

1ST QUARTERLY REPORT

January - March 2025

The Center to Combat Corruption & Cronyism





THE CENTER TO COMBAT
CORRUPTION AND CRONYISM

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Setting the right foot forward for 2025 with a company retreat

From January 21st to 23rd, 2025, the entire C4 Center team embarked on a rejuvenating company retreat to Kuala Kubu Bharu—a charming, quiet town nestled in the lush countryside of Selangor. The bus ride took less than two hours, setting the tone for a refreshing escape from the fast-paced year of 2024. Upon arrival, CEO Pushpan Murugiah—who is also a certified medic—led the team through a vital and potentially life-saving CPR training session. After settling into our accommodations at Sarang by the Brook, some staff enjoyed a swim, followed by an evening of guitar playing and lively sing-alongs.

Day two was packed with adventure, featuring an exhilarating white-water rafting experience and a relaxing drift down the river. The excitement continued into the evening with a hearty barbecue cookout. On the final day, the team reviewed the updated employee handbook before heading back to Kuala Lumpur, recharged and more connected than ever.



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Regional Consultation on the Establishment of Ombudsman Malaysia with State Agencies for the East Coast Zone

Held in Kuala Terengganu on the 15th and 16th of January 2025

C4 Center's work with the Working Committee on Holistic Consultation to Determine the Mechanism of Establishing the Malaysian Ombudsman - set up by the Legal Affairs Division of the Prime Minister's Department (BHEUU) and consisting of various government and non-government representatives - continued in 2025 with the next Regional Consultation with state governments on the East Coast of the Peninsula i.e. Kelantan, Terengganu, and Pahang.

The Working Committee resolved to hold a series of Regional Consultations across the country to inform members of the state governments and local authorities about the proposal to introduce an Ombudsman office. This is important due to the unsettled matter of the Ombudsman's jurisdiction i.e. whether it would extend to the state governments, which may prove legally untenable due to the constitutional separation of legislative competence between the federal and state legislatures. Nevertheless, the PCB presently does assist with the coordination and monitoring of public complaints made against state government departments/agencies as well as the local authorities. Hence, there currently exists a grey area which must be resolved in creating the Ombudsman. Previous Regional Consultations were held in 2024 in the Northern Zone (Perlis, Kedah, Penang, and Perak) and Sabah.

The East Coast Regional Consultation was held in Kuala Terengganu on the 15th and 16th of January, 2025. The two day session brought together about 200 representatives from various state government departments, agencies, and the local authorities for a series of presentations from BHEUU, the Public Complaints Bureau (PCB), the Enforcement Agency Integrity Commission (EAIC), and C4 Center.

C4 Center's Policy and Legal Research Officer Prishanth Linggaraj spoke for a session on "Implementation and Challenges of Ombudsman Offices" and was a panellist on a forum titled "Ombudsman Malaysia: Are We Ready?". During his sessions, he emphasised the potential improvements which an independent and empowered Ombudsman office could bring not only for members of the public, but also the government itself - through identifying barriers and possible avenues for reform to improve service delivery and internal operations.

Developments in this reform agenda have been intertwined with the government's efforts to introduce a Right to Information Act and refine the domestic whistleblower protection framework: C4 Center is actively involved in both of these themes as well. We are committed to continued collaboration with the government in this regard to see these reforms to completion.



Promises versus Progress: Are the Government's Anti-Corruption Pledges Enough?

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 25th January 2025

On 25 January 2025, C4 Center organised the “Promises versus Progress: Are the Government's Anti-Corruption Pledges Enough?” forum, held at the Asia Institute of Chartered Bankers (AICB) Building, Kuala Lumpur. As part of the event, two reports were launched, namely, “Navigating Reform: Opportunities and Challenges in the National Anti-Corruption Strategy 2024-2028” and “Whistleblower Protection or Suppression? A Decade of Section 203A of the Penal Code”. Additionally, this event saw the bringing together of various experts representing civil society, academia, and the youth through a panel session and a wider forum.

To cap off the event, C4 Center Chairman Professor Terence Edmund Gomez provided a keynote speech, “The Manifestation of Grand Corruption in Malaysia”. Professor Terence provided a historical background of grand corruption issues in Malaysia, contextualising how pertinent corruption issues developed in the country via different government policies. Furthermore, he examined the NACS in the context of this long history of grand corruption, questioning its effectiveness in addressing these issues.

Following this was the launch of the first report, which sought to better understand the government's plans for good governance and anti-corruption through the National Anti-Corruption Strategy 2024-

2028 (NACS) – the government's policy programme specifically targeted at bolstering anti-corruption measures. In attempting to communicate the substance of this report among members of civil society, the media, academia, and the diplomatic community, C4 Center Research and Communications Officer Benjamin Tiong presented the findings of the report during this event. Namely, the presentation touched on the inadequacies of the NACS, noting how strategies present in the NACS are a regression from the previous national strategy, the National Anti-Corruption Plan, 2019-2023 (NACP).

Besides this, he highlighted how the NACS excluded major reforms, lacks clarity in specific reform targets, its evaluation mechanism is insufficient, and how it has inadequate public engagement mechanism. Overall, he questioned the feasibility of the government's plan to reach a top-25 ranking in Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) by 2033. As a final call to action, he urged the government to undertake the recommendations featured in the report, which included the need to include clearer substrategies, provide effective impact assessment for each substrategy, and conduct frequent engagement with the public on NACS implementation.

This presentation was followed by a panel session which touched on wider corruption issues that affect



society from multiple levels. The panel session included the following speakers:

- Dr Melati Nungsari, Deputy Dean of Research, Asia School of Business – Corruption's Role in Widening Socioeconomic Inequality
- Ms Cynthia Gabriel, Founding Director, C4 Center – Opportunities for the Private Sector to Steer Anti-Corruption Reforms
- Mr Anas Nor'azim, Advocacy Officer, BERSIH – Corruption's Impacts on the Malaysian Youth and the Role they can Play

The panellist emphasised how corruption has tangible impacts Malaysia not merely from a reputational standpoint, but also how it has critical material impacts on the socioeconomic conditions of Malaysians in general. This discussion aimed to take discourse away from the typical discussion of corruption by highlighting the actual effects of corruption on average citizens.

Following from this session, C4 Center Head of Research and Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan was on hand to present the next report. This report sought to highlight how legal and practical barriers for whistleblowers have been created by Section 203A of the Penal Code (s.203A) — which has instilled a culture of fear and secrecy amongst would-be whistleblowers, generally impinging the ability to unearth corrupt activities. His presentation displayed the various case studies and comparative analysis present in the report, highlighting the urgent need for reform to ensure that whistleblowers can safely expose corruption without fear of legal or personal repercussions. Among the recommendations were the repeal of s.203A, widening the scope of the Whistleblower Protection Act 2010 to empower its protection of whistleblowers, enacting a Right to Information Act, and amending the Official Secrets Act 1972 to better harmonise it with the right to information.

C4 Center hopes that the launch of both these reports will provide useful guidance for Malaysian lawmakers and the Malaysian government in bolstering the NACS, and in improving conditions for whistleblowers to disclose corrupt acts in government. C4 Center also stressed that there is a need to continue engagement with the public, including civil society and academia, to better enhance anti-corruption efforts in the country.





UNODC Workshop on Strengthening Business Integrity through Incentives in Malaysia

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 5th of February 2025

On 5 February 2025, C4 Center – represented by its Chief Executive Officer Pushpan Murugiah, Research Officer Sangeetha Niscinta Nandini, and Research and Communications Officer Benjamin Tiong – attended the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime’s (UNODC) workshop on “Strengthening Business Integrity through Incentives in Malaysia” at Intercontinental Hotel, Kuala Lumpur.

The workshop was designed to understand the challenges and opportunities for the implementation of incentives in business integrity in Malaysia. This was done as an acknowledgement of the critical need to confront systemic corruption risks that have emerged in recent years, risks which involve both the private sector and government-linked companies (GLCs). The core aim of this workshop, however, was to

build the capacity of its participants, who came from a wide range of backgrounds, including federal government officials, state government officials, the private sector, and civil society.

Participants were taken through case studies that illuminated the use of business integrity incentives in other countries, and how that might apply in Malaysia. Participants were also made to engage in discussions which revolved around the major corruption risks to business integrity in Malaysia and were encouraged to think up solutions to confront these issues. A key takeaway discovered during the breakout sessions was the need for collective action and capacity-building for private and public sector representatives – especially with the help of UNODC.



ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE



Roundtable Discussion on Prospective Policy Proposals for Voluntary Carbon Markets (VCM)

Held in Subang on the 20th of January 2025

On January 20th, C4 Center was invited to join a roundtable discussion organised by Transparency International (TI) Malaysia focusing on the prospective policy proposals for Voluntary Carbon Markets (VCM) as a part of the Climate Governance and Integrity Project (CGIP). The research on VCM was presented by Ho Yi Jian, research analyst from Sunway University in which he deliberately shared the current voluntary regulations on VCM, the process, weaknesses, recommendations, and case study. In summary, there is currently no baseline addressing VCM, in addition to the lack of enforcement and implementation, these gaps pose many risks of exploitation, leading to the abuse of indigenous livelihoods and environmental degradation. Hence, further aspects including corporate accountability, transparency,

and good governance were raised during the discussion for further study to address more rigorous policy proposals.

Furthermore, VCM is an emerging methodology that is often exploited by big corporations to maintain status quo and various case studies on VCM implementation, including Kuamut Rainforest Conservation Carbon Project that has kickstarted in Sabah reveals issues regarding customary land rights for the indigenous people as well as the biodiversity impact. Hence, the research findings were insightful for us to continue to monitor the VCM standard and regulation updates, analyse corruption risks in the loopholes of its governance, and to address these issues to relevant corporations and the government.



Klima Action Malaysia (KAMY) Just Energy Transition (JET) Report Launch

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 12th of February 2025

On February 12, C4 Center had the opportunity to attend a report launched on Just Energy Transition (JET) by a feminist and climate justice group, Klima Action Malaysia (KAMY). KAMY launched a report titled “JET-BHR in Peninsular Malaysia: Towards a just energy transition with business and human rights principles”, focusing on how Malaysia can achieve an energy transition, phasing out from fossil fuel dependency, that truly protects the workers, indigenous people and vulnerable communities, as well as protecting the environment.

Last year, C4 Center contributed to sharing several insights on the JET-BHR aspects with KAMY. The insights include the roundtable discussion that was conducted by KAMY with various CSOs to collect feedback from CSOs’ perspectives on the relevant issues faced during the transition. In addition, we gave additional input on the enactment of Ombudsman law that can potentially address and elevate the grievance mechanisms for the public to report on governance issues and business-related human rights violations effectively.



Global Alliances for Incinerator Alternatives (GAIA) Southeast Asia Meeting

Held in Danang, Vietnam, on the 24th to 26th of February 2025

GAIA introduced a new format for its biennial members meeting converting from global participation to more narrowed down sub-regional participation. This enabled members of immediate neighbouring locations sharing similar challenges to network and share learnings throughout the 5-day meeting and consultation. 49 participants from 37 organisations in South East Asia including C4 Center attended the meeting which included one day of site visits. The host members from Vietnam Zero Waste Alliance, Pacific Environment and BUS lined up insightful case studies bringing members doing active work on Zero Waste implementation to view successful and on-going waste reduction projects in Danang, Vietnam.

The meeting had breakout groups where members were able to join groups relevant to their own body of work. C4 Center participated in discussions in the Legacy Incinerators and Corporate Accountability groups. Malaysia government is worryingly increasing development projects of waste-to-energy incinerators under the guise of circular econo-

my. The lack of publicly accessible information on air monitoring of both legacy and current incinerator sites is a shared challenge by all members in the group. In the corporate accountability (CA) group, C4 Center provided updates looking at CA through the business and human rights (BHR) lens as Malaysia is currently drafting its national action plan on BHR. The NAPBHR does present opportunity to hold corporates accountable for impacts on the environment and human rights infringement.

There was also discussion where members provided suggestion on developing a standardized reuse taxonomy as well as exploring possible scenarios in the negotiations of the Global Plastic Treaty. The meeting closed with members sharing impacts faced in light of the withdrawal of US foreign aid in the region, and GAIA provided updates the work on developing the framework for the Zero Waste Transition Fund.



Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM) Climate Justice Forum 2025

Held in Petaling Jaya on the 27th of February 2025

On February 27, C4 Center, along with other various CSOs, participated in a forum conducted by Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM) in Petaling Jaya. The forum entitled “Climate Justice Forum 2025: Carbon Capture: A false solution that is expensive, inefficient, with a long history of failure” unravelled the long discussion on the carbon capture technology as a false solution to address climate crisis and provided CSOs to re-strategise our methods to address the issue effectively.

The forum has successfully served as a platform for the CSOs to gain insights and critically assess the carbon capture technology and its associated risks, and to shape the discourse on carbon capture from a climate justice perspective. In

addition, SAM has also prepared a comprehensive memorandum on Carbon Capture, and Storage (CCS) for signing and circulating purposes, prior to handing the memorandum to the members of the parliament to stop the rushed Carbon Capture, Utilisation, and Storage (CCUS) Bill from being recklessly tabled and passed. C4 Center signed the memorandum in support of the discouragement of the bill’s development, and we continue to advocate CCUS being a false solution to the climate crisis.



Action against the Carbon Capture, Utilisation, and Storage Bill (CCUS) – Memorandum Handover to the Parliament

Held in Petaling Jaya on the 27th of February 2025

On March 19, C4 Center joined Parti Sosialis Malaysia (PSM), SAM, KAMY, Persatuan Aktivis Sahabat Alam (KUASA), Greenpeace Malaysia, and members of the public in action to serve a memorandum criticising the implementation of the CCUS Bill to the members of Dewan Negara. The action involved a peaceful protest from the coalition in front of the parliament and each of the organisation had the opportunity to speak and highlight the main issues of CCUS technology, namely its failure to capture carbon emissions, gaps in liability and transparency, lack of meaningful public participation, and others. The memorandum, signed by 19 civil society organizations underscores the aforementioned issues, demanding transparency and

meaningful climate action, in addition to the government to halt the tabling of the CCUS Bill. After hours waiting outside the Parliament, a representative from YB Senator Mohd Hasbie's office finally came down to receive the memorandum.

Through the memorandum, we urge the members of Dewan Negara to fully understand the hazards associated with CCUS technology and its potential detrimental effects on the environment and public welfare. Hence, it is crucial for the government to suspend its development and concentrate on more accessible solutions in addressing the climate crisis.



REGIONAL ADVOCACY



Regional Workshop on Non-governmental Stakeholders' Engagement in Practical Application of the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime

Held in Putrajaya on the 15th to 17th of January 2024

From 15 to 17 January 2025, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) organised the Regional Workshop on Non-governmental Stakeholders' Engagement in the Practical Application of the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC). The workshop gathered civil society representatives from across Asia, including the Maldives, Pakistan, India, Nepal, and ASEAN countries.

C4 Center was represented by CEO Pushpan Murugiah and Head of Research & Policy Advocacy Arief Hamizan.

Over the three days, participants explored key themes such as profiling organised crime in the region, international and regional frameworks to prevent and counter organised crime, and regional initiatives for combating

these threats. Notably, Pushpan Murugiah spoke on a panel on the practical application of UNTOC instruments and skills-building, while Arief Hamizan joined a youth panel on the role of young people in combating organised crime.

Other sessions included discussions on mainstreaming gender and human rights in interventions, as well as collaborative group workshops where participants developed actionable regional proposals. The event concluded with the establishment of a volunteer working committee to carry forward the momentum and initiatives developed during the workshop.





2025 Asia & the Pacific Regional Meeting of the Open Government Partnership (OGP)

Held in Manila, the Philippines, on the 3rd to 5th of February 2025

Arief Hamizan, Head of Research & Policy Advocacy at C4 Center, participated in the 2025 Asia & the Pacific Regional Meeting of the Open Government Partnership (OGP), held from 3–7 February in Manila, Philippines.

The meeting convened government officials, civil society leaders, policy-makers, and regional partners from across the Asia-Pacific to assess progress and challenges in advancing open

government principles. Arief attended as a delegate in a dedicated workshop for regional youth leaders, contributing to discussions on strengthening youth engagement in transparency, accountability, and participatory governance across the region.



Southeast Asia Anti-Corruption Network (SEA-ACN) Regional Forum on Public Procurement

Held in Bangkok, Thailand on the 17th and 18th of February 2025



The SEA-ACN Regional Forum on Understanding Public Procurement was organised jointly by the Bangkok-based Knowledge Hub for Regional Anti-Corruption and Good Governance Collaboration (KRAC), and the Malaysia-based Center to Combat Corruption and Cronyism (C4 Center), held at SILQ Hotel and Residences in Bangkok, Thailand between 17 to 18 February 2024. The event was also supported by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). The objective of the forum is to facilitate discussions on procurement and contracting practices, including alternative modalities of public procurement in Southeast Asian countries.

The programme for the first day of the Forum (17 February) was populated with a series of presentations that set out to establish the context of public procurement regimes and related challenges in the Southeast Asian region. The introductory remarks were presented by Annika Wythes, Team Lead, Anti-Corruption Hub for South-East Asia, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC); Dr. Torplus Yomnak, Director of the Knowledge Hub for Regional Anti-Corruption and Good Governance Collaboration (KRAC); and Pushpan

Murugiah, CEO of C4 Center. This was followed by a presentation of the report “Policy Proposal to the Malaysian Government: The Procurement Act” by C4 Center Researcher Bryan Cheah – the report highlights and analyses C4 Center’s key areas concerns with regards to the Malaysian government’s proposed Procurement Act and provides recommendations with regards to how these issues should be addressed and legislated in the drafting of the Act. The full report can be found on C4 Center’s website.

Following this, speakers from multiple nations in the Southeast Asian region provided concise explanations regarding the public procurement regimes in their respective nations, with each speaker highlighting the legal and institutional instruments involved in public procurement, as well as the challenges and weaknesses faced in these respective regimes. After having familiarised all participants with the basics of the different public procurement systems in different Southeast Asian nations, Pushpan Murugiah presented “Public Procurement and Other Modalities of Government Contracting.” His presentation provided an explanation of the alternative procurement modalities increasingly being used by governments globally to contract with the private sector as well as other governments, highlighting the corruption risks inherent to these modalities as they are not generally governed under convention procurement





guidelines or legislation.

This was followed by “Improving Procurement and Contracting Transparency” by Clara Feng, Regional Advisor for the Infrastructure Transparency Initiative (CoST) – Clara’s presentation was an overview of the work undertaken by CoST in ensuring infrastructure projects adhere to transparency principles, ensuring that the projects meet their purpose, are carried out efficiently, and are completed with the interests of communities in mind, while highlighting the importance of data collection and utilisation throughout CoST’s operations.

The last panel session of the first day was “Various Types of the Procurement Modalities & its Financial Impact: Case Studies in Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Cambodia.” This panel intended to gain insight regarding the procurement-related scandals and anti-corruption action undertaken by individual Southeast Asian countries. The speakers for this panel session were Cynthia Gabriel from Malaysia, Laode Syarif from Indonesia, Soh Kee Hean from Singapore, and another representative who wished to remain unnamed. Pushpan Murugiah moderated this session.

Each speaker presented on major corruption scandals that have taken place within their respective nations that were related to public procurement, while mentioning each governments’ strategies in addressing or curbing corruption – it was observed that large infrastructure projects were often the ones who were exempt from procurement transparency protocol, obscuring these projects from public scrutiny.

The programme for the second day of the Forum (18 February) included two workshops that aimed at obtaining more granular data with regards to the participants’ experience and work in relation to the weaknesses of the public procurement system in their home countries, and to also identify the strategies adopted by participants and their organisations to enable and support public procurement regime reform. The outcomes from these workshops were strategies that could be undertaken by CSOs both individually and under the SEA-ACN collective to improve advocacy work. These strategies included the development of data sharing centres and platforms for CSOs to share their intel and expertise with each other; CSOs actively engaging

with and mutually planning projects that are regional and cross-border in nature in order to address the increasing cross-border nature of public procurement corruption; the need for collective representation at international-level and inter-governmental engagements such as the ASEAN Parties Against Corruption (ASEAN-PAC); and for SEA-ACN to collectively seek out funding opportunities and alternative methods of self-funding so that more activities can be initiated and carried out.

The findings of this two-day forum and its respective workshops were compiled into a report submitted to KRAC and UNODC that focused on a comparative analysis of procurement regimes of different Southeast Asian nations, with a view to expand upon advocacy on good governance in public procurement strategies regionally.





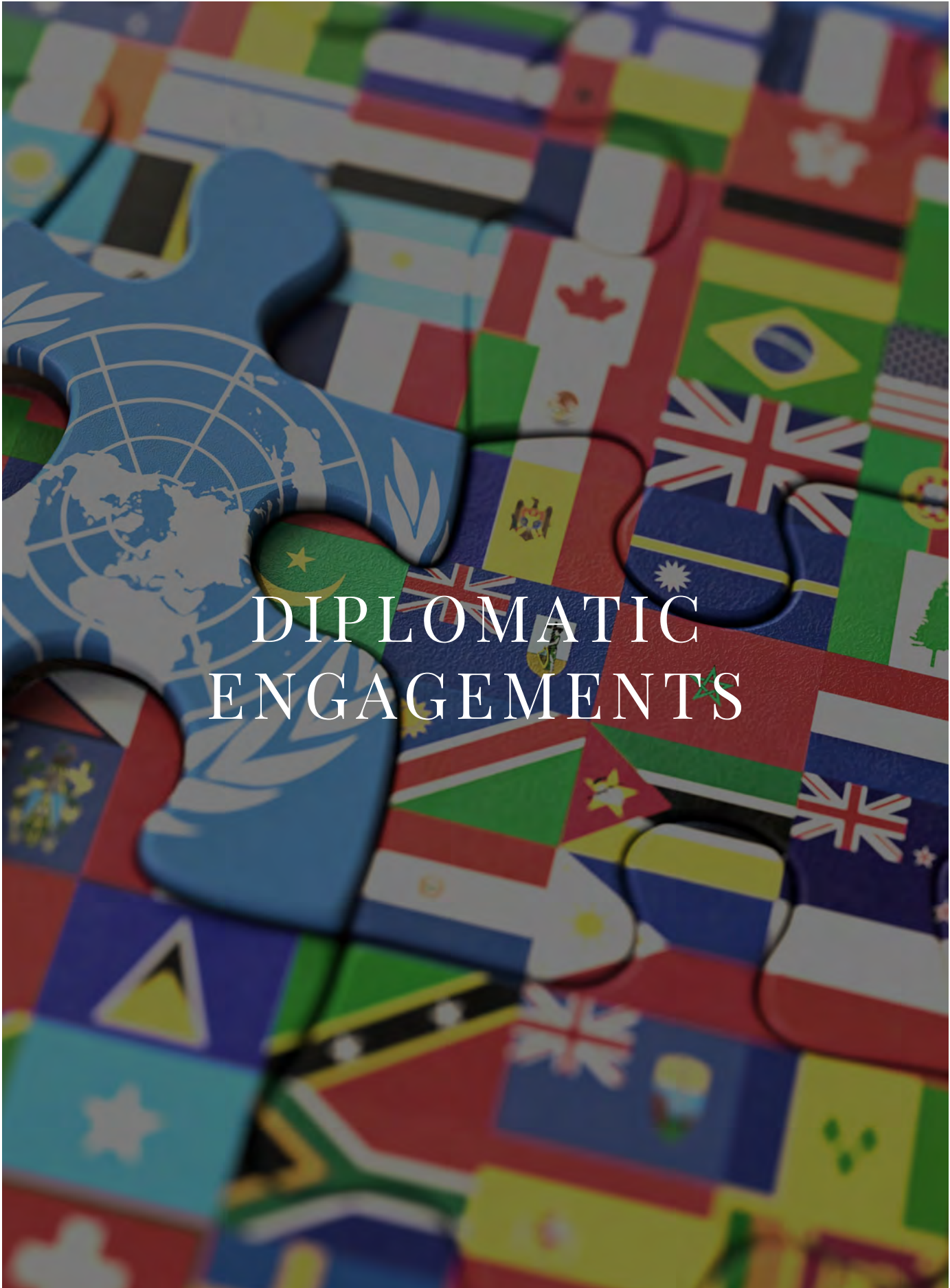
Exploratory Meeting with Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) Regional Office for Southeast Asia

Held in Bangkok, Thailand, on the 18th of February 2025

On February 18, C4 Center representatives had the opportunity to drop by the OHCHR Regional Office for South-East Asia Regional Office in Bangkok to speak with Human Rights Officer Mr Arnaud Chaltin. During our brief but constructive meeting, we explained to Mr Chaltin the current status of Malaysia's human rights situation with respect to corruption, governance, and the environment i.e. C4 Center's core thematic focus areas. We had set up this meeting with the aim of establish-

ing ties with the OHCHR Regional Office, understanding the Office's agendas and current projects and priorities, and exploring potential avenues for collaboration moving forward.

The meeting went very well, and we are extremely appreciative to Mr Chaltin for taking time out of his busy schedule to accommodate us. We hope this marks the beginning of a long and productive relationship between C4 Center and the OHCHR.



DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENTS



Lunch Meeting and Dinner Reception with H.E. Niklas Wiberg, Swedish Ambassador to Malaysia and Delegation of the Swedish Riksdag

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 26th of February 2025

On 26 February 2025, C4 Center was invited by the Embassy of Sweden to meet with H.E. Niklas Wiberg, Swedish Ambassador to Malaysia, as well as a delegation of representatives from the Swedish Parliament (Riksdag), including H.E. Kerstin Lundgren, Third Deputy Speaker, and a few other Members and officers of the Riksdag.

C4 Center's representatives Pushpan Murugiah and Prishanth Lingaraj joined this esteemed delegation for lunch to discuss the development of good governance reforms in Malaysia, with specific focus on the ongoing establishment of the Ombudsman Malaysia.

We were also joined at lunch by representatives from the Sarawak State Government, who spoke on the experience Sarawak has had thus far in setting up its State Ombudsman office.

Later that same day, C4 Center was also invited to a dinner reception for CSOs hosted by the Swedish Embassy at the Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia. It was a wonderful opportunity for lively discussion with the visiting delegation and other CSO friends. We are grateful for the opportunity and hope to continue forging productive collaboration with Sweden moving forward.



Meeting with the Embassy of Denmark in Malaysia

Held in Kuala Lumpur on the 7th of March 2025

On 7 March 2025, C4 Center had the pleasure of making a courtesy visit to the recently reopened Embassy of Denmark in Malaysia. C4 Center initiated this visit in hopes of better understanding the contributions and initiatives made by the embassy in Malaysia, in addition to discussing the anti-corruption landscapes between their respective countries and Malaysia in the areas of policy-making, business and economics.

C4 Center is very honoured to have enjoyed a fruitful discussion with Her Excellency Kirstine Vangkilde Berner, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Denmark to Malaysia. We are also thankful for the amazing hospitality provided by her and her representatives too. We look forward to future collaborations with the embassy in the future.

Q1 MEDIA ENGAGEMENTS

9
*Press Statements released
in Quarter 1 of 2025*



At least
43
*mentions of C4
Center in the media*



*Compared to
previous Quarter*



Views

161k

↑ 27,588.5%

Likes

15k

↑ 247,466.7%

Comments

7.7k

↑ 382,850%

Shares

2.4k

↑ 237,700%



*Compared to
previous Quarter*



Views

95.3k

↑ 888.6%

Reach

47.6k

↑ 1,300%

Interactions

3.7k

↑ 828%

*New
Follows*

257

↑ 301.6%



*Compared to
previous Quarter*



Views

15.7k

↑ 95.2%

Reach

4.6k

↑ 35.4%

Interactions

601

↑ 164.8%

*New
Follows*

24

↑ 71.4%