

## **PROVIDING ANTI-CORRUPTION IDEOLOGY IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDONESIA**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Anti-corruption ideology will get through deeply into the system of beliefs. Individuals with anti-corruption ideals are strengthened with their values, ideas, and norms, saying that corruption is atrocious. One of the potential opportunities for instilling the beliefs system is in higher education, where the education and teaching process and its recycling are taking place. The educational process at a higher education level is considered more established in understanding various levels of sciences and knowledge. Therefore, higher education has the greatest potency to ingrain anti-corruption ideals and encourage resistance against corrupt behavior. However, the potential is still debatable because educated persons conduct corruption, as it has been categorized as white-collar crime. Figures displayed by corruption statistics are outrageous. First, the rate of corruption targeted for investigation, being investigated, and punished is growing. Second, there is a tendency that the more a person developed, becomes more respected and educated, the more chances for the person to have a corrupted mindset. Hence, it can be concluded that education does not cause neglectfulness and powerlessness of someone to avoid corruption, but their intellectuality determines it.

**Keywords:** Ideology; Epistemology; Anti-corruption; Higher education.

### **A. INTRODUCTION**

#### **1. Background**

This paper aims to associate ideology and corruption behavior because corruption has become a serious criminal. Corruption has spread into a variety of areas. Corruption behavior has a wide range of impacts. Not only does corruption impact the economy and welfare, but also mentality. Ironically, the perpetrators of these crimes are those who have received a proper education. This situation must be corrected by strengthening the moral foundation that was taught to the point of ideology.

Corruption cases have become appalling. According to Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), throughout 2017, there were 576 corruption cases, resulting in Rp. 6.5 trillion State's losses (Tempo, 2017). The number of suspects has reached 1,298 people. The most commonly used form of corruption is mark up and illegal levies (Kompas, 2018). In 2016, the State's losses reached Rp. 1.5 trillion with 482 cases (Kompas, 2016). Then in 2015, there were 308 cases with a total of 659 suspects and Rp. 3.7 trillion in potential State losses

(Serambi, 2015). Meanwhile, in 2014, the cases have increased to 629 cases with 1,328 suspects and a potential loss of Rp. 5.29 trillion (Suara Merdeka, 2014).

According to statistics of the corruption settlement, there were seven types of cases from 2004 to 2017, including procurement of goods and services (171), licensing (22), bribery (396), levies (22), budget abuse (46), money laundry (25), and hindering the Commission for Corruption Eradication Law (KPK) legal process (7). The number reached 688 cases (KPK, 2017). As of 31 December 2018, KPK has conducted 123 initial investigations, 121 investigations, 103 prosecutions, 84 cases *inkracht*, and 83 executions. The total numbers of corruption settlements from 2004-2017 are 971 initial investigations, 688 investigations, 568 prosecutions, 472 *inkracht*, and 497 execution (KPK, 2017).

Furthermore, public figures are getting more involved in corruption. The number of local government leaders (governor, mayor, and regent) who have been involved in corruption is also worrying. There were 104 corruption cases, with a total 89 of local government leaders whom KPK has inspected throughout 22 provinces (Republika, 2018). There were 343 regents/mayors and 18 governors involved in corruption. Generally, they are affiliates of political parties and organizations (Harian Terbit, 2016). There are 415 districts, 93 cities, and 34 provinces in Indonesia (Kemendagri, 2014).

The most unacceptable thing is that several rectors, former rectors, or academics officials from higher education institutions are also involved in corruption cases. The corruption, referred to as "educational corruption" by ICW, amounts to 296 cases with 479 suspects and Six hundred nineteen billion rupiah potential losses in the last ten years (ICW, 2013). Also, statistics from 2017 show that educated people commonly dominate the perpetrators of corruption. Among 600 corruptors whom KPK arrested, almost 200 hundred people hold master's degrees, while 40 people hold either bachelor's degree or doctoral's degree (Detik News, 2017)

This condition demonstrates that mentality is crucial in corruption cases. This thing has been reminded for a long time by Baharuddin Lopa, who stated, "corruption was commonly caused by a moral degradation, the lack of a culture of shame, a weak system, insecurity of socioeconomic conditions, and indecisive law enforcement (Baharuddin Lopa, 1997). The problem in this paper is not limited to how the law should be enforced but also the improvement of the mental capacity since educated people dominated the culprits.

This article has tried to elaborate from a moral perspective in law enforcement (Sulaiman, 2017). In this case, a legal practitioner should cooperate with legal academics or experts to find an effective formula for the enforcement of corruption legislation (Sulaiman,

2015). Using a sociological approach (Sulaiman, 2018), this article is expected to be an alternate offer to understand law enforcement more deeply.

## **2. Research Methods**

This research used the empirical research method, which is defined as any research where conclusions of the study are strictly drawn from concretely empirical evidence and "verifiable" evidence. This empirical evidence can be gathered using quantitative research methods and qualitative research methods. Quantitative research means that the data was gathered by analyzing information through numerical data. It is used to quantify opinions, behaviors, or other defined variables. These are predetermined and are in a more structured format. Some of the commonly used methods are surveys, longitudinal studies, and polls. Qualitative research is mainly used for gathering non-numerical data. It is used to find meanings, opinions, or underlying reasons from its subjects. These methods are unstructured or semi-structured.

## **B. DISCUSSION**

### **1. Finding The Roots of Ideology**

Corruption is inevitably unlikely to occur due to ignorance. In 2011, the Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia (BPK) revealed four main factors that encourage someone to commit corruption: the need, pressure, opportunity, and rationalization. A person is motivated to commit corruption because he wants to have something, but his income does not allow him to get what he wants. Requests from relatives or bosses that cannot be avoided are the cause of the pressure factor. Opportunity factor can be seen when someone has power, position, or authority to use government money illegally. Meanwhile, rationalization factor is a situation when the top leaders such as regents or mayors, or even governors believe that if they have a luxury car or a luxury house, others will think it is reasonable or rational due to their positions (Republika, 2011)

What is disclosed by BPK is based on the experience and findings of its auditors, which illustrates the condition of understanding corruption. Those four factors are done very consciously. This condition is supported by the fact that the performance of law enforcement in Indonesia is poor. There are three realities expressed by both experts and through a number of surveys that support the above facts. First, against ordinary people, the law is strict but does not apply equally to people who have power (Kompas, 2010). Unsupported

law enforcement by some agencies is an example of such a condition. All agencies believe that the law is the commander in chief but gets angry when an individual employee is arrested for being corrupt.

Second, there are many grim stories in eradicating corruption (Satjipto Rahardjo, 2009) that are shown by law enforcement institutions (Kompas, 2009). Since five years ago, it is impossible to ignore the influence of politics on law enforcement. The magnitude of this influence is possible because some members of law enforcement institutions are selected through a political process. In 'soft' language, a series of what is called fee and property is a satire for a fit and proper test.

Third, the legal enforcer and their institution are no longer trustworthy in the public eyes (Kompas, 2009). Several corruption cases involving 'big men' are still unsolved. Not to mention that there are almost no institutions that are not entangled with corruption (Kompas, 2010 and 2016).

The three realities above illustrate another thing: the irony in a country where some people believe that the law occupies a noble place. In reality, the law is often seen as a closed text with the certainty of meaning for sublime purposes (showing beauty). The materialization of this belief is known through the phrases "legal certainty," "equality before the law," "presumption of innocence," and "impartiality" (Awaluddin Marwan, 2010).

Through these three legal realities, it is seen how "the law that occupies a place that is too noble" allows it to be used according to the interests of certain people. Protests against the sense of justice also sprang up (Satjipto Rahardjo, 2006). This is reminiscent of the experience of the New Order era, where the law was often used as a justification for the authorities' mistakes (Esmi Warassih, 2014). Even Rousseau mentions the law as an instrumental field belonging to the ruler protecting his interests and enslaving his people (Jean Jaques Rousseau, 1989).

Is it not at this stage that the law should have questioned its effectiveness in tackling corruption? This question is fundamental. Based on data, the number of cases in Indonesia is increasing, or in other words, the law has not succeeded in reducing the number of corruption crimes from year to year. Other things must be learned to the basics, which Muladi once called mentality. Their ignorance of corruption laws does not cause corruption but because of their greedy mentality. Some people are doing corruption to fulfill life's necessities, and some are doing corruption because they want to change their lives. (Muladi, 2010). The Director-General of Regional Autonomy at the Ministry of Home Affairs added that another dominant factor, mainly related to regional head corruption, was the high cost

of regional elections. There are many instruments to prevent corruption, but the most important is the awareness to build the nation (Beritasatu, 2016).

Based on the above conditions, it is no longer possible to rely solely on the law. Simultaneously, strengthening must be done on other sides and then by involving other additional aspects that will effectively solve this nation's problems. Ali Mansyur offered a mental approach, values, and mindset as additional aspects in solving corruption cases. This approach, among others, is through preventive measures, in the form of awareness of conscience, strengthening honesty, understanding position as a mandate, and spreading justice (Satya Arinanto, Ninuk Triyanti, 2012).

Such efforts, in a deeper understanding, are referred to as ideology, precisely anti-corruption ideology. The ideology that best fits the context of this paper is religion and Pancasila – as the state ideology. The ideology of Pancasila is the overall views, ideals, beliefs, and values of the Indonesian nation that normatively need to be realized in society, nation, and state (Oetojo Oesman, Alfian, 1993).

In terms of concept, ideology is a system of knowledge and values that become the basis for a person (and society) to understand the earth and its contents and determine the essential attitude to cultivate it. It is the result of human reflection due to its ability to hold a distance to the world of life. Ideally, ideology and reality will be dialectical and influence each other. On the one hand, it will spur a more realistic ideology, and on the other hand, it will encourage people to approach the ideal form (Oetojo Oesman, Alfian, 1993).

The word ideology comes from the Greek "*idea*" and "*logos*". The *idea* is "knowing the mind, seeing with the mind". While *logos* means "ideas, understanding, words, and knowledge". The term ideology was coined by Antoine Destutt Tracy (1757-1836), a French philosopher. In 1796, he defined ideology as the science of the human mind, which can show the right path to the future. Thus, at the beginning of its emergence, ideology means the science of the occurrence of aspiration, ideas, and thoughts (Robert EC., 1991 and Firmansyah, 2011).

With this concept, the question of why ideology must be associated with corruption can be seen from what Indriyanto Seno Adji said that corruption is an act that always experiences a dynamic *modus operandi*. Therefore, using a systems approach, substance and legal structure will be in vain without moral and ethical improvements.

Four essential things cause someone to commit corruption. First, they do not feel guilty about being overcome by greed. Second, they are no longer ashamed because more and more

people are doing it. Third, they are no longer afraid. Fourth, society does not provide social punishments (Kompas, 2016).

Under these conditions, there is still room for campus circles to do. There are 382 state university campuses (PTN) and 4,028 private universities (PTS) in Indonesia, with 24,256 study programs. This number gathers around 6.8 million students and about 233 thousand lecturers (53,031 bachelors, 134,522 masters, the rest are doctorates, and almost 6 thousand professors or about 3% of the total number of lecturers). The ratio of lecturers and students is around 1:90. Specific campuses already have many lecturers, and some are still lacking (Kompas, 2015 and Pikiran Rakyat, 2016).

It can be an organized potential to move anti-corruption ideology. Satjipto Rahardjo once suggested that the apparatus be 'squeaky clean' in carrying out their duties based on 'the call of the soul' (Moh. Mahfud MD, et al., 2013 and Satjipto Rahardjo, 2007). To equip the apparatus with 'the call of the soul' understanding, the position of the campus as the 'producer' of the apparatus becomes essential. Campuses must produce officers who dare to read the law's text progressively (Satjipto Rahardjo, 2007). It is because corruption will not stop in one generation; corruption will constantly regenerate. Corruption has grown, taken root, and is built into all power structures. Therefore, a good law alone is not enough to stop it (Moh. Mahfud MD, et al., 2013). The existence of corruption law has been repeatedly changed and improved, but the number of corruptions with their quality continues to occur. These changes, among others, began with several regulations outside the Criminal Code, such as Military Authority Regulation No. Prt/PM-06/1957 on Corruption Eradication; Military Authority Regulation No. Prt/PM-08/1957 on Property Surveillance; Military Authority Regulation No. Prt/PM-011/1957 on Confiscation and Confiscation of Property Originally Obtained by An Unlawful Act; Military Authority Regulation No. Prt/Peperpu/013/1958 on Investigation, Prosecution, and Examination of Corruption and Property Surveillance; Government Regulation in Lieu of Acts (Perpu) No. 24/1960 on the Investigation, Prosecution, and Examination of Corruption Crimes which was ratified by Law no. 1/1961 which later became Law no. 24/1961; Law no. 3/1971 on the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption; Law no. 31/1999 on the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption; and Law no. 20/2001 on Amendments to Law no. 31/1999 on the Eradication of Corruption Crimes.

According to Yudi Kristiana, good law must be supported by a clear political will. So far, being trapped in a linear legal system and conventional bureaucratic model is

increasingly powerless to face corruption, especially with a weak political will (Moh. Mahfud MD, et al., 2013).

## **2. Educating Anti-corruption Ideology with the Collaboration of the Law Enforcer and Campus**

In simple terms, through the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), ideology can be interpreted as building a belief system that explains and justifies something that is aspired to and provides a strategy to achieve it. The belief system itself includes the values, ideals, norms, beliefs, and confidences held by people, which become the basis for determining attitudes and behavior. Anti-corruption ideals, when associated with ideology, the former will penetrate the latter. People or groups of anti-corruption officials will be strengthened by their values, ideals, norms, beliefs, and confidences that corrupt attitudes and behavior are wrong.

One of the institutions, which have the potential to drive such a belief system, is the university. This place is where the process of education, teaching, and its entire cycle take place. The words "high" from the word Higher Education describe a different level of education from the level below it. The education and teaching system at the university level is seen as more established in understanding various levels of science and knowledge. Therefore, universities have the most potential to produce and implant an anti-corruption ideology and fight against corrupt behavior.

However, this potential is still being considered. Educated people actually carry out corrupt behavior. To commit this crime, one needs intelligence, so the specification of corruption is included in the category of white-collar crime. The figures displayed in the corruption statistics are appalling. First, the number of corruption, whether targeted, investigated, or imprisoned, increases from year to year. Second, there is a tendency where the more a person changes (from ordinary people to famous figures or experts), the more respected figures and experts become perpetrators of corruption. Why does corruption also occur in these two groups? It is caused by their powerlessness not to commit corruption.

The carelessness and powerlessness of people not to commit corruption is not caused by the level of education but is determined by their intellect. Intellectuals are different from people with titles because intellectuals describe the level of education and involve the mentality to side with the good. This potential makes it possible for the campus to aspire its graduates to become thoroughly intellectual people. Those people do not commit corruption not because they are afraid of being punished, but because they are aware and believe -

strengthened by values, ideals, norms, beliefs, and confidences- that corruption is bad behavior and destroys humans and their civilization.

On that basis, the offer of an anti-corruption ideology from the campus is of strategic value. The offer must reach the ideological level because corruption is chronic and spreading everywhere, and the ideology offered is the ideology of Pancasila. This ideology also emphasizes that Indonesia is a country that has religion.

Pancasila has five principles, and there are several values from each of these principles that can strengthen the legal culture in Indonesia (Hartono, 2008). Satjipto Rahardjo reminded people not to be trapped in a judicial system that does not support a Pancasilaist society (Rahardjo, 2006). In Pancasila, some values cannot be separated from it, namely: (a) Belief in God; (b) Humanity; (c) Unity; (d) Democracy; (e) Social Justice; (f) Kinship; (g) Harmony; (h) Deliberation. (Rahardjo, 1998). It can be said that these values serve as basic guiding principles in the administration of law in Indonesia (Dimiyati, 2008).

Ideological epistemology is critical knowledge for society to become the basis of an anti-corruption system. The rejection of corruption must be started essentially starting from the ideology that is emphasized from the Indonesian culture itself. This process can be a way to feel how the ideology that develops in a Pancasilaist society is no lesser than other ideologies in the world.

However, the critical question is whether knowledge of Pancasila values that can be used to anticipate corruption is strong enough in society? In this situation, the campus must become a motor for disseminating knowledge that will strengthen awareness of life so as not to cause damage to others. Campuses should not only use ideological knowledge as a source to obtain certain benefits. The necessity to strengthen awareness of life like this must always be encouraged by campuses and other educational institutions. This kind of encouragement is essential because the number of educated people who are supposed to be pioneers to live clean from crime is, on the contrary, involved in the crime.

Law enforcement agencies should not be left behind. However, it should be noted that law enforcement must go hand in hand with efforts to strengthen anti-corruption ideology. It is also necessary that institutional strengthening and coordination between law enforcement agencies must also be carried out. The state must strengthen all law enforcement agencies and not only rely on one of them. All law enforcement agencies are essential. Therefore, the state and government must pay equal attention to all of them

This note is important because Indonesia has the KPK as a "temporary" institution in enforcing the law, which was initially formed as a step to enforce the already acute law.

However, the state must also not forget that other law enforcement agencies have been available in all districts/cities, which must also strengthen their institutions and law enforcement processes.

In this era of Industry 4.0, it is not enough to rely only on law enforcement's power on one particular institution. The existence of human resources must be counted, as well as the potential perpetrators and corrupt behavior. Strengthening institutions and law enforcement processes is a fundamental process for all law enforcement agencies because it is no longer possible for each case to rely on only certain institutions in the ongoing revolution. The growing criminal potential must also be anticipated optimally by all existing law enforcement agencies.

### **C. CONCLUSION**

The ideology of anti-corruption is essential for the people of Indonesia because someone who commits a criminal act of corruption is not because of his ignorance that it is a crime, but because of his inability to resist the temptation to commit corruption. The corrupt act was carried out even with an excellent plan. Theoretically and based on a number of practical experiences, there are various essential factors causing corruption, such as needs, pressures, opportunities, and rationalization. But in fact, all of these are factors that have been realized from the start.

This ideology is essential to be born from the campus because of its potential to carry out strategic and effective dissemination. There are 6.8 million students and 233,000 lecturers from 4,400 campuses, which means that there will be no less than half a million educated people every year who have an anti-corruption ideology. The ideology that is meant to have the potential to be spread is the fundamental ideology of the Indonesian state, Pancasila, which has a religious basis. A state ideology with many values, namely Belief in God, Humanity, Nationalism, Democracy, and Social Justice.

This potential can later be maximized by going through three steps. The first is by providing an example higher education system. The second is by institutionalizing anti-corruption behavior to the broader community. The third is by instilling knowledge that will become a controller or guide in carrying out any activity to avoid corrupted behaviors.

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