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HTS Review 7361 - Editorial outcome of the manuscript post-review process

1 message

aosis@hts.org.za <aosis@hts.org.za>

26 March 2022 at 15:42

Reply-To: "Prof. Andries G. Van Aarde" <andries.vanaarde@aosis.co.za>

Ref. No.: 7361

Manuscript title: Religious Disconsistency On Corruption Behavior Among
Muslim Politicians In Indonesia

Journal: HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies

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- Reviewers help the authors to improve the quality of their manuscript.

We greatly appreciate your time, expertise and support of our journal amidst pressures of work. You may be interested to know the outcome of the review process and to see the reviewer's reports.

Kind regards,
Prof. Andries van Aarde
HTS Editor-in-Chief

Ref. No.: 7361

Manuscript title: Religious Disconsistency On Corruption Behavior Among
Muslim Politicians In Indonesia

Journal: HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies

ISSN: 0259-9422, E-ISSN: 2072-8050

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Prof. Van Aarde
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55K



Saifuddin Duhri <saifuddinduhri@gmail.com>

HTS Review 7361 - Invitation to review and participate as reviewer

2 messages

aosis@hts.org.za <aosis@hts.org.za>

10 February 2022 at 15:02

Reply-To: Ms Elizna De Bod <5ts.srsupport@hts.org.za>

To: Dr Saifuddin Duhri <saifuddinduhri@gmail.com>

Ref. No.: 7361

Manuscript title: Religious Disconsistency On Corruption Behavior Among Muslim Politicians In Indonesia

Journal: HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies

Review due: 24-Feb-22

Dear Dr Duhri

I am contacting you based on your expertise. We would like you to act as a reviewer for this submission, as we believe you can make a significant contribution to strengthen the quality. Would you be able to do this review for us please?

Our expert reviewers are crucial in helping us to maintain high ethical standards relating to the review and publication of manuscripts. We kindly request that you please submit your completed evaluation no later than 24-Feb-22

Your direct one-click access (no login required) to your review page is here:

<https://hts.org.za/index.php/hts/reviewer/submission/12309?key=Xeq3DJdX>

Indicate in Step 1 whether you will undertake the review by 17-Feb-22. Once you have agreed to our request, access to the manuscript files and the ability to record your review and recommendation will be made editable on the platform. The submission's abstract is inserted below the letter signature.

If you are not able to review this manuscript, we would welcome suggestions for alternative reviewers. Please do not, however, approach other potential reviewers directly, as the submission of this manuscript must be kept confidential. Please treat the submission of this manuscript and the contents and information contained in it as confidential. If you wish to seek further advice from anyone outside your immediate research team could you please contact the Editor before you do so.

Thank you for considering this request, we would like to thank you in advance for any help you can provide.

Kind regards,
Ms De Bod
AOSIS colleague

Manuscript title: Religious Disconsistency On Corruption Behavior Among Muslim Politicians In Indonesia

Abstract: Abstract The problem of corruption in Indonesia is like an unbroken chain. Since the 1998 reformation until now (2021), many corruption cases involving politicians or officials have been arrested, even imprisoned

for corrupt behavior. Among those entangled in corruption are many Muslim politicians and religious leaders known to the public as having a high level of religiosity and a clean reputation. Ideally, these Muslim politicians will be at the forefront of guarding the nation's anti-corruption morality. However, the reality is that this is not the case. This study explains the discontinuity of the relationship between religiosity and anti-corruption attitudes done by Muslim politicians. This study relies on a qualitative approach with a descriptive analysis of the online media findings regarding Muslim politicians' corrupt behavior. The results of this study indicate that there is no correlation between religiosity and unethical behavior. Politicians entangled in corruption come from all circles of political parties, socio-economic levels, intellectuals, and various religious backgrounds. It means that other factors besides religious morality encourage a person to commit corruption, such as motives for power, high political costs, a hedonistic lifestyle, an incompetent law enforcement system, and a deep-rooted culture of corruption.

Contribution: Therefore, efforts to eradicate corruption in Indonesia need to be carried out in an integrated and comprehensive manner with various approaches. Thus, the expectation to minimize the corruption behavior in Indonesia can be achieved.

Editorial Coordinator
Special Issues Unit
Scholarly Journals Department
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Saifuddin Duhri <saifuddinduhri@gmail.com>
To: Ms Elizna De Bod <5ts.srsupport@hts.org.za>

24 February 2022 at 12:11

Dear

Ms Elizna De Bod

I have just already sent my review of the article. Here you are the brief of the review as below:

This article is interesting and addresses important issues. There are, however, several issues that should be taken attention. The author has too strong argument, but he/she overlooks the other categories of the claim. I suggest to

soften his argument and attempt to find its relevance in his results/findings. For instance the author insists on the category of highly devoted Muslims, while his data does not sufficiently demonstrate this claim as it does not give any measurement of being highly religious that is possibly controlled and it is objective.

Next, the literature review of the article has at least two issues, firstly, it does not demonstrate the author's voice, and so it has not properly shown its function to support his main argument. Second, the author fails to present standard literature on corruption in accordance with Islamic perspective.

Besides, the author should use his method by explaining what and how he/she has done to find the results of his article. Concerning the literature review,

It is odd to present data chronically. Results should be organised based on the categories of data, which are embedded to their own originality, such as language; labeling, and naming, and terms.

Finally, the discussion section should discuss findings, (results). It also emphasises upon categories of evidence that emerges from data findings. However, it does not address these issues, rather than presenting and showing more data and description.

It would be better if the author rework the article by paying attention to the given comments.

Best regards,

Saifuddin Dhuhri

[Quoted text hidden]



Saifuddin Duhri <saifuddinduhri@gmail.com>

HTS Review 7361 - Review due date is near

1 message

aosis@hts.org.za <aosis@hts.org.za>

24 February 2022 at 05:00

Reply-To: AOSIS Publishing <submissions@hts.org.za>

To: Dr Saifuddin Duhri <saifuddinduhri@gmail.com>

Ref. No.: 7361

Manuscript title: Religious Disconsistency On Corruption Behavior Among Muslim Politicians In Indonesia

Journal: HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies

Review due: 24-Feb-22

Dear Dr Saifuddin Duhri

You were given access to the manuscript a few weeks ago, and your review was due on 24-Feb-22. We do not however appear to have received a review from you yet. As we would like to inform the authors of a decision as quickly as possible, we would appreciate it if you could send us your comments without delay.

Please view the manuscript and submit your review by following the direct one-click access (no login required) to your review page here:
<https://hts.org.za/index.php/hts/reviewer/submission/12309?key=2EX63GMi>.

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I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Kind regards,
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Manuscript title: Religious Disconsistency On Corruption Behavior Among Muslim Politicians In Indonesia

Abstract: ##article.abstract## The problem of corruption in Indonesia is like an unbroken chain. Since the 1998 reformation until now (2021), many corruption cases involving politicians or officials have been arrested, even imprisoned for corrupt behavior. Among those entangled in corruption are many Muslim politicians and religious leaders known to the public as having a high level of religiosity and a clean reputation. Ideally, these Muslim politicians will be at the forefront of guarding the nation's anti-corruption morality. However, the reality is that this is not the case. This study explains the discontinuity of the relationship between religiosity and anti-corruption attitudes done by Muslim politicians. This

study relies on a qualitative approach with a descriptive analysis of the online media findings regarding Muslim politicians' corrupt behavior. The results of this study indicate that there is no correlation between religiosity and unethical behavior. Politicians entangled in corruption come from all circles of political parties, socio-economic levels, intellectuals, and various religious backgrounds. It means that other factors besides religious morality encourage a person to commit corruption, such as motives for power, high political costs, a hedonistic lifestyle, an incompetent law enforcement system, and a deep-rooted culture of corruption.

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2

3



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MANUSCRIPT TO REVIEW

Religious Disconsistency On Corruption Behavior Among Muslim Politicians In Indonesia

Abstract

The problem of corruption in Indonesia is like an unbroken chain. Since the 1998 reformation until now (2021), many corruption cases involving politicians or officials have been arrested, even imprisoned for corrupt behavior. Among those entangled in corruption are many Muslim politicians and religious leaders known to the public as having a high level of religiosity and a clean reputation. [A1] Ideally, these Muslim politicians will be at the forefront of guarding the nation's anti-corruption morality. However, the reality is that this is not the case. This study explains the discontinuity of the relationship between religiosity and anti-corruption attitudes done by Muslim politicians [A2]. This study relies on a qualitative approach with a descriptive analysis of the online media [A3] findings regarding Muslim politicians' corrupt behavior. The results of this study indicate that there is no correlation between religiosity and unethical behavior. Politicians entangled in corruption come from all circles of political parties, socio-economic levels, intellectuals, and various religious backgrounds. It means that other factors besides religious morality encourage a person to commit corruption, such as motives for power, high political costs, a hedonistic lifestyle, an incompetent law enforcement system, and a deep-rooted culture of corruption.

Contribution: Therefore, efforts to eradicate corruption in Indonesia need to be carried out in an integrated and comprehensive manner with various approaches. Thus, the expectation to minimize the corruption behavior in Indonesia can be achieved.

Keywords : Discrepancy, Religiosity, Corruption, Indonesian Muslim Politicians

34 1. INTRODUCTION

35

36 Religiosity used as a moral reference has not guaranteed someone from corrupt behavior. It
37 shows a discrepancy in religion with unethical behavior (Gokcekus & Ekici, 2020; Xu et al.,
38 2017), as demonstrated among Muslim politicians in Indonesia who practice corruption.
39 After the 1998 reform until now (2021), thousands of politicians and state officials have been
40 arrested by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and tried for corruption.
41 According to the Chairman of the KPK,^[A4] Firli Bahuri, data on crime in Indonesia from 2004
42 to 2021 has reached 1126 cases (Sucipto, 2021). Among the perpetrators of corruption are
43 people considered to have good religious knowledge and come from parties with a religious
44 basis^[A5]. Religious people who have a high level of religious observance and have a good
45 reputation in the public's eyes should not participate in corruption.

46

47 Nevertheless, in reality, this matter cannot be done quickly. There are conjectures
48 about knowledge of religion in Indonesia that is still very weak and has not been able to
49 prevent corrupt behavior (Khodijah, 2018).^[A6] Religion is still considered an essential role in
50 eradicating corruption because all faiths believe that this dishonest behavior is contrary to
51 God's will(Widiyanto, 2017).

52

53 Many names of politicians come from the clergy and religious figures, such as former
54 party leaders, former ministers, members of parliament, regional heads, and officials involved
55 in corruption cases^[A7]. From the records shown by the KPK, until 2020, politicians convicted
56 of corruption cases reached 274 members of the legislature and heads of institutions/ministry
57 as many as 28 cases (<https://www.kpk.go.id/>). The majority of the cases are Muslim
58 politicians. This phenomenon reverses the opinion that has been believed to be the truth, that
59 in-depth knowledge and adherence to good religious teachings will become a controller from
60 within a person not to take actions that are not commendable, but it is not valid.

61

62 Many names of politicians come from the clergy and religious figures, such as former
63 party leaders, former ministers, members of parliament, regional heads, and officials involved
64 in corruption cases. From the records shown by the KPK, until 2020, politicians convicted of
65 corruption cases reached 274 members of the legislature and heads of institutions/ministry as
66 many as 28 cases (<https://www.kpk.go.id/>). The majority of the cases are Muslim politicians.

67 This phenomenon reverses the opinion that has been believed to be the truth, that in-depth
68 knowledge and adherence to good religious teachings will become a controller from within a
69 person not to take actions that are not commendable, but it is not valid.^[A8]

70

71 Studies on the relationship between religion and corrupt behavior have received
72 much attention from researchers and academics, both in the form of books and journals.
73 Several studies that discuss the relationship between religion and corruption tend to look at
74 three things. First, religion is an antidote to someone doing corruption (Alazzabi et al., 2020;
75 Womb, 2019). Second, discussing corruption due to religious politicization bias (Sommer et
76 al., 2013; Valdovinos-Hernandez et al., 2019; Arjon, 2018). Third, discuss morality with
77 corrupt behavior (de Oliveira Leite et al., 2021; Swanepoel & Meiring, 2017; Torsello, 2020).
78 Existing studies only look at the relationship of religion with corrupt behavior; not many have
79 seen that religion does not correlate with unethical behavior. In other words, it is not a factor
80 that guarantees someone in the practice of corruption.^[A9]

81

82 This study aims not only to complement existing studies on the relationship between
83 religiosity and anti-corruption attitudes but also to explain the corrupt behavior of Muslim
84 politicians. There is a perspective stating that religion contributes to preventing corruption.
85 As a result of this view, people then look down on noble and sacred religious values,
86 becoming something that does not give more value. This question can be formulated in some
87 ways. First, knowing the corrupt behavior of Muslim politicians done after the reformation.
88 Second, understanding factors influencing Muslim politicians to commit acts of corruption
89 are. Third, finding out the implications of Muslim politicians' corrupt behavior on people's
90 views. These three questions will be answered through the discussion of this study. At the
91 same time, it is expected to provide valuable inputs to prevent and eradicate corruption.

92

93 This paper is based on an argument developed in a society^[A10]. Besides, the religion
94 can shape the religiosity of its adherents so that the level of one's religiosity is closely related
95 to one's behavior, including corruption. The attitude of religiosity or religion is a complex
96 integration between religious knowledge, religious feelings, and actions. The doctrine of
97 Islamic teachings states that corruption or *risywah*^[A11] is an act that is prohibited (haram) and
98 a sin for those who do it^[A12]. The principle is believed to be a truth for devout Muslims and
99 firmly held to be violated in their lives.^[A13] Muslims also believe that Allah's inherent

100 supervision is that there is accountability for all their behavior, both in this world and in the
101 hereafter. So ideally, people whose religion is sufficient to guarantee good behavior. But in
102 practice, people or politicians whose religiosity looks good also participate in corruption.
103 There must be other factors that trigger someone to commit corruption. These other factors
104 need to be looked for to obtain a comprehensive theory to prevent and eradicate corruption in
105 Indonesia. |

106 [A14]

107 2. LITERATURE REVIEW [A15]

108

109 2.1 Corruption in Indonesia

110

111 Corruption is defined as the abuse of public power or trust for profit, which is a global
112 problem [A16] (Wickberg, 2021). Corruption is seen into three [A17]; first, corruption is a material
113 framing, namely some laws regulate corruption and movements that limit the movement of
114 corruptors in taking advantage of state money [A18] (Zmolnig, 2018; Khambekova et al., 2021;
115 July Esther, 2020). Both corruptions are seen as legality, namely the extent to which the
116 process of using cash [A19] is "legal" by officials by abusing their power and including criminal
117 acts. (Čepas & Dobryninas, 2016; Dincer & Johnston, 2020). Third, corruption is seen as a
118 moral issue related to the attitudes and norms of corruptors (Kreikebaum, 2008; Abraham &
119 Pea, 2020) [A20]. In line with that, the fraud triangle and the theory of planned behavior, which
120 studies opportunity factors, financial processes, and rationalization factors, emphasize that
121 corruption has a relationship with psychological, moral aspects (Zulaikha et al., 2021). In line
122 with that, the increase in corruption cases in Indonesia is not only a weakening of
123 supervision. Still, it comes from the character of each member of the legislature that
124 influences each other (Juhana et al., 2020).

125

126 Corruption has become the culture of the Indonesian nation (Fawaid, 2010). Corruption
127 in Indonesia is not enough just to be dealt with by arresting corruptors, but the root of
128 corruption has not been entirely resolved (Kaaba, 2007). Corruptors in Indonesia are
129 classified by the Association of Certified Fraud Examiners (ACFE) into four, namely
130 conflicts of interest, bribery, illegal gratuities, and economic extortion. (Hamdani et al., 2017).
131 Stephen Sherlock shows that the quality of government affects corruption cases. In line with
132 that, Ramirez Torres said that corruption is a crime of calculation, not just desire. The number

133 of existing corruption cases has given rise to a movement to fight corruption which they call
134 the anti-corruption movement. The anti-corruption movement carried out in Indonesia is a
135 movement to prevent and fight corruption. This movement uses social media to voice
136 information related to anti-corruption education, law enforcement, bureaucratic reform, and
137 the integration of government officials (Kurniawan et al., 2021). The anti-corruption
138 movement in Indonesia tries to involve youth, including students, to take law enforcement
139 actions (Alfaqi, 2016; Kholis Rahma, 2014).^[A21]

140

141 2.2 Islam and Corruption

142

143 Corruption in the view of Islam is defined as the term "*akhdul amwal bil bathil*" which
144 means consuming other people's property in a vanity way. This term refers to surah al-
145 Baqarah verse 188 and surah al-Maidah verse 42 (Rabain, 2014)^[A22]. Correspondingly,
146 corruption is associated with *ghulul*, which means stealing people's property (Fikriawan et al.,
147 2019). Corruption has been considered a crime for the survival of the bureaucracy. At the
148 same time, corruption has become the most destructive social disease in the system of social
149 values in Islam (Fatih, 2014). As described in Surah al-Fajr verse 15-20 as social upheaval,
150 corruption itself is not only a matter of money but also moral matters that have been damaged
151 and the loss of self-confidence. (Rabain, 2014 ; Alazzabi et al., 2020). In terms of Islamic law,
152 corruption cases fall into the area of *mu'amalah* Maliyah (socio-economic)^[A23] or
153 fiqh *siyasah* (constitutional law) based on the problem of Maliyah (objects) (Rabain, 2014).

154

155 Some existing writings on Islam and corruption discuss moral education in Islam used
156 to prevent corruption (Alazzabi et al., 2020; Womb, 2019). However, Muslim-majority
157 countries^[A24] viewed from a Western perspective are seen most often as 'highly corrupt' by
158 the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Indexes (Jomaa Ahmed, 2018). In
159 Islam, corruption is highly condemned, and corruption is pervasive, which opposes corrupt
160 practices (Faridah Abdul Jabbar, 2013). The corruption that is widely practiced in this
161 Muslim-majority country has significantly impacted Islamic banking^[A25]. Bougatef (2015)
162 shows that this disease of corruption has prevented Islamic banking from becoming a more
163 effective and meaningful pathway for poverty alleviation and economic development. Montes
164 & Luna (2021) show that a solid legal system can increase perceptions of control over
165 corruption cases.

166

167 **2.3 Power and Corruption**

168

169 Corruption takes place at the level of government, where the higher the hierarchy, the
170 higher the level of corruption. The survey conducted in France has represented corruption in
171 several countries. The federal cabinet has the highest level of corruption, then the second
172 level, namely senators, local governments, and municipal governments, which are considered
173 to have the lowest levels of corruption (François & Méon, 2021). Political corruption that
174 often occurs in Indonesia is defined as the abuse of power by government actors by taking
175 large amounts of state wealth for personal gain or maintaining control (Abiansyah, 2019).
176 Several recent corruption cases in Indonesia involve government officials, namely the KPU
177 General Election Commission's taxis funds in the procurement of goods, the People's
178 Endowment Fund, which abused power by adding funds for hajj for pilgrims. The third case,
179 which recently boomed, namely the case of corruption at the Minister of Social Affairs
180 regarding the social assistance funds that should have been channeled to people affected by
181 COVID-19, was corrupted (Octavia, 2019). It can be concluded that scientific integrity,
182 religious knowledge, and religious affairs are not enough to prevent corruption (Kaaba,
183 2007).

184

185 Power in government is often abused, one of which is through bribery cases. This
186 bribery case has involvement with many side businesses while working in the government
187 sector will significantly impact performance and accountability, thereby increasing the
188 practice of fraud through bribery (Zahari et al., 2021). Correspondingly, Indonesia's anti-
189 corruption law lacks clarity and does not regulate transnational accountability (Suhariyanto et
190 al., 2021). Studies conducted in China show a change in corruption from taking small cash
191 quickly to big theft and accessing money. This new form of corruption is made possible
192 through access to land, mining, property, and company assets under BUMN that state
193 officials can carry out (Bakken & Wang, 2021). Several factors that cause corrupt behavior
194 include a materialistic-consumerist lifestyle, an expensive political system, weak leadership,
195 lack of religious and ethical education, social and legal systems that support immoral
196 behavior (Siroj, 2017). One way to control corruption, besides emphasizing moral factors,
197 can be suppressed by developing e-government which can effectively reduce crime in
198 countries with certain cultures (Zhao et al., 2021).^[A26]

199

200 3. METHOD

201

202 The issue of eradicating corruption in Indonesia has warmed up^[A27] again due to many
203 officials caught by the KPK. The last case that shocked the public was the corruption of the
204 Covid-19 social fund assistance involving the Minister of Social Affairs Juliari P Batubara.
205 Similar cases will continue to emerge if the political system and corruption eradication
206 strategy are not changed. One of the efforts to prevent corruption is through a religious
207 approach. Religious doctrines, especially Islam, are believed to control free individuals.
208 Eradication of corruption through religious jargon has become a priority, such as religious
209 curricula and religious lectures. So it is necessary to study in depth whether there is a
210 significant relationship between religiosity and the spirit of anti-corruption^[A28].^[A29]

211

212 This research is based on primary data and secondary data. Primary data is in the form
213 of corrupt practices involving Muslim politicians (ulama or kyai) during the reform era,
214 which are tracked through online news^[A30]. Interviews about political costs will also be
215 conducted with 2-3 sources to complete the online data. At the same time, secondary data is
216 the number of politicians and state officials sentenced to prison for corruption which can be
217 accessed through online media.

218

219 The stages of this research start from a literature study to get an overview of the
220 relationship between religiosity and corrupt behavior, then continue with tracking data about
221 corruption involving ulama or religious leaders through online news and conducting
222 interviews with selected sources. The existing data was then analyzed using the Hubermann
223 method, which included data reduction, display, and verification using descriptive
224 analysis.^[A31]

225

226 4. RESULTS^[A32]

227

228 Since the reform era (May 1998), the issue of corruption in Indonesia has become a
229 severe concern for the government. The eradication of corruption has become the central
230 issue promoted by reformers and demands democratization and law enforcement. Various
231 efforts to eradicate corruption have been and are still being carried out, both through the

232 formation of laws and regulations, strengthening institutions, outreach and education, and
233 enforcement efforts. However, corruption practices among state officials continue to increase
234 every day. According to the Chairman of the KPK, Firli Bahuri, data on corruption in
235 Indonesia from 2004 to 2021 has reached 1126 cases (Sucipto, 2021). Most of the
236 perpetrators are politicians, such as members of the DPR/D, regional heads, political party
237 leaders, heads of institutions, ministers, and state administrators. The perpetrators of the
238 corruption are not only done by ordinary people but also by politicians from Islamic parties
239 and Islamic figures with high religiosity. [A33]

240

241 The corrupt practices carried out by Muslim politicians and politicians throughout the
242 presidential period from the beginning of the reform until today (2021) can be briefly stated
243 as follows:

244

245 **4.1. Era of President Gus Dur (1999-2001)**

246

247 Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) is an NU cleric, a world-acclaimed Indonesian Islamic
248 figure, who succeeded in becoming the first President of the post-reform election results. At
249 first, Gus Dur was able to publish anti-corruption initiatives. Still, eventually, his attention
250 was drawn to resolving political conflicts with the parties, which ended in his dismissal at the
251 MPR Special session and being replaced by Megawati Sukarnoputri. The corruption
252 eradication agenda was somewhat neglected the reform agenda stalled. However, President
253 Gus Dur has not recorded any corruption at the central or regional levels.

254

255 According to Mahfud MD, under Gus Dur, there were no corrupt ministers
256 (news.detik.com). At that time, there was no KPK, but Gus Dur was not kidding. Officials
257 were detected as corrupt and immediately dismissed from their positions before being proven
258 in court. It can happen because Gus Dur always prioritizes the human side in politics. Politics
259 takes place above humanity. Not the other way around, sacrificing humanity for political
260 interests. Gus Dur eliminated corrupt practices, including disbanding two ministry institutions
261 established well in the New Order era (President Soeharto). Those two institutions are the
262 Ministry of Information (now the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology)
263 and the Ministry of Social Affairs (now the Ministry of Social Affairs). (Trianto, 2020). Gus

264 Dur got the justification when the Social Ministers, Idrus Marham, and Julairi Peter Barubara,
265 were caught by KPK because of corruption.

266

267 The Muslim figure who was also the Minister of Industry and Trade who President Gus
268 Dur fired for alleged corruption was Jusuf Kalla (JK), who came from the Golkar Party. Not
269 only indicated by corruption, JK is also suspected of being involved in nepotism, which is
270 known as "SDM" (All for Makassar). This JK track record was brought up again by Ahmad
271 Doli Kurnia at the moment of the Vice Presidential Candidate Debate paired with Joko
272 Widodo (Republika.co.id, 2014). However, JK's alleged corruption was never proven in
273 court.

274

275 **4.2. Era of President Megawati (2001-2004)**

276

277 Megawati Sukarnoputri was the fifth President to be sworn in after the Special Session
278 forcibly removed Gus Dur for being involved in the Buloggate corruption case. In
279 Megawati's era, many ministers were implicated in corruption, such as [Minister of Maritime](#)
280 [Affairs and Fisheries Rokhmin Dahuri](#), [Minister of Health Achmad Sujudi](#), [Minister of Home](#)
281 [Affairs Heri Sabarno](#), and [Minister of Social Affairs Bachtiar Chamsyah](#)^[A34] (Kompas.com,
282 2020).

283

284 Rokhmin Dahuri is an Islamic figure who is also the Minister of Maritime Affairs and
285 Fisheries in Megawati's Gotong Royong Cabinet involved in corruption. Rokhmin, an NU
286 activist, was found guilty of committing a criminal act of corruption related to collecting
287 deconcentration funds collected through officials from the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and
288 Fisheries, which was deemed to have caused a state loss of Rp. 15 billion. Therefore he was
289 sentenced to prison for seven years and a fine of Rp. 200 million, then his sentence was
290 reduced by the PK Decision to 4 years and six months (Detik.com, 2020).

291

292 Bachtiar Chamsyah was Minister of Social Affairs in the Gotong Royong Cabinet for
293 2001-2004 and the United Indonesia Cabinet for 2004-2009. Bachtiar is a cleric and a senior
294 politician from the Islamic party (PPP). He became a suspect in the corruption case in the
295 procurement of sewing machines, sarongs, and cattle imports at the Ministry of Social
296 Affairs, which cost the state 33.7 billion rupiahs when he was no longer ministerial last year.

297 2010. He was sentenced to a year and eight months in prison and a fine of fifty million
298 Rupiah (Margianto, 2011).

299

300 **4.3. Era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004-2009 and 2009-2014)**

301

302 This 6th president has a solid commitment to law enforcement and eradicating
303 corruption. SBY even swallowed the "bitter pill" of his dedication^[A35]. Besides, the elements
304 from the Democrat Party themselves were eventually caught by the KPK, such as Andi
305 Malarangeng, Anas Urbaningrum, Muhammad Nazaruddin, Angelina Sondakh, Sutan
306 Bhatoegana, Amrun Daulay, Sarjan Taher, and other prominent figures^[A36]. SBY's serious
307 efforts were not in vain. He was the President who succeeded in raising the score of
308 Indonesia's Corruption Perceptions Index to the best in the world. According to the Stable
309 Trend and Continuous Increasing-ASEAN data released by the KPK, it shows an excellent
310 trend, where Indonesia's GPA surpasses that of China, which for 19 years could only increase
311 5 points from 34 to 39. If calculated in the same period, Indonesia experienced a significant
312 increase, from 17 to 38 points, up 21 points. In comparison, during Megawati's time, my
313 GPA only rose 1 point, and during the 2014-2018 period, President Jokowi only rose 4 points
314 (Setiawan, 2019).

315

316 Several ministers in President SBY era that were caught because of corruption were the
317 Health Minister, Siti Fadilah Supari (2004-2009); the minister of Youth and Sport, Andi
318 Mallarangeng (2009-2012); the minister of ESDM, Jero Wacik (2011-2013); and Religion
319 minister, Suryadharma Ali^[A37] (2011-2014) (Yanas, 2020). Some legislative people were
320 caught because of corruption from 2009-2014 by KPK, and they came from many parties. It
321 is from PDIP, such as Izedrik Emir Moeis, Agus Chondro Prayitno, Max Moein, Rusman
322 Lumbantoruan, Poltak Sitorus, Williem Tutuarima, Panda Nababan, dan sebagainya, partai
323 Golkar misalnya, Chairun Nisa, Zulkarnaen Djabar, Prasetya Zulkarnaen Putra, Ahmad Hafiz
324 Zawawi, Muhammad Nurlif, Reza Kamarullah, Baharuddin Aritonang, and others. They also
325 came from PAN, such as Sofyan Usman, Endin Aj Soefihara, and M. Al Amin Nur Nasution.
326 From PBR HM. Yusuf Erwin Faisal and from PKS Luthfi Hasan Ishaq (Aliansyah, 2014).

327 ^[A38]

328 Among the figures involved in the corruption cases above, it turns out that many are
329 from among Islamic leaders and devout Muslim politicians^[A39]. For example, former Minister

330 of Cooperatives and Minister of Religion Suryadharma Ali (SDA^[A40]), besides being known
331 as a cleric, former Executive Board of the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PB PMII),
332 is also the former chairman of PPP, a party known to be very consistent in defending Islam.
333 SDA was sentenced to 6 years in prison, fined Rp. 300 million, and returned replacement
334 money of Rp. 1.821 billion for being proven guilty of corruption in implementing the 2010-
335 2013 pilgrimage and misuse of ministerial operational funds (DOM) in 2011-2013, which
336 cost the state Rp. 27,283. billion, Rp. 17,967,405 SR, and Rp. 1.82 billion (Ferdinan, 2016).

337

338 The corruption that shocked the public was a militant Islamic figure^[A41] and former
339 President of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), Luthfi Hasan Ishaq (LHI), and his party
340 partner, Ahmad Fathanah^[A42]. LHI was sentenced to 16 years in prison and a fine of Rp. 1
341 billion, which was later aggravated by the Supreme Court's decision to 18 years in jail and
342 revoked of political rights because it was proven in accepting a bribe from PT Indoguna
343 Utama in the amount of Rp. 1.3 billion to pass an additional beef import quota as 8000 tons
344 on January 29, 2013 (Maharani, 2020).

345

346 In the era of President SBY, efforts to eradicate corruption did target officials and
347 politicians at the center and hit local officials. In 2004-2006, six regional heads were caught
348 in corruption, including the Governor of Aceh Abdullah Puteh (2004). In 2007-2009, the
349 number of regional directors entangled in corruption tripled to 19 people, including the
350 Governor of South Sumatra Syahrial Oesman (2009) and Riau Saleh Djasit (2007). In the
351 2010-2012 period, only ten regional heads were arrested, including Bekasi Mayor Mochtar
352 Mohamad (2010) and Semarang Mayor Soemarmo Hadi Saputro (2012). In the 2013-2014
353 period, corruption increased again. There were 18 cases of corruption of regional heads,
354 including the Governor of Riau Rusli Zaenal (2013) and the Regent of Bangkalan H. Fuad
355 Amin (2014) (Hutasoit, 2018).

356

357 One of the regional officials caught by the KPK who shocked the public, especially
358 Muslims, was the Bangkalan Regent, KH. Fuad Amin at the end of 2014^[A43]. Before
359 becoming the Regent, Fuad Amin, one of the grandchildren of the charismatic cleric Mbah
360 Cholil Bangkalan, was a member of the DPR RI for the 1999-2004 period later elected
361 Regent of Bangkalan for two terms, from 2003 to 2013. Fuad Amin has arrested at the end of
362 2014. Moreover, the KPK was suspected of committing various acts of corruption, such as

363 receiving gifts related to the sale and purchase of natural gas supplies for gas-fired power
364 plants in Madura and several areas in East Java, buying and selling of civil servant decrees,
365 cuts to the APBD, and money laundering. Fuad Amin was sentenced to 13 years in prison,
366 and all of his assets were confiscated by the state by the Supreme Court's cassation decision
367 because it was deemed to have harmed the state Rp. 414 billion (Meilisa, 2019).

368

369 **4.4. Era of President Joko Widodo (2014-2019 and 2019 – present)**

370

371 During the Jokowi era, corrupt practices carried out by state officials remained rife. The
372 names of the ministers arrested by the KPK were, for example, Edhy Prabowo (Minister of
373 Maritime Affairs and Fisheries), Juliari P Batubara (Minister of Social Affairs), Imam
374 Nahrawi (Minister of Youth and Sports), and Idrus Marham (Minister of Social Affairs)
375 (Garjito, 2020). According to a report by Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), during
376 President Jokowi's 2014-2019 period, 254 members of the legislature were arrested for
377 corruption. Of this number, 22 are members of the DPR RI, including the Chairman of the
378 DPR, Setya Novanto, and the Deputy Speaker of the DPR, Taufiq Kurniawan (Sihombing
379 2019).^[A44]

380

381 Heads of Regions, Regents/Mayors, and Governors in the Jokowi era in the 2015-2021
382 period who were entangled in corruption totaled 54 people. In 2015 there were six people,
383 including Gatot Pujo Nugroho (Governor of North Sumatra) from the Prosperous Justice
384 Party (PKS). In 2016 there were eight people, including Nur Alam (governor of Southeast
385 Sulawesi). In 2017, 9 people were recorded, including Taufiqurrahman (Regent of Nganjuk)
386 and Siti Masitha (Regent of Tegal), both of whom are pious and religious. In 2018, regional
387 heads caught corruption sharply increased to 30 people, including Irwandi Yusuf (Governor
388 of Aceh) and Ahmad Marzuki (Regent of Jepara). In 2019, there were 14 people, including
389 Amiril Mukminin (Bengkalis Regent) and Tengku Dzulmi Eldin (Mayor of Medan). In 2020
390 regional heads saw crime experience a sharp decline. Only were four people recorded,
391 including Saifulillah (Regent of Sidoarjo) and Khairuddin Syah Sitorus (Regent of North
392 Lampung). In early 2021, there were two people arrested by the KPK, namely Juarsah
393 (Muara Enim Regent) and Nurdin Abdullah (South Sulawesi Governor) (cnnindonesia.com,
394 2021).

395

396 At least two Muslim politicians [A45] in the Jokowi era were involved in corruption cases,
397 namely Idrus Marham and Imam Nahrawi. Idrus is a *santri* from Makassar who graduated
398 from the Sharia Faculty of IAIN who had a successful political career. Unfortunately, his
399 career was destroyed [A46] because he was involved in the corruption case of the Riau I Mine
400 Mouth Steam Power Producer (IPP) project. Idrus was sentenced to 3 years in prison and
401 fined Rp. 150 million because he was deemed to have received Rp's bribe. 2,250 billion from
402 PT Pembangkitan Jawa Bali. Investment (Aji, 2020). Meanwhile, Imam Nahrawi, a religious
403 scholar from IAIN, was sentenced to seven years in prison and fined four hundred million
404 rupiahs for accepting bribes of 8.3 billion rupiahs in a project proposed by the Indonesian
405 National Sports Committee (cnnindonesia.com, 2020).

406

407 5. DISCUSSION [A47]

408

409 Corruption is an extraordinary crime that has not been resolved until now (Pohan,
410 2018). According to KPK Chair Firli Bahuri, corruption cases in Indonesia since the birth of
411 the KPK from 2004 to 2021 have reached 1126 cases (Sucipto, 2021). Perpetrators of
412 corruption are evenly carried out by all executive, legislative, and judicial lines and at all
413 levels, from central to regional officials. From village head to ministers, from members of the
414 Village Consultative Body (BPD) to members of the Central People's Representative Council
415 (DPR), from security, police, prosecutors, judges, to advocates. Some have been released,
416 others have spent the rest of their old age in prison, others are still in court, and the others
417 have just been arrested even those released then run for office, then corrupt and are arrested
418 again (Kudus Regent). Some are having fun enjoying the results of corruption and have not or
419 have not been caught. The latter case is probably even higher. This condition is like an
420 iceberg phenomenon that appears on the surface while the most significant part sinks. The
421 phenomenon of corruption has become a global problem experienced by almost all countries
422 (Akhmetov et al., 2018; Dion, 2011; V. Monteverde, 2020).

423

424 Throughout the reform, especially since the birth of the KPK as an institution that plays
425 an active role in eradicating corruption in Indonesia (Daya, 2019; Sosiawan, 2019; Suwana,
426 2020), the KPK has arrested hundreds of politicians from various backgrounds, including
427 Muslim politicians. Muslim politicians who have a high religiosity level participate in
428 corruption (Mumtazah et al., 2020). The scholars and figures of Islamic organizations who

429 later entered the world of politics were expected to be the vanguard of the moral guardians of
430 the rulers. It turned out that there was no difference. Several people such as Luthfi Hasan
431 Ishaq, Bachtiar Chamsah, Suryadharma Ali, Ramahurmuzi, and others previously known in
432 the public as "clean" people also turned out to be closed by Shu'ul Khatimah by being in
433 prison. The question is, why does the attitude of religiosity do not affect anti-corruption
434 behavior? Then what other factors trigger a person to corruption or can prevent corruption. It
435 is something that needs attention in preventing corruption.

436

437 The doctrine of Islamic teachings about corruption is obvious (Azra, 2010). Corruption
438 or *risywah* is one way to falsely take other people's property, whether private or institutional
439 or state (Surah Al Baqarah: 188, Al Maidah: 42). This act of corruption is strictly prohibited
440 in Islam, and the perpetrators will be cursed and threatened with hell (Sunan At Turmuzi,
441 No. 1336, Al Mustadrak, No. 7066)(Haryono, 2016). The prohibition of corruption has been
442 memorized and understood by Muslims, both ordinary people, especially pious people. The
443 ulama and kyai teach anti-corruption lessons every day. But at the same time, it is the
444 political clerics who commit corruption. So there has been an inconsistency between religious
445 attitudes and actual behavior. There is a paradox between what is believed to be accurate but
446 is not reflected in behavior (Widyatmoko et al., 2020). His behavior did not prove his belief
447 because he talks differently from his action. A paradoxical condition establishes no
448 relationship between one's religiosity and anti-corruption behavior in Indonesia. It may be
449 different outside Indonesia. In other words, there is no guarantee that politicians and officials
450 who have a good level of knowledge and religious observance do not commit corruption. It
451 means that other factors cause someone to commit corruption.

452

453 According to Siroj's conclusion, several factors that cause corrupt behavior are a
454 materialistic-consumerist lifestyle, an expensive political system, weak leadership, and lack
455 of religious and ethical education, social systems, and laws that support unethical behavior
456 (Siroj, 2017). The lifestyle of politicians or officials that the KPK has uncovered is quite
457 surprising. It turned out that the money from corruption was used to fulfill an unnecessary
458 modern lifestyle, such as traveling abroad by buying expensive jewelry and furniture,
459 purchasing land and property, collecting luxury cars, and even partly to finance mistresses.

460

461 Political motives are also suspected of having a substantial role in corrupt behavior.
462 Most of the intentions of political people are to get a livelihood (job), increase income, and
463 improve social and economic status. People are attracted to become politicians, both to gain
464 legislative (DPR) and executive (regional) powers because power is synonymous with
465 prosperity, prosperity, and stability. It is proven that all politicians' or officials' lives have
466 become elevated, with goods confiscated by corruption that is classified as luxurious
467 (Parlindungan S, 2018). Whereas previously, he was an ordinary person and had nothing.
468 This phenomenon motivates people to fight for power, even though they must spend
469 significant capital and justify all means. Ideally, emphasis should be placed on a means of
470 service and not a job for material gain (VH Monteverde, 2019). To reduce the practice of
471 corruption, a candidate for a politician should have an established economic level so that
472 when he is in power, he can serve the community to the maximum and not be greedy for
473 wealth while accelerating economic development in a region (Akkoyunlu & Ramella, 2020;
474 Alfada, 2019).

475

476 In addition, an expensive political recruitment system is a vital driving factor for a
477 politician to be forced to commit corruption. **How come? A**_[A48]ccording to one person who
478 sits as a member of the DPRD, a capital of at least three billion rupiahs is required to become
479 a Regency/City DPRD, Rp. 4-6 billion for the Provincial DPRD, and Rp. 7-10 billion for the
480 DPR RI. Meanwhile, becoming mayor or regent required Rp 30-50 billion, depending on the
481 number of candidates and voters in an area. This capital is used for advertising and
482 socialization, campaign props, honorarium for the success team and witnesses, social
483 donations, party political dowries, and the spread is to buy votes. Interview with X, 2021,
484 June 18). This high-cost political system forces politicians and officials to think about turning
485 their capital back and saving money for the upcoming elections.

486

487 So far, the eradication of corruption in Indonesia seems to be sporadic, arbitrary, and
488 uneven. Allegedly, the corruptors caught by the KPK were just unlucky. Because actually,
489 the others who were not caught were more numerous. Some are not seen because it has not
490 been revealed, but sometimes it is deliberately hidden because it involves or is protected by
491 an influential person. In this case, the KPK has the power as a form of resistance to
492 corruption, which is indeed elite behaviour (Sitompul, 2014). Not all parties with indications
493 of corruption are followed up because they have specific political interests. This selective,

494 non-transparent, and unfair law enforcement has also provoked people to try the sensation of
495 corruption (Griffith & Lee, 2019; Tamin, 2018). So efforts to eradicate corruption through
496 legal, humanitarian, and religious approaches to prevent corruption must continue (Michael,
497 2020; North et al., 2013).

498

499 Various studies conclude that corruption in Indonesia has become a culture (Fawaid,
500 2010). Political corruption has become a taboo social phenomenon. It violates the law, but in
501 practice, it has become increasingly prevalent among policymakers in the Indonesian State
502 Government since the New Order and post-Reformation (Abiansyah, 2019). The community
503 considers corruption to be commonplace and not a violation of disgrace that needs to be
504 hidden. In public services by government offices, people feel embarrassed or have some bad
505 feeling if they don't give money as a thank you. In managing a SIM, for example, people who
506 go through the correct procedure encounter various difficulties and obstacles. While people
507 who use the services of an insider by tipping a small amount of money, he is served
508 immediately and quickly becomes. So the practice of corruption has become a part of
509 everyday life that is no longer perceived as corruption. Therefore, eradicating corruption is
510 not enough to arrest corruptors and punish them in prison, but it must start from the roots that
511 trigger corruption itself (Kaaba, 2007). The culture of corruption that has penetrated various
512 sectors of life needs careful attention with the support of a strong government commitment
513 and the community.

514

515 **6. CONCLUSION**

516

517 The assumption that has been understood so far that politicians or officials who have a
518 high level of religiosity also have a high anti-corruption attitude has not been proven^[A49].
519 Ideally, politicians or state administrators who have good knowledge and religious
520 observance will become personal guarantees that are clean from disgraceful behavior,
521 including not committing corruption. However, the results of this study indicate that many of
522 the perpetrators of corruption arrested by KPK came from religious circles (ulama/kyai)
523 during the reform era to this day.^[A50] Religious doctrines can indeed influence a person's
524 behavior, but they are not the only ones. Other factors trigger someone to commit corruption,
525 namely political motivation to want to power, a high-cost political system, a hedonic lifestyle,

526 an unfair law enforcement system, the punishments that are not deterrent, and a culture of
527 corruption that has grown rooted in society.

528

529 Efforts to eradicate corruption through religious motivation, as has been done so far,
530 such as through the school curriculum, sermons, religious lectures, and other approaches, are
531 still deemed necessary to continue. But what is more important is improving the political
532 system and effective oversight. Political recruitment through direct general elections, which
533 has been running so far, forces candidates to have a large capital. As a result, the chosen one
534 is not the best cadre but has the most wealth. So that the selected candidate will automatically
535 think "return and raise capital." This factor is the dominant trigger of corruption, which must
536 be changed immediately. Several factors cause a person to fall into acts of corruption that are
537 detrimental to the country. Because this study only discusses the relationship between
538 religiosity and anti-corruption behavior, it is necessary to conduct a more comprehensive
539 analysis of the most dominant factors of corruption. So that, the result of the study is helpful
540 as an effort to eradicate corruption.

541

542 The limitation of the study lies in the data collected only from online media on a
543 relatively small scale, not yet looking at corruption cases as a whole. Therefore, further
544 studies are needed to discover more extensive data related to corruption cases in Indonesia.
545 Likewise, this study only uses the concept of religiosity in looking at corruption cases of
546 Muslim politicians, so it still requires a more comprehensive comparative approach. It refers
547 to the high intensity of corruption in Indonesia which has not shown a positive trend. Thus, it
548 requires careful attention and cooperation of all parties, not only through one religious
549 approach, but also involves multi-approach, starting from an integrated legal, political,
550 economic, and cultural system, and integrated culture to minimize the corruption from the
551 beginning.

552

553

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