

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Corruption is common in almost every country. Corruption is a problem that should be avoided and promptly cleared of a country. Furthermore, according to Former Commissioners of the Indonesia Anti-Corruption Commission, Chandra M. Hamzah, corruption is classified into three types. First is multinational corruption. Multinational corruption happens when corporation manipulate the money given by the government. Usually this corruption is in a third world state. The second is institutional corruption. This corruption is done by the government officials and institutions. The corruption is well prepared and tightly structured. The last is individual corruption. It refers to an individual who does the corruption usually they press people's money.¹

If we see from the impact of it, we can say that institutional corruption causes massive impacts. This is because institutional corruption is engaged with International Relations actors, which is stated. In the International world, almost no country does not commit corruption.² Many countries in the world commit the corruption inside the government. World Rank Corruption index reported from Transparency International mentioned that Malaysia is the 55th rank of world corruption.³

In 2015, Malaysia was surprised by the corruption case by the Malaysia Prime Minister, Dato'Sri Najib Razak. At the time, Najib Razak had been holding a position of Prime Minister for 6 years. In his second period as Prime Minister,

¹ Irawan, Dika (2017). *Korupsi Korporasi Marak di Negara Dunia Ketiga*, Retrieved on October 26, 2017 from <http://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20170415/19/645314/korupsi-korporasi-marak-di-negara-dunia-ketiga>

² Transparency International (2016), *Corruption Perception Index 2016*, Retrieved on October 27, 2017 from

https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2016

³ Transparency International (2016), *Corruption Rank*, Retrieved on October 27, 2017 from <https://tradingeconomics.com/country-list/corruption-rank>

he was reported on been doing corruption of money \$ 700 Million USD. This was reported by Wall Street Journal's because of the unclear transfer to Najib Razak's private account. The fund sent to the personal account of Najib Razak was channelled from One Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB). 1MDB is a Malaysian government-owned company focusing on strategic development projects of energy, real estate, tourism and agribusiness for development of Malaysia. This case is known as 1Malaysia Development Berhad Scandal. Knowing this scandal, Malaysian society, was motivated to hold some rallies and demonstrations. The last rally was the biggest one, demanding Prime Minister Najib Razak to step down.

The protest of Malaysian society to overthrow of Prime Minister never occurred in Malaysia. During 22 years, Prime Minister Tun Dr Mahatir Muhammad has never been demonstrated of negative action such as corruption. In the other way, Mahathir has been contributed of economic and development growth to Malaysia. During his period as Prime Minister, Malaysian economy grew rapidly in the field of infrastructure that has been the icon of Malaysia such as the national automotive brand of Proton, Petronas Twin Towers, and the public transportation that facilitated the society. In the other hand, the infrastructure growth by Najib has not been able to add list of number of icons in Malaysia. Besides comparing the infrastructure grows, people also compare the price of goods. They feel that the price is increasing because of the new policy to implement the Goods and Service Tax (GST) 6% each goods and services by the Prime Minister Najib Razak.⁴

Besides the problem of increase of GST as much as 6%, the general election systems are not free and fair. The irregularities and unfairness that happened in the electoral election in Malaysia triggered several questions making

⁴ New Mandala. (2015), *Najib's taxing problem: The politics of Malaysia's GST*. Retrieved October 23, 2017 from <http://www.newmandala.org/najibs-taxing-problem-the-politics-of-malysias-gst/>

Malaysian citizen curious because of his win and urge the transparency of general election in 2013.⁵ At that time Malaysian news mentioned there were several *Pengundi Hantu* (Ghost Voters). Ghost Voters are foreign voters who work in Malaysia and are given Malaysian Identity Card and have rights as the voters to join the general election. Besides the ghost voter, people also can vote for more than one time in the general election. That is caused by the indelible ink they have no mark to indicate that they have already voted. In addition, during the campaign period, the mainstream media is completely controlled by the government and denied access to the opposition. There can be no real democracy with such a lopsided and biased media environment.⁶

The differences had been felt by the Malaysian society emerged the fluctuation to demand several things to the government. In 2015, movement emerged followed by 500.000 Malaysian societies to do the act in public road to demand the step down of Prime Minister.⁷ This movement was called *Bersih 4*, and continued by *Bersih 5* in 2016. In 2007, 2011 and 2012 there are *Bersih 1, 2, 3* movements, but then, the first until third movements focus on the good governance and did not relate to the case of Prime Minister.

Bersih movement has the mission to speak out the right of society. This group namely *Bersih 2.0*. *Bersih* is a movement initiated by Maria Chin Abdullah as a women's rights activist and also the initiator of the *Bersih* movement. *Bersih* is a movement whose members consisting of

⁵ Sreenevasan, Ambiga. (2013 May 4), *Will elections in Malaysia be free or fair?*, Retrieved on November 27, 2017 from

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/04/201342982454925143.html>

⁶ Ibrahim, Azeem. *Election Fraud in Malaysia*, Retrieved on November 27, 2017 from https://www.huffingtonpost.com/azeem-ibrahim/malaysia-election-fraud_b_3211954.html

⁷ Buang, Shakira. (2015 August 31), *500,000 were at Bersih 4, says organiser*, Retrieved on October 2017 from <https://www.malaysiakini.com/news/310565>

opposition political leaders, representatives from the civil society,⁸ and several NGOs.

In the *Bersih 1* action, they demanded four immediate reforms to the electoral process: (i) a thorough cleanup of the electoral roll; (ii) the use of indelible ink to prevent multiple voting; (iii) the abolition of postal voting for military and police personnel; (iv) fair access to the mass media for all parties.⁹ The first *Bersih* rally was held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. In this rally, some chaos happened. Therefore the police should involve and be force to lachrymator to the demonstrators. 40,000 people of Malaysia joined the first rally.¹⁰

Secondly, *Bersih 2* was held in July 2011. *Bersih 2* or is usually called Walk for Democracy facilitated by the government held a rally in Merdeka Place, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. This rally introduced by *Bersih 2* demanding eight points for clean and fair elections: (i) Clean the electoral roll; (ii) Reform postal ballot; (iii) Use indelible ink; (iv) Minimum 21 days campaign period (v) Free and fair access to media; (vi) Strengthen public institutions; (vii) Stop corruption; (viii) Stop dirty politics.¹¹ *Bersih 2* was followed by around 50,000 participants and almost caused heavy traffic jam on the road. Hence, the police should secure the rally. For the first time the rally was supported by 32 cities around the world organized by Global Bersih. And finally, after several months, the parliamentary selected Committee of General Election for granting the electoral form was announced and established.

Third, *Bersih 3* was marred by violence. Which the opposition of Bersih claimed was instigated by the police or

⁸ *The Strait Times*, 2015, *What you need to know about Malaysia's Bersih movement*, Retrieved October 25, 2017, from <http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/what-you-need-to-know-about-malaysias-bersih-movement>

⁹ Bersih 2.0, *Bersih 1 (10 November 2007)*, Retrieved on October 26, 2017 from <http://www.bersih.org/rallies/bersih1/>

¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹ Bersih 2.0, *Bersih 2: Walk For Democracy (9 July 2011)*, Retrieved on October 26, 2017 from <https://www.bersih.org/rallies/bersih2/>

by hooligans hired by those in power.¹² *Bersih 3* is also called *Duduk Bantah* (Sit in), because it is a protest to the government. Responding the follow up of the rally in 2007 and 2011, this movement happened because there is no realization of previous rally and demand for observation of 13th general election by international observers. In fact, the participants already delivered that they will stop the demonstration after the electoral reform in the general election grant.¹³

Furthermore, *Bersih 4* movement is a rally that happened in 2015. This movement based on Wall Street Journal's reported. The funds were transferred to the personal account of Najib Razak and suspected as the corruption. Malaysian societies with *Bersih 4* demanded Najib Razak to step down from his position as Prime Minister. This rally was happening for two days and followed by more than 200.000 participants inside and outside Malaysia.¹⁴

And finally the last rally was *Bersih 5*. *Bersih 2.0* announced that it would hold the *Bersih 5* rally on the 19th of November 2016 at Dataran Merdeka from 10am to 6pm. The meeting points were Dataran Maybank (Bangsar LRT) and Masjid Negara. Participants walked from these two meeting points to Dataran Merdeka. *Bersih 2.0* is currently run a convoy to raise awareness about *Bersih 5*'s demands for institutional reforms and the severity of the 1MDB crisis. The *Bersih 5* Convoy started on the 1st of October 2016 and run every weekend until the *Bersih 5* rally on the 19th of November 2016. There were being seven convoys nationwide, starting from the North, South, East and West of Peninsula Malaysia and Sabah and Sarawak. The convoy head towards Kuala Lumpur, Kota Kinabalu and Kuching.¹⁵

¹² Andaya, Barbara W. & Andaya, Leonard Y (2017), *History of Malaysia*, New York: Palgrave p.362

¹³ Bersih 2.0, *Bersih 3: Duduk Bantah (2012 April 12)*, Retrieved on November 3, 2017 from <http://www.bersih.org/rallies/bersih3/>

¹⁴ Bersih 2.0, *Bersih 4 (2015 August 29-30)*, Retrieved on November 6, 2017 from <http://www.bersih.org/rallies/bersih4/>

¹⁵ Global Bersih, *Bersih 5*, Retrieved on November 9, 2017 from <https://www.globalbersih.org/bersih5/>

However, after the *Bersih 5* movement until now, PM Najib Razak along with the Government of Malaysia has successfully covered up the corruption case. Prime Minister Najib Razak managed to take various ways to secure his position. He discharged his rival Muhyiddin Yassin, who was a Vice Prime Minister of Najib's government. Muhyiddin Yassin had criticized Najib for the IMDB scandal, and was replaced by the Minister of Home Affairs Zahid Hamidi. Not only did he kick Muhyiddin, he also replaced Attorney General Abdul Gani Patail (due to a health reason, according to him) to Mohamed Apandi Ali, who was able to clean up the corruption case that happened to Najib and declared Najib not a suspect of corrupt.¹⁶

We can say that from 2015 until 2017, Najib was safe from several suspects because of his track record in the political fields especially in the Malaysian government. But then, *Bersih 2.0* was still shouting of Good Governance in order to demand the prosperity of Malaysian society. *Bersih 2.0* is a movement initiated by the civil society that has no relation with the Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission or in *Bahasa Melayu* called *Suruhanjaya Pencegah Rasuah Malaysia (SPRM)*,¹⁷ *Bersih 2.0* as Non-Governmental Organization is still escorting and fighting of Good Governance.

In this research, the researcher is interested to research and analyze the effort of *Bersih 2.0* to impose the Good Governance.

B. Research Question

Based on the background elaborated before, the researcher has reached the question: ***What are the efforts of***

¹⁶ BBC Indonesia, *Skandal IMDB soroti pendanaan politik di Malaysia* retrieved on November 9, 2017 from

http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2016/03/160329_dunia_malaysia_dana_politik

¹⁷ Bersih 2.0, *KENYATAAN MEDIA PENERUSI BERSIH 2.0*, *Kami bersama*

SPRM, dedahkanlah kebenaran!, Retrieved on November 9, 2017 from

<https://www.bersih.org/kenyataan-media-pengerusi-bersih-2-0-kami-bersama-sprm-dedahkanlah-kebenaran/>

Bersih 2.0 to develop Transnational Network in realizing Good Governance in Malaysia?

C. Theoretical Framework

To analyze the issue above, theory is needed. According to Masoed (1990), set of concept must be connected according the rule of logic to be a certain statement to explain the phenomenon scientifically.¹⁸ In the other words, theory is a view or perception about what happened. Beside, theory should give the hypothesis systematically. The aim of the theory is to understand phenomenon and data more easily.

In order to analyze a problem of the effort of *Bersih 2.0* to impose the good governance in Malaysia, the writer uses theories in International relations: Theory Transnational Advocacy Network to analyze the demand from the movement. To realize the good governance, the writer uses the concept of Good Governance. In the end, these theory and concept will become the framework to conduct the further research of the problem.

1. Concept of Good Governance

Good Governance is a concept of International Relations that has many things to define about the good governance in International Organizations. The United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) definition of good governance is set out in a 1997 UNDP policy document entitled "Governance for Sustainable Human Development". UNDP defines that Good Governance as the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affair at all levels.

Nowadays, Good Governance is an interesting issue to discuss. In the developing of Good Governance issue, this issue has reached the international debate by UNDP, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. The issue of good governance in every country is interesting to discuss. Good governance (efficient, effective, responsive, corruption free and citizen

¹⁸ Mas'od, M. (1990). *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*. Jakarta: LP3ES

friendly) is central to the administration for ensuring people's trust in government and promoting social harmony, political stability and economic development¹⁹.

Fukuyama Said that there are two dimensions to qualify governance as good or bad. Those are the capacity of the state and bureaucracy's autonomy. They both complement, in the context of capability of a state. For the example, through the collection of taxes, there should be more autonomy because bureaucrats are able to conduct things well without being instructed with a lot of details. In the less capable states, less discretion and more rules setting are desirable.²⁰ Good governance can be mention as the transformation of the government in many aspects.

In the other way of thinking about good governance is through the outcomes. Since the government carry out that has aims like provided of public goods to their society, there is no better way to think good governance except deliverables. it is the demand from the citizens, like security, health, education, water, enforcement contracts, protection to property, protection to the environment and the ability to vote and get the fair salary.²¹ With the things mention above, can be the parameter to impose the good governance.

According to UNDP, to reach the goal of the good governance, UNDP classified 9 principles of Good Governance. Good governance comprises the existence of effective mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their

¹⁹ World Bank, (1997), *Corruption and Good Governance*, Annual Meetings World Bank Group Issue Brief

²⁰ Fukuyama, Francis. (2013), *What is Governance?*, Center for Global Development, p.314

²¹ Rotberg, R. (2014), *Good Governance Means Performance and Result*. Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institutions, p.511

interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. The essential characteristics are:²²

(a) Participation: All men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as on the capacity to participate constructively.

(b) Rule of law: Legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.

(c) Transparency: This concept is built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information should be directly accessible to those concerned, and enough information should be provided to render them understandable and monitorable.

(d) Responsiveness: Institutions and processes should serve all stakeholders.

(e) Consensus orientation: Good governance should mediate differing interests in order to reach broad consensus on the best interests of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.

(f) Equity: All men and women should have equal opportunity to maintain or improve their well-being.

(g) Effectiveness and efficiency: Processes and institutions should produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.

(h) Accountability: Decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil-society organizations should be accountable to the public as well as to institutional stakeholders. This accountability

²² International Fund For Agricultural Development, (1999), *Good Governance: An Overview*, Rome, p.6, Retrieved on October 31, 2017 from <https://www.ifad.org/documents/10180/b638539f-2a1d-4181-a8da-c685eac1a245>

differs depending on the organization and whether the decision is internal or external to an organization.

(i) **Strategic vision.** Leaders and the public should have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, together with a sense of what is needed for such development. There should also be an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded.

After speaking out the demands by the civil society, the writer expects that Malaysian Government can advocate *Bersih 2.0* and civil society demands to realize the good governance as what *Bersih 2.0* wants. According to 9 characteristics by UNDP, *Bersih 2.0* on their rallies demand the aspect of transparency. To create good governance in Malaysia, Malaysian Government can fulfil the rest of Malaysian society rights and demand by the *Bersih 2.0* and civil society.

2. Theory of Transnational Advocacy Network

A transnational advocacy network includes those relevant actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services.²³ In the transnational advocacy network, the ability of non-traditional actors to mobilize the information and create new issues through the persuasive action or pressure considered of something unique and excess that state hasn't. Advocacy is an effort to improve or to change the public policy in order to appropriate with the desire or the demander interest toward the changing of the policy.²⁴

Advocacy is not a revolution process to arrogate the political authority then can change all of the system

²³ Margaret E Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. (1998), *Activist Beyond Border :Advocacy Network in International Politics*, Cornel University Press, New York, p.2

²⁴ Tomatimasang, Roem., Fakhri, Mansour., & Raharjo, Toto., (2000). *Merubah Kebijakan Publik*, Read Books, Yogyakarta.

and the civil structure. Different with revolution, advocacy is based on the assumption that system changing and civil structure widely can occur with the steps of the changes of public policy (gradual and incremental changes).²⁵ The existence of transnational advocacy is the one of evidence that non-state actor reputed minor, now have the important role in International Relations. Ideally, the emergence of transnational advocacy network encourage by the desire to settle ignorance issues in a country. This matter has aims to change the state behaviour and international organization in order to receive the relevant issues. Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sicking wrote a book *Activist Beyond Borders: Advocacy Network in International Politics* to explain characteristic and behaviour of transnational advocacy network.²⁶ Keck and Sicking classified the strategy of advocacy such: information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics:²⁷

- **Information politics** is ability of transnational advocacy network in order to mobilize and distribute the information rapidly, accurately and internationally.
- **Symbolic politics** is ability to use symbol, act and narration to give understanding to international society about the situation.
- **Leverage politics** is the ability to intervene a stronger actor that holds leverage power to the state violating the rights, who can intervene the demand support from the powerful actors and influencing internationally.

²⁵ Azizah, Nur, 2013. *Advokasi Kuota Perempuan*, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, p.1

²⁶ Keck and Sicking, *Op. Cit.*

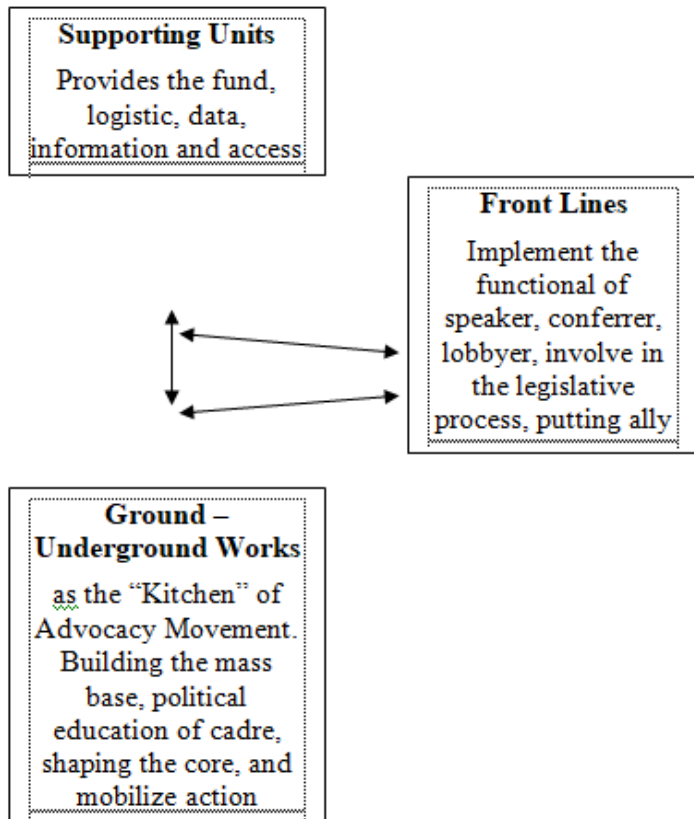
²⁷ Keck, Margaret E., & Sicking, Kathryn. (1991), *Transnational Advocacy Network in International and Region Politics*, Blackwell Publisher, Malden, p.95.

- **Accountability politics** is the efforts to demand the actor's commitment or the target side in order to realize what has been demanded.

According to Nur Azizah, advocacy engages many sides or organizations that can be shown in the coordination triangle such as:²⁸

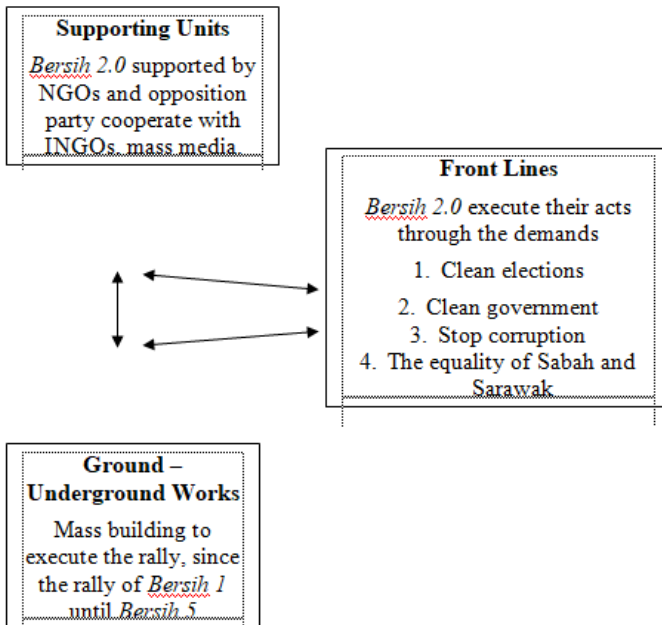
²⁸ Nur Azizah, *Op. Cit.*

Figure 1.1 The Coordination Triangle



In Malaysia, in order to the realization of a country that upholds the good governance, coordination between actors can be illustrated in the following triangles:

Figure 1.2 Bersih 2.0 Coordination Triangle



The advocacy steps by *Bersih 2.0* are not only done by *Bersih 2.0* but involved many actors organized systematically and connected through as the picture shown by the coordination triangle. The involvement of the actors is very important in order to realize the public policy as the expectation of civil society movement through advocacy toward government.

D. Hypothesis

According to the background and the theoretical framework above, the efforts of *Bersih 2.0* to realize the Good Governance in Malaysia are as follows strategy:

1. Information Politics: *Bersih 2.0* distributes and spreads the information through global citizen and international mass media
2. Symbolic Politics: The five of *Bersih 2.0* rallies shout out “*bersih*” as the jargon
3. Leverage Politics: Mahathir Mohammad and International NGOs cooperate with *Bersih 2.0*
4. Accountability Politics: The five rallies of *Bersih 2.0* deliver several demands

E. Research Purpose

The purpose of research is to describe the steps by civil society movements in a country and can influence the government to change the policy. In the case of *Bersih 2.0* as the civil society movement, it tries to take attention of Malaysian Government to realize a Good Governance in Malaysia.

Eventually, this undergraduate thesis is as a requirement to attain the bachelor degree under the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

F. Research Method

In this research, the writer uses the qualitative research method or descriptive. There are many definitions of qualitative research. First, Bodgan and Taylor define “qualitative method” as the research procedure that produces the descriptive data as the words are written or spoken from the human behaviours that can observe²⁹. Second, Kirk and Miller also define that qualitative research is the certain tradition in the social science fundamentally depends on the observation of human in their scope and connected with others in the discussion and the terminology.³⁰

²⁹ J. Moleong, Lexy. (1989).*Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Remadja Karya, p.3

³⁰ *Ibid*

1. Research Type

This undergraduate thesis uses the descriptive research. Descriptive research is about the facts with interpretation that has aims to describe, or image systematically, factual, and accurate about relationship through phenomenon being investigated.

2. Data and Data Sources

The data on this undergraduate thesis is based on the secondary data. Secondary data is citing from other sources so it is not authentic. The data gets from the second, third and more sources. According to Lofland on Moelong, the prime source of data in the qualitative research is words and actions; the rest is the additional data such as document and others. In regarding to that, in this part the type of data divided to words and action, written data sources, photo and statistic³¹.

3. Data collecting technique

The technique of data collecting in this research uses the technique of library research which data can be collect from several sources such as book, journal, research's report and online.

4. Data Analysis Technique

Data processing techniques that used in this research is narrative, where this technique write down the results of research from data used directly in the form of narration. The nature of the results of his research is qualitative. Data obtained from this research will be arranged in a systematic and logical, then analyzed descriptively qualitative. Qualitative research as a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written words or can be of the people and behaviours observed.

G. Research Scope

To avoid the enlargement of explanation of the efforts of *Bersih 2.0* to realize the good governance in Malaysia, the research needed the scope of research. In this research, the

³¹ *Ibid*

writer limits the discussion from the emergence of *Bersih 2.0* in 2007 until the last rally *Bersih 5* in 2016.

H. Writing System

This undergraduate thesis is systematically written based on the rules applied in a scientific writing. It is divided into several chapters with different discussion within its own territory but interrelated. In order to facilitate in interpreting the topic issue, this undergraduate thesis will be divided into five chapters that consist of:

- **Chapter I** This chapter examines the background of the research, research question that need to be answered, theoretical framework that is used to analyze the research question, hypothesis, purpose of the research, method of the research, and the systematic of writing that is also written in this chapter.
- **Chapter II** This chapter will explain about the problem on clean governance in Malaysia
- **Chapter III** This chapter explains about the emergence *Bersih 2.0*
- **Chapter IV** This chapter will explain about the efforts of *Bersih 2.0* to realize the Good Governance in Malaysia
- **Chapter V** Conclusion of the research.

