

Culture of Corruption Politicians' Behavior in Parliament and State Official During Reform Government Indonesia (Genealogical Study)

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Abstract: This study aims to assess and analyze the Culture of Corruption Politicians' Behavior in Parliament and State Official During Reform Government Indonesia (Genealogical Study) This study is genealogical research based on the literature, journals and reporting publications of Indonesian corruption culture. The result of the study concluded that culture corruption behavior of politicians in the parliament and bureaucracy in the reform era in Indonesia is still ongoing corruption can be said as a culture of corruption that has been so severe, that Indonesia is almost categorized as a kleptocracy country, and as a country ruled by thieves (klepto) and even has been spread of viral infections or COVID-19.. This crime could even be called state organized crime in a corrupt government. This crime is based on the achievement of individual interests, groups or political parties and retains the power. The lack of success of Indonesian government in resolving the case of state officials or politicians involved in corruption, collusion and nepotism rapidly lightly court decisions, many cases delayed in its prosecution process, even termination of the case of important officials state to be an indication the weakness of law enforcement against white-collar criminals in Indonesia. This happens due to the severity of conflict of interest so the solution is often based on the interests or political bargaining and abuse of power.

Keywords: Corruption culture, Political behavior, State official, Klepto, Infections covid-19.

1. INTRODUCTION

This research is entitled Culture of Corruption Politicians' Behavior in Parliament and State Official During Reform Government Indonesia. Political corruption as stated by historian Norman Johan Powell, there are 4 (four) basic understandings. The first understanding, political corruption is patently illegal behavior in the sphere of politics. The second understanding, political corruption relates to government practices that, while illegal, may be improper or unethical. The third understanding, political corruption involves conflicts of interest on the part of public officials. The fourth understanding, "political corruption also has an ethical, rather than a legal, basis; it is related to political behavior that is nonresponsive to the public interest¹.

Indonesia is equipped with abundant natural resources. According to the 1945 Constitution, these natural resources should be controlled by the state for the maximum prosperity of the people. In fact, the Indonesian people are not prosperous because of these natural resources. That is due to the management of natural resources laden with abuse of power and corruption.

The phenomenon of countries that are rich in natural resources tends to have lower economic growth, higher poverty rates, and lower welfare. This phenomenon is referred to as the curse of natural resources (natural resource curse).

The concept of structure thought found many anomalies from the implementation of structural policy package prescriptions in a number of developing countries, including Indonesia. In Indonesia, democratic actors who have been brought up in corrupt political-economic systems can freely collaborate with business interests that are naturally driven by profit-oriented behavior. In a space of democratization and market liberalization that has not been well consolidated, the "affair" of political power and economic power is often able to create a network of

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¹Mark Grossman, "Political Corruption in America: An Encyclopedia of Scandals, Power, and Greed," second edition, volume 1 (New York: Grey House Publishing, 2008), p. ix.

power that can easily change its face into an engine of state budget dredging and exploitation of state resources on a massive scale. As a result, even though democracy is developing, markets are increasingly open, but at the same time corruption practices are also expanding to be able to create their own networks of power, able to create systems of protection and legitimacy, and through that legitimacy they can also enforce 'political order' in the structure that power.²

According to Heywood defines political corruption as the following, Corruption in politics occurs where a public official (A), violates the rules and or norms of office, to the determinant of the interest of the public (B) (or some subsection thereof) who is the designated beneficiary of that office, to benefit themselves and a third party (C) who rewards or otherwise incentives A to gain access to goods or services they would not otherwise obtain.³

The definition is a summary of Heywood from various experts. Political corruption occurs when a public official violates the laws and norms in relation to the public interest or a certain section, or as a public official receives a benefit for his own benefit or a third party who gives a gift or incentive to the public official where the gift or incentive is intended so that the third party has access to goods or services that the third party should not have.

In Indonesia, political corruption in the parliament and bureaucracy is included in the category of crime, regulated in Law Number 31 of 1999 concerning Eradication of Corruption, Article 2 (paragraph 1) defines corruption as follows: "Everyone who is against the law commits acts of enrichment alone or another person or a corporation that can harm the country's finances or the country's economy, is sentenced to prison with life imprisonment or imprisonment for a minimum of 4 (four) years and a maximum of 20 (twenty) years and a fine of at least Rp 200,000,000, 00 (two hundred million rupiah) and a maximum of Rp 1,000,000,000.00 (one billion rupiah).⁴

Then the term corruption was complemented into Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism (KKN). Law No.

28 of 1999 concerning State Administration that is Clean and Free of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism amended by Law Number 20 of 2001 concerning State Administration that is Clean and Free of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism, defines corruption, collusion and nepotism. Article 1 (3) of Law no. 28/1999 defines "collusion" is: "Corruption is agreement or cooperation in a manner against the law between State Administrators or between State Administrators and other parties that harm other people, society and or the state.

Article 1 (4) of Law no. 28/1999 defines "collusion" as follows: Collusion is agreement or cooperation against the law between State Administrators or between State Administrators and other parties that harm other people, the community and the state. " While Article 1 (5) of Law no. 28/1999 defines nepotism as an act of the conduct of a State Operator in an unlawful manner that benefits the interests of his family and / or cronies over the interests of the community, nation and state ". Politicians in government, parliament and political parties are people who are given authority, give authority, and make authority. They abuse the authority hidden in their power mandate, so it is often referred to as culture corruption political behavior. One of the modes i is through regulatory corruption, in the form of legislation products and derivative policies, to their implementation. Due to the behavior of these politicians, Indonesia is almost categorized as a kleptocracy state, a country ruled by thieves (klepto).

Said and Suhendra's opinion was supported by Magnis Suseno who stated about the pretense culture of the community towards the deviant behavior of other residents related to property ownership. That is, citizens in the culture of omission (ommission culture) have a tendency to allow a variety of dishonest practices in obtaining property, because it avoids social disharmony and is free from the assumption of order destruction. In such a technical system, a person's desire to open up the practice of deviant economic behavior actually has fatal consequences for his social life. That is why whistle blowers corrupt behavior makes them prisoners and convicts. As if in such a cultural structure, a person who is supposed to be a hero in the fight against corruption ends up becoming a loser⁵

²Hadiz and Robison (2004). 'Reorganizing Political Power in Indonesia: A Reconsideration of so-called 'Democratic Transitions'. The Pacific Review 16 (4), 591-611.

³Paul M. Heywood (ed), Routledge Handbooks of Politica Corruption (New Yor: Routledge, 2015), p. 22.

⁴Progressive Books, Law on Corruption (Jakarta: Progressive Books, 2006), p. 53-57.

⁵Frans Magnis Suseno (2003) in Listiyono Santoso and Dewi Meyrasyawati. (2015). The Cultural Strategy Model for Corruption Eradication in Indonesia. Journal of Political Review. Volume 5. Number 1. p. 28.

Bribery is the most common mode in investigating corruption cases. There are at least 51 cases of corruption with bribery. The value of bribes is Rp. 169.5 billion while money laundering is Rp. 46 billion. The mode of abuse of authority amounts to 30 cases. The amount is not as much as a bribe, but the value of losses caused by the state reached Rp 6.3 trillion. The nominal is at the same time the biggest compared to other modes. Last year, there were at least 271 cases with a total state loss of Rp. 8.4 trillion. The number of suspects is 580 people with different backgrounds, ranging from state civil servants, the private sector, to officials of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). (Read: 65 Percent of Corruption Crimes handled by the KPK is a Case of Bribery)⁶

The modus operandi of corruption in the behavior of politicians in Indonesia is to collaborate on mutually beneficial agreements with bureaucratic officials, especially state-owned enterprises (BUMN) as milking and who are victims of political corruption behavior. From the New Order era to the Reformation era, state-owned enterprises devoid of dairy cows by politicians in the government and parliament. Even though not a few politicians were punished, it did not make the practice of "blackmailing" especially state-owned enterprises. As a result, especially state-owned enterprise continues to be a target of political corruption. Overcoming crime with white-collar crime patterns that tend to be collaborative, is not easy. Moreover, the motive is the demands of the class and the high cost of political parties in Indonesia. As a result, a culture of political corruption continues to occur by utilizing the authority and power they have.

Related to criminal culture, A. Josias Simon Runturambi (2017) examines the Meaning of Crime and Deviant Behavior in Indonesian Culture. The results showed the meaning of crime and deviant behavior are relative and contextual. The relationship between deviant behavior (crime) and habits (culture) shows the correlation of relationships that can not only be analyzed using theories of interactionism crime but with a critical crime theory known as cultural criminology. The core of this perspective describes crime as culture and culture as a crime. Crime as culture speaks of local deviation as a culture that views behavior as a deviation at the same time as a behavior of subcultures, symbols, rituals and something that is considered meaningful collectively. Within this

subculture or arena of deviation, outward appearance shapes the contents and views of others towards the formation of distorted cultural identities. Whereas culture as crime sees deviant behavior of culture as a meaning of reconstruction of culture which is defined as deviation, labeling is carried out by the community towards criminogenic cultural products through the media or legal intermediaries. Local deviant behavior shows the target of criminalization but accepted criminalization develops as a cultural process. This research is important to analyze how corruption which is a deviant behavior can become a culture that develops in Indonesia and haunts almost all aspects of people's lives⁷.

Identification of problems: culture corruption behavior of politicians in the parliament and bureaucracy in the reform era in Indonesia is still ongoing corruption can be said as a culture of corruption that has been so severe, that Indonesia is almost categorized as a kleptocracy country, and as a country ruled by thieves (klepto) and even has been spread of viral infections or COVID-19.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

2.1. Research Paradigm

This research is genealogical (historical) research. Genealogy is one of the many studies in the tradition of qualitative research. This support cannot be separated from the postmodern theorist Michel Foucault.⁸ The logic that is built on this basis is inherent in Foucault's main body of knowledge and power relations which is the main thesis that drives it. Michel Foucault is a postmodernist thinker who contributes unique ideas and thoughts that are quite supportive in the development of human knowledge. His critical and sharp analysis of various things, history, episteme, discourse, power, and knowledge can provide a new color in postmodernism thinking. Beyond this, this discussion is still a subject of a warm and interesting discussion.⁹

2.2. Research Time and Location

The study was conducted from November 2019 up to February 2020. The research location took the

⁶Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW), 18 February 2020.

⁷A. Josias Simon Runturambi. 2017. The Meaning of Crime and Deviant Behavior in Indonesian Culture. *Indonesian Anthropology*. Vol. 1. No. 2. p. 125-135

⁸Ampy Kali. (2013) Discourse on Sexuality Michel Foucault. *Maumere: Ledalero*. p. 13.

⁹*Ibid.*

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3. LITERATURE REVIEW

The Indonesian Political System is a political system that applies in Indonesia. The Indonesian political system examines the political system that applies in Indonesia while the political system in Indonesia is the political system that once prevailed in Indonesia¹⁰. This means that the Indonesian political system is a political system adopted by Indonesia which is based on Indonesian cultural values that are hereditary and can also be adopted from positive foreign cultural values for the development of the Indonesian political system. While the political system in Indonesia emphasizes more that this system is a political system that was implemented in Indonesia in the past. For example, during the reign of the Old Order, the New Order and even the pre-independence period.

Until now, the term culture of corruption, political behavior in parliament and government or the offense of culture of political corruption has more sociological meaning than juridical. This is because none of the formulations in our legislation provide an understanding of political crime or political offense. Whereas for practical purposes, the cultural understanding of political corruption has an important meaning in determining whether political actors in political corruption can be extradited or not.

In Article 5 of Law No. 1 of 1979 concerning Extradition, it is stated that political crimes cannot be extradited. However, the article also provides exceptions to certain types of political crimes whose perpetrators can be extradited as long as they have been agreed between the Republic of Indonesia and the country concerned.

According to Loebby Louqman, political crime is an act or effort to achieve a goal but by illegal / negative / justifying any means whose substance involves the conflict of citizens with the government. Here I associate political crimes with state relations especially in Indonesia and political crimes can only be committed by people who are related to power¹¹.

Corruption has occurred since ancient times. Since the time of the Prophet Adam a.s. also, corrupt behavior in the form of cheating has occurred. Many corrupt behavior that occurred in the Babylonian era, Greece, Rome, China, Hebrew, and ancient Egypt. For information, past records provide information that the famous Babylonian King, Hammurabi, prohibited the practice of bribery among his people by passing the Law of Hammurabi. Evans in Dimans (2016) stated the fact that according to records made during the Assyrian Kingdom (1400 BC), it was stated that there were public servants who accepted bribes, involving senior employees and close relatives of the royal leadership.¹²

The definition of a criminal act of corruption contained in Law Number 31 of 1999 jo. Law Number 20 Year 2001 concerning Eradication of Corruption is basically all forms of illegal acts or abuse of authority carried out by public servants, state or private administrators to enrich or benefit themselves, others, or corporations that harm or can harm state finances

Through these two definitions, it is known that corruption is an act against the law or an act of abusing authority (which is generally carried out by unscrupulous public officials). Both actions cannot be carried out if someone does not have public authority. Therefore, corruption can also be explained as dishonest and distorted behavior of public officials as those who have power.

A broader definition of corruption and covering aspects of human behavior that is corrupt or corrupt is contained in the Black's Law Dictionary. According to the Black's Law Dictionary, the meaning of corruption is more emphasized on immorality or despicable acts. The types of misconduct include:

1. Depravity, perversion, or taint: an impairment of integrity, virtue, or a moral principle; esp., the impairment of a public official's duties by Bribery.
2. The act of doing something with an intend to give some inconsistent advantages with official duties and the rights of others; a fiduciary's or official's use of a station or office to procure some benefits either personally or for someone else, contrary to the rights of others¹³.

¹⁰Arbi Sanit, 1981, Indonesian Political System: Stability, *Political Power and Development Maps*, CV Rajawali, Jakarta, p. 121.

¹¹Loebby Louqman, 1993, *Political Delict in Indonesia*, Ind-Hill-Co, Jakarta, p. 23.

¹²Ardeno Kurniawan. (2018). *Corruption: Opening Pandora Box Corrupt Behavior from the Dimensions of Ethics, Culture and Behavior*. Yogyakarta: p. 9.

¹³*Ibid*, . p.10.

The culture of corruption, according to Robert Klitgaard, is not in the sense that everyone commits corrupt acts, but that almost everyone is reluctant to report the corruptor. This was stated in his book "Eradicating Corruption" in the discussion of corruption eradication strategies, especially in the organizational environment written, "Dismantle the culture of corruption in your organization. Because even in the most striking cases, corruption is rarely done openly, because by nature it relies on secrecy, collusion and a little belief that illicit transactions will not leak out. Proverbial, people can talk about a "culture" of corruption, not that everyone is corrupt but that almost everyone is reluctant to report the corruptor¹⁴.

The term kleptocracy is often heard, but many people do not understand the meaning and use of this word. Based on his study, Mostopha concluded that kleptocracy is a form of white collar-crime in Indonesia, namely the act of gaining profits through corruption as a corporate organization goal that can be carried out due to a vicious agreement between corporations and corrupt bureaucrats, as stated by Max Weber. This conclusion is based on data showing that white-collar crime in Indonesia is mainly committed by corporations and bureaucrats, and seen from the main disadvantaged parties is the state.¹⁵

The characteristics of a kleptocracy state include: the level of corruption committed by the bureaucracy is very high. What is meant by bureaucracy here is not only government (executive) bureaucracy, but also includes legislative and judicial bureaucracy. As corruption cases have been revealed and brought to justice, corruption in the Indonesian bureaucracy is carried out by among others the regents, governors, ministers (executives), DP RD and DPR (legislative) members, and judges and prosecutors at various levels (judiciary). The next characteristic is that the bureaucrats in carrying out acts of corruption conspire with entrepreneurs or corporates. The bureaucrat and corporate conspiracy is mainly in the context of obtaining financial benefits in ways that are detrimental to the state. The kleptocracy state generally relies on state financing on natural resources that are exploited uncontrollably¹⁶, prospering corrupt bureaucrats and corporate partners rather than the prosperity of their people.

Another word used as an equivalent of kleptocracy is high level of corruption (heavy corruption). The term kleptocracy is an improvement from the term kleptomani, which means the habit of stealing from someone who is not done for a living. It is a kind of psychological disorder that is relatively settled. Perpetrators are people who do not experience economic hardship, not infrequently even those who are known to the public, such as celebrities. When the level of corruption in Indonesia is felt very seriously, and occurs in almost all sectors of life, especially those related to bureaucracy, it can be said that kleptocracy is a hallmark of corruption in Indonesia. With the characteristic of kleptocracy, acts of corruption are either entrenched or seen as commonplace by some people. Therefore, corruption is not easy to overcome.

One way to justify the existence of corruption is to use the argument "cultural relativism". In developed countries, it is often said that in many developing countries, corruption is part of culture, because it is closely related to human mentality. Mentality is a cultural spirit that is adopted. In this context, there are a number of mentalities which are very detrimental to the state, one of which is a mentality that is pervasive. This mentality always sees goals as shortcuts without regard to the process towards achieving them. When this becomes a mentality, it means that what needs to be addressed is a system that works as a control for "the running of culture". To fix this system, it must be done through revamping the government system that covers other systems.

Personalistic values and feudalism are firmly embedded in a particular culture of society, so the consequence of a culture of corruption that exists in that society will be firmly planted and difficult to eradicate. The family and kinship values become very thick values in the culture of Indonesian society. A high sense of kinship will produce corrupt cultural behavior.

4. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Based on the theoretical analysis of corruption culture behavior perspective white collar crime, there is three explanations about a goal the offender wish to achieve when they doing a crime. First, white collar criminals committed under their personal interest. Second, they committed crime under their group or party interest and finally, committing a crime to preserve their power interest. In this three cases of white collar criminal interest, not all of the offender can be easily ensnared by law and sentenced. Many

¹⁴Robert Klitgaard, 2005, *Eradicating Corruption*, Obor Indonesia Foundation, Jakarta, p. 248.

¹⁵Jeremy Pope. 2003. *Strategy to Eradicate Corruption: Elements of a National Integration System*. Jakarta: Obor Foundation. p.18.

¹⁶*Ibid*

reason that can save the offender from charge, it could be the official protection, guarantee from the ruler, and the result of political bargaining among parties in the official state.

4.1. Corruption Culture Behavior on The Reform Government of The Third President of Republic of Indonesia, BJ Habibie

The attempts to eradicate white collar crime on the reform government after the fall of New Order government was began of the third President of Republic of Indonesia who served only for 1 Year 5 Months since 21 May 1998 to 20 October 1999 (Sindownews.com., 2014) It issued the Law No. 28 1999 on the State Implementation that clean and independent from KKN (Sindownews.com. 2015) specifically enacted the Law No. 31 of 1999 as substitute of Law No. 3 of 1971 on Corruption Eradication. The government also issued Presidential Decree No.30 Year 1998 on the Formation of Investigation Commission of State Officials Wealth (KPKPN), KPPU, or Ombudsman Agency (Sembirin 2015).

The commitment to eradicate KKN was conveyed by the third Indonesian President of reform era, when announced the members of Development Reform Cabinet. But the commitment was tarnished by the release of phone records of President and the Attorney General (AMG), regarding disclosure and investigation of various corruption criminal acts of the New Order president so doubt the commitment of corruption eradication. The case of white collar crime sticking out due to the pressure of some NGOs such as ICW (Indonesian Corruption Watch) is the case of Attorney General which resulted in the resign from his post as Attorney General (Suara Merdeka, 2008).

ICW reported the Attorney General to the Armed Forces Military Police on charges of accepting bribes from a businessman, who was later freed from the investigation the Attorney. In his press conference, ICW revealed a number of personal accounts of Attorney General and his wife, valued at no less than USD 9 billion, although salary as Attorney General no more than \$ 7 million (Tempo, 1999).

4.2. Corruption Culture Behavior on The Reform on Reform Government of The Fourth President of Republic of Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid

The attempt to suppress and combat white collar crime by this fourth president is done through of the

Law enactment No. 28 years of 1999, namely the establishment of Commission for Investigation the Wealth of State Officials (KPKPN) (Tragedi Sosial dan Sejarah, 2016) Furthermore, it also established the Ombudsman Agency and the issuance of Government Regulation No. 19, 2000 and then formed a Joint Team on Corruption Eradication (TGPTPK), however, after through a judicial review of the Supreme Court, TGPTPK finally dissolved (Hukum online, 2014). The dissolution was done because TGPTPK considered not in line with Law No. 31 of 1999. (Jaya, 2005: 75) The dissolution consequences of TGPTPK, the fourth President are considered not support the efforts to combat corruption (ICW, 2003).

During the fourth president of Indonesia is going direct fired against two ministers involved in corruption cases without further action of law enforcement through the judicial process. The two ministers involved in these cases is Minister of Industry and Trade (JK) and the Minister of State-Owned Enterprises (LS) (Sindownews.com, 2014) The President in this case also considered by public is not able to show the leadership that supports to the eradication of corruption. President frequent take meetings outside the presidential agenda even in places that are inappropriate in his capacity as the state supreme leader. For example, the president met with the son of the Second President of Republic of Indonesia at Hotel Borobudur, whereas at the time he involved in corruption cases and firing the Chief Justice. Then the conglomerate (SW) through the Attorney General (MU) gave warrant to Termination of Investigation (SP3). Other cases that plagued this fourth president is the case of Buloggate and Brunaigate (ICW: 2003)

4.3. Corruption Culture Behavior on The Reform Government of The Fifth President of Republic of Megawati Sukarno Putri

The new institution of law enforcement and white collar crimes during the government of President Megawati was the establishment of Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). Before the Commission formed the government has conducted a study of Law No. 31, 1999 as amended by Act No. 20 of 2001 on Corruption Eradication. Based on Law No. 30 2002 on the establishment of the Corruption Eradication Commission then established the KPK (Sindonews.com, 2015).

However, in line with establishment of the KPK the law enforcement efforts against white-collar crime was

assessed declined compared to the previous reform period. International Transparency Society states that lack of sharpness President Megawati in combating corruption under human rights violations indicate the absence of the government's intention to create a clean government independent from corruption. Based on the annual reports of international institutions of Political and Economic Risk Consultancy, Indonesia recorded his worst score on overcoming corruption during President Megawati (Indrayana, 2008: 37).

The corruption of culture behavior perspective white collar crime are reported by the public after the formation KPK was quite a lot. Less than a year, KPK has received 1,452 reports from the public about corrupt practices. Ten cases were followed up in the investigation process and already two corruption cases were successfully delegated to the Corruption Court. The major corruption cases overcome by KPK was corruption in the General Election Commission (KPU). The results of investigations and inquiries of KPK has succeeded to throw the chairman and members of KPU as well as some employees of Commission Secretariat to prison (Police and Security Studies, 2011).

In addition, the case that sticking and dragging the involvement of the Fifth President is legal case of BLBI (Bank Indonesia Liquidity Assistance). According to BPK audit the state losses estimated to reach Rp.144.54 trillion. However, the National Bank Restructuring Agency (BPPN), which issued the Settled Certificate (SKL) to bankers who received BLBI funding issued SKL, pursuant to Presidential Instruction No. 8, 2002. Based on the instruction, the Attorney General issued a Warrant to Termination of Investigation (SP3) for parties that receive BLBI funds (Merdeka.com, 2015) Another quite shocking corruption case is corruption in congregation by Parliament member (DPRD) of West Sumatra that involved Governor of West Sumatra and 43 of 55 members of West Sumatra DPRD 1999-2004. They were sentenced from 24 to 27 months in prison (ICW, 2015).

4.4. Corruption Culture Behavior on The Reform Government of The Sixth President of Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudoyono (SBY)

In the first 100 days of work program of United Indonesia Cabinet, President SBY declared the eradication of corruption culture behavior with theme "Creating an equity and Democratic Indonesia." SBY actualize its support in Presidential Instruction No. 5 Year 2004 on Acceleration of Corruption Eradication to assist KPK on organizing the report, registration,

announcements and examination of LHKPN (State Organizer Wealth Report). Based on the Instruction BAPPENAS (National Development Planning gency) issued National Action Plan for Eradication of Corruption (RAN PK) 2004-2009 (Hukumpalembang, 2015).

Anti-corruption team established during President SBY is Coordinating Team for Eradicating Corruption (Timtas Tipikor) under Presidential Decree No. 11, 2005. The important task of team is inquiry, investigation and prosecution in accordance with the law applicable to the case and/or indication of corruption. Then seeking and arresting the offender allegedly committing the criminal act as well as tracing its assets to the optimal finance return (Police and Security Studies, 2011).

The government period of President SBY can be said that of which many ensnare corruption culture behavior the white-collar offenders. In law enforcement the case of white collar crime was done without selective, so no wonder in the administration period of SBY many politicians or party cadres whether as state official or parliament politician entangled in the law case. Here are names of state officials and politicians in the circle of President SBY involved in white collar crimes

1. Minister of Youth and Sports as well as Secretary of High Council of Democratic Party becomes suspected in corruption case of development of Training Center and Education of Sports School (P3SON) Hambalang, Bogor, West Java, sentenced 4 years in prison (Antaraneews.com, 2014)
2. General Chairman of Democratic Party suspects of gratification related to development of Training Center and Education of Sports School (P3SON) Hambalang, Bogor, West Java. The Cassation Court sentenced 14 years imprisonment with fine 57 M (Kompasiana, com, 2015).
3. House of Representatives Members from Democratic Party, the suspect of bribery scandal of athletes homestead, Palembang. Anti-Corruption Court sentenced 10 years in prison and fine Rp 1 billion to restore state losses Rp 12.58 billion and USD 2.35 million or around Rp 27.4 billion (Kompas.com, 2015)
4. General Treasurer of Democratic Party becomes suspect for bribery scandal of development

- projects SEA Games athletes homestead, sentenced 8 years in prison by the Corruption Court, Jakarta.
5. Members of Supervisor Board of Democratic Party become suspected in bribery scandals of Buol Regent, Central Sulawesi, sentenced 2 years 8 months in prison (Kompas.com, 2013)
 6. Head of Work Unit of Oil and Gas Upstream Executive and the Deputy Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM), a suspect of bribery in Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources. Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources in this case is responsible to this scandal
 7. Former Vice President and Governor of Bank Indonesia was rated responsible for the Bank Century scandal.
 8. General Secretary of Democratic Party, youngest son of President SBY involved in corruption received USD 200 thousand. But until now KPK has not followed up the allegation.
 9. Housekeeping employees of President SBY involved scandal of Hambalang project. However, KPK has not set the status of the suspect.
 10. Members of Parliament RI from Democratic Party are touted receive money from Chairman of SKK Migas (JPPN.com, 2014)
5. The prosecutor was caught accepting bribe 610,000 dollars from obligor BLBI, sentenced 20 years in prison, and the obligor sentenced for 5 years in prison.
 6. Project Manager of Training Development and Procurement training tools of Depnakertrans involved inflating additional budget amounted to Rp 15 billion and Checklist Budget Rp 35 billion, sentenced 4 years in prison.
 7. Former Governor of Riau as well as Golkar Parliament members be suspects corruption in procurement 20 units of fire trucks worth Rp 15 billion, sentenced 4 years in prison.
 8. Former governor of West Java and Director General of Regional Autonomy Department of Interior became suspect in Damkar Case. KPK also makes suspect Former Head of Program Management Bureau, West Java and Former Supplies Head, Finance Bureau staff in East Kalimantan and Chairman of Commerce Chamber and Industry, Depok.
 9. PPP Party Member of Parliament and District Secretary of Bintan was caught in bribery case
 10. Golkar Party Member of Parliament and former Member of Parliament who serve as Deputy Governor of Jambi receive disbursement of Rp 31.5 billion from Bank Indonesia.

Other case of white-collar crime are sentenced during the Corruption Court President:

1. Previous Indonesia Police Chief involved in corruption cases of processing immigration documents while serving as Indonesia Ambassador in Malaysia. Sentenced for 2 years.
2. Two Indonesia Bank officials as suspected in use of YPPI funds amounting to Rp 100 billion. Each was sentenced to four years in prison,
3. The Governor of Bank Indonesia suspects use of YPPI funds amounting to Rp 100 billion, was sentenced to five years in prison,
4. *Besan* President along with another suspect becomes suspect disbursements Indonesian Banking Development Foundation (YPPI) amounting to Rp100 billion.

4.5. Corruption Culture Behavior on The Reform Government of The Seventh President of Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo (Jokowi)

The attempts of Jokowi government to eradicate corruption is promoted through bureaucratic reform. Good governance will result in professional office holders and high integrity. To implement this agenda Jokowi President issued Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No 7, 2015 on Prevention and Combating Action of Corruption. This instruction is elaboration and implementation of Government Regulation No. 55 2012 on National Strategy for the Prevention and Combating of Corruption for Long Term 2012-2025 (PresidenRI.go.id, 2015)

According to ICW total case of corruption in 2014 during administration of President Jokowi is 629 cases with 1328 suspects and total losses amounting to Rp 5.29 trillion. Four high state officials are decided to be a suspect. Among them is Minister of Religious Affairs

and Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources. Then Chairman of Audit board of Finance and Chairman of House Commission VII 2009-2014 In addition, 43 heads of regions was suspected of corruption and mostly from Golkar and Democrat Parties. Meanwhile 81 parliament politician members became suspected of corruption (Selatpanjang Post, 2016).

Indonesia Corruption Watch provides five record one year of government's performance in combating corruption. First, government still hostage to the political parties interests, especially the supporters party. Second, the performance on eradication of corruption, especially, the handling of corruption cases by police and prosecutors are still far from expectations. The performance in eradication of corruption is dragged into the noise of laws, in particular criminalization and weakening KPK. The Prosecutor Corruption *Satgasus* established in January 2015 has not produced the results. The measures of prosecutor's investigation are grounded in two pretrial hearing involved Minister of State Enterprises Board and Victoria Securities Indonesia. The Prosecutor ended corruption case of the fat accounts ownership of 10 heads of regions based on the findings of PPATK. Handling corruption of misuse the *Bansos* funds in North Sumatra Province became unclear since handled by the Attorney General. Third, government is considered not able to save KPK from weakening efforts. Criminalization toward non active KPK leaders cannot be stopped. Fourth, do not appear the strong regulation to support eradication of corruption, such as Asset Confiscation Bill, Bill on Mutual Cooperation (MLA), and Bill of Cash Transaction Restrictions. Fifth, government has not fully implement 15 anti-corruption agenda as stated in Nawacita Program. This impressive an anti-corruption agenda is not a government priority (Sindownews.com, 2015a).

The case that draw most attention of Indonesian people both nationally and internationally are corruption and desecration cases committed by Jakarta Governor. The corruption case that ensnared Jakarta Governor as suspect linked to the purchase of land in Cengkareng and Sumber Waras hospital, but so far the case has not been decided. The expert of Constitutional Law Yusril Ihza Mahendra said, police, prosecutors and KPK was too slow in dealing with this case (Sindownews.com, 2016). Likewise, the cases of religion defamation is offending majority of Indonesian Muslims and seized a long time and finally made suspect status to Governor of DKI.

About 800 securities accounts related to corruption and default payments in PT Asuransi Jiwasraya (Persero) have been blocked. The blocking request came from the Attorney General's Office to the Financial Services Authority (OJK) and was then executed by PT Kustodian Sentral Efek Indonesia (KSEI). "All requests come from the Attorney General's Office and OJK's anticipation to assist the Attorney General's legal process," said OJK Deputy Commissioner for Public Relations and Strategic Management Anto Prabowo when contacted in Jakarta, Friday, January 24, 2020. According to Anto, the number of blocked securities accounts will continue to grow, it could even exceed 800. Because the investigation process at the AGO is still ongoing. According to him, the FSA and the Attorney General continued to coordinate intensively to handle the Jiwasraya case. Previously, Jiwasraya was experiencing a default condition of up to Rp 12.4 trillion. Then, the company was also plagued by corruption issues involving the Managing Director of PT Hanson International, Benny Tjokrosaputro. The country's total loss is predicted to exceed Rp 13.7 trillion.¹⁷

In accordance with existing regulations, all securities account blocking processes are carried out by KSEI. However, the blocking order came from the FSA. Since January 16, 2020, the Head of the Attorney General's Legal Information Center, Hari Setiyono, has also mentioned blocking the securities account. According to him, prosecutors' investigators blocked the securities and securities custodian accounts belonging to the suspects of the Jiwasraya Case. Then on January 22, 2020, it was the turn of the Indonesia Stock Exchange (IDX) and the OJK to suspend trading temporarily, aka the suspension of five shares related to the Jiwasraya scandal. IDX Corporate Secretary Yulianto Aji Sadono said the suspension was carried out as a form of commitment by the capital market regulator to maintain orderly, fair and efficient securities trading. The decision to suspend refers to a letter issued by OJK No. SR-11 / PM.21 / 2020 on January 22, 2020. The letter contained a Temporary Suspension of Securities Trading. The fifth is PT Inti Agri Resources Tbk. (IIKP), PT Eureka Prima Jakarta Tbk. (LCGP), PT Hanson International Tbk. (MYRX),

¹⁷Aftermath of the Jiwasraya Corruption Scandal, 800 Securities Accounts were Blocked <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/1299067/aftermath-scandal-corruption-jiwasraya-80>. Accessed March 17, 2020 01.00 a.m.

PT SMR Utama Tbk. (SMRU), and PT Trada Alam Minera Tbk. (TRAM).

Government bureaucratic activities which are realized in the form of projects, are conducive land for corruption. It is common knowledge that project leaders get a "kick back" of between 30% and 40% of the project value (maybe more, which will be shared with officials or their superiors). For project partners who carry out project work, so that they do not incur losses in working on the project, there is no other way in bidding, except to "mark up" the value of the project, or conduct KKN with the tender committee. From this then arises the terms "wet office" and "dry office", which are considered only natural and do not feel that illegally taking state property is a major crime.

5. CONCLUSION

In criminology, acts of corruption fall within the scope of white-collar crime and are actually forms of action that are far more detrimental to society than conventional crime. However, the level of public concern about the symptoms of this type of crime, because it is invisible, is relatively not as high as that of conventional crime. In Indonesia, it can be said that crime in the form of corruption (KKN) has spread in various aspects of people's lives, for example in the fields of law and law enforcement, politics, business, government bureaucracy, education, and even in the religious field as people have been interpreted to have happened. in the organization of Hajj. It is not surprising that Transparency International from the results of its survey places Indonesia as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. Although this form of crime is serious, the pattern of overcoming it does not indicate seriousness. The proof, corruption continues.

Government bureaucratic activities which are realized in the form of projects, are conducive land for corruption. It is common knowledge that project leaders get a "kick back" of between 30% and 40% of the project value (maybe more, which will be shared with officials or their superiors). For project partners who carry out project work, so that they do not incur losses in working on the project, there is no other way in bidding, except to "mark up" the value of the project, or conduct KKN with the tender committee. From this then arises the terms "wet office" and "dry office", which are considered only natural and do not feel that illegally taking state property is a major crime.

By paying attention to the description above, then in an effort to tackle the problem of corruption, if it is not intended to change or improve conditions conducive to corruption, then the effort will be in vain. For example, the formation of a Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), which is more repressive, will not be able to do much in dealing with corruption. Because the kleptocracy, which is a mirror, has eradicated corruption in Indonesia, it needs to be fought by developing a culture of anti-corruption and a culture of separation of assets from personal property. Therefore, in tackling the problem of plentiful democracy, it is necessary to involve criminologists and other relevant experts to conduct in-depth research in order to explain various factors that are conducive to the occurrence of corruption and design coping strategies.

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