Dynamics of the Corruption Eradication in Indonesia

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Abstract

The paper discusses an important aspect of the complexity of corruption eradication in Indonesia. Corruption eradication is practically not merely about law enforcement, but also related to social, economic, and political aspects of the nation. By extracting the data from national news media and implement models describing the sentiment relations among political actors, the connection between balance of the sentiment among political elites and the critical levels of the investigation and law enforcement is apparently demonstrated. The focus group discussions among experts, practitioners, and social activists confirm the model.

Keywords: corruption eradication, Indonesia, KPK RI, political actor, sentiment relations.

1. Introduction

Since the reform 1998, corruption has become a serious focus when people talk about Indonesian social, economy, and politics. Bureaucratic corruption is an important focus due to aspects of public services. Corrupt solicitation between the public officials with other agents potentially prohibit parts (otherwise the whole or great deal of) the rights and accesses to public services [9]. Billions money of government loss may occur due to the scattered corrupt public officials. A concern on the varieties and modes of corruption has given challenges on the quest to eradicate of bureaucratic corruption. Half-hearted eradication of corruption may have yielded many possible modes of economy among citizens trying to reach out the services they are actually deserved. A previous study has shown hypothetically a dynamical model of the economy demonstrating the possible inter-dependence between those social agents in the side of against corruption and the corrupt agents [11].

In Indonesia, since the year of 2002 the Corruption Eradication Commission (*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi,* KPK RI) was formed as a special government agency to combat corruptions [8]. This agency is constitutionally given a great deal of law enforcing privileges to enhance their code of duties combating corruption. Over the years, KPK RI has grown into a great commission by capturing some big and notorious corruptors sitting on well-respected national chairs of public services being part of the governmental body. It has been commonly realized that only such Special Forces may combat corruption, leaving aside other government bodies of law enforcement.

While concentrating on corruption eradications, KPK may nonetheless clash with other high ranked public officials, famous and well-respected political figures, holding some sort of power to inhibit the investigations being delivered. There is possibility that the institutional position of the commission is endangered while she is facing political giants, economic tycoons, and so on. The legal affairs have practically turns out to be political eventually. That is why, KPK, being a law enforcement body, in some cases must carefully observed political constellations in holding their missions. Corruption is not merely a legal problem, but the complexity has grown into economy and politics of the country.

The paper discusses the issue of political sustainability of a corruption eradication forces in Indonesia. As a perspective, it uses a result of focus group discussions (FGD) collecting information from experts and activists that have been related to the activities as part, or simply meticulously observe the actions of KPK over the years. Then the data mining from all over online sources of national news media is used to measure some quantitative aspects of the issue of corruption in Indonesia. Some models are then proposed to observe the political dynamics in Indonesia related to corruption and its eradication over the years.

2. Corruption and the Political Dynamics

A focus group discussion delivered on seeing on the possible threat of corruption eradication process in the country driven by the KPK yielded some recommendation on looking over political aspects that may become the threat of the law enforcement over corrupt public officials. High ranked corruptors must have great access to social, economic, and political power, thus investigation is never easy.

By using the cognitive mapping [10] over the focus group discussion, we can see how political it is the vulnerability of the corruption eradication processes in Indonesia as shown in figure 1. Despite all the privileges for the law enforcement on corruption cases, the collective power outside the commission may potentially harm the anti-corruption movement and investigations, once corruptors hold access to capitalists, massive political mobilizations, mass media (including the so called social media), legal systems and bodies outside the special commission for corruption eradication, and so

on. This mapping has brought us to a recognition that the political affairs are intertwined with the corruption eradications and should not be seen independently.
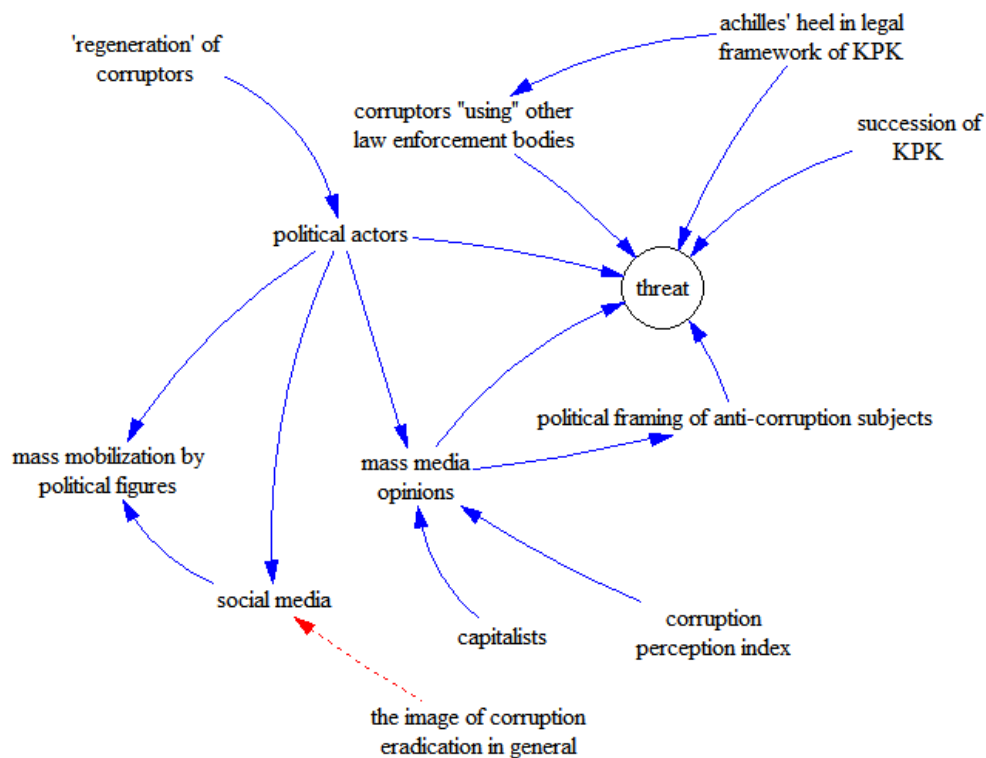

Figure 1. The dynamics among political actors may potentially become a threat to the corruption eradication.

Political parties, institutions, and various types of social (elite) figures play the political stages. The only resources to capture the dynamics of the political stages are the mass media. Journalism always try to report any news in the speed of time with some constraints of depth of the story as well as the "value of public interest" with the it. Sometimes there is also a characteristic that "bad news is a good news", thus investigative report to reveal the relations among actors and factors is valued more among journalists and reporters. Thus, collectively news as recorded by mass media is an interesting resource to capture the dynamics among political actors.

The more a case is "heated", the more the volume of the reports regarding to that issue in the news media. It is easy to check this within the online facility of Google Trends. By using the appropriate keywords, we can discover the ups and downs of the news volume due to issues and topics at the moment as shown in figure 2.

News media reports the level of preference (or contra view) of a political figures with a kind of concept. From the corpus of news media, we can have a list showing the sentiment of many political figures to a particular concept. By using the model of social sentiment balance theory [7] we can extract another list depicting the sentiment between two political figures based on the (positive and negative sentiment to a concept). From the list, we are having the sentiment graph representation among political actors.
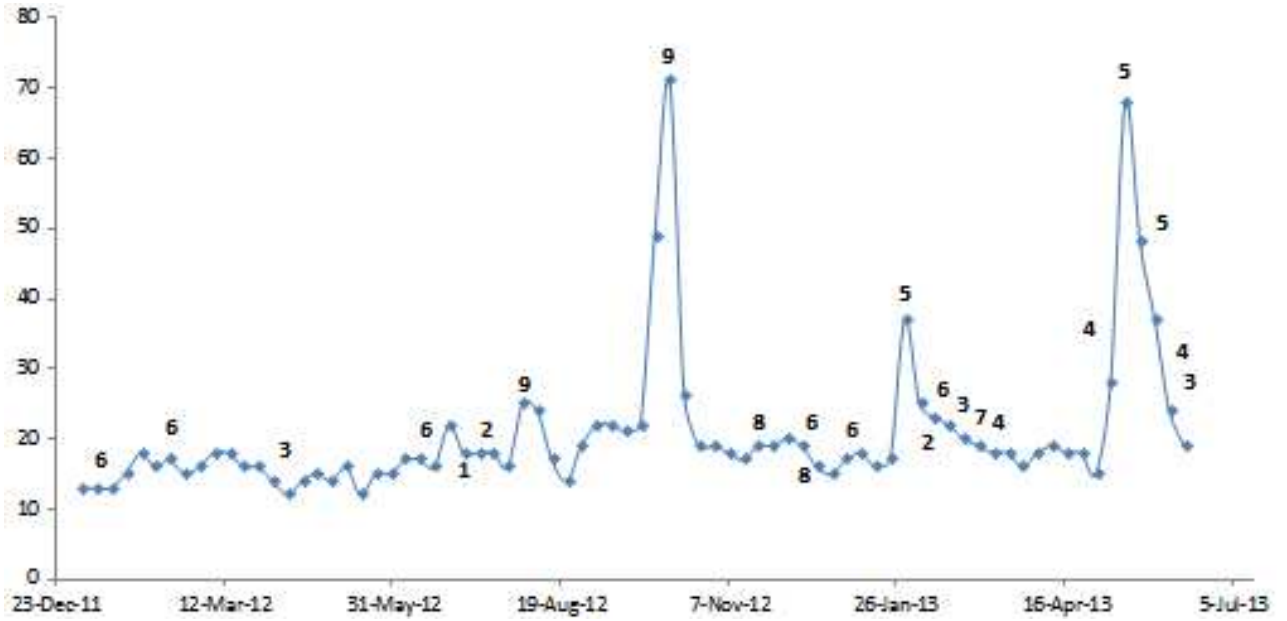
Figure 2. The dynamics of the volume of news media due to corruption eradication in Indonesia as captured in Google Trends. The numbers denotes the related cases as elaborated in the appendix.

Thus we have a graph representation of $G(V, E)$ where actor $v_i \in V$ is related to actor v_j denoted as edge $e_{ij} \in E$. This relation depicts the sentiment among actors,

$$e_{ij} \equiv \begin{cases} > 0, \text{if } v_i \text{ and } v_j \text{ have commonality on concept(s)} \\ = 0, \text{if } v_i \text{ and } v_j \text{ don't have commonality on concept(s)} \\ < 0, \text{ if } v_i \text{ and } v_j \text{ have opposing sentiments on concept(s)} \end{cases} \quad (1)$$

In network perspective, the tensions between two actors are represented by the weighing factors calculated by the counting in the news media processing. Thus, the most intuitive way to describe how high is the tensions within a actor network is by summing up all the negative edges in total,

$$CRI = \frac{\sum_{e_{ij} < 0} e_{ij}}{\sum_{e_{ij}} |e_{ij}|}, CRI \in \{0,1\} \quad (2)$$

where the maximum intensity of the conflicting actors collectively occurs when CRI (*conflict relation index*) = 1, and vice versa.

By using the Heiderian balance theory [7], we can see the relational pattern in the terms of triad, among three agents in the lowest social level. The principle is that within the unbalanced sentiment network, a social actor will be put in the high psychological tension and stressful [3, 5]. In the other hand, in the balanced network, individuals with opposing sentiments to a concept will be placed in different social clusters. The social balance theory has demonstrated that a social situation in which conflicting agents are placed in different groups are actually in the state of balanced network [2, 4].

By this assumption, the conflict indicators (*CI*) within a social niche can be written mathematically as,

$$CI_{triad} = 1 - \frac{\sum_{j \leq I} T_{balanced}}{\sum_I T_{total}} \qu(3)$$

where T_{balanced} is the number of unbalanced triads. Here, the social system is "heated" when the CI (*conflict index*) getting close to unity, and "cooled down" when *CI = 0*.
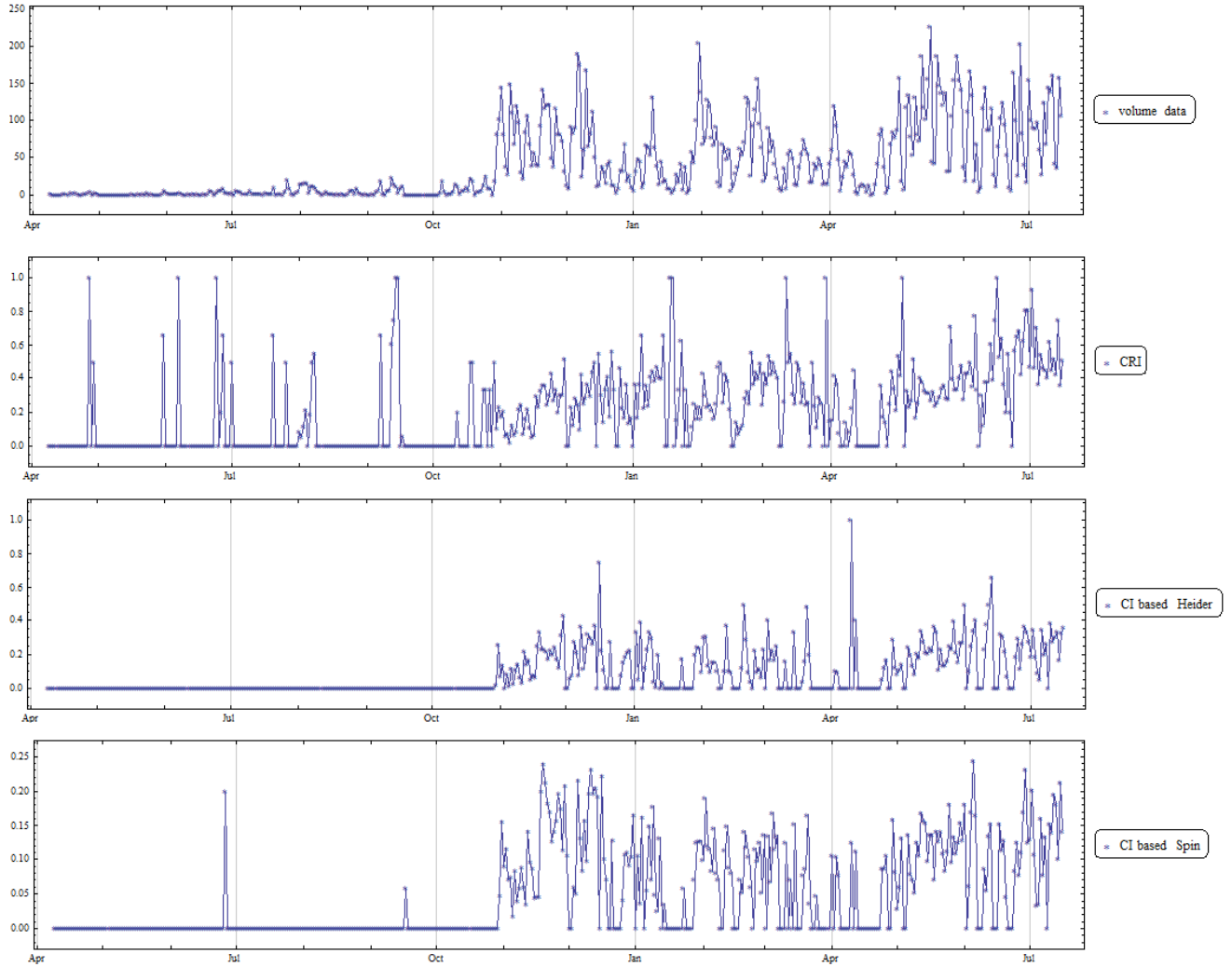

Figure 3. The historical data for volume of news report, conflicting relations, Heider-based conflict index, and spin-based conflict index due to the cases of corruption handling by the KPK RI.

Another alternative to calculate the conflict index (CI) is by calculating how far the sentiment relations are from the perfect balance [15]. This point of view calculates the number of "frustrated" relations. The network will be in balanced state if those relations are omitted or changed in to the opposite sign. By employing the Ising Spin Glass Model [1], the calculation of the balance index is by means of dividing the node (v) into 2 groups (signed +1 and -1). The functional energy of the system for the minimum energy is written as,

$$h(s) = \sum_{i,j} \frac{(1 - J_{ij} v_i v_j)}{2} \qquad (4)$$

$$\delta = \min_{s \in \mathbb{B}_2} h(v) \qquad (5)$$

where $J_{ij} \in \{1, -1\} = \mathbb{B}_2$ denotes the inter-node relations within the graph.

In our study, we implement the heuristic model for searching the ground state of the sentiment conflict network of political actors. We shuffle the actors' graph relations to have the reduce of negative relations, but keeping the frustration value of the graph the same over time as the constraint. This model is advantageous for it reduce the dependence to the triad relations within the calculations. Mathematically, we can say that the value of CI is,

$$CI_{spin} = \frac{\delta}{\Sigma_{e_{ij}}|e_{ij}|} \qquad (6)$$

3. Measuring the "danger" towards Corruption Eradication Processes

So now we have at least four indexes for a quantitative measurements capturing the dynamics of corruption eradications in Indonesia over time, namely

- ✓ The volume of reports in news media,
- ✓ The negative sentiments relations (CRI),
- ✓ The Heider Balance Index (CI_{triad}),
- ✓ The Spin Balance Index (CI_{spin}).

It is interesting to compare the "levels of danger" of some cases due to the investigation (by the KPK RI) as shown by the four indexes with the one felt and observed by the subject of our Focus Group Discussion. We asked the members of the FGD to give a scale of danger (between 0-100) on timely manner historically in the nine most recent cases and contrasting it with those shown by the historical chart of the four indexes.
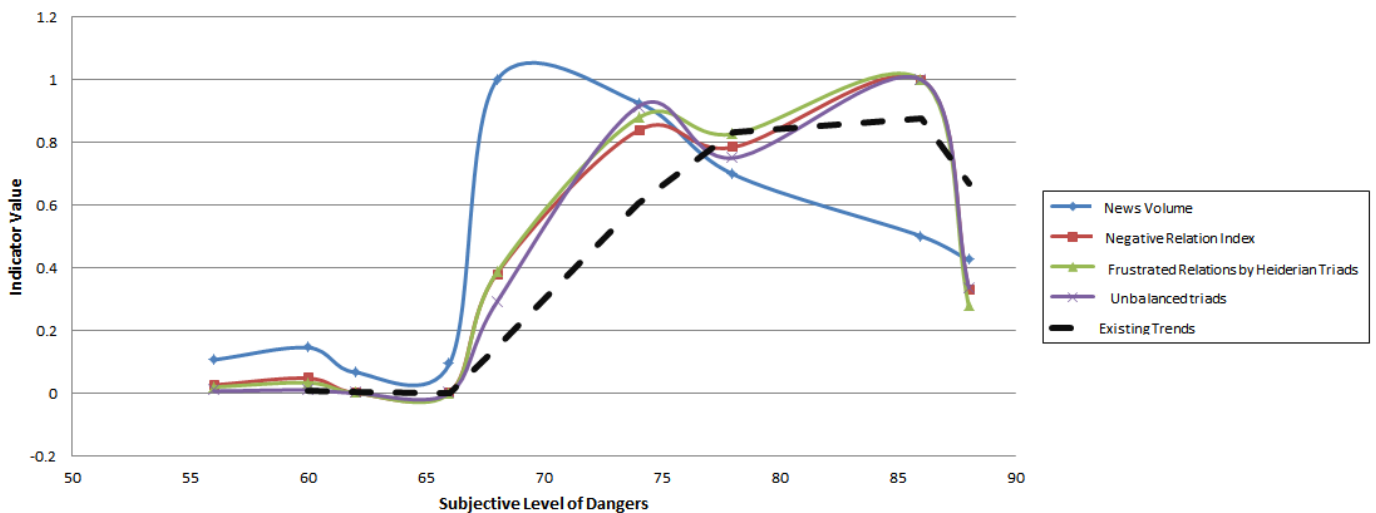

Figure 4. The comparison of the "level of dangers" on nine cases (see appendix) as shown by the four measurements from news media and the subjective "level of danger" as subjectively observed by the member of our FGD. The persistently exhibited trend is shown by the dashed curve.

The result of the comparison is shown in figure 4. In the figure, it is apparent that there seems to be a kind of "threshold" within the subjective "level of danger" respect to the cases held by the KPK RI. The subjective "level of danger" is in fast linear relations with the one calculated by the four measurements we introduced in the previous section, and then followed by the more slower

changes. There is interestingly a persistent pattern that the higher the calculated measurements in the news media, the higher the subjective level of dangers observed by the selected experts, practitioners, and activists of the Focus Group Discussion. A similar pattern of the non-linearity between objective measurements and the subjective observation is also discussed in the conflict of Wikipedia, the open digital encyclopedia on the net [12].

There is obviously a slight difference between the measurements by the calculations of sentiment relations among political actors with the one we calculate by the volume of articles counted. The volume of reports in news media seemed to be persistently steep down in numbers when the subjective level of danger gets into a certain value. In other words, we can say that the frequency of news report does not necessarily have to be related to the levels of dangers observed by the experts, practitioners, and the activists involved in the observations of the cases. Journalism cannot necessarily capture the "inner" critical psychology within the cases. However, the interacting sentiment relations as reported by journalism can "see" the critical moments as observed and felt in subjective views. Thus we can see, that there is a direct relation between the conflicting political figures and the levels of critical moments on every investigation for corruption eradications in Indonesia.

4. Concluding Remarks

The complexity of social life has forbidden us to see problem merely by using singular perspectives. Corruption eradications is a complex aspect of human life while corruption itself is never simpler. In Indonesia, KPK RI has become an important institutional body for eradicating corruption. In her works combating corruption in Indonesia, KPK RI has faced the reality that corruption eradication is not as simple as the law enforcement, but also has been grown to be a political discourse.

The focus group discussions expressed that social, economic, and political life of the nation should be put into account while eradicating the corrupt behavior within public chairs and finance. This has been confirmed by the observation to the volume of news media reports due to the activities of KPK RI over the years. By extracting information from the corpus of major national news media, some models have been constructed to see the sentiment relations of political actors due to corruption issues in the country. The verification of the model interestingly demonstrated the connections between the tensions among political actors and the subjective observations on corruption eradication issue is persistent over the historical period of the KPK RI. The models delivered a proposal to see non-linear relations between political stages and the influence to the sustainability of corruption eradication throughout the critical moments endanger the existence of the institution.

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Some cases of corruption eradication observed in the paper

1. *Koran procurement* case
   Al-Quran procurement Case is corruption scandal in Indonesia ministry of religion related to the alleged bribery in the budgeting process of Quran procurement project. This case came out to public in July of 2012 after the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) sets Zulkarnain Djabar, a Members of Parliament from the Golkar Party faction, along with his son as a suspect in the case. Djabar was named suspect for instructing Directorate General of Ministry of Religion for Islamic Affairs to appoint certain companies, including his son's company, as winners of the procurement project. Later on Zulkarnain Djabar and Dendy Prasetya was convicted and sentenced to serve 15 years and 8 years terms in prison respectively.

2. *Buol Scandal*
   Buol Scandal is a corruption scandal involving Buol Regent Amran Batalipu and Hartati Moerdaya, a prominent Businesswomen and Democratic Party politician. Amran, a Golkar politician, was accused of accepting bribery from Siti Hartati Murdaya in exchange for business permits for Hartati's companies to operate in Buol, Central Sulawesi. On February 2013, the Corruption Court sentenced him to serve two years and eight months in prison, while Hartati Moerdaya was sentenced two years and eight months in prison.

3. *National Games (PON) graft scandal.*
   National Sports Games (PON) graft scandal is corruption case that ensnared a number of public officials in Riau Province, related to allegations of bribery and misuse of funds in the implementation of projects of National Games. KPK has named Riau governor and Golkar politician Rusli Zainal suspect for his role in the case. He allegedly paid Rp 900 million in bribes to local legislators to inflate the budget for construction of PON venues and also allegedly accepting bribe from a company that benefited from the increase.

4. *Bansos Cases*
   Bansos (Bantuan Sosial - Social Aid) corruption case is the misuse of social aid fund in Bandung administrative region in 2009-2010 fiscal year, which caused an amount 40 billion Rupiah of state loss. In its development, the case expanded to the allegation of bribery of a judge who handle the Bansos (Social Aid) corruption case. Until this moment KPK has set Bandung City Mayor as suspect and allegedly the mastermind of the bribery case.

5. *Beef import bribery case*
   Beef import bribery case is a case of corruption related to the arrengemen of beef import license. The bribery was carried out to be able to obtain and increase the import quotas for beef which, at the time, is restricted by the government. This case attracted public attention because it involves Lutfi Hasan Ishaq, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party) chairman, the largest islamic party in Indonesia, which cought in the process of bribery by the employer of beef importer company.

6. *Hambalang case*
   Hambalang case is a corruption case of Hambalang sports facility construction projects fund that involve numbers of Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party) official, which is the ruling party and also hold seat in ministry. This case covers the allegation of bribery to a number of party, such as government officials and members of parliament, from the arrangement of tender and the project winner to the inflation of the project budget. Until now KPK has set a number of suspects

such as Nazaruddin and Angelina Sondakh, which are party official and members of parliament from Partai Demokrat, and Andi Malarangeng, Minister of Youth and Sports.

7. *Anas Urbaningrum corruption case*
   This corruption case is also the sequence of Hambalang case that ensnared a number of the ruling party, Partai Demokrat, top officials. Anas Urbaningrum was accused of accepting gratuities gift in a form of Harrier car from the proceeds of corruption of Hambalang project funds. In addition Anas Urbaningrum also accused of being involved and knew the flow of Hambalang project funds are misused to finance his way to the seat of chairman of Partai Demokrat. This case received a great attention from the public because of the leaking of *sprindik*, a letter authorizing a full investigation into a case, that mentioning Anas as a suspect in the Hambalang graft case. This matter give rise to the suspicion of SBY intervention in KPK .

8. *Bank of Century case*
   It started from government policy in Bank Century bailout which default on its debt. On its way there are suspicion of manipulation in the Century's bailout process, which cause a 6.7 Trillion of state loss. This case attract public attention at the dawn of 2009 general election. What makes this matter more complicated was the fact that all of the party involve in this policy making is the core part of SBY government, such as Vice President Budiono and Sri Mulyani, Ministry of Treasury

9. *Driving License (*SIM*) Simulator Case*
   This case is a case of alleged corruption in the procurement of SIM simulator project in Korlantas Polri (National Traffic Police Corps) involving National Traffic Police Corps' top brass. Various irregularities inventually mounted to governmont loss 121 Billion Rupiahs. It become horrendous because KPK set a Police General, Irjen Djoko Susilo, as a main suspect of this case and confiscate all of his asset which surprisingly estimated to be hundred million rupiahs.