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ASIA CONNECT INITIATIVE
USING NEW TECHNOLOGIES TO TACKLE CORRUPTION:
THE CASE OF INDONESIA

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Executive Summary

We live in an era when, now more than ever, the power of technology is being harnessed for its problem-solving potential. Scholars, government officials, and civil society actors are increasingly realizing that new technologies, such as mobile applications, have the potential to combat social and political issues. Using Indonesia as a case study, this report examines how technology is, and can be, used to address political corruption.

Corruption is a serious threat to democracy, political stability, security, and economic and social development. Indonesia, the world's third largest democracy, is an interesting and important case: even though corruption rates remain high, new anti-corruption initiatives using new technologies to engage government agencies, civil society, and the public are helping to tackle corruption. We conducted a series of interviews with local government officials and anti-corruption international organizations, as well as an online survey with Indonesian university students, to better understand Indonesia's political landscape and local perceptions of corruption and the use of technology to combat it.

Our research reveals that technologies can help tackle corruption through (i) early prevention, (ii) public reporting and awareness to increase political pressure against corruption, and (iii) educating the public. We also find that technology can be used by both government and grassroots anti-corruption initiatives to address both petty and grand corruption.

The research results can be applied to Canada, to ensure that local corruption levels remain low and to improve the practices of Canadian companies that operate internationally. We suggest three initiatives: *Training Canadians,* an interactive way to inform Canadians about laws, corruption, its impact, and how to avoid it; *Infrastructure Projects,* allowing communities to share their infrastructure needs and monitor ongoing projects; and *Canadian Business,* informing about the wrongdoings of companies operating internationally in order to help the Canadian government create a framework to ensure that the reputation of Canada and Canadian trade remains high.

Acknowledgements

We would like to extend acknowledgements to our counterparts in Indonesia: representatives of anti-corruption organizations and initiatives; translators; professors and students who helped distribute our online survey; and those who responded to the survey itself. Without these individuals' insights, our outline of the issue at hand and the technologies used to address it would not be as multiperspectival as follows. Lastly, we would like to thank the Asia Pacific Foundation (APF) of Canada's *Asia Connect Student Working Group Initiative* for giving us the opportunity to collaborate as a team to conduct our research on Indonesia. APF Canada's mission to enhance Asian-Canadian relations and improve Canadians' general understanding of Asia has encouraged us to build an awareness of innovations in Indonesia, and appreciate the lessons that Canada can learn from these instruments. As a country that has experienced a notable economic and political transition towards the end of the century, Indonesia provides a unique case study.

CORRUPTION, INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT & IMPACTS

Corruption & Indonesian Government

The relationship between corruption, government, and governance can be described as such: a corruption-free administration is a fundamental component of an effective and just government, which, in turn, is essential for good governance. Maintaining a corruption-free government, therefore, is a serious political concern – especially in Indonesia, the third-largest democracy and the ninth-largest economy in the world.

Indonesia has long been plagued by a reputation of widespread political corruption. Despite its transition from an authoritarian to a democratic regime in 1998, which introduced significant political reforms such as free national and local elections, Indonesia has consistently performed poorly on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), an index used internationally to gauge local perceptions of levels of corruption. Most recently, in 2015, Indonesia was ranked 88/100.[1]

To label Indonesia simply as 'corrupt,' however, would fail to capture the different types and levels of corruption that exist in the country. Corruption in Indonesia can be characterized in two essential ways. First, corruption in Indonesia largely relies on an embedded patronage system and clientelism.[2] A legacy of the Suharto authoritarian regime from 1967–1998, Indonesian politics largely continues to function through social networks where public and private resources are exchanged and/or manipulated for political or financial gain. Thus corruption in Indonesia has evolved with Indonesia's democratic transition by becoming instead, a "means by which power and wealth are shared among contesting factions of the ruling elite by democratic norms" as opposed to "autocratic norms".[3]

Second, corruption in Indonesia is systemic: in other words, it occurs at all levels of government, and both petty and grand corruption are widespread. Whereas petty corruption refers to the "everyday abuse of entrusted power by low and mid-level public officials in their interactions with ordinary citizens",[4] grand corruption refers to corruption that occurs within the higher echelons of the political system, where policy and legislation are created by political decision-makers. Though petty and grand corruption

widely occur, it has been argued that Indonesia is experiencing higher incidences of petty corruption than during Suharto's reign. Indonesia's transition to democracy entailed a process of decentralization, which, when done within an ingrained political culture of clientelism, "broadened the number of individuals seeking bribes and kickbacks".[5]

Though corruption is widespread, there are institutions that are, or at least publicly perceived to be, particularly corrupt: the police, judiciary and parliament and political parties.[6] According to the Global Corruption barometer (2010–2011), 52% of Indonesians identified the police as "extremely corrupt" and perceived the judiciary to be highly influenced by government officials and local elites.[7] Corrupt police and judiciary, in particular, limit the effectiveness of anti-corruption efforts, as these are the institutions typically relied upon to combat corruption. As for political parties, the combination of a legacy of clientelism and the opportunity to finance political parties in open elections provides fertile ground for bribery and other questionable exchanges. Lastly, a culture of 'closed-door meetings' and secrecy in parliament make it exceptionally challenging to monitor activities.[8]

To be sure, while suffering from widespread corruption, Indonesia is neither lawless nor lacking official institutions to combat corruption. Law No. 31 of the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption "criminalizes major acts of corruption – including active and passive bribery, abuse of office and extortion."[9] Indonesia's Criminal Code even "forbids embezzlement and gifts to public officials."[10] Moreover, between 1945 and 2002 Indonesia established more than six anti-corruption agencies, most notably *Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* (KPK, the Corruption Eradication Commission), which has recently uncovered major high-profile corruption cases that led to trials and the imprisonment of government officials.[11] Rather, what Indonesia lacks legally is a more robust legal framework, better monitoring and enforcement of their laws, and a more strongly-cultivated culture of 'the rule of law.' And what Indonesia lacks at an institutional level are institutions with not only long-term mandates to prevent corruption, but strong political backing as well.

Socio-Economic Implications

Some of the most prominent socioeconomic impacts of corruption are (i) low economic efficiency; (ii) budgetary diversions; (iii) the disproportionate burden imposed on the poor; and (iv) a loss of trust in government officials and institutions. These impacts are considered in the context of petty corruption.

To gauge an understanding of modern public perception towards Indonesia's governance, Figure 1.0 reveals an overall decrease in civil society's confidence in the government relative to years preceding Suharto's resignation. While this reflects diminishing authoritarian rule, it also indicates weaknesses in the state's capacity.

Figure 1.0: Governance Indicators for Indonesia[12]
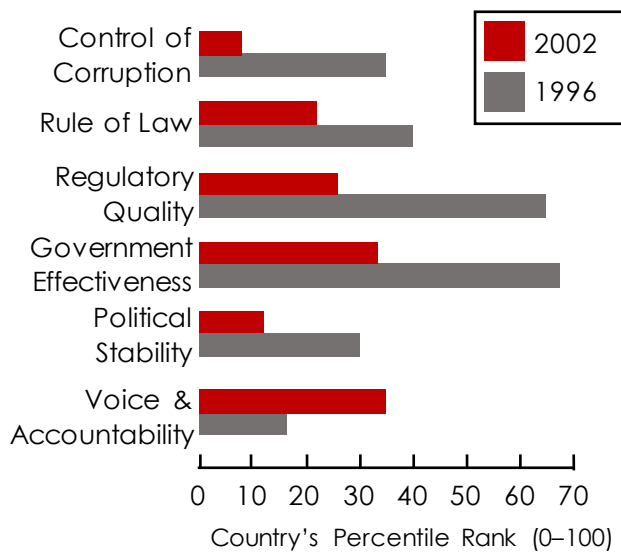
Perceptions of Indonesia's governance capacity as weak have produced disincentives to engage in productive economic behaviour. Indicators include diminishing economic efficiency (i.e., waste or misallocation of resources); declining competitiveness; high transaction costs; and lost opportunity costs (i.e., lack of investments because of the higher costs incurred by corruption).

The state's perceived weak capacity adversely impacts businesses, largely due to budgetary diversions as a result of "fraud, irregular diversion of funds or … other abuse of public office".[13] Furthermore, amidst Indonesia's political and economic transition, smaller businesses claimed to pay "a larger percentage of their revenue towards unofficial payments than medium or large enterprises."[14] For example, in 2000–2001, this budgetary diversion affected almost one-quarter of ministries, which had to make payments in order to receive their budget allocations.[15] Due to these economic circumstances, there is a diminishing quality of and ability to provide public services.

A diminishing ability to provide quality public services decreases human capital and means a disproportionate burden is imposed on the poor. While Indonesia has made substantial improvements in reducing its poverty rate since 1999, 11% live below the poverty line and 40% of its population remain vulnerable to falling into poverty.[16] As a group that is dependent on public goods, and with limited knowledge of official costs, the poor are susceptible to informal levies imposed by official administrators of goods and services. Thus, in a position of disempowerment, the poor are often the suppliers of bribes, which contributes to an experience of moral and community decay.[17]

Moreover, non-transparent and unregulated patronage networks continue to uphold poor governance, and therefore "weaken the rule of law and government authority, reduce government accountability, and erode the effectiveness of government institutions and public service provision."[18] The biggest social cost of corruption is Indonesian citizens' loss of trust in their government. Listed below are general cases of petty corruption, and their social costs:

- State institutions' (e.g., the military, police, customs agencies) involvement in organized crime (i.e., a rise in lawlessness);[19]
- The public's low confidence in state institutions (e.g., the justice sector, key revenue agencies, the Ministry of Public Works, and Bank Indonesia); and
- State institutions' inefficient delivery of services, which in turn, drives citizens to seek alternatives for the delivery of some services (e.g., justice and dispute resolution).[20]

The Partnership for Governance Reform in Indonesia's 2001 report reveals a weak correlation between civil servants' salaries and their morality.[21] This has subsequently (i) conditioned the public's negative perception of good governance, and (ii) created inadequate socio-economic living conditions for a variety of demographics. Mending society's trust in the government, its officials, and the services it provides is dependent on institutions' transparency and integrity; as well as citizens' awareness of their socio-economic entitlements. As publicly accessible platforms that both 'name and shame' fraudulent officials, and raise public awareness, online anti-corruption initiatives can perhaps be instrumental in addressing these economic and social issues.

ANTI-CORRUPTION INITIATIVES

Transparency International Indonesia

Transparency International (TI) is an international non-governmental organization dedicated to combating corruption and preventing criminal activities arising from corruption. Located in more than 100 countries, TI "gives voice to the victims and witnesses of corruption".[22]

TI Indonesia (TII) combines the work of think tanks and social movements. As a think-tank, TII conducts policy reviews, encourages law reforms, measures corruption for the Corruption Perceptions Index and the Crinis project, and publishes various other research projects.[23] As a social movement, TII is actively involved in various local anti-corruption initiatives, implements programs with local partners, and highlights the dangers of corruption to young people in Jakarta.[24]

In an interview, a program coordinator from TI identified the police, judiciary, and parliament as the most corrupt agencies and the passing of the Public Information Disclosure Act in 2008 as one of the most important points in battling corruption. This Act not only protects whistleblowers and the right to information, but is a powerful tool for the public to know how transparent and accountable their governments are. TII believes that new technologies can help disseminate information more widely and help them understand the causes and damages of corruption.[27]

TII also believes that youth can be mobilized to combat corruption. As their research in 2013 shows, Indonesian youth are very strongly opposed to corruption. The product of their research, the Youth Integrity Survey, indicates that most youth in Jakarta perceive integrity as not only important, but necessary for success. Youth are aware that corruption is not merely a private matter, but a phenomenon that adversely impacts the economy and development.[28]

The TII manager offered this advice to other groups starting anti-corruption initiatives: go straight to the root of corruption. He mentioned that TII always starts by conducting research to create a comprehensive map about corruption (i.e., the actors, stakeholders, sector[s], laws, etc.). With this information, they formulate a clear strategy on how to tackle or prevent corruption.[29]

Korupedia

Korupedia is a publicly accessible online platform that collects and publishes verdicts on corruption cases in order to inform the public. Users can look up specific corruption case details (i.e., who, what, when, how), follow pending judicial verdicts, and monitor case progress. The initiative is a collaboration among Transparency International Indonesia, KPK and various volunteers and anti-corruption leaders, such as journalists.

By providing details of local corruption cases on its website (korupedia.org), Korupedia uses social sanctions, or the "blame and shame" method, to prevent corruption. This approach is viewed as effective in "cast[ing] a shadow of doubt in the minds of anyone contemplating such an offence".[30] This approach could also be effective during elections, as Korupedia's list of corruptors often includes people running for office. Moreover, Korupedia lists both grand and petty corruption cases, meaning the corrupt activities of both high-level political-decision makers *and* lower level officials are exposed.

In an e-mail interview, one of Korupedia's managers indicated that procurement, and state and local budget offices are the two sectors most reported on for corruption and the abuse of power by public officials. Between January and November 2016, the website had

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Tech Infrastructure

In the World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness 2015–2016 report, Indonesia ranks relatively low in penetration rates of Information and Communications Technology (ICT), ranking 107th for Internet users; 105th for personal computers; and 100th for both mobile telephone and broadband Internet subscribers.[25] This may be related to corruption, as Indonesia ranks 121st for transparency of government policymaking; 117th for the protection of property rights; and 102nd for intellectual property protection.[26] Such low rankings in areas necessary to encourage innovation and business activity reflect the difficulties emerging start-ups face. Additionally, low ICT penetration is another barrier for anti-corruption initiatives using new technologies, as the percentage of engaged users is low, thereby limiting their impact. However, recent R&D investments in ICT infrastructure and a new government emphasis on policies stimulating innovation-led growth have generated hope in making Indonesia not only more competitive but also better able to leverage new technologies in anti-corruption initiatives.

1,105 unique visitors from various countries, with the United States being the most common. Figure 2.0 depicts Korupedia's visitor summary.[31]

The Korupedia manager also discussed some of the main challenges that anti-corruption initiatives, and the individuals associated with them, face, including criminalization through engineered cases and laws. Criminalization is faced not only by citizens, but also by KPK commissioners and their supporters, including activists. Another challenge, especially for campaigns using new technologies, is low internet penetration and slow connections, which limit the number of users and the quality of experience, respectively. Lastly, Korupedia faces difficulties in encouraging reporting and – as the initiative relies on voluntary work and many of its volunteers and reporters are university students – limited availability of volunteers, which impacts the initiative's efficiency.[32]

KPK – Jaga

Indonesia's *Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* (KPK, Corruption Eradication Commission) is an independent government agency established in 2002 to fight corruption. The organization enjoys high independence, and its duties include monitoring state governance and investigating and prosecuting corruption cases. In the course of its investigations, KPK has the authority to request meetings, use wiretaps, impose travel bans, freeze financial transactions, and coordinate with other law enforcement agencies.[33]

In a report titled *Leveraging Technology to Fight Corruption,* Commission Chairman Agus Rahardjo says that "KPK is using information technology to support its performance, because do not forget that corruption is growing very rapidly and uses technology" and that "with information technology, the Commission can better reach the public in real time".[34] The KPK is reportedly utilizing information technology to improve the organization's performance in combating corruption but also as a means to educate and increase public participation in addressing corruption. Deputy of Information and Data Commission Hary Budiarto added that "Information Technology is a major supporter of the Commission for good prevention and prosecution".[35]

Building on the experience of Korupedia, KPK launched a new initiative called *Jaga* (Keep), which expands the online platform to new government services such as health and education. In contrast to Korupedia, *Jaga* is a tool mostly focused on preventing – rather than reporting – corruption. The application was launched in December 1, 2016 by the President of Indonesia and in the first two weeks it had more than 6,000 downloads and more than 4,000 users. It is also important that over 50% of *Jaga* users have been below 30 years of age.[36] The

### Figure 2.0: Korupedia's Visitor Summary (2016)[37]
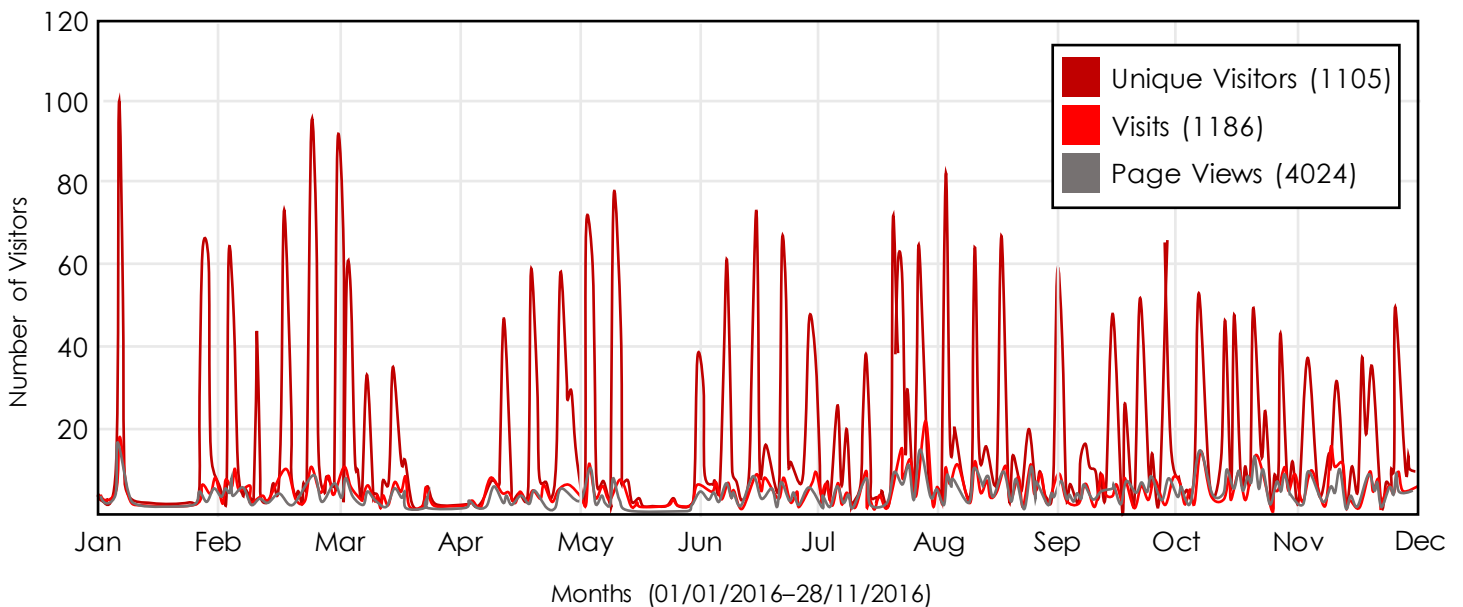
three main pillars of the mobile application are: Transparency, Input, and My Story (see Figure 3.1).

Jaga is also used in collaboration with other KPK programs. For example, *Saya Perempuan Anti Korupsi* (SPAK, I am an Anti-corruption Woman) is a grassroots anti-corruption initiative supported by the KPK. Through empowering women, SPAK creates momentum against corruption and fosters female community leadership. SPAK agents inform people and spread the idea that women – in this primarily male-dominated society – can do something to prevent corruption in their environment. *Jaga* is a tool that can be used by SPAK agents to share their ideas and activities through My Story and to get support from each other.

Figure 3.0: Jaga's Pillars[38]

TRANSPARENCY

INPUT

MY STORY
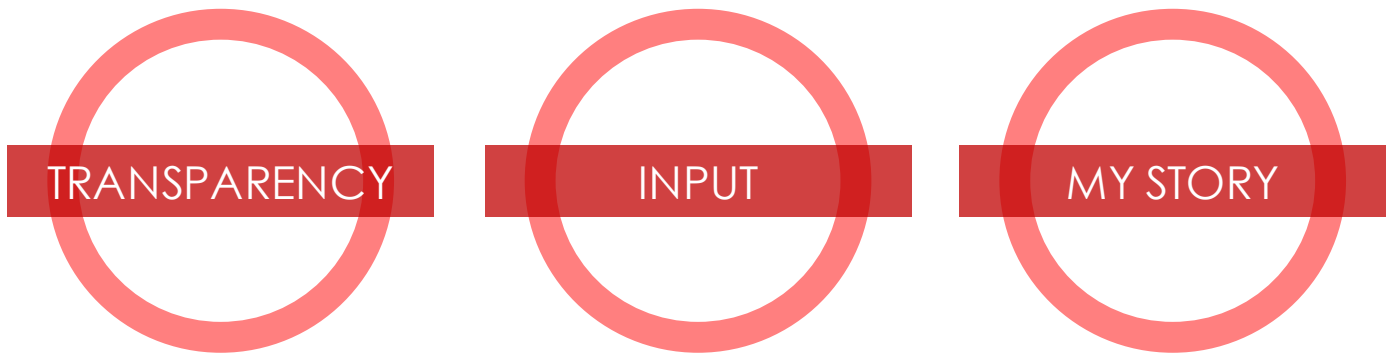
Users are able to access public information from Ministries and local governments. Specifically, the Ministry of Education provides data on school profiling and local governments provide budgeting and expenditures of each school. Users are then able to assess the proper use and implementation of the information provided for each school. *Jaga* provides data on financial allocations to schools, *puskesmas* (local health care units), *rumah sakit* (hospitals), and *perizinan* (permits/licenses). By accessing this information the user can evaluate the proper use of funds and implementation of projects and report any corrupt activity.

The application receives input and complaints from the public and connects users with the appropriate Ministry. After collecting this information, *Jaga* forwards the information to the Public Participation Information System, *Layanan Aspirasi dan Pengaduan Online Rakyat,* also known as *LAPOR!* (REPORT!). LAPOR! then forwards the information to the appropriate office, such as ministries or local government, and monitors their follow up. This tool is particularly important for groups who have traditionally been marginalized and had not been able to communicate with ministries.

The public can share their stories in preventing corruption in their school, health care unit, or hospital. The stories are valued by other users and users can give their support to and comment on others' experiences. Through *My Story*, KPK can gather a collection of stories of public activities in fighting corruption which could inspire others to do the same in their neighbourhood. By providing opportunities to everyone to share their stories, this tool has the potential to battle other social issues, such as the position of women and the marginalization of certain ethnic groups.

ONLINE SURVEY FINDINGS

Complementary to our primary and secondary research, we conducted an online survey with university students ages 18 to 30 from Bandung and Jakarta. Using SurveyMonkey, the survey ran for approximately one month, was offered in both English and Bahasa, and had 56 respondents. Our survey touches upon themes addressed thus far, and offers a first-hand perspective on the potential of anti-corruption technologies.

Question 1: Online anti-corruption tools allow citizens to report wrongdoings by public servants, whose names and alleged crimes become public information. Do you think that this shared information should be seen as credible?

Yes — 48%
Yes, under certain conditions — 20%
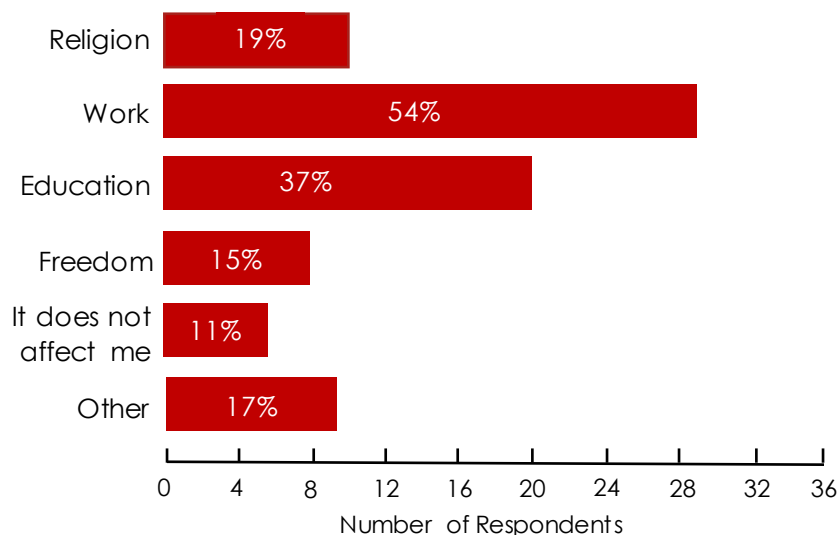No — 30%
Uncertain — 2%
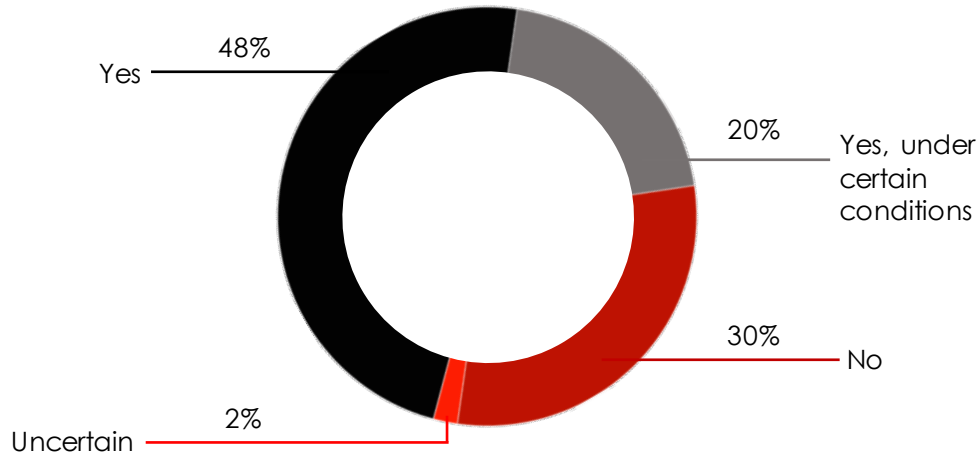
In this category, respondents identified strong evidence, the reporter, and the content reported as factors that should be considered when determining the credibility of shared information.

Question 2: Do you think that there are any ethical or other concerns about publicly sharing such information?

48% of respondents believe **there are** ethical concerns

51% of respondents believe **there are no** ethical concerns

Question 3: In which sectors does corruption affect you?[39] [40]

Religion — 19%
Work — 54%
Education — 37%
Freedom — 15%
It does not affect me — 11%
Other — 17%

Number of Respondents

In the "Other" category, respondents added public sectors (namely, the economy and health care); personal, community and national welfare; and development.
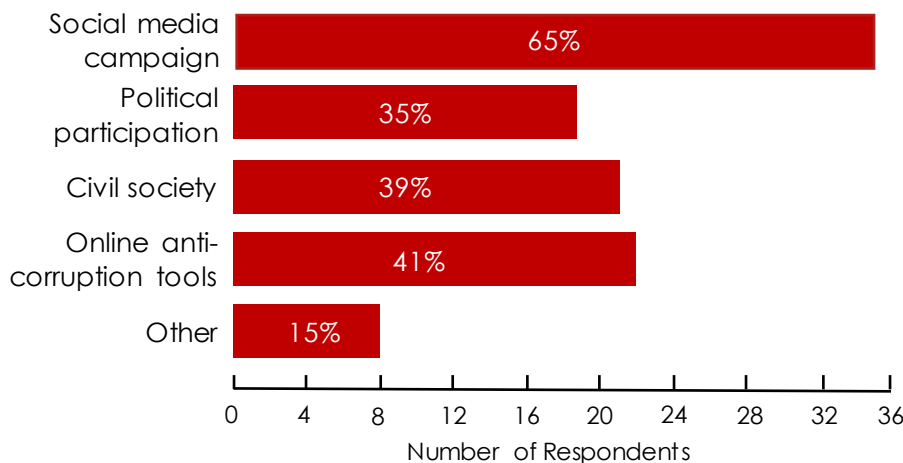
Question 4: Are you aware of any anti-corruption initiatives in Indonesia?[39]

No — 48%

21% — Other

Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) — 12%

19% — *Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* (KPK, Corruption Eradication Commission)

In this category, 6 out of the 11 respondents classified university-related themes as anti-corruption initiatives (e.g., courses, clubs/groups)
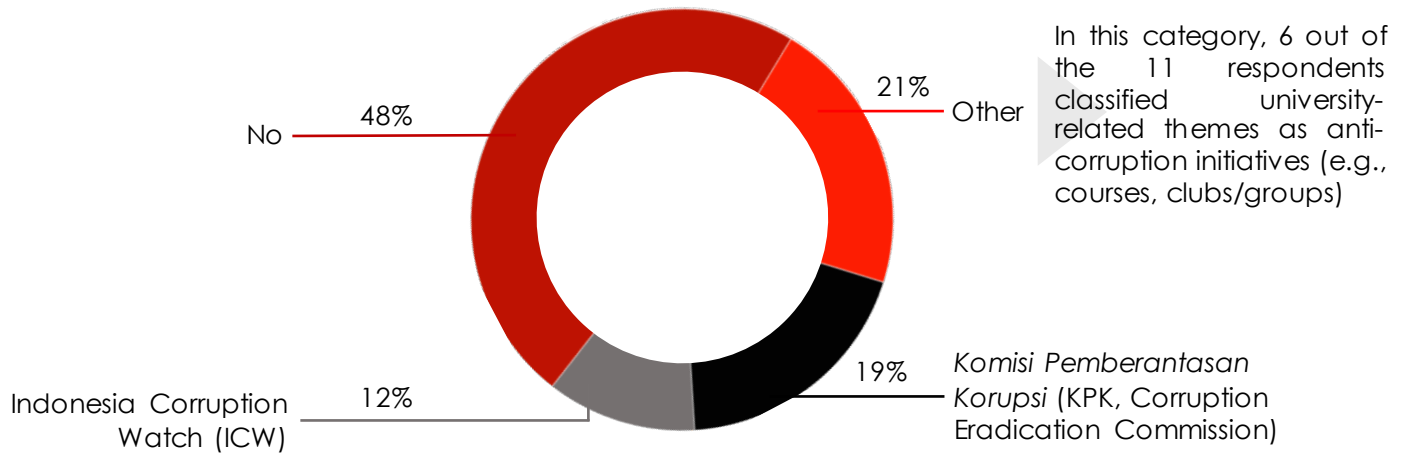
Question 5: Do you believe online tools can be effective in tackling government corruption?[41]

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Uncertain
- Agree
- Strongly agree

38%   13%   34%   13%   2%

Question 6: How can Indonesian youth be mobilized against corruption?[40]

Category	Percentage
Social media campaign	65%
Political participation	35%
Civil society	39%
Online anti-corruption tools	41%
Other	15%

Number of Respondents

While answers varied in the "Other" category, 5 out 8 respondents' ideas were linked to developing a sense of morality and responsibility from an early age, and/or spreading awareness through peer networks.

LESSONS FOR CANADA

Canada ranks highly in TI's transparency rankings. The country's public sector is considered one of the top 10 in the world, ranking ninth out of 168 countries. Control of corruption is also successful (97% percentile ranking), which reflects the low extent to which public power is exercised for private gain and the limited influence elites and private interests have over the state.[42]

However, the image and reputation of Canada as a country with low corruption could be damaged from the practices of Canadian companies operating internationally. In multiple past cases – especially in the mining sector – Canadian companies have been involved in bribery, human rights abuses, and other unlawful practices. Even though this could benefit the individual company in the short term, it could damage Canada's business image abroad and hinder the prosperity of other businesses and the Canadian economy more broadly. Additionally, companies involved in bribery do not allow for free competition among Canadian companies.

The application of new technologies in anti-corruption initiatives in Canada could assist in keeping local corruption levels low and improving the practices of Canadian companies internationally. For example, this could be achieved through three initiatives:

TRAINING CANADIANS

Good business and governance practices should be passed on to ensure that Canada remains a country with low corruption. As low levels of corruption depend on an anti-corruption culture, it is imperative to inform newcomers and new Canadian companies about the operating practices in Canada. A mobile and web application could complement and expand existing initiatives and train new Canadians in a more interactive way about Canadian laws, corruption, its impact, and how to avoid it. This would also assist the Canadian government and other institutions build a long-lasting trust relationship with newcomers or renew it with other Canadians using the application.

INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS

Similar to Indonesia's *Jaga*, this application could have two functions. First, Canadians would be able to ask the appropriate office for an infrastructure project needed in their community. This would enable national and provincial governments to communicate directly with the public and would benefit smaller communities with limited access to government officials. Second, having easy access to timetables and budgets for infrastructure projects would allow the Canadian public and local communities to monitor developments in their area. This would engage people who feel left out of politics and would keep infrastructure companies accountable. Not only would the application improve government-public communication and engage more Canadians in politics, but it would strengthen the public's trust in government, and ensure that infrastructure projects are completed within budget and on time.

CANADIAN BUSINESS

Reporting unlawful practices and wrongdoings of companies operating internationally could help the Canadian government and the business sector ensure that the image of Canada abroad remains strong and respected. A platform allowing users to name Canadian companies involved in or suspected of corrupt activities would apply pressure for 'clean' performance. This would also provide an opportunity for the Canadian judiciary and policymakers to create the appropriate framework to ensure that corrupt practices would not be followed in the future and that the reputation of Canada and Canadian trade remains high. Lastly, this initiative would assist in the development of free competition among Canadian companies operating internationally.

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