

THE PATTERN OF CORRUPTION AN ERADICATION STRATEGY IN INDONESIA AS A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY

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ABSTRACT

High rates of corruption in Indonesia be the one to proof that corruption is a comprehensive type of crime. Related to that, the pattern of corruption eradication must be comprehensive, simultaneous, holistic and integrated. In its development, the pattern of eradicating corruption in Indonesia needs to be done by "Systemic Thinking". So that existing patterns of corruption can be overcome, eradicated, and prevented from reaching the root. Eradicating corruption in Indonesia today still views corruption as partial and not patterned. Thus, the handling only focuses on the corruption case itself rather than the existing pattern of corruption. In principle, if we look at the pattern of corruption, society and bureaucratic factors is not one of the most fundamental aspects, it will begin with a political party factor that produces cadres of government leaders such as the president, governor, mayor, and legislator. This paper tries to illustrate how the democratic system correlates with patterns of corruption, what are the elements of weakness in the current democratic system in Indonesia which are the causes of corruption and how to solve it. There are four strategies that must be carried out to eradicate corruption in Indonesia, namely rearranging political parties, ethics and anti-corruption education for political party cadres, carrying out mandate of Article 15 of Law Number 2 of 1999 Concerning Political Parties related to financial reporting, and improving the audit cost of campaign costs.

Keyword: Corruption Eradication Strategy, Democracy, Government

1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of corruption in Indonesia is alarming. Referring to data from the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), this year up to September 30th, 2018, the KPK handled corruption with details: 127 cases pra investigations, 126 cases investigation, 101 cases prosecution, 75 cases inkracht, and 80 cases execution. The total cases of corruption were handled from 2004-2018 as follows, 1,098 cases pra investigation, 814 cases investigation, 669 cases prosecution, 547 cases inkracht, and 577 cases execution. The graph of corruption cases since 2004-2018 is in figure 1.

Furthermore, Lestari (2017) wrote that, "Indonesia is ranked 90th out of 176 countries in the world with a CPI index of 36." This indicates that, the number of corruption cases in Indonesia is quite a lot. Even more, from the findings of cases corruption in Indonesia, almost mostly high officials in the executive, legislative and judicial branches become an actor of corruption. Therefore, seeing the phenomenon of corruption cases in Indonesia today, corruption in Indonesia can be analogous like a banyan tree that has roots in the soil and exists in every tree branch.

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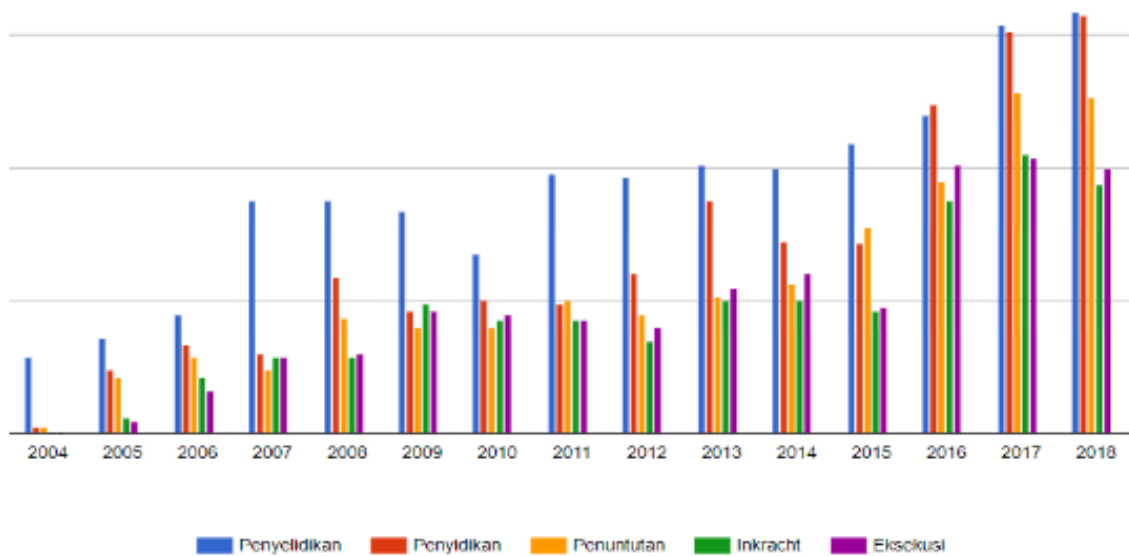


Figure 1
Graph of Corruption Cases in Indonesia 2004-2018

Source: KPK-RI

In the administration of government in Indonesia, which is a democratic country, it basically aims to increase public participation in the administration of government. Democracy in Indonesia is carried out from various aspects including, local head elections, legislative elections, the formation of legal products, and others. However, the implementation of democracy in Indonesia in principle is like a double-edged knife that has positive and negative impacts. The positive side is that people can have a stake in the administration of government. However, on the other hand democracy also precisely destroys the integrity and ethics of the state civil apparatus caused by the great influence of politics that have an interest in having power both at the national and at the Local level.

In Indonesia there are 3 (three) principles of the governance system, namely decentralization, deconcentration and assistance duties. Local Autonomy as defined in Law Number 23 Year 2014 concerning Local Government is the right, authority, and obligation of the autonomous region to regulate and manage Government Affairs and the interests of the local community in the system of

the Republic of Indonesia. In line with the impact of implementing democracy in Indonesia, the implementation of decentralization of Local autonomy in Indonesia also has positive and negative impacts. On the one hand, currently local governments can develop their own regions based on the specificity of their respective regions, but on the other hand Local autonomy actually broadens corrupt practices in local governments because of the authority granted from the central government to local governments.

Corruption is anything that is done by a person or a group that has an impact on the financial losses of the organization, the state and the community. Efforts to eradicate corruption in Indonesia have been carried out both in terms of repressive and preventive measures. It's just that all the efforts made at this time are considered still not optimal to eradicate corruption in Indonesia. The ineffectiveness of eradicating corruption in Indonesia is caused by eradicating corruption which is considered to be less comprehensive. This is in line with what was revealed (Timbonga, 2017: 6) that,

"The corruption is so complex and beyond the reach of criminal law, the use of crimi-

nal law to eradicate corruption is only a symptomatic treatment and not a causative, the functioning of criminal law to eradicate corruption that is integrated requires a variety of supportive tools and large costs."

So far, the eradication of corruption has not paid attention to the pattern of corruption that exists in Indonesia. In eradicating corruption in Indonesia, Systemic thinking needs to be done in principle to be able to see patterns of corruption that exist and eradicate or prevent corruption from its roots. If we already know the roots of the corruption phenomenon in Indonesia, especially in Local governments, of course eradicating corruption will be more effective. On the other hand, anti-corruption campaigns and internalization of the code of ethics and code of conduct to public officials in the executive, legislative and judiciary will be more targeted.

Based on the description above, the authors are interested in discussing the correlation between democratic systems and patterns of corruption and strategies to eradicate corruption in the administration of government in Indonesia. Through this research, it is expected to be able to see how the democratic system correlates with patterns of corruption and strategies in its eradication. Therefore, this study refers to the main literature review of the journal Jain, A. K. (2001), "Corruption: A Review", Journal of Economic Surveys.

The method used in this study is library research. Library research limits its activities to library collection materials without the need for field research (Zed, 2008). Data collection techniques in this study were carried out by means of secondary data collection through library research. These data come from books, journals and websites on the internet.

2. RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION CORRUPTION IN DEMOCRACY COUNTRIES

Corruption and corruptors are in

accordance with the original language (Azhar, 2003: 28) originating from the Latin corruptus language, which changes from a fair, right and honest condition to the opposite condition. In criminal law, (Poerwadarminta, 1976) the definition of Corruption is a bad act such as embezzlement of money, receipt of bribes and so on. The definition of corruption above identifies deviations from public officials from norms accepted and adopted by the community with the aim of gaining personal benefits (serve private ends).

In Indriati, (2014: 3), corruption can be categorized as a case that is incidental and systemic. Meanwhile, according to the scale, corruption can be in the form of grand corruption and petty corruption. Grand Corruption is the most widespread and negative form of corruption. Meanwhile, petty corruption refers to the abuse of power by lower and middle level public officials in their daily interactions with the public.

In line with the above, the occurrence of corruption in the administration of government, especially at the Local government level, is caused by various factors. To see this, especially in Indonesia as a country that adheres to a democratic system, corruption at the Local government level can be considered as a patterned corruption. During this time, if we see the phenomenon or cases of corruption revealed in the media, of course we will only see who the perpetrators committed corruption. However, the perpetrators caught in corruption can be said to be only a small part of the patterned corruption system.

Therefore, to eradicate corruption in Local government, of course, we must first understand where the root causes of corruption are in a pattern, so that an appropriate strategy can be formulated in combating corruption in the implementation of Local governance. To see the pattern of corruption in the democratic country, can be seen in Figure 2. Corrupt Relationships in the Democratic Society in (Jean, 2001).

From picture 2.1., it can be seen that corruption in the administration of democratic society is a continuous cycle. If we see it from the local government case, the corruption began from local head elections, where local heads come from political parties or independent elected through the mechanism of local head elections. As we know, local head elections certainly require a lot of capital or funds. On the Merdeka website page, (Simanjuntak, 2014) quoted a statement from the Executive Director of the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) Dodi Ambardi, explaining that, "the cost of administering a Local election averages around Rp 25 to 50 billion." Next, on the Detik.com website, (Darmajati, 2017), said that, "in the 2017 DKI Local Election, on average each candidate pair spent campaign funds of Rp 60 billion."

The campaign funds that are not small, become one of the causes of corruption in the local government. To get these funds, most of them were obtained from political parties, personal wealth, and supporters / volunteers, the majority of which came from the business profession. The existence of large campaign funds, this will lead to the mindset of local heads and legislators to think of returning campaign

capital after taking office, if we take the example of campaign funds of at least 25 billion, then of course to be able to return the initial capital, in a year Local head candidates and deputy Local heads must get at least 5 billion.

On the other hand, if campaign funds are sourced from entrepreneurs, of course not a few of these entrepreneurs will then be able to influence the policies of the Local head while serving to influence their respective wealth as a form of reciprocation from the Local head to the entrepreneur. Not only on the size of campaign funds, the fact also revealed that, during this time in Local elections in several regions, there were still widespread cases of money politics where prospective couples bribed the community with money to influence the choice of the community.

In addition to the high-cost Local head campaigns, campaigns for the election of legislators, both the House of Representatives (DPR) and the Local House of Representatives (DPRD) also require a lot of funds. Similar to the cases in the Local head elections, the election of legislators is also still colored by the existence of money politics. This is what later became one of the causes of corruption in the legislator.

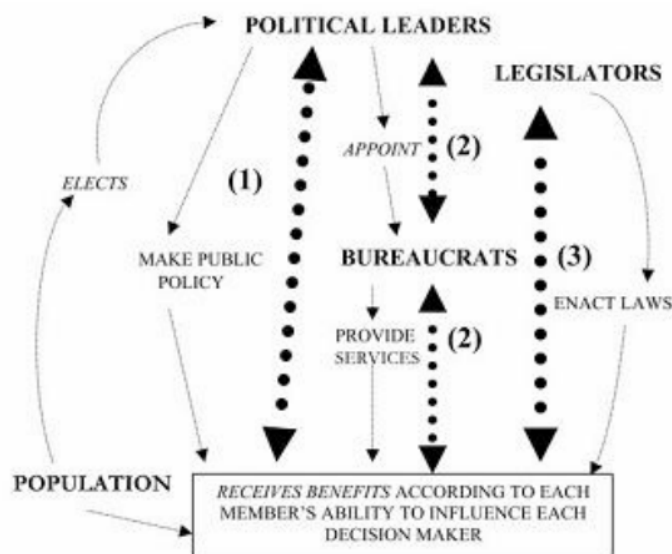


Figure 2
Corrupt Relationships in a Democratic Society

Source: Jean, 2001

Furthermore, the high costs of becoming Local heads and legislative members can ultimately impact on the mindset of Local heads and legislators to return their capital. One method of returning capital is then carried out through the formulation of Local policies that are directed to benefit themselves and a group.

In addition to influencing policy, one other way to get money is by selling positions. A civil servant who wants to occupy a high position in the area, be it echelon 1, echelon 2, echelon 3, and echelon 4 must pay a nominal amount of the specified price. One recent evidence is in Cirebon Regency, as in the Kompas Website (Gabrillin, 2018) page, writing that,

"The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) again dismantled corruption cases with the mode of buying and selling positions within the local government. This time, the KPK caught the Cirebon Mayor Sunjaya Purwadi Sastra. Sunjaya was announced as a suspect on Thursday (10/25/2018). Sunjaya Purwadisastra allegedly pegged deposits in the transfer of positions within the Cirebon Regency Government. Benchmark deposits for various mutations of positions, such as village heads, sub-district heads, and heads of offices. Prices for positions such as lurah are estimated to be around tens of millions. While the price for positions such as head of service is around Rp. 100 million."

A cycle of corruption will ultimately have an impact on bureaucrats below the level of implementation. When a civil servant official who occupies a position using the method of buying and selling positions will certainly think about how to return the capital. In the end, to repay the capital was done by corrupting the government budget and pressing his subordinates to be able to collect funds from public services and the implementation of the tasks carried out.

On the other hand, due to the behavior of bureaucrats that distinguish services between people who give tribute and those who do not, this also has an impact

on people's behavior which then also supports corrupt behavior. Seeing the above phenomenon, corruption in the implementation of Local government can be seen as a pattern that will always be repeated repeatedly by 3 (three) elements, namely the Local government, the private sector, and the community.

CORRUPTION ERADICATION STRATEGY IN INDONESIA

In the strategy to eradicate corruption in Indonesia, consideration must be given to understanding understanding the pattern of corruption so that the strategies implemented can be effective. This can be analogous to that when experiencing toothache which causes dizziness, if we treat it only with paracetamol, of course our dizziness will disappear. But a few moments later we will come back again dizzy, because we only treat dizziness instead of treating toothache which actually our teeth must be removed so as not to get dizzy again.

In looking at the pattern of corruption and the root of the problem in local governments in Indonesia, we must do systemic thinking or systemic thinking to be able to comprehensively eradicate corruption in Indonesia. In this case, the author takes the theory of Corrupt Relationships in a Democratic Society in Jean, 2001. In this theory, a democratic country has a cycle of corruption which is patterned starting from the time of Local elections or legislative to the implementation of government on a daily basis. Broadly speaking, in the theory and of course in a democratic country, the highest leadership of government comes from political parties. As in Indonesia, starting with the President, Governor, Mayor / Regent, all are political positions.

In line with the above, in Indriati (2014: 189) mentions in his book that,

"Corruption is contagious and widespread because of omission, leaders and ranks of employers do not impose sanctions in organizations where individuals are corrupt, or even leaders also commit corruption. In

principle this has happened in Indonesia, where the highest leadership of the legislative body who is also the General Chair of one of the political parties was sentenced for corruption."

Based on the above, it can be concluded that the President, Governor, Mayor, members of the House of Representatives, and members of the Local House of Representatives are the highest leaders of government in Indonesia and the main key in combating corruption in Indonesia. Therefore, in this case it can be concluded that it is the political parties that actually hold the key to being able to eradicate corruption in Indonesia. Thus, the right strategy to eradicate corruption must of course begin with how we can improve the quality of political parties in Indonesia to be able to produce qualified cadres of government leaders. The following are steps that must be taken to eradicate corruption in Indonesia from the perspective of the existing government system in Indonesia:

Rearranging Political Parties

The large number of political parties in Indonesia in principle is the reason for the opening up of many corruption cases in Indonesia. The large number of political parties is a weak point for the government (executive) to be able to provide oversight to political parties. On the other hand, the large number of political parties does not necessarily indicate that the cadres of political parties are all qualified.

In line with this, the political parties in Indonesia today are less clear in defining differences in vision and mission between parties. We can see the phenomenon that exists today, coalitions of political parties in the presidential election, election of governors, and the election of regents / mayors can vary or even contradict.

This is in line with what was revealed by legal and political observers from Nusa Cendana University, Nicolaus Pira Bunga on the Surya.co.id (Yoni, 2015) website, which said that,

"The number of political parties in Indonesia needs to be limited. The large number of political parties does not bring any benefits to the people as holders of sovereignty. In his observation, the presence of so many political parties in Indonesia even made the democratic system in this country increasingly destroyed, because the orientation of the party's political elite was only to seize power."

Based on the foregoing, it is now necessary to reorganize political parties with a clear vision and mission. Through political parties that are more organized and not too large in number, of course, they will also maintain the quality of the political parties in Indonesia. The quality of political parties will have an impact on the quality of political party cadres with integrity. In the end, this was able to minimize cases of corruption in Indonesia and high political costs.

Ethics and Anti-Corruption Education for Political Party Cadres

So far, we have always seen that corruption is merely the fault of bureaucrats. So, only bureaucrats need to be educated. On the other hand, the anti-corruption campaign for the community is also intensively carried out, which in principle is currently successful enough to improve the non-corrupt culture in the community and concern for handling corruption in Indonesia.

The fact is that currently, in principle, bureaucrats have been largely afraid of committing corruption ranging from small-scale illegal levies to large corruption. In principle this is the impact of handling corruption that is quite serious from law enforcement, both the police, prosecutors and the KPK. However, have we ever seen that bureaucrats become victims of a system and forced to corruption.

As with the pattern of corruption described earlier, we should be able to see that bureaucrats are only victims of the cycle of corruption in a democratic country. Dalam (Yustanti, 2015) also mentions that,

“Although today many leaders have the highest authority on state administrators and even party leaders who have been buzzing with anti-corruption, after serving in the government there were many who committed corruption even carried out by high officials who were undoubtedly religious scientists, who they should knowing what is right, what is wrong, instead it seems that corruption is considered normal without any shame and without feeling guilty.”

Therefore, candidates for the highest leadership of the government, cadres of political parties must also be given anti-corruption and ethics education in principle as public officials so that when they later hold office they can have an awareness not to commit acts of corruption.

Carry out the Mandate of Article 15 of Law No. 2 of 1999 concerning Political Parties related to Financial Reporting

Financial reporting for political parties in principle must begin to be improved. This is in line with what was revealed by (Sujatmiko, 2002: 28) that,

“This culture of transparency needs to begin by increasing the participation of parties involved in activities including children in financial problems in their environment. In other words, transparency in the family, community (RT/RW), NGOs, campus, mass organizations and political parties is the right of the members of the group.”

Apart from the above, related to the political party funding system in Indonesia, the Professor of Political Accountability in Government at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Padjadjaran University Prof. Rizal Djalil on the Unpad website (Hendriyana, 2014) argues that,

“As perfect as any system is made in regulating the question of funding political parties, there is still a vague space. Political party funding areas are like blood flow throughout the human body, which is branching from large to small streams. Not all things can be delivered openly, given the fact that political funds are not or-

dinary debit and credit budgets, with clear terms of employment, then the results are also clear. the system in Indonesia knows nothing about the full funding of political parties from members, or from the state. Beyond that, there is funding from third parties, both individuals and business entities, and even then the amount is limited. The government only provides limited budgets to political parties. “This situation has triggered politicians to take short-cuts, namely to seek political financing in the wrong way.”

Furthermore, Prof. Rizal Djalil conveyed several steps in realizing a quality political funding system in Indonesia as follows:

1. Study political funding in other countries with adjustments and experience in Indonesia. For example, political parties are allowed to have a business entity officially, because so far political parties are prohibited from having business entities and shares in certain business entities.
2. Political parties can use or utilize state funds either through APBN projects intended for party facilities, grants, and social assistance. The amount of assistance is also limited, and transparent in its use or allocation.
3. The government through parliamentary approval increases the number of official subsidies which are classified as very small.
4. The government carries out subsidies in other forms, not only limited to the operations of offices and staff but also for budget activities.
5. Private donations do not need to be limited in number. Of course this is necessary provided that restrictions on expenditures for activities are external to the party, especially regarding restrictions on expenditure during the campaign period.
6. The state provides adequate funding for expert staff who assist elected legislators.

Through clear good financial reporting and a quality funding system, it is able to

make it easier to see the financial cycles that exist in political parties. When there are funds that are not fair this can then be an early identification whether or not there are corrupt practices in it.

Improving the Quality of Campaign Cost Audit

Regulations related to campaign costs are principally regulated in the General Election Commission Regulation (KPU) Number 13 of 2016 as an amendment from General Election Commission Regulation Number 8 of 2015 concerning Campaign Funds for Election of Governor and Vice Governor, and / or Mayor and Vice Mayor. In this provision, in principle, it has provided detailed guidance regarding reporting of campaign funds. However, what is currently an obstacle is related to the audit conducted whether the campaign finance reporting is completely correct as it is or there are still many illegal funds that are not reported.

The fact that the campaign costs of the candidate pairs is high is a problem in itself and is the forerunner of corrupt practices in Local government. Therefore, through the existence of a quality audit, it is expected to be able to truly limit the amount of campaign funds. With the limited amount of campaign funds and within reasonable limits, it is certainly capable of being the first step in sportsmanship in pemliu.

If this can then be implemented consistently, the campaign costs that were once very high can be uniformed and of course minimize the search for campaign funds which would become the forerunner of corruption in the administration of government.

Of the four methods above, if it has been able to be implemented correctly in principle it will be able to minimize corruption cases in Indonesia. This is because, the handling of corruption cases is really done from the embryo of the leaders of government leaders who will later give a domino effect or can automatically repair and fight corruption in the administration of government in each of their regions.

Broadly speaking, the eradication of corruption in Indonesia today must start at a higher level, not only in terms of eradicating corruption partially but also in eradicating corruption comprehensively by understanding the pattern of corruption in Indonesia.

3. CONCLUSION

The democratic system in Indonesia with the phenomenon of corruption that continues to increase in principle has a positive correlation. When less systematic and less democratic democracy is prepared with the right instruments to be able to minimize corruption, the level of corruption will continue to increase. Facts that exist in Indonesia, especially at the Local government level, the existing democracy is still not well prepared and instead opens up gaps in corruption in it. High campaign costs, a large number of political parties, and the lack of guidance and supervision of political parties are the main causes of corruption gaps. When the candidate pairs who want to lead an area are required to have a high enough cost in the campaign, then of course they are able to change their mindset to then think about how to return campaign funds that have been issued as previous capital. This of course then has an impact on the administration of governance which becomes corrupt in order to enrich themselves or certain groups. Eradication of corruption in Indonesia today tends to still see corruption as something partial and not patterned. So, the handling is still only focused on a case of corruption itself rather than the existing pattern of corruption. If we look at the pattern of corruption that exists, then in principle the key to eradicating corruption in Indonesia is not to emphasize only bureaucrats and the public, but rather from political parties who will later produce government leaders, be they presidents, governors, mayors and members of the House of Representatives. Therefore, in this paper four strategies must be carried out in order to eradicate corruption in Indonesia, namely the

rearrangement of political parties, ethics education and anti-corruption for cadres of political parties, carrying out the mandate of Article 15 of Act No. 2 of 1999 concerning Political parties are related to financial reporting, and improve the quality of audit of campaign costs. It is hoped that if this strategy has been implemented, it can be further investigated the effect of improving the quality of political parties to be able to produce cadres of government leaders who have ethics, integrity and anti-domino effects to eradicate corruption against the bureaucrats below.

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