EDUCATING ASEAN SOCIETIES FOR INTEGRITY

The Role of **Educators** & **Students** in Building Integrity

The Role of Educators & Students in Building INTEGRITY

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Ries Wulandari, M.Si

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UNIVERSITAS MERCU BUANA
IEN Integrity Education Network

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The Role of Educators & Students in Building INTEGRITY

Foreword

Corruption affects almost every aspects of human life. It's domino effect widespread on the existence of the nation and the state especially exacerbate the nation's economic condition. Corruption is not a form of ordinary crime because it was damaging the joints of life's most basic social ethic that even humanity.

The main factor triggering corruption is the internal aspect comes from the private consists of moral aspects, such as lack of faith, honesty, shame, attitudes or behavior of consumption and social life as a family that can drive a person to behave corrupt. While there are external factors that can be traced from the economic aspect. Such as income or salary is not sufficient, political instability, political interests, power, lack of accountability and transparency, and weak law enforcement and social aspects of the environment or the people who do not support anti-corruption behavior.

Therefore anti-corruption behavior cultivations can be done through integrity and anti-corruption education. The ASEAN Seminar & Conference: Education ASEAN Societies for Integrity, we hope can make higher education plays a great role in introducing Integrity Education. By collaboration of universities might also positively provide better impact to ASEAN Integrity for Integration.

This proceeding consist of best papers/case study from ASEAN countries by 6 (six) following topics, Integrity and Law Enforcement in Corruption Case; Integrity through Religion-Based Education; Integrity and Public Health System and Management; Integrity in Governing Public Administration; Integrity and Doing Business while Keeping ASEAN Community Green; and Integrity and Ethical Issues in Communication Media.

Through the work of academics this dish may be developed various approaches to educational integrity that enables packaged varied and the manner in which to consider important aspects in education. Hopefully publishing this proceeding could be part of efforts to prevent and eradicate corruption in Indonesia and the ASEAN regions.

Director of Puskombis

Dr. Heri Budianto, M.Si.
April 2003

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Muhammadiyah Effort in Eradicating Corruption and Upholding Public Integrity

A Case Study of Muhammadiyah East Jawa

Biyanto

Abstract

This article aims to discuss the experience of Muhammadiyah East Java in eradicating corruption and upholding public integrity. According to Muhammadiyah, corruption could clearly harm the state economy, reduce public welfare, destroy social morality, demolish political and legal system, treat national security, and hummer national resources. Base on experience in its activities, Muhammadiyah of East Java has been involved in eradicating corruption. Muhammadiyah also sought to uphold public integrity, for example through the advocacy of transparent state budget use. Interestingly, Muhammadiyah used mass media to promote its agenda of upholding public integrity. It can be observed through the publication of activities and accountability reports published in Matan and Suara Muhammadiyah, two magazines affiliated with Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah also established a collaboration with news paper, radio, and television to build a culture of public integrity.

Keywords: Muhammadiyah, eradicating corruption, public integrity

1. Introduction

Currently, corruption is one of the major problems that are faced by Indonesia. IMF report that was published on 16 September 2010 showed that corruption remains as main obstacle that hindering Indonesian effort in improving its economy. A research of Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) also proves that corruption in Indonesia is still very worrying. Cases of corruption found are very much, including in East Java. A report of *Jaringan Kerja Anti Korupsi [JKAK]* (Communities Against Corruption) shows that corruption in East Java is mostly occurred in Surabaya, Bondowoso, Kediri, Sidoarjo and Pasuruan (Husodo, 2010: 4). JKAK report also mentions that corruption has becoming an endemic in government bureaucracy, legislature, private, and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO). Even in society, corruption also occurs in its various forms. Therefore, they said that corruption is very difficult to eradicate since it has been manifested into many faces (Lubis, 1988: viii).

Therefore, it is not an exaggeration when Franz Magnis Suseno stated that corruption has corrupted Indonesia in such a way causing this nation decreasingly fragile and collapse. Corruption has undermined the resilience of this nation in all fields. He said, as termites, corruption has destroyed the pillar of this nation from inside, from place where this nation was built (Suseno, 2009: 785-796). Although the culture of corruption has rapidly spread, but since it is aligned with economic, political, and other social problems, the effort to eradicate it has to be supported. We should not have a fatalist mindset by stating that corruption has been so endemic the efforts to eradicate it seem so vain.

The most important thing to do now is to keep the spirit of fighting against corruption. In line with the will to eradicate corruption, public integrity should also be built. This issue is important, because good governance requires accountability (Janos Bertok, 2008: 49). In this context, the aim to uphold public integrity and to eradicate corruption needs to be given adequate attention by all parties, including Muhammadiyah. This paper aims specifically to discuss the experience of Muhammadiyah of East Java in eradicating

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corruption and upholding public integrity.

2. Corruption in Muhammadiyah Perspective

2.1. The Definition of Corruption

It is quite difficult to find the appropriate synonym for corruption in Islamic term, since the term 'corruption' has just been found in modern culture. However, since the substance of corruption is an act of transaction against law and religious norms that contains fraud, corruption could be analogous to similar acts as known in fiqh (Islamic law). *Majelis Tarjih* and *Majelis Tajdid* (The Committee of Legal Affairs and Reform) A Central Board of Muhammadiyah compares several terms in fiqh that could express actions contain elements of corruption.

To explain corruption in Islamic context, *Majelis Tarjih* and *Tajdid* has put several popular terms as analogue, such as *ghulul*, *risywah*, and *ghasab*. These three words according to *Majelis Tarjih* and *Tajdid* Muhammadiyah are considered as terms representing the practice of corruption.

2.1.1. Ghulul

Ghulul means taking and hiding something by somebody as his own property. G*hulul* is associated with corruption as it betrays trust that should be maintained. At first, *ghulul* is used to describe the misuse of war booty before it is properly distributed. Somebody is deliberately taking war booty and hiding it on his own property (Anwar, 2006: 55). In the Qur'an, *ghulul* is also used to define a crime related to the bertrayal of war booty management (Al-Qur'an, *Ali 'Imran* [3]: 161). Based on the above meaning, *ghulul* is classified as corruption by; (a) an intention of self enrichment; (b) harming others and the state, because *ghanimah* and prize that were hiding/ kept by perpetrators resulted in the dispersal of right of people and the state; (c) the misuse of authority; and (d) an action contrary and against the law, because it is banned by religion as well as damaging the law system and moral of society (Anwar, 2006: 59-60).

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2.1.2. Risywah

Risywah lexically means *al-ju'l*, namely wages, present, gift, grant or gratification. In terminologically, *risywah* means an act of giving something by cancelling or getting the right of others. In other words, *risywah* (bribery) means giving present by wishing to gain something. In Indonesian term '*suap*' or bribery has a close meaning with '*sogok*', which also means bribery (Anwar, 2006: 60). However, some people claim that bribery is actually inflicting no harm for others, but the act of bribery remains illigetimite as it is prohibited to give present to officials of government. Great loss caused by bribery will destroy the existence of value and law system of the nation (Ibn Taymiyah, T.Th: 302).

2.1.3. Ghashab

Ghasab means taking something from someone by force (using violence). *Ghashab* can also means an action to remove the power or the authority over property, that can be transferred, from the right person to the wrong person who had openly (not secretly) proven to be fault (Anwar, 2006: 63). By this understanding, *ghashab* could be associated with corruption because there is an action to control or exploit the right of other's property based on his authority and power. In the Qur'an, *ghashab* can also be defined by context as taking something with force (Al-Qur'an, Al-Kahfi [18]: 79). *Ghashab* could be categorized as corruption because it is against the law.

2.2. Motivation and Factor

Based on the result of *Halaqah* (the meeting) of *Majelis Tarjih* and *Tajdid* Central Board of Muhammadiyah, it can be stated that several elements aligned inherently with corruption are included: (a) action of taking, hiding, stealing state or public property and corporation, (b) action against legal and forceful norms, (c) the misuse of power, authority or trust that were on him; (d) action of taking advantage for himself, family, or persons and specific corporations (institutions), and (e) action that harms others, either public or state (Anwar, 2006: 13).

Corruption is always based on specific motivation. *Majelis*

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Tarjih and *Tajdid* formulates several motivations of corruption: *First, corruption by greed*. This motivation is usually possessed by people who actually have no economic problem (no economic need as force). Corruptors might come from high level society with good economic condition. Greediness is one aspect that motivates people to gain higher rank/title, more salary, more luxurious houses, and wider popularity. Greediness based corruption mostly occurs among higher level officials and businessmen.

Second, corruption by need. This type of corruption is caused by pressure in the fulfillment of basic needs in life. This petty corruption is done by low level officials/officers whose salary is not enough to meet their daily needs, such as: low-rank police, labor, parking officer, transportation drivers, and others.

Third, corruption by chance. This type corruption is permitted by chance of becoming rich and upgrading job level/rank instantly. Usually, this case is allowed by the weakness of system in an organisation where there is no public accountability, lack of supervision, and no law enforcement.

It should be emphasized that the three motivations above are sometimes interrelated. In other words, corruption might be done by a person who is mentally greedy, possesses need or desire of high living and there exist opportunities or chances for a corruptor to feel free (no worry) in carrying his action (corruption).

In relation with factors causing corruption that increasingly occurs in this country, *Majelis Tarjih* and *Tajdid* proposed six reasons (Anwar, 2006: 15-17). *First*, religious values are less practiced in daily life. This factor is caused by many things. For example, the teaching of religion subject at school is pays little to the affective and psycomotoric sides of students. So far, religious education emphasizes more on the cognitive side. Religion as subject in schools and colleges is understood only as knowledge. Yet, the most important thing of education is to build ones character and behavior according to religious values. As consequence, the teaching of religion has not yet optimally produced characters of abiding laws, honesty, good personality and high integrity.

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Second, the governing and leading officials of organizations (either profit or non profit) tend to be exclusive and authoritarian. The absence of transparency in each abused governmental system or organization obviously permits a condition where power could be misused. In addition, the spirit of autonomy is strongly emphasized on local government to manage their own budget. Weak accountability and public control could worsen the condition. This condition often becomes the starting point where corruption transforms into culture and inherently develops closed into different forms in social activities.

Third, the less functioning of legislature/people representative (DPR, DPRD, DPD) in performing its duties as check and balances forces over government policies. This situation becomes worse when legislature is coopted by the executive's executive is interest, while it is highly probable because in each local election, the culture of political contract (in term of horse trading politics and money politics) has occurred in such a way that involves the power of political party, businessman and candidates of local/regional leader. In the process of recruitment of its member, most political parties tend to pay less attention on the competence and track record of its candidates. The existing mechanism of election is based on the major vote therefore recruiting popular cadres who possess strong financial support are then becoming more neccessary.

Forth, the less functioning agency to control and to enforce law also the weak legal sanction that has no deterrent effect for corruptors. Government or any organizations that dose not have culture of upholding strict control upon its system tends to corrupt. Again, we are reminded by Lord Acton: *power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely* (Budiarjo, 1977: 99). This law ensures that people who possess power tend to mislead, but people who possess absolute power will inevitably mislead.

Fifth, the behavior of leaders or higher rank officials in daily life, also give contribution to the widespread of corruption. According to *Majelis Tarjih* and *Tajdid*, currently, it is very hard to find officials who are humble consists of result in prudent, *qana'ah* (receiving and

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enjoying the grace of God), *wara'* (staying away from grey things [*syubhat*]), generous, and not greedy. Conversely, a role model existing in the society, mostly leaders are luxurious, extravagant, stingy, arrogant and greedy.

Sixth, the low wages of employees that result in low level of welfare. Too low wages will affect on the widespread practices of corruption. Therefore, it is important to increase people's wages to create better welfare. However, small wages is not necessarily followed by a corrupt behavior. As a proof, corruptors usually come from a group of high salaries or high rank officials, and even they are important person or respected public figures. It means that mentality (state of mind/mindset of a person) is the most important thing.

3. The Muhammadiyah Experience in Eradicating Corruption

Indeed Muhammadiyah of East Java has not yet created specific programs in its effort to eradicate corruption. It is reasonable because Muhammadiyah's main activities aim to optimize *da'wa* through education, health services and other social charities. However, there are several listed activities that have been done and could be classified as part of Muhammadiyah's effort to minimize corruption that occurs in society, such as the response of Muhammadiyah of East Java to the current local political trends that tend to emphasize more on image based action rather than on performance based action. Image based politics can be interpreted as an attempt to build image of a good bureaucracy that is able to foster the development of community (Mughni, 2007: 11). Yet, in practive, the authority never responds people's will/interest.

The dynamics of politics in East Java is noted by the conduct of *pemilukada* (local leader election) in municipality or district level. During 2010, there have been 18 cities which conducted elections. Certainly, there were problems that came along through the events. Despite issue of supporting candidates that was suspected of creating social conflict, *pemilukada* also perpetuated the culture of

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money politics. Therefore, Muhammadiyah of East Java emphasized the importance of moral movement in strategic level to develop an anti-money politics and to create clean and accountable government. This movement was expected to be the reference for Muhammadiyah leaders in its lower level (city, district, and village) to respond the local political development.

The Pledge of Eradicating Corruption had actually been professed by Muhammadiyah and Nadhatul Ulama (NU) of East Java in 2003. The pledge agreement was held at Pondok Pesantren Al-Hikam, Malang on 17 November 2003. This pledge followed the signing of Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Central Board of Muhammadiyah represented by Ahmad Syafii Maarif and the Central Board of Nadhatul Ulama (PBNU) represented by KH. A. Hasyim Muzadi at Pondok Pesantren Mahasiswa Al-Hikam, Malang on 15 October 2003. The important point of the pledge that was represented by Fasichul Lisan (Muhammadiyah) and Ali Maschan Moesa (NU) was the concerns of the two organizations on the eradication of corruption.

Unfortunately, the MoU was not accompanied by appropriate strategy of implementation, so it looks merely as just a moral movement. Syafiq A. Mughni, the Head of Muhammadiyah East Java (2005-2010) admitted that the agreement was not yet delegated into the lower level of organization. Although the movement has not resulted in action, the moral movement of eradicating corruption is still considered important. Therefore, the current challenge of Muhammadiyah is transforming the moral movement into real actions that could mobilize all resources possessed by Muhammadiyah in all levels (regional, city, district or village).

4. The Muhammadiyah Effort to Uphold Public Integrity

Muhammadiyah of East Java has held several advocacy activities as an effort to help government in creating public integrity. According to *Lembaga Hikmah dan Kebijakan Publik* (LHKP/ Committee for Wisdom and Public Policy), Muhammadiyah

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has raised several actual issues related with government policies dealing with people's welfare. An activity that has been held was the assistance of APBD (Regional Budget Planning for Revenue and Spending) from corruption, collusion and manipulation. The activity was held in 2007 in cooperation with The Asia Foundation (TAF). The purpose of this activity was to develop public awareness toward APBD and increasing their political participation in monitoring political budgeting (Mughni, 2008: 19).

The event was actually based on the concern of Muhammadiyah on the low participation of community in the planning and implementation process of regional budgeting (APBD). Up to now, government officials tend to treat APBD (either provincial/regional or city level), as confidential document that the public should not need to know. During the new order government, the party that was supposed to know the details of APBN/APBD (National/ Regional Budgeting) was only the legislative and executive. Even in its practice, it was only bureaucrats who held complete control over the implementation of APBD. This happened because during the new order government the legislative has served just as a rubber stamp and did not have power to control budgeting planning and its implementation.

In reformation era, where openness are expected to occur in all public institutions, people demand transparent and accountable institutions (legislative, executive and judiciary), because it is interrelated with state budgeting to build and improve social welfare. In this context, Muhammadiyah is needed to be involved in the process of formulating, implementing and controlling APBD (Sophiaan and Mirdasy, 2007: 54). This is important because people tend not to realize that the formulation of APBD established by government and legislature are actually very vulnerable to be used for political purpose.

As example, the budgeting planning for program of *Jaring Aspirasi Masyarakat* (Jasmas) that was managed by each member of DPRD provincial and DPRD district in East Java (people's representative in parliament at regional/city level) of 2004-2009.

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This program needed to be criticized because it is vulnerable to any misuse of budget. In practice, each DPRD member was given quota to accommodate several project proposals from communities/ constituents to be inserted in (APBD). For APBD budgetary year 2007, there was in approximately 60 billion rupiahs or 600 million rupiahs allocated for each member of DPRD.

The practice of corruption actually can be seen in several officials program managed by DPRD provincial. An example that raised most public attention was P2SEM (*Program Penanggulangan Sosial dan Ekonomi Masyarakat* [Program of Social and Economic Empowerment]. P2SEM that was funded by APBD of East Java in 2008 has dragged several members of legislature into judicial institution, including several private sectors, such as NGO, universities as victim of manipulation.

Rhetorically, P2SEM was intended for community empowerment. Yet, in practice P2SEM budget was then allocated for political purpose, to financially support the election champaign in 2009. Actually, it was not only the legislature who has potention to misuse APBD, but the executive, especially local leader who is willing to be renominated. Indicators could be observed through various programs initiated by the candidates of local leader who came from incumbent.

The incumbent candidates were very potential in producing massive political programs funded by APBD. *Program Padat Karya* (intensive program), *Bantuan Langsung Tunai* (direct cash support), *Bantuan Operasional Pendidikan* (support for education operation), *pemberian insentif guru* (teacher incentives), *peningkatan sumber daya pesatren* (the development of pesantren resources or Islamic school) are among several programs that are potentially used to improve and recover the image of leader who wants to be renominated for the following election. This strategy has been effectively proven in the emerging trend of political imaging. Moreover, it is worsened by the condition of some parts of social communities that still have problems with economy and unemployment.

In the current social political condition, Muhammadiyah of Each

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Java initiated programs to oversee and assist APBD in order to produce a pro-poor community based APBD. To make a sustainable effort, education and cadre training were then held by Muhammadiyah of East Java. Muhammadiyah of East Java established several posts to accommodate the movement of anti-corruption and anti power abuse/misuse (Mughni, 2007: 19). This program was held in order to help communities with concern on eradicating corruption and upholding public integrity.

The effort to eradicate corruption is not only limited in the provincial level (Muhammadiyah of East Java), but also delegated on its autonomous organization, such as *Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah/IMM* (Muhammadiyah University Student Association). IMM has conducted an anti-corruption training and review on APBD (Mughni, 2010: 37). Despite using strategy and knowledge, the spirit of creating public integrity is also implemented in forms of protest or demonstration. Protest and demonstrations by the activist of *Pemuda Muhammadiyah* (Muhammadiyah Youth) was also conducted to commemorate World Corruption Day. Those various activities were supposed to show the commitment of Muhammadiyah in eradicating corruption and upholding public integrity.

Unfortunately, the program of budget advocation that has been designed so well did not last long or even no longer sustains. There is an impression that this program runs only when there is donor. If the donor left, the program then stopped. This phenomenon however become endemic in almost non-profit institutions that rely on donor as program funding support, either from government or foreign agencies

In its effort to uphold public integrity, Muhammadiyah also encouraged the making of accountability report in each year and at the end of task period. It became part of Muhammadiyah culture. As a social organization and NGO, Muhammadiyah obviously received aid from government, private institution, individual donor and its own productive charity units/enterprises in order to run its social activities. As responsibility, Muhammadiyah gave formal and

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transparent report to regional and district board of Muhammadiyah in official forum.

In adition Muhammadiyah of East Java also held audit on its own finace resources as tradition. Audit is held by independent team recommended by *Lembaga Pembinaan dan Pengawas Keuangan* (Institute of Financial Guidance and Supervision). Usually the team of audit consists of staff of Muhammadiyah universities and professionals such as *Ikatan Akuntan Indonesia* (Indonesian Institute of Accountants). It is not only Muhammadiyah of East Java that its financial management has to be audited every year, but also its productive charity units such as: schools, hospitals and enterprises that are managed by Provincial Board of Muhammadiyah of East Java. The purpose of external audit is to build public integrity.

For Muhammadiyah, donation received from stake holder means trustworthiness; therefore it has to be accounted transparently and accountably. During 2005-2010, Muhammadiyah of East Java has cooperated with government institutions and foreign NGOs. Several foreign NGOs were The Asia Foundation (Review APBD), Environmental Services Program USAID (the Implementation of Clean, Green and Hygiene Curriculum), British Council (English Teacher Training), dan Health Policy Initiative USAID (the Living Skill Education: the Prevention of HIV and AIDS through Education Institutions). Provincial Board of *Aisyiyah* (Muhammadiyah Women Movement) has also received grants from program Community Tuberculoses (TB) Care from The Global Fund in cooperation with Health Department of East Java. This program aims to prevent the development of tuberculosis in several cities in East Java.

In attempt to act as an exemplary role for society over issues on the importance of public integrity, Muhammadiyah of East Java has held control and organised its asset legally (naming all assets as Muhammadiyah property). This program is held because there are many assets of Muhammadiyah in education, health, economy, and other social services. In relation with building public integrity, the program should be appreciated since it has been able to avoid an attempt of personal and particular foundations to take

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Muhammadiyah assets. In this context, Muhammadiyah had built a system of eradicating corruption and upholding public integrity. The experiences of Muhammadiyah must be appreciated because eradicating corruption and upholding public integrity need a powerful system, not only giving punishment to corruptors (Jeremy Pope, 1997).

5. Conclusion

Corruption happens in public institutions, either central or regional, and it could be done carried out by politicians, bureaucrats, professionals or academics. Corruption could clearly harm the state economy; reduce public welfare; destroy social morality, political and legal system, national defense; and destroy natural resources. Facing this situation, Muhammadiyah has demonstrated its experience in eradicating corruption and upholding public integrity. Indeed, in its activities, Muhammadiyah never explicitly use the term 'corruption'. However, if it is viewed from the substance of the activities, it clearly shows an effort of eradicating corruption.

Muhammadiyah has several experiences dealing with the activities to uphold public integrity, such as the advocation of budgetary against misuse (planning and implementation). It involves groups or communities in public forum in the process of encouraging public awareness toward the budget planning and implementation (APBD). Interestingly, Muhammadiyah also cooperates with mass media in line with building public integrity. It can be observed through the publication of activities and accountability report in *Matan* and *Suara Muhammadiyah* (Muhammadiyah community magazine). Other forms of mass media, such as newspaper, radio, and television, had also been used to build a culture of public integrity.

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