/malaysia/article/voter-irregularities-still-mar-sabah-electoral-roll-says-polls-watchdog/
7 http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/litee/malaysia/article/merdeka-center-refutes-ecs-claims-insists-voter-survey-accurate/
8 Including from Dr Wong Chin Huat of Monash University, and groups like NIEI, MAFREL and Bersih.
9 The full report of MERAP can be found on http://malaysianelectoralrollproject.blogspot.com/2012/10/merap-final-report-and-recommendations.html

BN" had chartered flights to ferry voters[1], the public immediately questioned if the flights were from Sabah, and accused the BN of ferrying in voters and new citizens from Sabah to vote in strategic constituencies in Peninsular Malaysia. We believe these suspicions would have not arisen if the integrity of the electoral roll was guaranteed.

We acknowledge that the EC has worked with organisations like the NIEI to improve the integrity of the system. This leads us to believe that the EC is open to new ideas, but their weakness is that they can only work cordially with organisations that employ a non-confrontational approach.

4.5 THE REGISTRAR OF SOCIETIES IS VIEWED AS NOT FREE FROM PARTISAN INTERFERENCE

The Registrar of Societies (RoS) is an agency under the Ministry of Home Affairs responsible for the administration of non-governmental organisations and political parties. All political parties are bound by the Societies Act 1966 they must register accordingly. Failure to comply with the Act's requirements may cause the party to be de-registered[2].

The RoS' failure to process PR's registration application efficiently had a direct impact on GE13, as PR component parties were unable to contest under one logo. Multiple logos may confuse voters.

PR had submitted an application to be recognised as a formal coalition to the Registrar of Societies (RoS) in 2009. In 2011, after the head of the pro-tem committee left the coalition, the RoS stated that the application could not be approved citing the departure of the individual. The component parties subsequently submitted another application to the RoS with details of another person to head the pro-tem committee.

PR has claimed that the RoS is unresponsive and uncooperative until today[3].

We observe that that was not the only instance of RoS being viewed as being not free from partisan interference:

- The Socialist Party of Malaysia (PartiSosialis Malaysia, PSM) had to wait 10 years for its registration to be finally be approved in 2008.
- On 18 April 2013, PR's DAP was informed by the RoS that their central executive committee was not recognised. While this stemmed from irregularities during DAP's party election in December 2012, the RoS' eleventh hour notification two days before nomination for GE13 created panic.

The RoS dealt with BN differently. For example, in 1987-88, when UMNO was declared illegal by the courts, it took the RoS only days to register a new party called UMNO (Baru), which became today's UMNO.

4.6 THE DELINEATION OF CONSTITUENCIES IS TOO UNEQUAL

Malaysia is divided into 222 federal and 576 state constituencies. The EC is empowered to delineate constituencies every ten years. The last delineation exercise was done in 2003.

We have observed serious discrepancies with the electoral principle that every vote must have equal weightage. For example, the Putrajaya constituency has 15,791 voters, but the Kapar constituency has 144,159 voters[4]. Based on this data, Kapar has 9 times more voters than Putrajaya, and hence "one vote" in Putrajaya equals approximately to "9 votes" in Kapar. (See Appendix F for full details)

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1 The Star, 2 May 2013, "GE13: Tengku Adnan confirms 'get out the vote' flights organised by 'BN friends'"
2 In particular, under section 5(1), "it shall be lawful for the Minister in his absolute discretion by order to declare unlawful any society or branch or class or description of any societies which in his opinion, is or is being used for purposes prejudicial to or incompatible with the interest of the security of Malaysia or any part thereof, public order or morality."

3 http://www.keadilandaily.com/daftar-pakatan-rakyat-tunggu-penjelasan-ros-saifuddin/index.html; accessed 3 May 2013, 4.30pm.
4 Suruhanjaya Pilihanraya Malaysia, "Statistik Pengundi Biasa danPengundi Tidak Hadir Mengikut Dewan Undangan Negeri, Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)"

At the time of Independence, the difference in constituency electorate sizes was limited to a margin of 15% above or below the average constituency electorate. This rule was relaxed in the 1960s and was completely removed in 1973.

As a result, a political party is able win the majority of seats in Dewan Rakyat through winning smaller constituencies, but without receiving the majority of popular votes. We observed that this was what happened in GE13, where BN won the majority of parliamentary seats, but only garnered 46.5% of the popular votes compared to PR's 51.4%[5].

4.7 THE FINANCING OF POLITICAL PARTIES IS NOT TRANSPARENT

Financial resources are necessary for political parties and candidates to function effectively in modern democratic systems. However, money in politics can pose serious corruption risks. Money can disrupt the democratic principle of fair competition in elections and undermine proper political representation. Problems arise when organisations or individuals with private agendas secretly provide funds to political parties/candidates, especially during elections, and expect something in return.

Both BN and PR recognised fighting corruption as an important issue in GE13. Principles such as "transparency", "accountability" and "integrity" were widely mentioned in their respective election manifestos. However, we noted numerous examples that highlighted the need for urgent political financing reform. They include:

- It was not possible to verify that campaign expenditure did not exceed the limits set by the Elections Act (RM 200,000 for Parliamentary and RM100,000 for State seats)
- Use of government assets and machinery during the campaign period, as described in Section 4.2.

- Lack of clear guidelines on the role of a caretaker government, thereby allowing the incumbent to enjoy many privileges
- The EC's lack of power to investigate and enforce rules during the campaign period
- Lack of clear and transparent procedures to identify sources and quantum of party contributions[6]

The campaigns that took place during GE13 was visibly expensive for all sides but it was not possible to ascertain who paid and what was the total cost:

- some campaign events catered for audience in the tens of thousands
- flights were chartered to ferry voters paid for by third parties
- various letters and leaflets were sent by post to voters
- there was heavy use of text messaging to canvass and campaign.

4.8 ETHNIC MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN GE13 WAS GOOD BUT MANIPULATION OF RACIAL ISSUES FOR POLITICAL GAINS ABOUND

Since independence, the racial composition of Malaysia had set the tone for the domestic political landscape. Many Malaysian political parties are ethnic-based. This has helped ensure that ethnic minority participation in the electoral process is healthy despite the Malays being the ethnic majority in the country.

Even though there are notable weaknesses such as the level of participation of the Orang Asli (i.e. the native and indigenous people), the Malay majority does not necessarily dominate the political discourse because there are many ethnic-based political parties representing their interests.

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5 http://www.fz.com/content/ge13-pakatan-questions-bn-governments-legitimacy-after-winning-popular-vote; accessed 7 May 2012, 2.50pm

6 The case of the RM40million donation to UMNO Sabah is a clear case that showed the need for reform on political financing regulations (http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/malaysia/article/macc-clears-musa-aman-rm40m-was-for-sabah-umno)

Front page of Utusan Malaysia headlined "What else does the Chinese want?"

However, the presence of ethnic-based political parties is also major contributor to divisions in the Malaysian society, especially leading up to GE13.

We observed an increase in the usage of racial rhetoric to obtain votes. The Malay rights[1] organisation PERKASA and the Hindu Rights Action Force (HINDRAF) were two of the most vocal groups pushing for the interests of their respective ethnic groups. We also observed an increase in activism among Chinese associations.

While such championing of rights based on racial criteria could be controversial, for the most part we observed this to be peaceful and within the confines of the democratic process.

However, the rhetoric used when campaigning for Malay rights in the run up to GE13, and immediately after polling, sometimes bordered on the incitement of racial hatred, whether in speeches, publications or SMS messages[2]. Examples of these include:

- PERKASA calling for the mass burning of the Bible[3]
- MCA's print and radio campaign that "A vote for DAP is a vote for PAS"
- Utusan Malaysia's front-paged report "Apa lagi Cina mahu?"

In short, in the GE13 campaigning, Malays were given the impression that if BN were to lose, Chinese Malaysians would benefit at the expense of Malays.

The top leadership of BN has openly recognised that the nation is divided. In his victory speech on 6 May 2013[4], Najib Razak rejected racial politics, called for national reconciliation, and decried extremism. While this was a much needed move, we believe it was also a very late move. Such a statement should have been made before GE13, when ethnic rhetoric was beginning to be employed by activists campaigning for BN. Najib's delay meant that the GE13 campaign was marred by tactics that nudged voters to vote for BN based on ethnic sentiments.

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1 "Rights" in this section being defined by their proponents as protections, benefits, special or guaranteed minimum assurances in various sectors on the basis of ethnic, cultural or linguistic criteria

2 For example, our observer attended an event in Sungai Ramal Dalam in which the speaker openly accused the Chinese of conspiring to remove the special position of the Malays and abolish Islam from being the official religion of the country after GE13. And members of our observation team also received SMS messages suggesting that the Chinese is a threat to Malays, although we must emphasise that the authors of these messages are unknown and not necessarily representing a political party..

3 The Malaysian Insider, 24 January 2013, "Under fire, Perkasa says bible-burning threat meant to prevent violence" (http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/malaysia/article/under-fire-perkasa-says-bible-burning-threat-meant-to-prevent-violence)

4 Press Statement issued by Prime Minister's Office, 6 May 2013 (Hailing Election Victory, PM calls for National Reconciliation)

BN's MCA fear-mongering campaign advertisements.

SECTION 5:
KEY OBSERVATIONS FROM THE PERIOD BETWEEN NOMINATION DAY AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESULTS

5.1   INTRODUCTION

The IDEAS-CPPS observation mission in Peninsula Malaysia was conducted by 311 observers across 99 parliamentary constituencies and 14 observers in 6 overseas polling centres. Our observers engaged with the Returning Officers, political party agents, other election observers, and voters at large to identify concerns.

The findings / trends from our observation, with selected cases as examples of the incidences that we recorded, are outlined below.

5.2.1   Nomination Day (April 20th, 2013)

The GE13 nomination took place on Saturday, 20 April 2013, between 9.00am and 10.00am. There were no major incidents reported, except in Sungai Acheh where PAS supporters attempted to prevent the PKR candidate from submitting his nomination papers[1]. Most nomination centres opened and closed on time and the process proceeded smoothly.

Data obtained from the EC[2] showed:

- 579 nominations were filed to contest 222 parliamentary seats;
- 1,324 nominations were filed to contest 505 state seats.

All 579 nominations filed to contest the 222 parliamentary seats were accepted by the EC. Of the 1,324 nominations filed to contest for the 505 state seats, 3 were rejected.

In general:

- The environment surrounding nomination centres was peaceful, with supporters respecting the clearly-marked restricted zones surrounding the centres
- Security personnel maintained order, with representation from Polis DiRaja Malaysia (PDRM), including the Federal Reserve Unit, and RELA volunteers
- EC officers dealt with political supporters in a professional and polite manner

However:

- Our observers were not allowed into two nomination centres in Negeri Sembilan[3]
- A few candidates and proposers wore clothing items bearing their party's logo into the nomination center[4]
- Supporters and candidates in some constituencies used government vehicles to arrive at nomination centres[5]
- In Shah Alam, the designated area allocated for the supporters of a PR candidate was further than the area designated for BN supporters (Exhibit A).

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1   https://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/nation/2013/04/21/pas-tried-to-sabotage-chegubard-in-sg-acheh/

2   http://pru13.gov.my/default.berita.utama.php?news_id=86
3   Seremban (P128) and Kuala Pilah (P129).
4   BN candidates in Seputeh (P122), Segambut (P117) and Bukit Bendera (P48). After receiving complaints from opposition candidates, EC officers instructed BN candidates to put on a jacket or vest to cover the logo.
5   A lorry with a "Lembaga Pertubuhan Peladang" logo was used to distribute water to BN supporters in Kelantan.

Exhibit A: *Google Map image showing the unequal distance between the areas designated to BN and PR supporters in the Shah Alam constituency.*

5.3 OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN PERIOD (APRIL 20TH, 2013 TO MAY 4TH, 2013)

Both BN and PR had been unofficially campaigning since 2009, with increasing intensity as April 2013 became closer. Therefore political party paraphernalia, such as flags, banners and posters had been on display since weeks if not months before the commencement of the official campaigning period.

During the official campaign period, we observed campaign events including rallies, walkabouts, and talks.

The followings are highlights of our observation during the campaign period:

- The use of government machinery for campaigning purposes was rampant, especially by the BN. This ranged from the use of government buildings for operation centres and campaigns, to using security forces to maintain order during campaigns.
- We observed several incidences of politically-related violence and provocations. 1,166 cases of violence and intimidation were reported during the first week of the formal campaign period alone[6]. Among these cases were the hurling of petrol bombs into a BN

operation centre in Sekinchan (Selangor)[7] and Jelapang (Perak)[8], the torching of a car belonging to PKR candidate Dr Xavier Jayakumar, several cases of explosive devices against BN campaign activities[9] and several cases of arson against BN operation centres.

- Free food, musical concerts and gifts were hosted, mostly by BN and at times under the disguise of government events. In Cameron Highlands, for example, a concert was hosted by Tabung Ekonomi Kumpulan Usaha Niaga (TEKUN) which is a unit within the Ministry of Agriculture and Agro-based Industries. The event was used to "introduce" the BN parliamentary candidate for Cameron Highlands. Concert attendees were seen receiving TV sets and kitchen appliances.
- We observed many political speeches that were peaceful and constructive. However, we also observed several political speeches by both the BN and PR that were laced with racial and religious sentiments and slander. In Kubang Kerian, the alleged sex video clip of PR leaders were played to a crowd which also included children.
- Strategies to incite fear in the public was propagated by BN. For example, one of our observers managed to attend a closed-door briefing organised by UMNO at Sungai Ramal Dalam, Selangor. The speaker warned the audience that the Malaysian Chinese wanted to abolish the monarchy and remove Islam from being Malaysia's official religion.

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6 http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2013/4/27/nation/13031550&sec=nation

7 http://www.tv3.com.my/beritatv3/berita_terkini/Bilik_Gerakan_BN_Sekinchan_Terbakar_Dilempar_Bom_Petrol.html; accessed 4 May 2013, 10.27am.

8 http://peraktoday.com/?p=115309, accessed 4 May 2013, 10.30am.

9 http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/227885; accessed 4 May 2013, 10.25am.

Exhibit B: *Booklet "Siapa Anwar Sebenarnya" circulated in Permatang Pauh. Among others, the booklet accused Anwar Ibrahim of being born out of wedlock*

- Printed publications, blog posts and text messages advocating hatred against ethnic Chinese were widely distributed, alleging that they would "overcome" the Malays if BN were to lose power.[1] We were not able to verify who actually produced these materials.

5.4 OVERSEAS VOTING (APRIL 28TH, 2013)

The voting process for Malaysians residing overseas took place on 28 April 2013. Overseas voters had the option to either cast their ballots at selected Malaysian embassies and high commissions around the world, or post the ballot papers to their respective Returning Officers by 5pm on 5 May 2013.

Our observers observed the voting in Paris, France; London, United Kingdom; Berne, Switzerland; Los Angeles, USA; Dubai, UAE; and Hong Kong.

The voting process in general proceeded smoothly with the majority of the voters opting to cast their votes in the embassies and high commissions. The embassies and high commissions were generally conducive for voting with the staff acting impartially and professionally.

All observers, except in Dubai, were given permission to observe the voting process. Some of them were allowed to observe the placing of ballot collection bags into diplomatic pouches and the counting of remaining ballots.

Some of the key highlights from our observation:

- Information on how to register as an overseas voter was unclear and convoluted
- The approach to determine the criteria to be an overseas voter was not clear
- The online portal to register as an overseas voter crashed on the day that was the deadline to register as an overseas voter, preventing some from registering
- There were discrepancies in the list of voters, resulting in certain voters unable to vote as their ballot papers were not in the envelope or their names did not appear in the list[2].
- Some embassy staff, tasked to be officers for that day, were not fully conversant on the procedures[3].

5.5 ADVANCED VOTING (APRIL 30TH, 2013)

Advanced voting was conducted on 30 April 2013, at 544 polling centers nationwide[4]. Voters on this day comprised mainly of security personnel and their families who would be on duty on Election Day.

The advanced voting process was generally peaceful and orderly. Polling centres opened and closed on time, and most observers and party agents were able to witness the ballot boxes being secured and transferred to their respective secured rooms.

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1 For example, one SMS received by one of our observers on 4 May 2013 stated "DAP memang nak lemahkan Islam dan orang Melayu. Elok lah undi BN" (DAP wants to weaken Islam and the Malays. It is better to vote for BN). Our observers were also given a leaflet entitled "DAP Rasis" by activists at an UMNO Operations Room in Bagan Serai, Perak.

2 This happened in Paris and Los Angeles.
3 This happened in Paris and Los Angeles.
4 SPR's Press Conference on 28 April 2013 on Advanced Voting. http://pru13.org/pdf/lain-lain/Kenyataan_Media_28_April_2013.pdf

Some of the key highlights from our observation:

- There were reports about the ineffectiveness of the indelible ink not long after the voting process started. These complaints continued throughout the day
- Candidates visited polling centres while attired in clothing bearing their parties' logo. In Hulu Langat, for example, a PR candidate entered the polling center wearing a PR shirt.
- There were reports of confusion among voters on the process of voting, with some voters placing marked ballot papers in the wrong ballot box (mixing up parliamentary and state boxes) and others using their inked finger to mark their ballot papers.
- Some observers were denied entry into polling centres. These included observers in Machang, Kangar, Lembah Pantai, Bukit Katil, Batu and Segambut
- Observers in Selangor were only allowed to observe the voting process in certain polling streams, and were not allowed to move around the polling centre

5.6 POLLING DAY (5 MAY 2013)

Polling Day was conducted on the 5 May 2013 at 8245 polling centers[10]. A voter turn-out of approximately 80% was reported by the EC.[11]

Our observers were stationed in 99 of the 165 parliamentary constituencies in Peninsula Malaysia. We found that generally:

a) Around polling centres

- The atmosphere surrounding polling centres was conducive during the voting process.
- Police personnel were present at all polling centres observed.
- Political parties were still reported to be campaigning during polling day in certain areas.

b) Inside polling centres

- While most observers reported a smooth process of verifying voters, there were several cases of registered voters who were unable to vote as their names were not on the electoral roll.
- Long queues led to overcrowding at certain polling centres. Certain polling centres did not have priority lanes for elderly voters.

c) Opening of polling centers, voting and closing

- In general, most polling stations observed opened and closed on time. Slight delays were reported in the opening of certain polling stations.
- A small number of voters were informed that they had already voted, although they claimed that they had not.
- Some polling streams in the same polling centre provided pencils instead of pens for voters to mark their ballot papers.
- Some voters encountered blots on their ballot papers. Some of them were not issued new ballot papers despite requesting them from the polling clerks.
- Polling clerks used different methods to identify and verify the details of voters. Some drew a line under the name and serial number of the voter. Others crossed of their names or drew shorter lines between the voter's name and serial number.
- Some polling clerks wrote down the serial number of voters in separate sheets and were observed carrying additional notebooks.
- The placement of voting booths in certain polling streams faced open doors or windows, hence creating the possibility that someone else could see how the ballot paper was marked.

d) Counting of votes and the aggregation and tallying of results

- Observers reported a smooth vote counting process done within the respective polling streams. Although there were certain disputes during the counting of votes, observers noted that such incidences were mostly dealt with fairly and competently by the EC official on duty.

5.7 CHALLENGES FACED BY THE DISABLED AND ELDERLY ON ELECTION DAY

Generally, we feel that more could have been done to assist the elderly and the disabled on election day.

At several polling centres, the disabled and the elderly had to cast their vote in polling streams on the first floor instead of having designated streams on the ground floor.

There was a general lack of wheelchairs provided for the disabled and elderly voters,

Elderly voters were not provided priority lines, and had to join the queue with other voters.

A more detailed examination of issues faced by the disabled will be released by the Malaysian Confederation for the Disabled as they conducted specialised observation on disability issues.

5.8 THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF THE INDELIBLE INK

In GE13, the EC introduced the indelible ink as a measure to prevent an individual from voting multiple times. The ink was used during the advanced voting day on 30 April 2013, and on the normal voting day on 5 May 2013.

After the voter's identity is confirmed, the ink is applied on the person's left index finger. The voter's ballot paper is then issued. If a voter does not have the left index finger, the ink is then applied according to a guideline issued by the EC.

There were two main issues related to the usage of the indelible ink in GE13:

First, by the afternoon of the advanced voting day, we received reports that the ink could actually be washed off. In most cases, the ink only faded away. We received similar complaints on normal voting day. Again, in most cases, the ink had actually faded. However, one voter who visited our secretariat on the afternoon of 5 May 2013 demonstrated that the ink from his finger had been completely removed through normal hand washing, with no traces of the ink observed. In total, there were at least 100 police reports lodged by voters claiming that the ink on their fingers had been completely erased[1].

Second, the ink did not dry as quickly as the EC said it would. The EC claimed that the ink would take only a few seconds to dry, thereby ensuring that the ballot papers, which were issued after the ink had been applied, would not be smudged. However we found there was a wide variation in the quantity and thickness of the ink applied by different polling centre clerks, which affected how long the ink took to dry[2]. As a result, at some polling centres, there were complaints about the ink smudging the ballot paper. Nevertheless, many of our observers noted that the ballot papers were still considered valid during the counting process despite being stained/smudged.

We observed that the indelible ink issue resulted in further criticism against the EC. We also observed the EC's response to this matter on polling day and found it to be dismissive:

- The Chairperson of the EC appeared on TV showing his left index finger, saying that he had tried washing the ink off to no avail;
- The Deputy Chairperson of the EC shared that he was not worried about the indelible ink disappearing as voters could not vote twice anyway

We believe this simplistic approach failed to appease the public, and fuelled even more distrust towards the EC.

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1 http://elections.thestar.com.my/story.aspx?file=/2013/5/7/nation/13076863#.UYkRsqJHKSo ; accessed 7 May 2013, 10.30pm.
2 In fact, one of our observers recorded that the ink was still not fully dry after 20 minutes, and smudged his car steering wheel as he was driving away from the polling centre.

5.9 PHANTOM VOTERS

While the overall election process proceeded with no major incidences, we observed verbal and physical confrontations against several individuals who resembled foreigners. This was because the public suspected that they were illegally voting as foreigners.

There were reports that foreigners had been flown into Peninsula Malaysia just days before Polling Day. This created heightened awareness and may have contributed to the public acting as vigilantes.

The concerns of the public were justified, especially if this issue is examined in the context of the lack of trust in the integrity of the electoral roll. We believe this issue is directly related to problems associated with the electoral roll as discussed in Section 4.4. However, we were not able to verify if the alleged foreigners were indeed foreigners, or they were actually Malaysians who looked like foreigners.

5.10 SUMMARY

Despite the various technical issues, we found that the overall election process proceeded smoothly and the vast majority of the glitches were not major. Many of these issues were rectified by the EC officers on duty immediately. We also found most nomination and polling centres to be well organised.

There were a number of provocative and intimidating acts during this period but we felt that members of the locality and party activists handled these situations well.

We observed a relatively new and very worrying trend, which was the use of explosive devices in this campaign. The police are still investigating these cases and in most instances the perpetrators have yet to be identified.

We also found the effectiveness of the indelible ink to be questionable, and the allegations of phantom voters to be plentiful. However, we feel that both these issues are related to the integrity of the electoral roll.

SECTION 6:

CONCLUDING REMARKS – WAS GE13 FREE AND FAIR?

6.1 THE EC HAS UNDERTAKEN VARIOUS INITIATIVES, BUT FAILS TO OBTAIN CONFIDENCE FROM A SIGNIFICANT PROPORTION OF THE PUBLIC

The EC had initiated several important reforms before GE13. There were efforts to clean up the electoral roll, and prevent double voting by introducing the indelible ink. The EC had also implemented several recommendations from the Parliamentary Select Committee on Electoral Reform, such as allowing overseas voting and lengthening the campaigning period.

A key issue that remains unresolved is the lack of integrity in the electoral roll. We believe that many secondary issues – the ineffectiveness of the indelible ink, the existence of phantom voters, the ferrying of voters to strategic constituencies, etc. – originate from one root cause, which is the lack of trust in the integrity of the electoral roll.

While the electoral roll is managed by the EC, the National Registration Department (NRD) also plays a very important role in addressing this issue. Once an individual receives an identity card, his or her details are placed in the NRD database. Currently, the EC has no choice but to accept this person into the electoral roll if he or she registers as a voter. Thus the integrity of the electoral roll is highly dependent on the accuracy of data supplied by the NRD. This means a necessary prerequisite to improve the electoral roll's integrity is improving the integrity of the NRD database.

Many parties have brought these issues to the EC's attention. Unfortunately the EC has failed to handle these criticisms constructively, and a strong example is their reaction to the indelible ink issue.

The EC could not convince stakeholders that there are certain issues that are beyond their purview. Additionally, the EC was unable to build positive relationships with those who could be their allies in improving the electoral process.

This lack of a coherent stakeholder engagement strategy has resulted in a significant proportion of the public distrusting the EC, despite the many initiatives that it has undertaken.

6.2 THE CONDUCT OF GE13 MUST NOT BE EXAMINED IN ISOLATION

Despite the critical issues above, our observation indicated that the EC functioned generally well during the period between the dissolution of parliament and polling day. Most procedures and operations were conducted smoothly and there were no major glitches during nomination, advanced voting, normal voting, counting and the announcement of results.

The larger problem was the events leading up to the election period. Multiple institutional abuses tainted its conduct, particularly the strong bias observed in the media, the rampant usage of government machinery for partisan purposes, and the actions of government agencies that were viewed as partisan. The aggregate actions of these influential institutions contributed to an uneven contest in GE13 that strongly favoured BN.

6.3. WAS GE13 FREE AND FAIR?

When benchmarked against the standards set by the IPU Declaration on Criteria for Free and Fair Elections, we found that certain aspects of the declaration were fulfilled. For example:

- In general, those qualified were given the right and the physical freedom to vote;
- There was equal opportunity for candidature in multiple political parties; and
- Parties were able to campaign throughout the country with no major restrictions

However, our observation mission found serious flaws when assessing the complete freedom and the fairness of GE13:

- BN's dominance of state-owned and state-linked media meant that the public did not have access to competing views, and PR was not able to inform the public about their agenda
- Government facilities and machinery such as schools and armed forces bases were openly used for campaigning by BN
- The integrity of the electoral roll continues to be questioned with multiple evidence of discrepancies
- The body tasked to administer the registration of political parties was not seen to be free from partisan views
- The delineation of constituencies was too uneven
- Political financing was not transparent and there was no avenue for observers to ascertain the sources and quantum of party financing
- Ethnic issues were exploited for partisan purposes

Based on the above, and having conducted an independent and impartial observation of the elections, IDEAS and CPPS conclude that GE13 was only partially free and not fair[1].

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1 This is in relations to the standards set by the IPU Declaration on the Criteria for Free and Fair Elections.

SECTION 7:
RECOMMENDATIONS

A. APPOINTMENT OF ELECTION OBSERVERS

The process to appoint and accredit international and domestic independent election observers must be made more transparent and consistent

Immediately after GE13, the EC should develop and publish a clear and consistent process to appoint domestic election observers. The criteria for selection and the appointment process of observers should be transparent and accessible to the public.

Any organisation interested to be appointed as observers should be allowed to apply to the EC for accreditation. We believe a competitive and transparent process will ensure that only the most effective organisations would obtain accreditation as election observers.

The terms and conditions of appointment of future election observation missions should be benchmarked against international standards. These conditions should not be easily amended to avoid the EC arbitrarily imposing new conditions during the observation process.

The appointment of independent election observers should be accompanied by sufficient seed funds

As election observation missions are costly, the EC should provide sufficient seed funding to appointed organisations, with the strict understanding that these organisations operate independently from the EC. No conditions or restrictions should be attached to the funding, as the appointed organisation must also observe the conduct of the EC in the election process. Appointed election observers should have the liberty to raise additional funds from other domestic and international sources if they deemed necessary.

The appointment of independent election observers should be made as early as possible

The EC should issue appointment letters to election observers as early as possible. Since the Malaysian state and federal legislatures operate on five-year terms, and the date of Malaysia's general election is not fixed in advance, the EC should appoint independent election observers immediately following GE13 for a period equivalent to the parliamentary term of the government. These appointed organisations should be free to observe all elections during their accreditation period.However, the appointment of these organisations may be revoked at any time if they are found to have breached their terms of appointment through an independent inquiry.

B. IMPROVING THE EC

Members of the EC should explicitly be made accountable to, and be appointed by, a permanent and bipartisan special parliamentary committee. This parliamentary committee should have the power to advise the Yang di-PertuanAgong on the appointment and removal of EC members.

Members of the EC should be recruited transparently from among experts in the field, preferably employing a competitive application and headhunting process. The key criteria for EC membership should be the individual's core competence and their ability to command public confidence.

The EC should have the powers to recruit and manage its own staff, independent from the civil service. The current approach of seconding staff from the civil service should stop, though former and existing civil servants should not be barred from applying.

The EC should devise a coherent public relations strategy, which must include a policy that prevents any EC member from making statements that could be construed as politically partisan.

C. IMPROVING THE ELECTORAL ROLL

The EC must open its doors to more specialist groups who have undertaken in-depth studies about the electoral roll.

We also urge such groups to take a co-operative and non-confrontational approach to work together with the EC to improve the integrity of the electoral roll, or even the electoral process as a whole.

D. IMPROVING POLITICAL PARTY REGISTRATION PROCESS

The method of registering political parties must be reformed. One option is for the RoS to be freed from political influence, with matters related to registration and administration of political parties overseen by a cross-partisan body. Alternatively, the whole system could be reformed and overhauled similar to the United Kingdom, when the country reformed their system through the Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act in 2000.

E. CONSTITUENCY SIZES SHOULD BE NORMALISED

The next delineation exercise must ensure equal representation of votes. We recommend that the discrepancy is limited to no more than 15% from the average constituency in each state, in line with our original constitution in 1957.

F. POLITICAL FINANCING

A more transparent system for political financing must be developed. Transparency International Malaysia has conducted extensive research on the issue of political financing and they have submitted their recommendations on the matter. We urge the Government as well as the EC to continue engaging TI-M on this matter.

APPENDIX A:

BORANG B-01-FINAL

Borang Pemerhatian Penamaan Calon

Panduan mengisi borang:

- *Lengkapkan semua maklumat yang diperlukan dalam borang.*
- *Jika terdapat isu atau masalah ketara, sila nyatakan keterangannya dalam Catatan/Log Aduan.*
- *Sila tandakan '✓' di ruang yang berkenaan.*

Nama:	Kod Pemerhati:	No. MyKad *(12 digit)*:	No. Telefon:

No. Parlimen/DUN:	Kod Pusat Penamaan Calon *(Jika ada)*:	Nama Pusat Penamaan Calon:

Tarikh	Masa Mula:	Masa Tamat:

A	SEBELUM PENAMAAN CALON	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah penamaan calon bermula pada jam 9:00 pagi?			
2	Adakah laluan ke Pusat Penamaan Calon terkawal? Jika **TIDAK**, nyatakan butiran di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
3	Adakah polis di sekitar Pusat Penamaan Calon? Sila nyatakan anggaran kasar jumlah polis di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
4	Adakah terdapat pemeriksaan jalan raya *(road block)* oleh petugas keselamatan berdekatan Pusat Penamaan Calon?			
5	Adakah terdapat petugas keselamatan lain *(Rela, FRU, Unit Tentera, Unit Keselamatan Khas)* di sekitar Pusat Penamaan Calon? Jika **YA**, nyatakan butiran di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
6	Adakah kenderaan yang dipakai calon untuk datang ke Pusat Penamaan Calon adalah kenderaan milik agensi kerajaan? Jika **YA,** sila nyatakan nama parti dan agensi kerajaan di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan**			
7	Adakah terdapat Perarakan Calon dan penyokong-penyokongnya ke Pusat Penamaan Calon? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan anggaran kasar jumlah mereka dalam ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan.*			
8	Adakah kenderaan yang dipakai penyokong calon untuk datang ke Pusat Penamaan Calon adalah kenderaan milik agensi kerajaan? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan nama parti dan agensi kerajaan di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan.**			
9	Adakah terdapat sebarang ucapan atau ceramah semasa berarak atau berkumpul? Jika **YA**, nyatakan parti tersebut di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
10	Adakah alat muzik atau pembesar suara digunakan semasa berarak atau berkumpul? Jika **YA**, nyatakan parti tersebut di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
11	Adakah terdapat sebarang penandaan yang menunjukkan sempadan Pusat Penamaan Calon?			
12	Adakah terdapat kumpulan penyokong calon berada dalam lingkungan jarak 100 meter dari sempadan Pusat Penamaan Calon? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan butiran (anggaran jumlah penyokong dan nama parti) di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan**.			

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

Borang Pemerhatian Penamaan Calon

A	SEBELUM PENAMAAN CALON	Y	T	TP
14	Adakah kempen politik antara calon/parti yang bertanding berlangsung di sekitar Pusat Penamaan Calon? Jika **YA**, nyatakan bentuk kempen yang berlangsung di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
15	Adakah terdapat sebarang unsur penyogokan/pemberian berlaku di sekitar Pusat Penamaan Calon oleh penyokong calon yang bertanding? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan butiran di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
16	Adakah pihak media membuat liputan di sekitar Pusat Penamaan Calon? Jika **YA**, nyatakan jumlah dan dari stesen mana di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
B	SEMASA PENAMAAN CALON	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah anda dibenarkan memantau proses penamaan calon?			
2	Adakah terdapat sebarang bentuk kempen yang berlaku di dalam Pusat Penamaan Calon? Jika **YA**, sila terangkan lebih lanjut dalam ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
3	Adakah borang sah digunakan untuk proses penamaan calon? *(Nota: Borang 4 - Dewan Rakyat; Borang 4A – Dewan Undangan Negeri)*			
4	Adakah borang penamaan calon diterima oleh Pegawai Pengurus antara jam 9 – 10 pagi? Jika **TIDAK**, nyatakan nama calon dan parti di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
5	Adakah kertas penamaan calon diserahkan dengan Akuan Berkanun *(Nota: Borang 5 – Dewan Rakyat ; Borang 5A – Dewan Undangan Negeri)* dan wang/resit deposit?			
6	Adakah pembetulan kertas penamaan calon dibuat selepas jam 10 pagi (jika ada)?			
7	Adakah penarikan kertas penamaan calon berlaku selepas jam 10 pagi (jika ada)?			
8	Adakah sebarang bantahan berlaku ketika proses penamaan calon berlangsung? Jika **YA**, nyatakan butiran di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
9	Adakah permohonan penamaan calon ditolak setelah disemak oleh Pegawai Pengurus? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan sebab penolakan di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
10	Adakah pengumuman rasmi calon/parti yang bertanding diumumkan menggunakan alat pembesar suara?			
C	SELEPAS PENAMAAN CALON	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah lokasi di Pusat Penamaan Calon terkawal hingga proses berakhir? Jika **TIDAK** sila nyatakan butiran di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

Borang Pemerhatian Penamaan Calon

2	Senaraikan nama-nama calon dan parti yang terlibat dalam proses penamaan calon peringkat Parlimen :		
	Bil.	Nama Calon Peringkat Parlimen	Nama Parti
	1		
	2		
	3		
	4		

3	Senaraikan nama-nama calon dan parti yang terlibat dalam proses penamaan calon peringkat Dewan Undangan Negeri :		
	Bil.	Nama Calon Peringkat Dewan Undangan Negeri	Nama Parti
	1		
	2		
	3		
	4		

ULASAN KESELURUHAN

1	Berikan pendapat anda tentang proses Penamaan Calon yang berlangsung dari skala 1 hingga 5.				
	1	2	3	4	5
	Sangat tidak terurus. *Cth: Tidak mematuhi Tataetika Pilihan Raya SPR; keadaan sesak, kecoh, di luar kawalan dan tidak aman.*	Tidak Terurus. *Cth: Tidak mematuhi sebahagian besar Tataetika Pilihan Raya SPR; Keadaan kurang terkawal dan bising.*	Tenang *Cth: Keadaan terkawal tetapi riuh.*	Lancar. *Cth: Keadaan terkawal.*	Sangat lancar. *Cth: Mematuhi aturan SPR; Keadaan sangat terkawal dan aman.*

Kata Kunci:

Y: Ya / T: Tidak – Pemerhati menjawab soalan secara langsung ketika Pemerhatian pertama dilakukan (atau dapat dilihat).

TP: Tidak Pasti– Pemerhati tidak dapat menjawab soalan yang disediakan kerana (a) Tidak dapat melihat dengan jelas (b) Tidak dibenarkan menghampiri Pusat Penamaan Calon (c) Tidak berada di tempat.

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

Borang Pemerhatian Penamaan Calon

	CATATAN/LOG ADUAN	
No. Ruj.	Sila isi ruang di bawah ini bila: - Soalan di bahagian atas memerlukan penjelasan lebih. - Apabila ada kejadian yang menganggu proses pilihan raya yang sedang berlangsung seperti keganasan dan kekacauan.	
B2	*Masa:* 9:10 pagi	*Keterangan:* Pegawai Pengurus dilihat berkempen untuk calon X

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

APPENDIX A:
BORANG B-02-FINAL

Borang Pemerhatian Kempen Pilihan Raya Calon

Panduan mengisi borang:

- *Lengkapkan semua maklumat yang diperlukan dalam borang.*
- *Jika terdapat isu atau masalah ketara, sila nyatakan keterangannya di ruangan **Log Aduan**.*
- *Sila tandakan '✓' di ruang yang berkenaan.*

Nama:	Kod Pemerhati:	No. MyKad *(12 digit)*:	No. Telefon:

No. Parlimen/DUN:	Nama Tempat:

Tarikh:	Masa Mula:	Masa Tamat:

A	BENTUK MAJLIS/AKTIVITI KEMPEN PILIHAN RAYA
	(Contoh: pecah tanah, ceramah, hospital baru, dari rumah ke rumah)

1	Apakah nama dan bentuk majlis/aktiviti yang anda hadiri/perhati?

2	Siapakah penganjurnya? ☐ Barisan Nasional ☐ Pakatan Rakyat ☐ Bebas *(termasuk NGO, Media, Korporat, Yayasan)* Sila nyatakan butiran (nama parti atau nama badan bebas):

3	Berapa ramaikah yang hadir? *(Sila beri anggaran)* ☐ ≤ 100 orang ☐ ≥ 101 – 500 orang ☐ ≥ 501 – 1000 orang ☐ > 1000 orang

		Y	T	TP
4	Adakah kanak-kanak *(18 tahun ke bawah)* digunakan untuk berkempen *(Contoh: mengibar bendera parti, memakai baju calon, dll)*?			

B	PENGGUNAAN JENTERA KERAJAAN			
		Y	T	TP
1	Adakah kemudahan *(Contoh: kereta, bangunan sekolah)* atau peralatan *(Contoh: khemah, kerusi dan meja)* agensi kerajaan digunakan?			
2	Nyatakan kemudahan atau peralatan kerajaan yang digunakan:			

C	PENCERAMAH			
1	Siapakah penceramah atau pemimpin yang berucap?			
		Y	T	TP
2	Adakah penceramah menyatakan kecaman yang mempunyai unsur tohmahan, fitnah atau tuduhan tidak berasas kepada pribadi calon/anggota/pemimpin parti politik lain?			
3	Jika **YA**, nyatakan kecaman yang dinyatakan oleh penceramah:			

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

Borang Pemerhatian Kempen Pilihan Raya Calon

		Y	T	TP
4	Adakah penceramah mengulas program calon atau manifesto parti atau isu-isu yang berkaitan dengan aspek pentadbiran?			
5	Jika **YA**, nyatakan program yang diulas oleh penceramah:			
6	Adakah penceramah menyatakan sesuatu yang dipercayai boleh mengembangkan perasaan benci atau permusuhan antara kaum yang sama atau berlainan?	Y	T	TP
7	Jika **YA**, nyatakan kenyataan penceramah:			

D	CALON			
1	Adakah calon juga hadir?	Y	T	TP
2	Adakah calon turut berucap?	Y	T	TP

E	PEMBERIAN			
1	Adakah apa-apa pemberian dibuat kepada hadirin? *(Contoh: makanan/ minuman/ barangan/ wang/ kupon/cabutan bertuah/ tiket, dll)*	Y	T	TP
2	Jika ada, nyatakan bentuk pemberian:			

F	ISU-ISU
1	Secara ringkas, apakah isu-isu yang dibangkitkan dalam ceramah?

G	REAKSI PENDENGAR
1	Berikan sedikit ulasan anda mengenai reaksi pendengar *(hadirin)*; *(Contoh: adakah mereka rasa takut, terancam, atau gembira, dll.)*:

H	ULASAN KESELURUHAN				
1	Berikan pendapat anda tentang proses kempen pilihan raya yang berlangsung, mengikuti tataetika SPR dari skala 1 hingga 5.				

1	2	3	4	5
Sangat tidak terurus	*Tidak Terurus*	*Tenang*	*Lancar*	*Sangat lancar*
Cth: Sesak, kecoh, keadaan di luar kawalan dan tidak aman.	*Cth: Keadaan kurang terkawal dan bising.*	*Cth: Keadaan terkawal tetapi riuh.*	*Cth: Keadaan terkawal.*	*Cth: Keadaan sangat terkawal dan aman.*

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

Borang Pemerhatian Kempen Pilihan Raya Calon

Kata Kunci:

Y: Ya / T: Tidak – Pemerhati menjawab soalan secara langsung ketika Pemerhatian pertama dilakukan (atau dapat dilihat).

TP: Tidak Pasti – Pemerhati tidak dapat menjawab soalan yang disediakan kerana (a) Tidak dapat melihat dengan jelas, (b) Tidak dibenarkan menghampiri tempat mengundi/saluran, (c) Tidak berada di tempat

PANDUAN PEMERHATI

KEGANASAN, UGUTAN DAN GANGGUAN

1. Jika berlaku sebarang kejadian keganasan, ugutan atau gangguan kepada aktiviti kempen di atas, cuba dapatkan maklumat lengkap mengenai kejadian dan penuhi *Catatan/Log Aduan*;

2. Jika berlaku sebarang kejadian keganasan, sila hantar laporan kepada Koordinator Negeri;

3. Jika anda bersama kamera atau apa-apa peralatan rakaman visual, cuba ambil gambar-gambar kejadian;

4. Jika masalah di atas membabitkan agensi-agensi Kerajaan, langkah dan tindakan mereka hendaklah dipantau;

5. Jika berlaku apa-apa kejadian yang memudaratkan keselamatan anda, bertindak segera meninggalkan tempat kejadian dan hubungi Koordinator Parlimen atau Koordinator Negeri untuk arahan lanjut.

	LOG ADUAN	
No. Ruj.	Sila isi ruang di bawah ini bila: - Soalan di bahagian atas memerlukan penjelasan lebih. - Bila ada kejadian yang menganggu proses pilihan raya yang sedang berlangsung seperti keganasan dan kekacauan.	
	Masa	*Keterangan*

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

Borang Pemerhatian Pembukaan Saluran

Panduan mengisi borang:

- *Lengkapkan semua maklumat yang diperlukan dalam borang.*
- *Jika terdapat isu atau masalah ketara, sila nyatakan keterangannya dalam ruang **Catatan/Log Aduan**.*
- *Sila tandakan '✓' di ruang yang berkenaan.*

Nama:	Kod Pemerhati:	No. MyKad *(12 digit)*:	No. Telefon:
No. Parlimen/DUN:	Kod Pusat Mengundi:	Nama Pusat Mengundi:	
No. Saluran:	Nama KTM:	Masa Mula:	Masa Tamat:

A	PEMBUKAAN SALURAN (TEMPAT MENGUNDI)	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah susun atur tempat mengundi/ saluran mengikut aturan SPR?			
2	Adakah ketua tempat mengundi (KTM) dan kerani pengundian hadir? Jika **TIDAK**, nyatakan berapa jumlah yang hadir di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan.*			
3	Adakah semua Ejen Tempat Mengundi hadir? Jika **TIDAK**, nyatakan nama parti atau calon yang ejennya tidak hadir di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan.*			
4	Adakah peti undi diletakkan di tempat yang dapat dilihat?			
5	Adakah peti undi ditunjukkan kosong sebelum mengundi?			
6	Adakah peti undi dimeterai (*wax seal*) sebelum pukul 8.00 pagi?			
7	Adakah nombor siri setiap buku kertas undi disemak sebelum pukul 8:00 pagi oleh Ejen Tempat Mengundi?			
8	Adakah daftar pemilih yang diperiksa Ejen Tempat Mengundi serupa dengan yang diwartakan?			
9	Adakah Ejen Tempat Mengundi dibenarkan memeriksa kandungan Penyata Kertas Undi (Borang 13)?			
10	Adakah semua kelengkapan *(seperti: kertas undi, peti undi, dakwat kekal dan sebagainya)* untuk mengundi telah disediakan dengan lengkap sebelum mengundi? Jika **TIDAK**, sila nyatakan di ruang *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
11	Adakah pihak yang tidak berkenaan berada di dalam Tempat Mengundi? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan butiran dalam ruang *Catatan/Log Aduan*			
12	Adakah proses pengundian dimulakan pada pukul 8.00 pagi? Jika **TIDAK**, sila nyatakan di ruang *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			

Disahkan oleh,

....
Kod Pemerhati:

Borang Pemerhatian Pembukaan Saluran

Kata Kunci:

Y: Ya / T: Tidak – Pemerhati menjawab soalan secara langsung ketika Pemerhatian pertama dilakukan (atau dapat dilihat).

TP: Tidak Pasti – Pemerhati tidak dapat menjawab soalan yang disediakan kerana (a) Tidak dapat melihat degan jelas (b) Tidak dibenarkan menghampiri tempat mengundi (c) Tidak berada di tempat.

B	ULASAN KESELURUHAN				
1	Berikan pendapat anda tentang proses pembukaan tempat mengundi (saluran) mengundi skala 1 hingga 5				
	1	2	3	4	5
	Sangat tidak berpuas hati *Cth: Sesak, kecoh, keadaan di luar kawalan dan tidak aman.*	*Tidak berpuas hati* *Cth: Keadaan kurang terkawal dan bising*	*Seimbang* *Cth: Keadaan terkawal tetapi riuh.*	*Berpuas hati* *Cth: Keadaan terkawal*	*Sangat berpuas hati* *Cth: Keadaan sangat terkawal dan aman.*

LOG ADUAN		
No. Ruj.	Sila isi ruang di bawah ini bila: - Soalan di bahagian atas memerlukan penjelasan lebih. - Bila ada kejadian yang menganggu proses pilihan raya yang sedang berlangsung seperti keganasan dan kekacauan.	
A4	*Masa:* 08:30	*Keterangan: Jumlah petugas ialah 2 (seorang lelaki, seorang wanita) dan mereka masih belum mengenakan ves rasmi petugas SPR. Mereka sempat berbual dengan beberapa pengundi.*

Disahkan oleh,

……………………………….
Kod Pemerhati:

		3 / 3

Disahkan oleh,

....
Kod Pemerhati:

Borang Pemerhatian Persekitaran Pusat Mengundi

Panduan mengisi borang:
- *Lengkapkan semua maklumat yang diperlukan dalam borang.*
- *Jika terdapat isu atau masalah ketara, sila nyatakan keterangannya dalam ruang **Catatan/Log Aduan**.*
- *Sila tandakan '✓'di ruang yang berkenaan.*

Nama:	Kod Pemerhati:	No. MyKad *(12 digit)*:	No. Telefon:
No. Parlimen/DUN:	Kod Pusat Mengundi:	Nama Pusat Mengundi:	Jumlah Saluran:
Tarikh:		Masa Mula:	Masa Tamat:

A	PERSEKITARAN LUAR PUSAT MENGUNDI	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah terdapat anggota polis di pintu pagar masuk? Nyatakan jumlah di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan.**			
2	Adakah terdapat petugas parti berhimpun di pintu pagar masuk? Nyatakan nama parti tersebut dan tugas mereka di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan.**			
3	Adakah terdapat kegiatan merayu undi? *(Contoh: mengedar risalah, merayu secara lisan, memberi wang, dll.)*. Nyatakan jenis kesalahan dan nama parti tersebut di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan.**			
4	Adakah terdapat pondok panas parti didirikan? Jika **YA**, nyatakan nama parti dan anggaran jarak dari pusat mengundi di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan.**			
5	Adakah terdapat aktiviti penyogokan *(bribe)* kepada pengundi? Jika **YA**, isi nama parti dan jenis dan anggaran nilai sogokan di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan.**			
6	Adakah terdapat aktiviti penjamuan kepada pengundi? Jika **YA**, nyatakan nama parti dan bentuk penjamuan di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan.**			
7	Adakah terdapat kegiatan penyamaran pengundi? Jika **YA**, jelaskan dalam **Catatan/Log Aduan.**			
8	Adakah terdapat unsur pengaruh tidak wajar terhadap pemilih*? (Contoh: tokoh-tokoh politik melawat pusat mengundi di mana mereka bukan calon yang bertanding).* Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan dalam ruang **Catatan/Log Aduan**.			
10	Adakah pasukan Rela/ FRU/ tentera/Unit Amal berada di pusat mengundi? *(Nota: Kehadiran mereka tidak diperlukan).* Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan dalam ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan**.			
11	Adakah pihak media membuat liputan di sekitar Pusat Mengundi? Jika **YA**, nyatakan jumlah dan nama pihak media berkenaan di ruang **Catatan/Log Aduan**.			
12	Adakah terdapat pemeriksaan jalan raya *(road block)* oleh mana-mana agensi kerajaan berdekatan Pusat Mengundi?			

Disahkan oleh,

………………………………
Kod Pemerhati:

Borang Pemerhatian Persekitaran Pusat Mengundi

B	PERSEKITARAN DALAM PUSAT MENGUNDI	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah anda dibenarkan masuk ke dalam Pusat Mengundi? Jika **TIDAK**, jelaskan dalam *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
2	Adakah semua Pemerhati Barung dari parti politik hadir? Jika **TIDAK**, nyatakan parti tersebut di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
3	Adakah Barung SPR berada di tempat yang sesuai? (Contoh: Barung berada di luar pusat mengundi.)			
4	Adakah sistem semakan berkomputer digunakan?			
5	Adakah sistem semakan berkomputer berfungsi?			
6	Adakah senarai daftar pemilih dipamerkan? Jika **YA**, di mana? Sila nyatakan di ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
7	Adakah buku daftar pemilih dibekalkan di Barung SPR?			
8	Adakah komputer dikendalikan oleh kakitangan SPR yang bertugas?			
9	Adakah terdapat pekerja parti menjalankan aktiviti merayu undi?			
10	Adakah terdapat aktiviti rakaman visual yang berpanjangan? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan butiran dalam ruangan *Catatan/Log Aduan*.			
11	Adakah saluran khas untuk Orang Kurang Upaya dan Warga Emas? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan nama saluran tersebut dalam ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan.**			
12	Jika tidak ada saluran khas untuk OKU, adakah tempat mengundi biasa sesuai bagi OKU?			
13	Adakah Pusat Mengundi sesak?			
14	Berapa ramaikah pengundi di Pusat Mengundi? *(Sila beri anggaran)* ☐ ≤ 100 orang ☐ ≥ 101 – 500 orang ☐ ≥ 501 – 1000 orang ☐ > 1000 orang			
15	Berapakah jumlah pengundi yang didaftarkan untuk membuang undi di Pusat Mengundi di mana anda membuat pemerhatian?			
16	Berapa jumlah kakitangan SPR yang bertugas di Pusat Mengundi (tak termasuk yang di dalam Tempat Mengundi)?			
17	Berapa ramaikah petugas polis yang bertugas di Pusat Mengundi? *(Sila beri anggaran)* ☐ ≤ 5 orang ☐ 6 – 10 orang ☐ 11- 20 orang ☐ > 20 orang			

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

Kata Kunci:

Y: Ya / T: Tidak – Pemerhati menjawab soalan secara langsung ketika Pemerhatian pertama dilakukan (atau dapat dilihat).

TP: Tidak Pasti – Pemerhati tidak dapat menjawab soalan yang disediakan kerana (a) Tidak dapat melihat degan jelas (b) Tidak dibenarkan menghampiri tempat mengundi (c) Tidak berada di tempat.

C	ULASAN KESELURUHAN				
	Berikan pendapat anda tentang persekitaran luar pusat mengundi skala 1 hingga 5				
1	1	2	3	4	5
	Sangat tidak berpuas hati *Cth: Sesak, kecoh, keadaan di luar kawalan dan tidak aman.*	*Tidak berpuas hati* *Cth: Keadaan kurang terkawal dan bising.*	*Seimbang* *Cth: Keadaan terkawal tetapi riuh.*	*Berpuas hati* *Cth: Keadaan terkawal.*	*Sangat berpuas hati* *Cth: Keadaan sangat terkawal dan aman.*
2	Berikan pendapat anda tentang persekitaran dalam pusat mengundi skala 1 hingga 5				
	1	2	3	4	5
	Sangat tidak berpuas hati *Cth: Sesak, kecoh, keadaan di luar kawalan dan tidak aman.*	*Tidak berpuas hati* *Cth: Keadaan kurang terkawal dan bising*	*Seimbang* *Cth: Keadaan terkawal tetapi riuh.*	*Berpuas hati* *Cth: Keadaan terkawal*	*Sangat berpuas hati* *Cth: Keadaan sangat terkawal dan aman.*

LOG ADUAN		
No. Ruj.	Sila isi ruang di bawah ini bila: - Soalan di bahagian atas memerlukan penjelasan lebih. - Bila ada kejadian yang menganggu proses pilihan raya yang sedang berlangsung seperti keganasan dan kekacauan.	
A4	*Masa: 08:30*	*Keterangan: Jumlah petugas ialah 2 (seorang lelaki, seorang wanita) dan mereka masih belum mengenakan ves rasmi petugas SPR. Mereka sempat berbual dengan beberapa pengundi.*

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

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Kod Pemerhati:

APPENDIX A:
BORANG B-05-FINAL

Borang Pemerhatian Proses Pengundian (Saluran)

Panduan Panduan Mengisi Borang

• *Lengkapkan semua maklumat yang diperlukan dalam borang.*

• *Jika terdapat isu atau masalah ketara, sila nyatakan keterangannya dalam* ***Catatan/Log Aduan****.*

• Sila tandakan "✓" di ruang yang berkenaan.

Nama:	Kod Pemerhati:	SALURAN NO. ___	SALURAN NO. ___	SALURAN NO. ___
No. MyKad (12 Digit):	No. Telefon:	Nama KTM:	Nama KTM:	Nama KTM:
Nama Pusat Mengundi:	Kod Pusat Mengundi:	Masa Mula: Masa Tamat:	Masa Mula: Masa Tamat:	Masa Mula: Masa Tamat:

A	SITUASI DI TEMPAT /SALURAN MENGUNDI	Y	T	TP	Y	T	TP	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah tempat memangkah memenuhi syarat kerahsiaan? *(Contoh: Tingkap ditutup, tiada CCTV.)*									
2	Adakah pengundi berbaris dengan teratur?									
3	Adakah susun atur tempat mengundi/ saluran mengikut aturan SPR?									
4	Adakah semua Ejen Tempat Mengundi hadir? Jika **TIDAK**, nyatakan nama parti atau calon yang ejennya tidak hadir ***Log Aduan****.*									
5	Adakah jari pengundi diperiksa oleh Kerani Pengundian 1 sebelum menyemak nama pengundi dalam Daftar Pemilih? Jika **TIDAK**, isi ***Catatan/Log Aduan****.*									
6	Adakah Kerani Pengundian 1 mengesahkan wajah pengundi sama dengan gambar pada bukti pengenalan diri *(Contoh: MyKad, pasport)*?									

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Kod Pemerhati:

No	Soalan									
7	Adakah nama pengundi digaris selepas disemak oleh Kerani Pengundian 1?									
8	Adakah Kerani Pengundian 2 dan 3 memiliki sebarang alat tulis? (Nota: Kerani Pengundian 2 dan 3 tidak sepatutnya membuat apa-apa catatan)									
9	Adakah terdapat barisan pengundi yang beratur panjang di luar kerana menunggu dakwat kekal kering?									
10	Adakah barisan kedua pengundi yang beratur diwujudkan oleh KTM kerana pengundi beratur panjang?									
11	Adakah KTM mengisi Borang 10A ketika terdapat pengundi yang enggan ditanda jari dengan dakwat kekal? Jika **TIDAK**, isi *Catatan/Log Aduan*. **(Nota:** Borang 10A perlu diisi untuk menjelaskan kenapa kertas undi tidak dikeluarkan kepada pengundi)									
12	Adakah kertas undi dicop sebelum diterima pengundi? Jika **TIDAK**, isi *Catatan/Log Aduan*.									
13	Adakah kertas undi gantian ditandatangani oleh KTM?									
14	Adakah pengundi memasukkan kertas undi dalam peti?									
15	Adakah apa-apa bantahan oleh Ejen Tempat Mengundi selama proses pengundian berlangsung? Jika **YA**, nyatakan butiran dalam *Log Aduan.*									
16	Adakah KTM melayani segala bantahan secara adil? Jika **TIDAK**, isi *Catatan/Log Aduan*.									
18	Adakah larangan berkempen di tempat mengundi dipatuhi?									

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

B	SEMASA PENGUNDIAN KHAS OKU	Y	T	TP	Y	T	TP	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah pengiring pengundi Orang Kurang Upaya (*tidak mampu memangkah undi sendiri*) diminta untuk mengisi Borang 10 (Borang Akuan Identiti dan Penamaan) oleh KTM? (**Nota**: Borang 10 adalah borang yang mesti diisi oleh orang yang dipercayai dan dinamakan untuk mengundi bagi pihak OKU)									
2	Adakah pengiring atau/dan OKU mematuhi larangan berkempen?									
3	Berapa lama waktu yang diberikan kepada OKU untuk memangkah undi?									
4	Adakah maklumat proses pengundian khas OKU tersedia di pusat mengundi?									
NOTA: Jika Pengundi OKU berdaftar di Saluran 1, di Pusat Mengundi, sila jangan lengkapi Soalang 5 hingga 7.										
5	Jika Pengundi OKU mengundi di saluran 1, adakah KTM memasukkan kertas undi ke dalam sampul khas?									
6	Jika pengundi OKU mengundi di saluran 1, adakah KTM memasukkan kertas undi pemilih OKU yang dikeluarkan dari sampul ke dalam peti undi?									
7	Jika pengundi OKU mengundi di saluran 1, adakah Borang Akuan Pengundian (Borang SPR 756) diserah kepada setiap Ejen Tempat Mengundi? (**Nota:** Borang SPR 756 ialah borang yang ditandatangi oleh Ejen Tempat Mengundi yang bertugas di Saluran 1 yang menyatakan bahawa mereka telah menyaksikan pengundian pengundi OKU)									

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

C	ULASAN KESELURUHAN				
	Berikan pendapat anda tentang proses Mengundi yang berlangsung, mengikuti tataetika SPR dari skala 1 hingga 5.				
1	1 *Sangat tidak berpuas hati* (Tidak mengikuti hampir semua proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR) / Keadaan di luar kawalan dan tidak aman)	2 *Tidak berpuas hati* (Tidak mengikuti sebahagian besar proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR) Keadaan kurang terkawal dan bising	3 *Seimbang* (Dikendali dengan aman) / Keadaan terkawal tetapi bising	4 *Berpuas hati* (Mengikuti sebahagian dari proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR) / Keadaan terkawal	5 *Sangat berpuas hati* (Mengikuti hampir semua proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR) / Keadaan sangat terkawal dan aman.

Kata Kunci:

Y: Ya / T: Tidak – Pemerhati menjawab soalan secara langsung ketika Pemerhatian pertama dilakukan (atau dapat dilihat).

TP: Tidak Pasti – Pemerhati tidak dapat menjawab soalan yang disediakan kerana (a) Tidak dapat melihat dengan jelas, (b) Tidak dibenarkan menghampiri tempat mengundi/saluran, (c) Tidak berada di tempat

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

Borang Pemerhatian Proses Pengundian (Saluran)

	CATATAN/LOG ADUAN	
Ruj. Soalan	Sila isi ruang di bawah ini bila: - Soalan di bahagian atas memerlukan penjelasan lebih. - Apabila ada kejadian yang menganggu proses pilihan raya yang sedang berlangsung seperti keganasan dan kekacauan.	
A1	*Masa*: 09:05 pagi	*Keterangan*: Jumlah anggota polis: 10 orang (4 lengkap bersenjata)

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Kod Pemerhati:

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Kod Pemerhati:

APPENDIX A:
BORANG B-06-FINAL

Borang Pemerhatian Penutupan Saluran dan Pengiraan

Panduan mengisi borang:
- *Lengkapkan semua maklumat yang diperlukan dalam borang.*
- *Jika terdapat isu atau masalah ketara, sila nyatakan keterangannya dalam ruang **Catatan/Log Aduan**.*
- *Sila tandakan '✓' di ruang yang berkenaan.*

Nama:	Kod Pemerhati:	No. MyKad *(12 digit)*:	No. Telefon:
No. Parlimen / DUN:	Kod Pusat Mengundi:	Nama Pusat Mengundi:	No. Saluran:

Nama KTM:	Masa Mula:	Masa Tamat :

A	PENUTUPAN SALURAN	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah pengundian ditutup pada pukul 5.00 petang? Jika **TIDAK,** nyatakan di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan** pada pukul berapa pengundian ditutup, apakah alasan yang diberikan dan adakah ia dirunding dengan ejen tempat mengundi.			
2	Adakah lubang dan sisi peti undi dimeterai setelah saluran ditutup?			
3	Adakah peti undi *(termasuk peti mengundi awal dan beg undian pos bagi kawasan tersebut)* berada di tempat yang dapat dilihat?			
4	Adakah penyata kertas undi *(Borang 13)* ditandatangani oleh Ejen-Ejen parti?			
5	Adakah semua kelengkapan proses pengundian disimpan semula?			
6	Adakah Ejen Mengira Undi dibenarkan berada di dalam saluran selepas Tempat Mengundi ditutup?			
7	Adakah keadaan di sekitar kawasan Pusat Mengundi dalam keadaan terkawal? Sila berikan maklumat pemerhatian anda pada 30 minit pertama selepas penutupan Pusat Mengundi di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan.**			
8	Masihkah terdapat pengundi di dalam saluran ketika ia ditutup?			
9	Masihkah terdapat pengundi yang beratur di luar Tempat Mengundi ketika saluran ditutup? Jika *YA*, sila nyatakan jumlah mereka di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan**.			

Nota: *Jika peti undi tidak dapat dilihat dan Ejen Mengira Undi tidak dibenarkan berada dalam saluran selepas saluran ditutup, sila isi **Log Aduan**.*

B	SEMASA PENGIRAAN	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah anda dapat melihat proses pengiraan undi di saluran?			
2	Adakah pengiraan undi dijalankan di tempat mengundi? Jika **TIDAK**, isi **Log Aduan.**			
3	Adakah susun atur tempat pengiraan mengikut aturan SPR?			
4	Adakah Ejen Mengira Undi hadir?			
5	Adakah pengiraan dijalankan mengikut peraturan? Jika **TIDAK**, isi **Log Aduan.**			
6	Adakah penentuan undi mengikut calon dibuat dengan betul? Jika **TIDAK**, isi **Log Aduan.**			

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

Borang Pemerhatian Penutupan Saluran dan Pengiraan

B	SEMASA PENGIRAAN	Y	T	TP
7	Adakah penentuan undi ragu diputuskan dengan adil? Jika **TIDAK**, isi *Log Aduan.*			
8	Adakah penjumlahan undi betul? Jika **TIDAK**, isi *Log Aduan.*			
9	Adakah ulangkira *(jika diperlukan)* dikendalikan dengan betul? Jika **TIDAK**, isi *Log Aduan.*			
10	Adakah KTM melayani bantahan *(jika ada)* dengan adil? Jika **TIDAK**, isi *Log Aduan.*			
11	Adakah keputusan kiraan undi dalam Borang 14 ditandatangani oleh Ejen-Ejen parti dan KTM? Jika **TIDAK**, isi *Log Aduan.*			
12	Adakah semua Ejen Parti diberikan salinan keputusan kiraan undi *(Borang 14)* oleh KTM? Jika **TIDAK**, isi *Log Aduan.*			
13	Adakah pihak yang tidak berkenaan turut serta mengira undi atau berlegar-legar di dalam kawasan saluran? Jika **YA**, isi *Log Aduan.*			

C	ULASAN KESELURUHAN				
1	Berikan pendapat anda terhadap proses penutupan saluran secara keseluruhan berdasarkan skala 1 hingga 5.				
	1 *Sangat Tidak Baik* (Tidak mengikuti hampir semua proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR/ Keadaan di luar kawalan dan tidak aman)	2 *Tidak Baik* (Tidak mengikuti sebahagian besar proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR/Keadaan kurang terkawal dan bising)	3 *Sederhana* (Dikendali dengan aman/Keadaan terkawal tetapi bising)	4 *Baik* (Mengikuti sebahagian dari proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR / Keadaan terkawal)	5 *Sangat Baik* (Mengikuti hampir semua proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR / Keadaan sangat terkawal dan aman)
2	Berikan pendapat anda tentang proses pengiraan undi yang berlangsung berdasarkan skala 1 hingga 5.				
	1 *Sangat Tidak Baik* (Tidak mengikuti hampir semua proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR/ Keadaan di luar kawalan dan tidak aman)	2 *Tidak Baik* (Tidak mengikuti sebahagian besar proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR/Keadaan kurang terkawal dan bising)	3 *Sederhana* (Dikendali dengan aman/Keadaan terkawal tetapi bising)	4 *Baik* (Mengikuti sebahagian dari proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR/ Keadaan terkawal)	5 *Sangat Baik* (Mengikuti hampir semua proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR/Keadaan sangat terkawal dan aman)

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

Kata Kunci:

Y: Ya / T: Tidak – Pemerhati menjawab soalan secara langsung ketika Pemerhatian pertama dilakukan (atau dapat dilihat).

TP: Tidak Pasti – Pemerhati tidak dapat menjawab soalan yang disediakan kerana a) Tidak dapat melihat dengan jelas, b) Tidak dibenarkan menghampiri tempat mengundi c) Tidak berada di tempat.

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

	LOG ADUAN	**4 / 4**
No. Ruj.	Sila isi ruang di bawah ini bila: - Soalan di bahagian atas memerlukan penjelasan lebih. - Apabila ada kejadian yang menganggu proses pilihan raya yang sedang berlangsung seperti keganasan dan kekacauan.	
B10	*Masa: 11:00 malam*	*Keterangan: Seorang petugas SPR memberikan sesuatu berbentuk kertas undi kepada seorang Ejen parti X semasa pengiraan berlangsung. Walaupun bantahan sudah dibuat oleh Ejen parti Y, namun KTM tidak mempedulikan dan terus mengumumkan jumlah undi di dalam peti Saluran 2.*

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

APPENDIX A:
BORANG B-07-FINAL

Borang Pemerhatian Pengundian Awal

Panduan mengisi borang:
- *Lengkapkan semua maklumat yang diperlukan dalam borang.*
- *Jika terdapat isu atau masalah ketara, sila nyatakan keterangannya dalam **Catatan/Log Aduan**.*
- *Sila tandakan '✓' di ruang yang berkenaan.*

Nama:	Kod Pemerhati:	No. MyKad *(12 digit)*:	No. Telefon:
No. Parlimen/DUN:	Kod Pusat Mengundi:	Nama Pusat Mengundi	Jumlah Saluran:
Tarikh:		Masa Mula:	Masa Tamat:

A	PERSEKITARAN DALAM PUSAT MENGUNDI AWAL	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah anda dibenarkan masuk ke dalam Pusat Mengundi Awal? Jika **TIDAK**, isi **Catatan/Log Aduan** dan maklumkan siapa yang menghalang.			
2	Adakah semua Pemerhati Barung dari parti politik hadir? Jika **TIDAK**, nyatakan parti tersebut di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan**.			
3	Adakah Barung SPR berada di tempat yang sesuai? (*Contoh: Barung berada di luar pusat mengundi.*)			
4	Adakah sistem semakan berkomputer digunakan?			
5	Adakah sistem semakan berkomputer berfungsi?			
6	Adakah komputer dikendalikan oleh kakitangan SPR yang bertugas?			
7	Adakah buku daftar pemilih dibekalkan di Barung SPR?			
8	Adakah senarai daftar pemilih biasa, pemilih pengundian awal, dan pemilih pos dipamerkan? Jika **YA**, dimana? Sila nyatakan di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan**.			
10	Adakah terdapat pekerja parti menjalankan aktiviti merayu undi?			
11	Adakah terdapat aktiviti rakaman visual yang berpanjangan oleh mana-mana pihak? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan butiran dalam ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan.**			
12	Adakah terdapat saluran khas untuk Orang Kurang Upaya dan Warga Emas? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan nama saluran tersebut dalam ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan**.			
13	Adakah orang yang tidak berkenaan berada di dalam pusat mengundi? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan butiran dalam ruang **Catatan/Log Aduan**.			
14	Adakah Pusat Mengundi sesak?			
15	Berapa ramaikah bakal pengundi yang berada di Pusat Mengundi? *(Sila beri anggaran)* ☐ ≤ 100 orang ☐ ≥ 101 – 500 orang ☐ ≥ 501 – 1000 orang ☐ > 1000 orang			

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

16	Berapakah jumlah pengundi yang didaftarkan untuk membuang undi di Pusat Mengundi di mana anda membuat pemerhatian?
17	Berapa jumlah kakitangan SPR yang bertugas di Pusat Mengundi (tak termasuk yang di dalam Tempat Mengundi)?

B	PEMBUKAAN TEMPAT MENGUNDI AWAL	Y	T	TP
No Saluran:	Nama KTM:			
1	Adakah nombor siri setiap buku kertas undi disemak sebelum pukul 8:00 pagi oleh Ejen Tempat Mengundi?			
2	Adakah susun atur tempat mengundi/ saluran mengikut aturan SPR?			
3	Adakah semua petugas Pusat Mengundi di Saluran hadir? Jika **TIDAK**, nyatakan berapa jumlah yang hadir (mengenakan vest dan pas rasmi SPR) di ruangan **Log Aduan**.			
4	Adakah semua Ejen Tempat Mengundi hadir? Jika **TIDAK**, nyatakan nama parti yang tidak hadir di ruangan **Log Aduan**.			
5	Adakah daftar pemilih yang diperiksa Ejen Tempat Mengundi serupa dengan yang diwartakan?			
6	Adakah Ejen Tempat Mengundi dibenarkan memeriksa kandungan Penyata Kertas Undi (Borang 13)?			
7	Adakah peti undi ditunjukkan kosong sebelum mengundi?			
8	Adakah peti undi diletakkan di tempat yang dapat dilihat?			
9	Adakah peti undi dimeterai (wax seal) pada pukul 8.00 pagi?			
10	Adakah semua kelengkapan (seperti: kertas undi, peti undi, dakwat kekal dan sebagainya) untuk mengundi telah disediakan dengan lengkap sebelum waktu mengundi bermula? Jika **TIDAK**, sila nyatakan di ruangan **Log Aduan**.			
11	Adakah pihak tidak berkenaan berada di dalam Tempat Mengundi? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan butiran dalam di ruangan **Log Aduan**.			
12	Adakah bakal pengundi berbaris mengikut arahan yang dikeluarkan oleh KTM?			

C	PENUTUPAN TEMPAT MENGUNDI AWAL	Y	T	TP
No Saluran:	Nama KTM:			
1	Adakah pengundian ditutup pada waktu yang diwartakan? Jika **TIDAK**, nyatakan pada pukul berapa pengundian ditutup di ruang *Catatan/Log Aduan.*			

Disahkan oleh,

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Kod Pemerhati:

2	Adakah peti undi berada di tempat yang dapat dilihat?			
3	Adakah lubang dan sisi peti undi dimeterai dan diberi perekat keselamatan setelah saluran ditutup?			
4	Adakah perekat keselamatan peti undi ditandatangani oleh KTM?			
5	Adakah Ejen Tempat Mengundi dibenarkan menandatangani perekat keselamatan peti undi?			
6	Adakah KTM menyerahkan salinan Penyata Kertas Undi (Borang 13) kepada Ejen Tempat Mengundi?			
7	Adakah Borang 12A (Notis Pengiraan Undi di Tempat Mengira) ditampal oleh KTM di Tempat Mengundi?			
8	Adakah KTM melekatkan sampul No. 4 yang mengandungi Borang 13 (Penyata Kertas Undi) dan Borang SPR 753 (Contoh Corak Penindik/Cap/Tandatangan) di atas peti undi?			
9	Adakah peti undi dan sampul-sampul yang telah disempurnakan dimasukkan ke dalam Beg Khas Peti Undi dan dimeteraikan?			
10	Dimanakah Beg Khas Peti Undi disimpan? Nyatakan lokasi. --			
11	Apakah terdapat anggota polis yang mengiringi Beg Khas Peti Undi dari Tempat Mengundi ke tempat simpanan? Jika **YA**, sila nyatakan jumlah petugas polis di ruang **Catatan/Log Aduan**.			
12	Apakah Ejen Tempat Mengundi dibenarkan mengiringi Beg Khas Peti Undi ke tempat simpanan?			

D	ULASAN KESELURUHAN				
1	Berikan pendapat anda tentang keadaan di dalam Pusat Mengundi awal mengikuti tataetika SPR dari skala 1 hingga 5.				
	1 *Sangat tidak berpuas hati*	2 *Tidak berpuas hati*	3 *Seimbang*	4 *Berpuas hati*	5 *Sangat berpuas hati*
2	Berikan pendapat anda tentang proses pembukaan tempat mengundi awal mengikut tataetika SPR dari skala 1 hingga 5.				
	1 *Sangat tidak berpuas hati*	2 *Tidak berpuas hati*	3 *Seimbang*	4 *Berpuas hati*	5 *Sangat berpuas hati*

Disahkan oleh,

………………………………
Kod Pemerhati:

3	Berikan pendapat anda tentang proses penutupan tempat mengundi awal mengikut tataetika SPR dari skala 1 hingga 5.				
	1 *Sangat tidak berpuas hati*	2 *Tidak berpuas hati*	3 *Seimbang*	4 *Berpuas hati*	5 *Sangat berpuas hati*

Kata Kunci:

Y: Ya / T: Tidak – Pemerhati menjawab soalan secara langsung ketika Pemerhatian pertama dilakukan (atau dapat dilihat).

TP: Tidak Pasti – Pemerhati tidak dapat menjawab soalan yang disediakan kerana (a) Tidak dapat melihat degan jelas (b) Tidak dibenarkan menghampiri tempat mengundi.

LOG ADUAN	
No. Ruj.	Sila isi ruang di bawah ini bila: - Soalan di bahagian atas memerlukan penjelasan lebih. - Apabila ada kejadian yang menganggu proses pilihan raya yang sedang berlangsung seperti keganasan dan kekacauan.
A4	*Masa:* 08:30 *Keterangan:* Jumlah petugas ialah 2 (seorang lelaki, seorang wanita) dan mereka masih belum mengenakan ves rasmi petugas SPR. Mereka sempat berbual dengan beberapa pengundi.

Disahkan oleh,

………………………………
Kod Pemerhati:

LOG ADUAN		
No. Ruj.	Sila isi ruang di bawah ini bila: - Soalan di bahagian atas memerlukan penjelasan lebih. - Apabila ada kejadian yang menganggu proses pilihan raya yang sedang berlangsung seperti keganasan dan kekacauan.	

Disahkan oleh,

……………………………
Kod Pemerhati:

Disahkan oleh,
………………………………
Kod Pemerhati:

APPENDIX A:
BORANG B-08-FINAL

Borang Pemerhatian Pengiraan Undi Awal

Panduan mengisi borang:
- *Lengkapkan semua maklumat yang diperlukan dalam borang.*
- *Jika terdapat isu atau masalah ketara, sila nyatakan keterangannya dalam ruang **Catatan/Log Aduan.***
- *Sila tandakan '✓' di ruang yang berkenaan.*

Nama:	Kod Pemerhati:	No. MyKad *(12 digit)*:	No. Telefon:
Nama Pusat Pengiraan Undi Berkelompok:	Kod Pusat Mengundi:	Nama Pusat Mengundi:	No. Saluran:

Nama KTM:	Masa Mula:	Masa Tamat:

A	PROSES PENGIRAAN	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah pengiraan dimulakan pada waktu yang diwartakan? Jika **TIDAK**, nyatakan pada pukul berapa pengiraan dimulakan di ruangan ***Catatan/Log Aduan.***			
2	Adakah anda dibenarkan melihat proses pengiraan undi? Jika **TIDAK**, isi ***Log Aduan*** dan berikan maklumat lanjut siapa yang tidak membenarkan.			
3	Adakah KTM mengesahkan jumlah kertas undi berdasarkan Penyata Kertas Undi (Borang 13) sebelum pengiraan dimulakan?			
4	Adakah susun atur tempat pengiraan mengikut aturan SPR?			
5	Adakah Ejen Mengira Undi hadir?			
6	Adakah penentuan undi mengikut calon dibuat dengan betul? Jika **TIDAK**, isi ***Log Aduan.***			
7	Adakah penentuan undi ragu diputuskan dengan adil? Jika **TIDAK**, isi ***Log Aduan.***			
8	Adakah penjumlahan undi betul? Jika **TIDAK**, isi ***Log Aduan.***			
9	Adakah ulangkira *(jika diperlukan)* dikendalikan dengan betul? Jika **TIDAK**, isi ***Log Aduan.***			

B	ULASAN KESELURUHAN				
	Berikan pendapat anda terhadap proses pengiraan undi awal secara keseluruhan berdasarkan skala 1 hingga 5.				
1	**1** *Sangat Tidak Baik (Tidak mengikuti hampir semua ketetapan SPR) / Keadaan di luar kawalan dan tidak aman*	**2** *Tidak Baik* (Tidak mengikuti sebahagian besar ketetapan SPR) Keadaan kurang terkawal dan bising	**3** *Sederhana* (Dikendali dengan aman) / Keadaan terkawal tetapi bising	**4** *Baik* (Mengikuti sebahagian dari ketetapan SPR) / Keadaan terkawal	**5** *Sangat Baik* (Mengikuti hampir semua ketetapan SPR) / Keadaan sangat terkawal dan aman.

Disahkan oleh,

……………………………
Kod Pemerhati:

Borang Pemerhatian Pengiraan Undi Awal

Kata Kunci:

Y: Ya / T: Tidak – Pemerhati menjawab soalan secara langsung ketika Pemerhatian pertama dilakukan (atau dapat dilihat).

TP: Tidak Pasti – Pemerhati tidak dapat menjawab soalan yang disediakan kerana a) Tidak dapat melihat dengan jelas, b) Tidak dibenarkan menghampiri tempat mengundi.

	LOG ADUAN
No. Ruj.	Sila isi ruang di bawah ini bila: - Soalan di bahagian atas memerlukan penjelasan lebih. - Apabila ada kejadian yang menganggu proses pilihan raya yang sedang berlangsung seperti keganasan dan kekacauan.

B1	*Masa:*	*Keterangan:*

Disahkan oleh,

………………………………
Kod Pemerhati:

APPENDIX A:
BORANG B-09-FINAL

Borang Pemerhatian Penjumlahan Rasmi Undi

Panduan mengisi borang:
- *Lengkapkan semua maklumat yang diperlukan dalam borang.*
- *Jika terdapat isu atau masalah ketara, sila nyatakan keterangannya di ruangan **Catatan/Log Aduan**.*
- *Sila tandakan '✓' di ruang yang berkenaan.*

Nama:	Kod Pemerhati:	No. MyKad *(12 digit)*:	No. Telefon:
No. Parlimen / DUN:	**Nama Pusat Penjumlahan Rasmi Undi:**		
Tarikh:	**Masa Mula:**	**Masa Tamat :**	

A	SEMASA PENJUMLAHAN	Y	T	TP
1	Adakah semua calon hadir?			
2	Adakah Ejen Pilihan Raya yang mewakili setiap calon hadir?			
3	Adakah petugas keselamatan yang menjaga pusat penjumlahan rasmi undi berpakaian rasmi?			
4	Adakah situasi di luar pusat penjumlahan rasmi undi terkawal?			
5	Adakah anda melihat sesiapa yang tidak dibenarkan berada di dalam pusat penjumlahan rasmi undi turut hadir sama? Jika **YA**, sila isi ruang **Catatan/Log Aduan**.			
6	Adakah semua keputusan dari Tempat Mengundi (termasuk undi awal dan undi pos) telah diterima sebelum penjumlahan rasmi dimulakan?			
7	Adakah penjumlahan rasmi dilakukan oleh Pegawai Pengurus?			
8	Adakah semua undi dijumlahkan dengan menggunakan borang helai mata (*score sheet*)?			
9	Adakah Borang 16 (Penyata Pengundian Selepas Penjumlahan Rasmi) diisi selepas penjumlahan?			
10	Adakah bantahan selama proses berlangsung? Jika **YA**, sila isi ruang **Catatan/Log Aduan.**			

11	Jumlah Undi:	
	Nama Calon/Parti	Jumlah Undi
	JUMLAH KESELURUHAN	

Disahkan oleh,

………………………………
Kod Pemerhati:

Kata Kunci:

Y: Ya / T: Tidak – Pemerhati menjawab soalan secara langsung ketika Pemerhatian pertama dilakukan (atau dapat dilihat).

TP: Tidak Pasti– Pemerhati tidak dapat menjawab soalan yang disediakan kerana (a) Tidak dapat melihat dengan jelas (b) Tidak dibenarkan menghampiri Pusat Penamaan Calon (c) Tidak berada di tempat.

D	ULASAN KESELURUHAN				
	Berikan pendapat anda tentang proses penjumlahan rasmi undi dari skala 1 hingga 5.				
1	1 *Sangat Tidak Baik* *(Tidak mengikuti hampir semua proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR) / Keadaan di luar kawalan dan tidak aman*	2 *Tidak Baik* (Tidak mengikuti sebahagian besar *proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR*) Keadaan kurang terkawal dan bising	3 *Sederhana* (Dikendali dengan aman) / Keadaan terkawal tetapi bising	4 *Baik* (Mengikuti sebahagian dari *proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR*) / Keadaan terkawal	5 *Sangat Baik* (Mengikuti hampir semua *proses yang ditetapkan oleh SPR*) / Keadaan sangat terkawal dan aman.

CATATAN/LOG ADUAN		
No. Ruj.	Sila isi ruang di bawah ini bila: - Soalan di bahagian atas memerlukan penjelasan lebih. - Bila ada kejadian yang menganggu proses pilihan raya yang sedang berlangsung seperti keganasan dan kekacauan.	
B2	*Masa:* 9:10 pagi	*Keterangan:* Pegawai Pengurus dilihat berkempen untuk calon X

Disahkan oleh,

……………………………
Kod Pemerhati:

CONSTITUENCIES COVERED BY OBSERVERS

APPENDIX B – List of Constituencies covered by Observers (IDEAS and CPPS)

STATES	CONSTITUENCY	NO. OF OBSERVERS
Perlis	Arau	6
	Kangar	1
Kedah	Kuala Kedah	1
	Kubang Pasu	2
	Kulim	2
	Merbok	6
	Padang Serai	1
	Padang Terap	1
	Sungai Petani	3
Terengganu	Kuala Nerus	5
	Kuala Terengganu	6
	Marang	6
	Setiu	3
	Hulu Terengganu	1
Pulau Pinang	Bagan	1
	Balik Pulau	6
	Bayan Baru	6
	Bukit Bendera	1
	Bukit Gelugor	3
	Bukit Mertajam	2
	Jelutong	5
	Nibong Tebal	1
	Permatang Pauh	5
Kelantan	Bachok	7
	Jeli	6
	Ketereh	6
	Kota Bahru	6
	Kubang Kerian	6
	Machang	6
	Pasir Mas	6
	Pasir Puteh	6
	Pgkl. Chepa	6
	Rantau Panjang	6
	Tanah Merah	5
	Tumpat	6

Perak	Batu Gajah	2
	Bagan Serai	1
	Gopeng	3
	Grik	1
	Ipoh Barat	2
	Ipoh Timur	1
	Kampar	1
	Kuala Kangsar	1
	Lumut	2
	Sungai Siput	6
	Tambun	5
	Taiping	1
	Tapah	1
Johor	Ayer Hitam	2
	Labis	1
	Bakri	2
	Ledang	1
	Muar	2
	Parit Sulong	1
	Pontian	1
	Pulai	2
Pahang	Indera Mahkota	6
	Kuala Lipis	1
	Kuantan	6
	Pekan	5
	Raub	1
	Rompin	1
K.L.	Batu	5
	Bkt. Bintang	2
	Kepong	1
	Lembah Pantai	6
	Putrajaya	3
	Segambut	2
	Seputeh	4
	Setiawangsa	1
	Titiwangsa	1
	Wangsa Maju	1
N. Sembilan	Kuala Pilah	4
	Rasah	6
	Rembau	3
	Seremban	5
	Teluk Kemang	1
Melaka	Alor Gajah	1
	Bukit Katil	6
	Jasin	1

Selangor	Ampang	5
	Gombak	6
	Hulu Langat	3
	Kapar	1
	Kelana Jaya	4
	Klang	1
	Kota Raja	1
	K. Selangor	1
	Pandan	4
	PJ Utara	3
	PJ Selatan	3
	Puchong	6
	Sabak Bernam	1
	Selayang	2
	Sepang	1
	Serdang	2
	Shah Alam	4
	Subang	6
	Hulu Selangor	2

AKU JANJI PEMERHATI

AKUJANJI PEMERHATI TEMPATAN

1. **PEMERHATI** hendaklah memakai Kad Pemerhati yang dikeluarkan oleh SPR sepanjang masa semasa bertugas dalam kawasan/bahagian pilihan raya yang ditetapkan SPR.

2. Sebelum masuk ke Zon Larangan Pusat Mengundi, **PEMERHATI** hendaklah menunjukkan Kad Pemerhati kepada Anggota-anggota Polis berpakaian seragam yang bertugas di pintu masuk di Pusat Mengundi.

3. Di dalam kawasan Pusat Mengundi, **PEMERHATI** hendaklah berjumpa dan memaklumkan kehadirannya kepada Penyelia Pusat Mengundi yang bertanggungjawab dalam Pusat Mengundi berkenaan.

4. **PEMERHATI** dilarang masuk ke dalam bilik Tempat Mengundi. Pemantauan hanya boleh dilakukan di luar bilik Tempat Mengundi. Di dalam bilik Tempat Mengundi ejen-ejen calon telah sedia ada memantau proses pengundian di situ.

5. **PEMERHATI** dilarang mengganggu pengundi yang hadir untuk mengundi pada bila-bila masa semasa di dalam Pusat Mengundi. Pemerhati juga dilarang melakukan apa-apa perbuatan yang boleh mengganggu urusan pengundian di dalam Pusat Mengundi.

6. **PEMERHATI** dilarang bertanya atau membuat temubual dengan pengundi semasa di dalam kawasan Pusat Mengundi. Pemerhati juga dilarang membuat temubual dengan ejen-ejen calon semasa di dalam kawasan Pusat Mengundi.

7. **PEMERHATI** boleh membuat catatan mengenai apa-apa perkara yang dipantau dalam buku catatannya. Pemantauan hendaklah berasaskan kepada

fakta yang tepat dan bersandarkan kepada undang-undang dan peraturan-peraturan pilihan raya yang ditetapkan dan digunapakai dalam urusan pilihan raya di negara ini.

8. **PEMERHATI** dilarang melakukan aktiviti atau perbuatan yang boleh mencetuskan kekeliruan atau kekecohan di dalam Pusat Mengundi. Penyelia Pusat Mengundi dengan dibantu oleh anggota-anggota Polis berpakaian seragam yang bertugas di Pusat Mengundi berhak meminta **PEMERHATI** supaya keluar dari kawasan Pusat Mengundi berkenaan. Penyelia Pusat Mengundi seterusnya akan melaporkan kejadian itu kepada SPR untuk tindakan susulan.

9. **PEMERHATI** dilarang memegang peti undi semasa Ketua Tempat Mengundi berjalan keluar dari bilik Tempat Mengundi untuk dibawa ke Pusat Penjumlahan Rasmi Undi.

10. **PEMERHATI** hendaklah memakai baju yang dibekalkan oleh SPR semasa menjalankan tugas pemantauan.

11. **PEMERHATI** dilarang memakai apa-apa pakaian termasuk topi yang mempunyai logo/simbol parti atau gambar calon yang bertanding bagi mengelak bantahan dan kekecohan sepanjang tempoh menjalankan tugas pemantauan. **PEMERHATI** juga dilarang memakai apa-apa bahan yang memaparkan slogan atau penyataan untuk mempromosi sesuatu isu yang boleh dianggap memihak atau tidak berkecuali.

12. **NGO** yang dilantik dan mana-mana **PEMERHATI** individu yang bertugas dilarang mengeluarkan kenyataan kepada Media mengenai apa-apa pemerhatian atau apa-apa perkara berkaitan urusan penjalanan proses pilihan raya sepanjang tempoh rasmi menjalankan tugas.

13. **NGO** yang dilantik boleh membuat laporan secara bertulis dan faks atau email kepada **PUSAT PEMANTAUAN PEMERHATI PRU KE-13** di Ibu Pejabat SPR jika ada apa-apa perkara yang perlu dimaklumkan untuk mendapat penjelasan dan keputusan SPR atau apa-apa perkara yang dianggap memerlukan tindakan segera oleh SPR. **NGO** hendaklah menyimpan rekod laporan pengaduan berkenaan.

14. SPR berhak menamatkan pelantikan mana-mana **PEMERHATI** yang didapati telah melanggar syarat-syarat pelantikan dan akujanji seperti yang telah dipersetujui.

15. Tempoh rasmi perlantikan sebagai **PEMERHATI** Tempatan PRU Ke-13 bermula selepas hari pembubaran Parlimen/DUN sehingga tamat hari mengundi.

16. Penyelia Pusat Mengundi berhak untuk tidak membenarkan **PEMERHATI** dari kawasan pemantauan Parlimen lain masuk di dalam Pusat Mengundi di luar kawasan pemantauan yang ditetapkan untuknya.

17. **PEMERHATI** yang bertugas di dalam Pusat Mengundi hendaklah setiap masa mematuhi arahan Penyelia Pusat Mengundi dan Anggota-Anggota Polis berpakaian seragam yang bertugas di dalam Pusat Mengundi.

18. Laporan Pemantauan PRU ke-13 yang disediakan oleh NGO yang dilantik hendaklah memasukkan butir-butir penjelasan SPR atas perkara-perkara berbangkit yang dirujuk dan diputuskan oleh SPR dalam Laporan Pemerhatian PRU Ke-13 yang disediakan.

19. Laporan Pemantauan PRU ke-13 oleh setiap NGO yang dilantik hendaklah diserahkan kepada SPR dalam tempoh 30 hari selepas Hari Pengundian. Kenyataan atau Sidang Media berhubung dengan Laporan pemantauan boleh dikeluarkan/dibuat selepas Laporan Pemantauan PRU ke-13 diserahkan secara rasmi kepada SPR.

Tandatangan Pemerhati,

………………………………………………………………
(Nama:)

Tandatangan NGO Yang Dilantik,

……………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………..
(Nama Presiden/Setiausaha Agung NGO)

…………………………….   ……………………………….
(Tarikh)   (Cop Rasmi NGO)

TI-M DECLINES EC INVITATION TO BE ELECTION OBSERVER

TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL – MALAYSIA
(MALAYSIAN SOCIETY FOR TRANSPARENCY AND INTEGRITY (ROS: 1649))

TI-Malaysia promotes good governance, integrity and transparency in Malaysia
through advocacy, education, information and research

Date: 7th January 2013

Press Statement

TI-M Declines the Election Commission's (EC) invitation as Election Observer

There have been statements made that Transparency International – Malaysia (TI-M) will be an election observer at the forthcoming 13th General Election (GE). We confirm that TI-M was invited but had yet to accept the invitation.

TI-M is encouraged that the Election Commission recognises the importance of the integrity of the election process in inviting various civil society organizations such as TI-M to be accredited as domestic election observers.

TI-M has in the past worked constructively with the EC in proposing reforms to political financing and the election process. The EC has demonstrated its willingness to enter into frank dialogue and discussion with civil society organisations in Peninsula Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak in the process of appointing domestic election observers. TI-M has participated in several meetings with the EC.

During these meetings, TI-M had urged the EC to ensure all rules imposed on accredited observers, as well as the process of accrediting the observers comply with international standards and norms.

However, TI-M has expressed reservations on some of the Terms of Reference set by the EC on domestic Election Observers. (TI-M has agreed to confidentiality in order to promote free and frank discussions.). TI-M also believes that civil society organizations, such as MAFREL, which have the requisite expertise, experience and credibility with the public, should play prominent roles in the election observation process.

TI-M has on Friday, 4 January 2012, informed the EC that TI-M regrets it is unable to accept the EC's invitation to participate as an Election Observer at the 13th GE.

Transparency International – Malaysia
23, Jalan Pantai, 9/7, 46000 Petaling Jaya, Selangor Darul Ehsan
• Tel: 603 7960 6630   • Fax: 603 7960 8690   • e-mail: ti-malaysia@transparency.org.my • www.transparency.org.my
• www.timalaysia-forestwatch.org.my

TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL – MALAYSIA
(MALAYSIAN SOCIETY FOR TRANSPARENCY AND INTEGRITY (ROS: 1649))

TI-Malaysia promotes good governance, integrity and transparency in Malaysia through advocacy, education, information and research

However, TI-M would be willing to continue to engage with the EC to reform various laws related to elections.

TI-M further calls on the EC to ensure that the whole process of election observation adheres to international standards and norms, in order to restore the credibility of the election process in the eyes of the Malaysian public and the international community.

Josie M Fernandez
Secretary General, TI-M

Mobile No ; 012 2336351

Transparency International – Malaysia
23, Jalan Pantai, 9/7, 46000 Petaling Jaya, Selangor Darul Ehsan
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• www.timalaysia-forestwatch.org.my

IDEAS

Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs

IDEAS Press Statement
7 January 2013

Response to Transparency International–Malaysia's decision to decline invitation to be GE13 election observer

I am disappointed to read TI-M's sudden decision to decline the invitation from the Election Commission (EC) for them to be an accredited election observer.

On Thursday 3 January 2013, I was at TI-M's office in Petaling Jaya discussing how best to coordinate our work on election observation with them. The meeting lasted for almost 5 hours, finishing at around 10.30pm. I was shocked when, at 3pm on Friday, TI-M informed me that they have already told the EC about their withdrawal. We have been talking to each other for many months on this project and TI-M has never given any indication that they were considering to withdraw.

In their formal announcement to withdraw, TI-M stated that they "had urged the EC to ensure all rules imposed on accredited observers, as well as the process of accrediting the observers comply with international standards and norms."

I would like to clarify that all organisations have made the same request to the EC. The invited groups negotiated the terms for many months between ourselves as well as with the EC, until we reached an understanding on the matter. This is not something TI-M alone had done.

TI-M also stated that they have "expressed reservations on some of the Terms of Reference set by the EC on domestic Election Observers. "

Again, in all the meetings with the EC, all the organisations expressed some reservations. All the groups, including TI-M, negotiated the terms with the EC. In our last meeting with the EC on 13 December 2012, all the organisations including TI-M came to a compromise regarding the terms and conditions. Indeed there are issues that we agreed to disagree with the EC, and the EC also agreed to disagree with us. If TI-M had such strong reservations, why did they not put a strong argument to the EC when we were sitting face to face with them?

I am worried that by withdrawing at this last minute and without discussing the bigger picture with other organisations involved in the observation mission, TI-M is inadvertently and unintentionally helping those who are bent on painting the wrong picture on the election observation mission and the organisations involved in it. I regret this situation.

Wan Saiful Wan Jan
Chief Executive, IDEAS

D6 Taman Tunku, Bukit Tunku, 50480 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia Tel: +603 6201 8896 / 8897 Fax: +603 6211 0222 www.ideas.org.my

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
PERLIS					
P. 001 PADANG BESAR	39,879	1,607	477	11	41,974
P. 002 KANGAR	50,218	0	977	12	51,207
P. 003 ARAU	43,547	69	259	1	43,876
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**133,644**	**1,676**	**1,713**	**24**	**137,057**

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
KEDAH					
P. 004 LANGKAWI	36,255	463	812	6	37,536
P. 005 JERLUN	52,343	0	37	3	52,383
P. 006 KUBANG PASU	63,261	1,784	490	15	65,550
P. 007 PADANG TERAP	41,739	0	221	0	41,960
P. 008 POKOK SENA	77,932	2,021	741	20	80,714
P. 009 ALOR STAR	68,378	0	605	26	69,009
P. 010 KUALA KEDAH	95,231	0	88	9	95,328
P. 011 PENDANG	69,950	0	180	5	70,135
P. 012 JERAI	74,113	54	233	10	74,410
P. 013 SIK	46,622	0	162	2	46,786
P. 014 MERBOK	79,402	5,977	514	15	85,908
P. 015 SUNGAI PETANI	92,997	0	161	18	93,176
P. 016 BALING	92,836	0	326	6	93,168
P. 017 PADANG SERAI	74,005	0	81	9	74,095
P. 018 KULIM-BANDAR BAHARU	59,169	0	1,733	8	60,910
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**1,024,233**	**10,299**	**6,384**	**152**	**1,041,068**

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
KELANTAN					
P. 019 TUMPAT	98,205	0	414	13	98,632
P. 020 PENGKALAN CHEPA	61,636	1,415	1,344	14	64,409
P. 021 KOTA BHARU	80,617	0	632	19	81,268
P. 022 PASIR MAS	71,581	0	380	4	71,965
P. 023 RANTAU PANJANG	52,736	60	99	8	52,903
P. 024 KUBANG KERIAN	65,299	0	76	15	65,390
P. 025 BACHOK	81,352	0	205	9	81,566
P. 026 KETEREH	58,689	3,472	52	4	62,217
P. 027 TANAH MERAH	58,010	0	222	5	58,237
P. 028 PASIR PUTEH	76,021	0	228	10	76,259
P. 029 MACHANG	58,994	25	203	4	59,226
P. 030 JELI	40,471	2,495	258	0	43,224
P. 031 KUALA KRAI	62,840	0	261	0	63,101
P. 032 GUA MUSANG	39,915	0	259	2	40,176
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**906,366**	**7,467**	**4,633**	**107**	**918,573**

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
TERENGGANU					
P. 033 BESUT	71,029	1,202	329	6	72,566
P. 034 SETIU	67,052	0	226	2	67,280
P. 035 KUALA NERUS	74,704	751	779	4	76,238
P. 036 KUALA TERENGGANU	93,058	37	1,289	22	94,406
P. 037 MARANG	90,075	157	554	9	90,795
P. 038 HULU TERENGGANU	63,301	0	241	1	63,543
P. 039 DUNGUN	77,744	38	381	11	78,174
P. 040 KEMAMAN	91,553	27	360	2	91,942
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**628,516**	**2,212**	**4,159**	**57**	**634,944**

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
PULAU PINANG					
P. 041 KEPALA BATAS	50,998	0	633	4	51,635
P. 042 TASEK GELUGOR	51,165	2,777	91	9	54,042
P. 043 BAGAN	68,316	0	181	6	68,503
P. 044 PERMATANG PAUH	71,077	0	616	6	71,699
P. 045 BUKIT MERTAJAM	78,923	0	61	12	78,996
P. 046 BATU KAWAN	57,290	0	207	3	57,500
P. 047 NIBONG TEBAL	58,868	0	469	8	59,345
P. 048 BUKIT BENDERA	70,057	473	541	14	71,085
P. 049 TANJONG	50,486	77	923	1	51,487
P. 050 JELUTONG	70,338	0	900	9	71,247
P. 051 BUKIT GELUGOR	81,724	49	98	26	81,897
P. 052 BAYAN BARU	76,503	2,255	376	21	79,155
P. 053 BALIK PULAU	48,966	0	670	5	49,641
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**834,711**	**5,631**	**5,766**	**124**	**846,232**

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
PERAK					
P. 054 GERIK	29,053	2,470	1,196	6	32,725
P. 055 LENGGONG	27,889	0	57	4	27,950
P. 056 LARUT	46,371	0	201	5	46,577
P. 057 PARIT BUNTAR	51,321	0	93	8	51,422
P. 058 BAGAN SERAI	54,502	0	284	6	54,792
P. 059 BUKIT GANTANG	71,140	0	100	17	71,257
P. 060 TAIPING	73,516	4,147	464	21	78,148
P. 061 PADANG RENGAS	28,483	0	32	3	28,518
P. 062 SUNGAI SIPUT	51,335	0	255	6	51,596
P. 063 TAMBUN	86,399	0	3,024	12	89,435
P. 064 IPOH TIMOR	78,441	2,773	495	109	81,818
P. 065 IPOH BARAT	75,335	544	1,821	61	77,761
P. 066 BATU GAJAH	86,808	238	520	21	87,587
P. 067 KUALA KANGSAR	33,216	0	320	4	33,540
P. 068 BERUAS	49,099	0	102	4	49,205
P. 069 PARIT	33,102	91	305	5	33,503
P. 070 KAMPAR	63,283	0	320	16	63,619
P. 071 GOPENG	96,048	802	183	59	97,092
P. 072 TAPAH	43,494	715	1,258	18	45,485
P. 073 PASIR SALAK	51,412	0	81	5	51,498
P. 074 LUMUT	74,996	12,718	569	17	88,300
P. 075 BAGAN DATOK	39,865	0	57	2	39,924
P. 076 TELOK INTAN	60,090	0	383	10	60,483

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
PERAK					
P. 077 TANJONG MALIM	64,001	72	401	25	64,499
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**1,369,199**	**24,570**	**12,521**	**444**	**1,406,734**

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
PAHANG					
P. 078 CAMERON HIGHLANDS	27,737	0	227	16	27,980
P. 079 LIPIS	31,296	698	327	3	32,324
P. 080 RAUB	53,780	49	379	6	54,214
P. 081 JERANTUT	58,037	47	278	2	58,364
P. 082 INDERA MAHKOTA	60,975	2,074	1,150	20	64,219
P. 083 KUANTAN	54,778	84	1,405	13	56,280
P. 084 PAYA BESAR	48,007	0	54	6	48,067
P. 085 PEKAN	72,933	6,932	387	8	80,260
P. 086 MARAN	38,209	0	225	2	38,436
P. 087 KUALA KRAU	42,953	0	48	2	43,003
P. 088 TEMERLOH	63,076	2,540	482	7	66,105
P. 089 BENTONG	60,659	1,190	404	13	62,266
P. 090 BERA	50,788	0	203	6	50,997
P. 091 ROMPIN	53,035	290	266	5	53,596
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**716,263**	**13,904**	**5,835**	**109**	**736,111**

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
SELANGOR					
P. 092 SABAK BERNAM	37,252	26	39	1	37,318
P. 093 SUNGAI BESAR	42,550	0	285	2	42,837
P. 094 HULU SELANGOR	84,587	350	748	12	85,697
P. 095 TANJONG KARANG	42,305	0	25	3	42,333
P. 096 KUALA SELANGOR	61,943	0	348	7	62,298
P. 097 SELAYANG	105,005	0	851	39	105,895
P. 098 GOMBAK	122,789	194	218	89	123,290
P. 099 AMPANG	82,309	0	761	65	83,135
P. 100 PANDAN	83,736	0	98	23	83,857
P. 101 HULU LANGAT	122,544	0	4,749	54	127,347
P. 102 SERDANG	132,708	84	270	77	133,139
P. 103 PUCHONG	106,134	309	533	34	107,010
P. 104 KELANA JAYA	100,252	0	892	92	101,236
P. 105 PETALING JAYA SELATAN	78,790	0	746	22	79,558
P. 106 PETALING JAYA UTARA	84,872	0	494	35	85,401
P. 107 SUBANG	123,943	4,069	479	52	128,543
P. 108 SHAH ALAM	97,826	73	2,016	42	99,957
P. 109 KAPAR	143,807	0	330	22	144,159
P. 110 KLANG	95,725	414	913	21	97,073
P. 111 KOTA RAJA	105,854	0	27	28	105,909
P. 112 KUALA LANGAT	87,320	809	338	7	88,474
P. 113 SEPANG	83,315	0	1,019	28	84,362

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
SELANGOR					
P. 113 SEPANG	83,315	0	1,019	28	84,362
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**2,025,566**	**6,328**	**16,179**	**755**	**2,048,828**

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
W.P KUALA LUMPUR					
P. 114 KEPONG	67,887	0	130	18	68,035
P. 115 BATU	82,014	2,583	772	33	85,402
P. 116 WANGSA MAJU	64,562	2,792	383	38	67,775
P. 117 SEGAMBUT	69,132	0	6,425	74	75,631
P. 118 SETIAWANGSA	49,912	10,319	2,036	42	62,309
P. 119 TITIWANGSA	53,343	1,768	135	36	55,282
P. 120 BUKIT BINTANG	50,463	2,431	2,808	19	55,721
P. 121 LEMBAH PANTAI	70,225	47	2,088	36	72,396
P. 122 SEPUTEH	85,823	0	110	43	85,976
P. 123 CHERAS	72,130	0	398	23	72,551
P. 124 BANDAR TUN RAZAK	85,831	4,952	168	42	90,993
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**751,322**	**24,892**	**15,453**	**404**	**792,071**

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
W.P PUTRAJAYA					
P. 125 PUTRAJAYA	15,051	0	684	56	15,791
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**15,051**	**0**	**684**	**56**	**15,791**

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
NEGERI SEMBILAN					
P. 126 JELEBU	43,703	0	1,229	5	44,937
P. 127 JEMPOL	64,834	0	374	5	65,213
P. 128 SEREMBAN	100,294	692	1,270	49	102,305
P. 129 KUALA PILAH	47,378	0	283	10	47,671
P. 130 RASAH	85,615	2,090	667	31	88,403
P. 131 REMBAU	78,378	850	404	29	79,661
P. 132 TELOK KEMANG	61,857	7,577	1,077	13	70,524
P. 133 TAMPIN	52,115	4,786	354	13	57,268
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**534,174**	**15,995**	**5,658**	**155**	**555,982**

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
MELAKA					
P. 134 MASJID TANAH	45,510	343	89	10	45,952
P. 135 ALOR GAJAH	63,139	0	446	6	63,591
P. 136 TANGGA BATU	61,779	11,418	67	18	73,282
P. 137 BUKIT KATIL	98,356	257	804	21	99,438
P. 138 KOTA MELAKA	91,655	0	641	26	92,322
P. 139 JASIN	64,080	0	368	7	64,455
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**424,519**	**12,018**	**2,415**	**88**	**439,040**

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
JOHOR					
P. 140 SEGAMAT	46,662	0	339	8	47,009
P. 141 SEKIJANG	43,048	0	10	8	43,066
P. 142 LABIS	37,632	0	75	7	37,714
P. 143 PAGOH	46,709	0	83	1	46,793
P. 144 LEDANG	68,999	0	299	18	69,316
P. 145 BAKRI	65,650	0	1,538	14	67,202
P. 146 MUAR	47,632	28	542	6	48,208
P. 147 PARIT SULONG	56,853	0	40	3	56,896
P. 148 AYER HITAM	42,833	0	71	9	42,913
P. 149 SRI GADING	44,725	40	44	7	44,816
P. 150 BATU PAHAT	87,751	0	494	27	88,272
P. 151 SIMPANG RENGGAM	39,318	0	823	2	40,143
P. 152 KLUANG	80,540	5,781	381	30	86,732
P. 153 SEMBRONG	41,532	0	53	3	41,588
P. 154 MERSING	41,741	2,433	315	8	44,497
P. 155 TENGGARA	37,832	1,819	39	4	39,694
P. 156 KOTA TINGGI	41,600	0	291	3	41,894
P. 157 PENGERANG	36,904	1,030	60	5	37,999
P. 158 TEBRAU	90,356	0	117	9	90,482
P. 159 PASIR GUDANG	98,825	1,460	731	25	101,041
P. 160 JOHOR BAHRU	93,896	983	1,411	31	96,321
P. 161 PULAI	98,882	0	1,573	35	100,490
P. 162 GELANG PATAH	105,775	54	870	27	106,726

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
JOHOR					
P. 163 KULAI	83,399	0	575	17	83,991
P. 164 PONTIAN	49,543	0	83	7	49,633
P. 165 TANJONG PIAI	51,548	0	318	9	51,875
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**1,580,185**	**13,628**	**11,175**	**323**	**1,605,311**

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
W.P LABUAN					
P. 166 LABUAN	22,993	1,209	267	5	24,474
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**22,993**	**1,209**	**267**	**5**	**24,474**

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
SABAH					
P. 167 KUDAT	46,813	0	436	0	47,249
P. 168 KOTA MARUDU	42,051	0	146	0	42,197
P. 169 KOTA BELUD	51,246	73	146	2	51,467
P. 170 TUARAN	48,103	0	171	2	48,276
P. 171 SEPANGGAR	51,191	2,167	7	9	53,374
P. 172 KOTA KINABALU	49,429	223	850	14	50,516
P. 173 PUTATAN	34,037	3,412	37	4	37,490
P. 174 PENAMPANG	42,867	57	1,394	5	44,323
P. 175 PAPAR	37,857	0	910	4	38,771
P. 176 KIMANIS	26,611	0	16	1	26,628
P. 177 BEAUFORT	29,936	0	161	0	30,097
P. 178 SIPITANG	29,071	0	106	0	29,177
P. 179 RANAU	38,922	0	131	0	39,053
P. 180 KENINGAU	43,433	0	254	4	43,691
P. 181 TENOM	25,181	0	122	1	25,304
P. 182 PENSIANGAN	26,182	0	12	0	26,194
P. 183 BELURAN	24,569	0	119	0	24,688
P. 184 LIBARAN	39,198	570	0	4	39,772
P. 185 BATU SAPI	28,063	1,079	1,057	0	30,199
P. 186 SANDAKAN	36,750	9	295	4	37,058
P. 187 KINABATANGAN	24,654	0	94	0	24,748
P. 188 SILAM	50,706	0	956	0	51,662
P. 189 SEMPORNA	40,703	377	468	1	41,549

SURUHANJAYA PILIHAN RAYA
DAFTAR PEMILIH TERKINI SEHINGGA ST 4/2012
STATISTIK PENGUNDI BIASA DAN PENGUNDI TIDAK HADIR
(Diwartakan Pada 11 April 2013)
MENGIKUT PARLIMEN

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
SABAH					
P. 190 TAWAU	51,517	18	0	3	51,538
P. 191 KALABAKAN	44,284	1,438	1,070	1	46,793
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**963,374**	**9,423**	**8,958**	**59**	**981,814**

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
SARAWAK					
P. 192 MAS GADING	25,637	0	134	0	25,771
P. 193 SANTUBONG	36,840	56	121	0	37,017
P. 194 PETRA JAYA	48,879	0	857	14	49,750
P. 195 BANDAR KUCHING	52,232	83	1,015	6	53,336
P. 196 STAMPIN	80,747	2,705	1,252	28	84,732
P. 197 KOTA SAMARAHAN	32,828	5,193	134	3	38,158
P. 198 MAMBONG	41,166	0	1,178	0	42,344
P. 199 SERIAN	33,529	0	183	1	33,713
P. 200 BATANG SADONG	19,752	0	87	0	19,839
P. 201 BATANG LUPAR	27,349	0	11	0	27,360
P. 202 SRI AMAN	28,673	737	378	1	29,789
P. 203 LUBOK ANTU	19,246	0	56	1	19,303
P. 204 BETONG	26,217	0	105	0	26,322
P. 205 SARATOK	27,454	0	108	0	27,562
P. 206 TANJONG MANIS	19,206	0	7	2	19,215
P. 207 IGAN	17,700	0	70	1	17,771
P. 208 SARIKEI	36,236	0	314	0	36,550
P. 209 JULAU	22,462	0	59	1	22,522
P. 210 KANOWIT	19,370	0	62	1	19,433
P. 211 LANANG	56,536	0	604	3	57,143
P. 212 SIBU	61,508	2,507	579	7	64,601
P. 213 MUKAH	26,332	0	144	1	26,477
P. 214 SELANGAU	25,410	0	51	0	25,461

BAHAGIAN PILIHAN RAYA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI BIASA	JUMLAH PENGUNDI AWAL		JUMLAH PTH LUAR NEGARA	JUMLAH DALAM DPI
		TENTERA DAN PASANGAN	POLIS DAN PASANGAN		
SARAWAK					
P. 215 KAPIT	26,073	0	122	0	26,195
P. 216 HULU RAJANG	21,631	0	55	0	21,686
P. 217 BINTULU	59,601	0	288	4	59,893
P. 218 SIBUTI	28,295	0	53	3	28,351
P. 219 MIRI	69,564	718	878	10	71,170
P. 220 BARAM	29,296	0	88	1	29,385
P. 221 LIMBANG	24,028	0	247	3	24,278
P. 222 LAWAS	18,748	0	96	1	18,845
JUMLAH DALAM NEGERI	**1,062,545**	**11,999**	**9,336**	**92**	**1,083,972**

A SAMPLE SELECTION OF ISSUES AND INCIDENCES RECORDED BY OUR FIELD OBSERVERS

This non-exhaustive list is provided only as an indication of the types of reports that we received and should not be taken as evidence of wrongdoing by any party.

1. NOMINATION DAY

KELANTAN
- Accredited observers mistakenly went into the restricted area. Police asked them to leave.
- In Pasir Puteh, the police were not alert and allowed two "Pemantau" into the candidate nomination centre.
- In Tanah Merah, two men wearing BN shirts used a lorry with Lembaga Pertubuhan Peladang's logo to distribute water among BN supporters. Peladang is government agency.

NEGERI SEMBILAN
- Observers in Seremban and Kuala Pilah were not allowed to enter nomination centers.

2. CAMPAIGN PERIOD

JOHOR
- PR was accused of trying to inciting racial conflicts by a BN speaker in Bakri.
- During a PR rally in Bakri, PR made an accusation that BN will cheat to win the upcoming elections.
- A PAS billboard was destroyed in Penawar.
- Flyers mocking the death of a PAS candidate's father were distributed.
- The PR candidate for Sekijang was threatened by a group of BN supporters not to enter Felda Pemanis Dua.

KELANTAN
- In Bachok, a PAS speaker promised that voters who vote for PAS will go to heaven.
- Children were reported to have participated in a PAS rally.
- In Tanah Merah an event for parents of senior high school students, organised by district education office (PPD) and a university student association, Persatuan Mahasiswa Tanah Merah (PERMATA), featured a BN candidate as speaker.
- In Pasir Puteh Najib Razak campaigned at an UMNO event named "Majlis Pemimpin Bersama Rakyat" at SMK Sungai Petai.
- In Kubang Kerian the alleged sex video clips of PR leaders were played to a crowd which included children.
- In Bachok, a banner for a roadshow event with the BN candidate's picture on it was seen in the polling centre just next to the polling stream.

KUALA LUMPUR
- During a BN campaign in Batu an observer was threatened that his camera would be broken if he did not allow them to delete the pictures he took.

PUTRAJAYA
- In a BN talk, statements were made claiming that voting for DAP/PAS is wrong according to Islam.
- Books titled "Know who Husam Musa is – Money Politics and Cronyism" were distributed with a DVD containing unproven allegations against the PAS candidate.

NEGERI SEMBILAN
- The Berjasa candidate in Rasah was reported to use religious threats to attract votes.

PENANG
- A state government driver was used by a DAP candidate for party purposes during a rally in Bukit Bendera.
- The booklet "Siapa Anwar Sebenarnya?" was distributed in Pematang Pauh constituency, containing unproven allegations, including that Anwar was born out of wedlock and that his father had a difficult relationship with a Chinese woman.
- Children were reported to have participated in a DAP bike rally.
- In Gelung Bubu a person wearing BN shirt shouted at attendees of a PR event.

- In Bagan, an observer received a letter inciting racial hatred against PR .
- In Penanti, handouts stating DAP is racist were distributed.

SELANGOR
- In Shah Alam, in a BN campaign speech, the speaker mentioned that if PR comes to power, the ethnic Chinese will rule the country and will join forces with Singapore to make Christianity the official religion of the country.
- In Sentul Ria, during a BN dinner event, leaflets associating a DAP leader with the May 13 racial riot were distributed.
- Free sponsored movie tickets were distributed at a BN campaign rally in Lembah Jaya Utara.
- During a campaign walkabout in Kemensah Heights, the BN candidate mentioned that DAP wants to turn Malaysia into a Christian state and abolish the Malay special rights.
- In Hulu Langat a BN ceramah incited fear and threatened voters about the violence practiced by PR.
- In Hulu Langat RELA members were deployed to control traffic for a BN dinner.
- Early campaigning by BN was reported in Kepong.
- In front of Seri Setia market, people wearing BN t-shirts were giving out bags with BN logo containing posters and 1kg of rice.
- Banners stating "Undilah Barisan Nasional" (Vote for Barisan Nasional) seen in Bukit Sentosa, in Jalan Ampang Hilir and Jalan Kampung Pandan before candidate nomination day.
- In a short RTM programme voters were reminded not to repeat the "mistakes" of GE12 and give the country to "others".
- Banners stating "Undilah Barisan Nasional" seen in Bandar Utama prior to candidate nomination day.
- A PAS flag was torched.

PERAK
- A BN candidate in Kampar threatened the public that voting for PR would create chaos.
- BN banners stating "Undilah Barisan Nasional" were seen in Damar Laut, Sitiawan, Teluk Intan, Damai Laut before official campaigning began.
- In Sungai Rapat, there was a confrontation between PR and BN supporters prior to a debate between the candidates for the state seat.

TERENGGANU
- In Seberang Takir a banner was put up to inform the public about the availability of a PR leader's sex scandal CD from a BN operation centre. But it was uncertain who put up the banner.

MALACCA
- BN in Bukit Katil was seen distributing flyers entitled "What will happen if DAP controlled Malaysia"

NATIONWIDE
- Text messages based on racial sentiments were sent to voters. The following are some examples of what our observers received:

"PAS ok BN pun ok. Yang tak ok bila undi PAS - DAP pun dapat kuasa. DAP memang nak LEMAHKAN Islam dan orang Melayu. Elok lah kita sokong BN" (PAS is OK, BN is OK too. But it is not ok to vote PAS this time because if you vote for PAS, DAP will get the position. DAP intends to weaken Muslims and Malays. It is better to support BN)

"PAS & DAP tidak sepakat tentang isu hudud. Rakyat perlu sedar dgn permainan silap mata ini. Jgn butakan mata & hati, nanti kita sendiri yg akan rugi. " (PAS and DAP are not in agreement on hudud issue. People have to be aware of their trick. Don't be fooled).

"Hak tanah Melayu diambil Cina, Besar kepala lepas jadi kaya! Semua nak dibolot! Mana pergi pahlawan Melayu?? Bersedia untuk panggilan perang!"

(Malay land have been grabbed by the Chinese. Now they are snobby because they are rich and they want everything. Where are Malay heroes? Get ready for war!")

"Jadi kaya semua cina. Kacau hak melayu. Kerajaan BN takut pada cina, Melayu yang susah! Mari kerjakan Cina!! Sebarkan SMS. Seumah ke masa hadapan." (The Chinese are all rich now. Malay rights have been taken. BN government is afraid of the Chinese, because of that the Malays are poor! Let's do "something" to the Chinese. Spread this sms. We are one ummah in the future.")

3. EARLY VOTING DAY

KEDAH
- EC officers were unable to manage the crowd in the early voting centre in Merbok, causing voters to enter and exit without restrictions.
- A PAS candidate was seen canvassing for votes in an early voting centre in Merbok.

KELANTAN
- A BN candidate was seen canvassing for votes in an early voting centre in Kok Lanas while distributing mineral water bottles containing party symbols.
- An observer in Pasir Puteh was initially denied entry into the early voting centre by police officers. After several rounds of negotiations, the observer was finally allowed entry into the centre.
- Reports of indelible ink fading emerged from an early voting centre in Permatang Pauh.
- In Ketereh Kelantan, a political party agent was canvassing for votes during early voting process inside polling center.

KUALA LUMPUR
- Our observers were barred entry by SPR officials into some early voting centres in Batu, Segambut and Lembah Pantai.

- Media recorded voters as they were marking their ballot papers in an early voting centre in Wangsa Maju from outside the classroom.

MELAKA
- There was a car displaying PR logos parked in the compound of the early voting centre. The car was, however, removed from the area upon instruction from the Returning Officer.

NEGERI SEMBILAN
- In Rasah, a member of the armed forces showed the observer that the ink faded after he scrubbed his finger.

PENANG
- There were reports of registered voters not being able to find their names in the electoral roll in an early voting centre in Permatang Pauh
- Reports of indelible ink being removable with soap and thinner emerged from an early voting centre in Permatang Pauh.

PERLIS
- An observer in Kangar was refused entry into an early voting centre by the EC Officials.

SELANGOR
- Ballot boxes were left unsealed in a voting channel in an early voting centre in PJ Utara. Upon instruction from an EC officer, the ballot boxes were eventually sealed.
- An unauthorised person was seen loitering around an early voting centre in Hulu Langat.
- Reports of indelible ink being removable with soap emerged from an early voting centre in Shah Alam.
- In Gombak a BN candidate visited an advanced polling centre at Depot Bekalan Pusat. He was reported to wear a shirt with BN logo.
- In Ampang Jaya, a Polling Station Agent was wearing a Selangorku (PR slogan for their Selangor campaign) shirt during early voting process.

4. OVERSEAS VOTING

BALLOT PAPERS
- In Hong Kong the serial number printed on the ballot paper were not identical with the serial number printed on the envelope
- Stains on several ballot papers were reported by observers in Paris
- In Hong Kong, several Borang A were not original, but a copy.

THE ACCURACY OF ELECTORAL ROLL
- In Hong Kong and Paris, there were voters who were registered in wrong constituency.

ELECTION OFFICERS
- In Hong Kong, the Voting Clerks left their desks unattended during the voting process.

DENIED VOTING RIGHTS
- In Paris, two voters were unable to vote due to unsealed Sampul Keutamaan which turned out to be empty.
- In Paris, one voter was turned away because his name was not on the list even though he stated that he filled registration form some time ago.
- In Los Angeles, three voters were turned away because their names were not found in the list.

OBSERVERS ACCESS
- In Dubai, observers were not allowed to observe the voting process.

5. POLLING DAY

PENANG
- At Sekolah Menengah Sains Tun Syed Sheh Shahabuddin in Bukit Mertajam, channel 6 was closed for 20 minutes as the SPR agents took time off for a meal.
- At SMK Raja Tun Uda, PKR and BN were reported to have set their respective "pondok panas" approximately 50 metres from the polling centre

NEGERI SEMBILAN
- In Kuala Pilah, a voter was refused a new ballot paper when he complained that there was a smudge on his ballot paper.
- In SMJK Chan Wa, Seremban, polling stream 6 had to use pencils to mark their votes but all other streams were using pens.

KUALA LUMPUR
- In SM Bangsar, Lembah Pantai, BN supporters were seen canvassing for votes and giving out water bottles inside polling centre.
- At SMK Dato Ibrahim Yaacob in Batu parliamentary constituency, a senior citizen's name was not found in his designated voting channel despite his name being present on the electoral roll

SELANGOR
- In SMK Seri Garing, Selayang, it was reported that the clerks on duty did not examine the fingers of voters while also failing to match the photo on the voter's IC with the voters face
- In SMK Seksyen 7 , BN supporters were seen handing out party merchandises. Both BN and PAS seemed to have set up their respective "pondok panas" outside the school.
- Both Pakatan and BN supporters reportedly canvassed for votes and established their respective "pondok panas" at SK Taman Permata in Gomba.

JOHOR
- In Labis, the situation at the final tallying centre almost went out of control as DAP supporters started blocking an unauthorised vehicle from entering the centre.

PERLIS
- In SMK Derma in Kangar, BN supporters were reportedly distributing flyers to the voters inside the restricted area.

MEMBERS OF THE ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION

Wan Saiful Wan Jan, *Project Director*

Wan Saiful Wan Jan is chief executive of the Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs (IDEAS) and a director of CfBT Malaysia. He lived in the United Kingdom between August 1993 and October 2009. There he worked for several organisations, including the think tank Commonwealth Policy Studies Unit, the British Conservative Party's Research Department, and Social Enterprise London. He was also adjunct

faculty member at Faculty of Economics and Policy Science, UCSI University, and was a member of the Academic Working Group at the Razak School of Government. He writes for The Edge and SingaporeStraits Times.

Keeran Sivarajah, *Head of Operations*

Keeran Sivarajah is currently a candidate for the Master's program in International Education Policy at Harvard University. He is the co-founder and former Managing Director of Teach For Malaysia, a non-profit organisation that enlists Malaysia's most outstanding youth in its effort to address education inequity.

Prior to founding Teach For Malaysia, Keeran was a management consultant at PricewaterhouseCoopers. He is an Education Advisor and Associate Director at the Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs, and an Associate Consultant at CfBT Education Trust. Keeran holds a Bachelor of Commerce in Finance from the University of Melbourne, Australia.

Tan Sri Ramon Navaratnam, *Advisor*

Tan Sri Dato' (Dr) Ramon V. Navaratnam is Chairman of the Centre for Public Policy is Chairman of the Centre for Public Policy Studies at the Asian Strategy & Leadership Institute (ASLI). He is also currently the Corporate Advisor of the Sunway Group, Deputy Chairman of Sunway College, and the Director of the Asian Strategy & Leadership Institute (ASLI).He is a distinguished former civil servant and corporate personality. A graduate in Economics from the University of Malaya in Singapore and a post graduate from Harvard University, Tan Sri Ramon joined the Malaysian Civil Service in 1959 and held several positions in his long career of 27 years in the Malaysian Treasury and became the Deputy Secretary-General of the Treasury. He was promoted as the Secretary General of the Ministry of Transport in 1986. He was Alternate Executive Director of the World Bank in Washington from 1970 to 1972. He retired from Government in 1989 and became Chief Executive Officer of Bank Buruh (now BSN Commercial Bank) from 1989 to 1994.

Tan Sri Dr. Michael Yeoh, *Advisor*

Tan Sri Dr Michael O.K. Yeoh is Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer of the Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute (ASLI), Malaysia's foremost and one of Asia's leading Think Tanks. He was also appointed by the Malaysian Government to be Malaysia's Representative with Ambassador status on the ASEAN High Level Task Force on Connectivity, appointed by the ASEAN Heads of Governments at the ASEAN Summit. The Prime Minister of Malaysia appointed Tan Sri Yeoh to be a Member of the Advisory Board of the Malaysian Anti Corruption Commission and a Commissioner in Malaysia's Competition Commission. He was a former Commissioner in Malaysia's Human Rights Commission where he served two terms. Tan Sri Yeoh is also Chairman of the World Chinese Economic Forum (WCEF) and the Asean Leadership Forum; Secretary-General of Corporate Malaysia Roundtable, ASEAN Business Forum and World Muslim Leadership Forum.

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ABOUT THE INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS (IDEAS)

IDEAS is inspired by the vision of Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Haj, the first Prime Minister of Malaysia. IDEAS shares his vision as stated in the 1957 Proclamation of Independence that this nation should:

"be for ever a sovereign democratic and independent State founded upon the principles of liberty and justice and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of its people and the maintenance of a just peace among all nations"

In 2012, IDEAS was ranked as Asia's best new think tank and the world's 5th best new think tank.

IDEAS is an independent not-for-profit organisation. As a cross-partisan think tank, we work across the political spectrum. Our purpose is to advance market-based principles, and we are not bound by party politics, race or religion.

Our mission is to improve the level of understanding and acceptance of public policies based on the principles of rule of law, limited government, free markets and free individuals.

ABOUT THE CENTRE FOR PUBLIC POLICY STUDIES (CPPS)

The Centre for Public Policy Studies is an independent and non-partisan public policy institute that aims at fostering open-minded dialogue, enlightened leadership and better governance. The belief underpinning the establishment of the CPPS is that the challenge of building a cohesive, competitive and successful multi-racial Malaysian society can best be met by open discussion buttressed by rigorous analytical work and a spirit of tolerance and respect for the needs and aspirations of all stakeholders in the country.

Through an innovative mix of policy research, strategic communications and targeted outreach, the Centre's mission is to engage and educate the public and policy makers on best practice policies and successful change strategies that can ensure inclusive development for all Malaysians.

Our Mission
- Undertake high quality policy research on issues of public interest and concern
- Ensure our research products and policy recommendations reach policy makers, advocates, and the public
- Maximize impact on policy-making by developing programs, products and outreach strategy which are tailored towards key target audiences