

Corruptive Communication: Process and Prevention (Case Study of Indonesian Legislative Councils)

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Abstract— Number of Indonesian legislative members who entangled to sentences because of corruption cases is still high. It is caused by low monitoring of legislative budgeting from government auditor, media, public and NGO. This study examines corruption among legislative council through interaction, message, character and media factors using qualitative approach. Through depth interview technique, corruptors described their cases such as illegal agreement with legislative treasurer, legislative group members, government official and private contractor. It is found that corruption communication type are form of face to face interpersonal communication and group communication with verbal and nonverbal message, symbol and gesture. Meanwhile, corruptors practiced manipulation in financial transaction bill, meeting report and decision. Corruption actors also felt that they were not guilty and only became the victims of system even though they were punished as corruptor in court of corruption. Further, this study proposes an integrated strategy among media, public and government to prevent corruption.

Keywords—*corruption; communication; prevention.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Corruption is a complex issue in many developing countries. Corruption actors can be legislatives, government officials or

industrialists who have authority and use it for getting personal gain that leads to disadvantages and loss to public.

Corruption cases in Indonesia is in top corruption level which is people are not conscious about corruption culture in their workplace [1].

According to thejakartapost.com, research by Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) shows in corruption cases from 2013 to 2016, civil servants ranked first in involvement in graft cases followed by private-sector parties. Most civil servants involved in corruption are from provincial, regency and municipal administrations. Further, regional bureaucrats are still the biggest actors in corruption and local officials' strategic position in holding key roles in local development had opened room for graft. In its corruption case law enforcement trend report for the first semester of 2016, the ICW recorded 210 corruption cases investigated by the KPK, National Police and AGO, with state-losses amounting up to Rp 890.5 billion (US\$ 68.5 million) and

500 suspects. It shows a decrease compared to the first semester of last year, during which it reorded 229 total cases involving 595 suspects and state losses of up to Rp 3.9 trillion. Meanwhile, ICW monitoring during the second semester of 2015 revealed that 911 corruption cases were investigated from 2010 to 2015. However, only 151 cases or 17 percent of the total entered the prosecution stage while 755 cases or 82 percent remained in the investigation stage.

Based on the data, this study will reveal the corruptive communication of legislative council with focused in interaction, message, character, media and propose strategy for preventing corruption.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Corruption within a country become a wicked problem. Its complexity with system, culture and society makes this problem difficult to solve. Therefore, many studies to understand corruption and strategies are offered to stop corruption.

Gaivoonskaya and Filonenko say factors such as social and economic, political, organizational and institutional and ethical and cultural causes. In organization view, corruption is a sign of weak power and unskilled management. Low capability of

management shows in lack of clear institutional organization, detailed regulation of operation, control systems and liability for violation [3].

In Nigeria, corruption is driven by societal pressure in public servants, perverted moral order, greediness, weak anticorruption crusades, bribery and embezzlement, tribalism and nepotism, low risk-high benefit of involving in corrupt practices among others. While the prevention may start with meritocracy and professionalism, high moral reformation of public servants, spirit and commitment to fighting corruption and ensuring transparency and corruption-reporting mechanism of corruption [7]. While other scholar shows that explication of poor governance in Nigeria has caused corruption, poverty, unemployment and violence [2].

Study in Kenya shows that media has a significant role in combatting corruption in a country as their role as watch dog. Media can expose corruption scandal. However it faces

obstacles such as absence of information access legislation, restricted freedom and limited resources as well as governmental, legal and proprietorial commercial pressure [6].

Then, Wijaya explains corruptive communication as process of communication contains of elements that have corruption risk such as message, media, context, behavior. While communicators do encoding and decoding of message, they can use their power to manipulate data or information, corruption in media also can use agenda setting to set public opinion in media's interest. In context, political incumbent who has a position and power use the authority and facilitation, use public financing to build image for himself. The last is behavior dimension, contains of impression management, persuasiveness, impression laundering in bribe cases [10].

Further, mass media has a significant role to combat corruption. Journalist eligibility for doing corruption investigation is needed. To be a good watchdog journalist should have education and training to understand issues and gain knowledge, Adventism and missionarism newsroom, people's history, plans and aspirations and what they scheme to achieve for themselves, their children and their country, distinguishing an enemy from a friend, a partner from exploiter, excellence from mediocrity, getting acquitted with how decision-makers, befriending policy-makers, political, civic or corporate leaders [2].

In addition, civil society also supports to prevent corruption. With their media literacy skill, they will have competence to access, interpret, analyze and evaluate news. Then, they can continue to assess and evaluate government budgeting and ask for transparency and accountability. Active civil society can prevent corruption motive over government officials [5].

III. METHODOLOGY

This study use qualitative approach with case study method. Researcher investigated the case intensively, in-depth, detailed and comprehensive. Constructive paradigm is used to understand the process of communication in corruption. Three legislative members who are corruptor were interviewed in their prison. Data collection technique are interview and documentation of photos, newspaper articles, memo and letter as support information. While the validity technique of this data used source triangulation by comparing and checking the information in different ways. Data analysis in this study, including data reduction, display data and verification data.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This research conduct in depth-interview with corruption actors to explore communication process of corruption in term of interaction, message, communicator's character and media as well. This research was conducted in Sukamiskin prison located in Bandung city that responsible for corruptor' sentence. In this

place, the corruptors not only serving a sentence, they do some activities such as help officers in administrative matters, making crafts furniture, carvings, handy craft, conducting business or culinary laundry facilitated by the prison, and others. Further, the prison also has many facilities such as churches and mosques, sports facilities such as badminton courts, tennis courts, fitness center and room service.

Informants of this research are TS, TAY, and CLY. TS, born in Tuban, 08 April 1967. He has undergraduate degree in Tarbiyah Islam and master degree in public administration. His organizational experience are chairman in student senate, activist in Indonesian Young Entrepreneurs Association (Hipmi) 2002-2003, members of the Islamic Student Association and also a member of the Indonesian Muslim Students Association (PMII). He started his political career in Golongan Karya party in 1999 - 2004. Then in 2004 he was elected as the chairman of the parliament of Bojonegoro City until 2009. His case is corruption in legislative trip expense in 2006-2007 with 3 years sentence in prison.

The next is TAY, he was born in Surabaya, June 23, 1964. He is a vice chairman of legislative in Riau province. He has accounting degree and master of management. He had worked as a professional accountant before became politician. His crime is bribery in project development of national sport event in Riau with 4 years and 2 months of sentence.

The last is CLY, he was born in Semarang, July 4 1964. He was the head of legislative in the budget committee in Yogyakarta city. Although he already convicted with 4 years sentence in prison, he proposed judicial review related to his case. He felt that the sentence was not appropriate because he was not guilty of the cases of budget, he was just a victim by group of people. One of them is the vice president of Indonesia (2009-2014), Boediono who was a finance minister in 2004.

Interaction

Interaction in corruption process was dominated by face to face interaction, interpersonal and group communication.

No	Cases	Interaction
1.	Corruption of official trip expenses by the Chairman of the Parliament of Bojonegoro, TS	Face to face interaction in interpersonal communication between TS and his financial staff
2.	Case of bribery in development project of national sport event in Riau by TAY	Face to face interaction in communication group among TAY, staf of ministry of youth and sport and PT. Adhi Karya staff as project contractor

3.	Case of misappropriating in Yogyakarta city budget by chairman of financial board, CLY	Face to face interaction in group communication with executive and legislative representatives.
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In TS's case, interaction of corruption occurred between the chairman and the treasurer whose position is as secretary of house of representative. TS says that he gave the proposal to the chairman of province house of representative. The chairman asked secretary of house representatives to study and approve accord with administrative provision. Then, the secretary checked TS's proposal administrative and processed to official journey staff to check the allotment and it was available. Then, the secretary made an agreement note for financial staff. Financial staff was responsible to arrange the cost such as airplane ticket, hotel, perdiem, and transportation. From the interview, TS also disclosed that he had close relationship with the secretaries and treasurer of house representative because they knew each other as politicians for years.

In TS case, it is stated that the financial statements made by the parliament secretariat treasurer was improper. According to the prosecution about 2.4 billion rupiah flowed into private accounts of the treasurer, while 10.8 billion rupiah into TS's account.

The second case is TAY's corruption. He was the vice chairman of house of representative in Riau province. The corruption interaction is through face to face group communication at TAY's house. The head of project asked the representatives to revise the budgeting, add more 20 billion rupiahs otherwise the shooting range for the national sport competition would not be built. They finally agreed to revise that and the representative will get 1.8 billion as a bribe. TAY confirmed that he had to agree to against people complaint of the project's deadline.

Cases of corruption that afflicts CLY as chairman of the budget agency in Yogyakarta City Council that due to the problem of corruption for 3 billion rupiah pension allowance. Although already serving a criminal sentence for two years, until now CLY still struggling to fight for their rights because he was not guilty. CLY said that as head of budgeting, he communicated all pension allowance from planning to validating process with the mayor and deputy mayor. This allowance already signed by mayor.

Interaction of corruption was analyzed by social construction theory from Berger and Luckmann that focussing to study of human interaction with others. Human's cognition related to social reality is appearing, developing and institutionalizing. Berger in Rinawati [8] refers that human creates social reality through externality, objectivity and internalization process. Externality is an adaptation process with sociocultural as human's product. The second process, objectivity as social interaction in inter subject term that being institutionalized. The

last is human step to identify his or her self with social institution or social organization where this person belong.

In this research, it is showed that all corruptors had made social construction that they were considered corrupted but they had a reason doing that in order to fulfill their responsibility as a parliament member. Externality process is showed from value that parliament has to serve public and it drives an opportunity to earn some money. This activity suddenly becomes institution's value that can be accepted safely in the organization.

Message

Corruption actors in this research did not admitted that they were responsible for their cases. It is showed from their answer in the interview below.

No	Cases	Messages
1.	Corruption of official trip expenses by the Chairman of the Parliament of Bojonegoro, TS	TS gave instruction to the secretary of house of representative to handle official travel disbursement. The nonverbal communication is the silence of them which is means they are agree with their corruption share.
2.	Case of bribery in development project of national sport event in Riau by TAY	TAY asked for political fee to the contractor for the project budgeting revision.
3.	Case of misappropriating in Yogyakarta city budget by chairman of financial board, CLY	CLY explained that he communicated with legislative and executives during the process, and no one made an objection.

Informants often use local language in informal communication and bahasa for formal meeting. TS thought that the treasurer was the player in the case because member of legislatives often asked to give signatures in empty invoices for financial report revision. Treasurer also made manipulation in making double or triple travel official in the same day with one legislative's name. TS himself never checked the amount of money transferred because he already trusted the treasurer.

TAY described the complex of corruption case with an example below. A new employee even can be involved in a corruption. His boss asked him to help him transfer some money. First, the boss would transferred 200 million to his account. Then, the new employee could take 5 million and sent 195 million back. Nevertheless, when the boss get caught in the court, the boss got 2.6 years of sentence and the new employee

get 2.5 years of sentence. TAY also thought that his corruption is in a grey area. His friends corrupted the budget much bigger than TAY. TAY defended himself that he had to do that for public, not for his personal's interest.

CLY explained that the pension allowance was on the government regulation planning. The item was set 6 times of wage. All legislative already received the money. CLY said that it was not a corruption because before we accepted the money, it was taxed accordingly by government.

In term of corruption, the word bribe has been widely used in many symbols such as service change, additional money that given to person who helped in some process, administration fee is for administrative staff that smooth the way, barren money to person who help to stop checking, gasoline money, played out money, smoking money for person who travelled. As people in Indonesia referred to high context of communication, the word for bribe in corruption case can be many words. A parliament-corruptor who has sentence of misapplication of forest function in Bintan Karimun, use clothes for bribe and tailor as sender [8].

From the interview, TS talked to secretary about handle official travel disbursement. Handle word means the secretary has to allocate more money that out of legal allowance but it can be distributed to TS's account and also the secretary's account. The silent as nonverbal communication by the secretary is defined as an agreement with certain activities. In TAY's case, he mentioned political money to the contractor as a term of bribe. This bribe will distribute to some members in his institution. It seemed that the contractor had same perception that in a project it is normal to give some bribe to parliament members who gave opportunity to his company to charge in the construction business. While in CLY's case, according to CLY's opinion, it is showed that there was a miss communication between legislative and executive. First, executive was agreed to prove pension allowance but whenever it was signed, taxed and distributed, the executive assisted that it was a misapplication of budget.

Characteristics of Communicators

No	Cases	Communicators
1.	Corruption of official trip expenses by the Chairman of the Parliament of Bojonegoro, TS	He has to maintain his image to his constituents even with the manipulation. He corrupted because he had no sufficient money to distribute to constituent.
2.	Case of bribery in development project of national sport event in Riau by TAY, vice chairman of legislative in Riau province	He thought that it is acceptable to make 'grey area' decision as long as the purpose is for people

3.	Case of misappropriating in Yogyakarta city budget by chairman of financial board, CLY	He did not criticized the budgeting meeting and finally got trapped with the political rival.
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TS payed attention for building his image in front of his constituents. He gave an example from bridge project. It should be under public work department. Therefore TS invited the public work staff and ask him to build the bridge. Then, TS publish the project to the constituents and got successfully building his positive image.

As legislative in province area, TS said that his 15 million rupiah salary is not sufficient. His constituents came to his house and asked for donation such for helping pay education fee, health fee and many more. TS determined that he only gave each 100 thousand rupiah for 10 people a day. Overall his expense for this is 20 million rupiah for a month, only half of his salary. Therefore, he had to manage his travel official budget for this interest.

TAY explained that communication with consultant was a trigger in council intrigues. He also felt that his salary is not sufficient because he had to provide money for his constituents. He also mentioned that in Riau, there was a new system, at cost system. The legislative has to give the airplane ticket receipt, but not for hotel. If all expenses should give receipt, legislative could not save the expense for his personal need.

CLY felt that his cases is manipulated by the government staff. His allowance was taxed that means it was a legal transaction. When finally he got a sentence, people who taxed the transaction also have to responsible.

Hyper-morality in George Bataille is a condition where morality values cannot be exist because human situation is out of boundary good and evil. This situation also cause legitimation crisis which is government instruction is not heard by people because government do several profligate activities. Angelina Sondak as a member of parliament who was a corruptor represented as woman who is capable of doing money laundry with group of people, dishonest, have no integrity, pretend as religious person, not cooperated. While other corruptor, constructed as person with no integrity, not cooperated, greedy, corruptor expert [8]. Character of corruptors remains the same. They pretend as a good representative who serve people however they act badly such as doing manipulation

Media

Member of house of representative should work under regulation. In budgeting, local government budget already stated about the proportion of official travel fund. In TS's case, he did not obeyed it and made a verbal corruption agreement with the treasurer and signed the mark-up receipt of official journey.

In TS's case, he used verbal communication to speak about the amount of bribe with the legislative members and the project contractor.

TAY said that regional budgeting is planned by executive and legislative. It was defined, processed, taxed and then distributed to the legislative. The discussion on the process was noted in meeting minute book. Based on the interview, CLY described that before it was defined in meeting note, the pension allowance had been discussed and decided the amount, but no one was complaint with the allowance.

Corruption Prevention Strategy

Mass media has a role to be a watch dog, a powerful media to monitor and to report the symptom of corruption cases. With independency of media and society support to monitor legislative activities may be the solution to prevent corruption. However, according to Mayangsari [8] it is still difficult to be independent mass media in Indonesia. Problems such as unprofessional journalist, financial dependency to government, political interest in editor desk, media conglomeration and low investigation skill of journalist have been the barrier.

Meanwhile low support from regulation, less whistle blower and justice collaborator because of security factor, interest intervention and politics such as media censorship, corruption fight back worsen the case.

A strategy to prevent corruption should involve development stakeholders from government, society and mass media with support of Press regulation, disclosure laws, information disclosure commission. Civil society consist of individual, group of people, NGO, education institution, association and organization should be invited. They should have good media literacy and citizen journalism to be critical to government program. Good governance system should be the basis related transparency, accountability and participation issues

V. CONCLUSION

Communication of corruption actors who were the members of regional house of representative in Bojonegoro, Riau and Yogyakarta can is explored through interaction, message, communicator's character and media. Interaction of the cases was occurred in face to face interpersonal and group of communication. Internal communication among legislative members, the legislative secretary and treasurer tend to corruption action. While external communication within legislative and contractor of project also remains as a trigger of corruption. Corruption message is determined in verbal and nonverbal communication. The actors use spoken words to decide the amount of bribery and the silence as the agreement of budgeting divert. Characteristic of communicators are manipulated people, certainty of not guilty, trapped by political opponents and justification that they have to do corruption to

serve the constituents and public. Communication media in the corruption cases are receipts of official journey, text and chat media and minute book of meeting.

Further, a strategy to prevent corruption must be involve government, mass media and civil society supported by regulation and law under good governance system. It should be in the basis of transparency, accountability and participation.

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