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CORRUPTION CULTURAL DIMENSION IN INDONESIA AND ITS SOLUTION: PHILOSOPHY PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

Corruption is an interesting topic and it has not relatively been much explored philosophically. Frequently, the interest at corruption is limited to a narrow understanding namely financial corruption and it is not cover society which prioritizes social justice such as Indonesia. Based on the theory of Rawls social justice and development of cultural framework, the researchers created sketch of supporting factors of corruption in Indonesia and any factors to eradicate it. The research method used hermeneutic spiral by directing to e-ID corruption case, bribery of balancing funds, and vote buying in regional head election. The researchers found out strong maritime cultural factors which are manifested as a bravery, deliberation for bad intension, economic flexibility to find out sources of income beyond the rights given by the law and form of extreme affective such as greed and luxurious life as a source of corruption; meanwhile, religion and faith to God the Al Mighty is seen as a source of anti-corruption. The efforts to build deliberator agents who work using individual cognition and cultural trigger agents can be seen as important solutions to eradicate corruption in Indonesia.

Keywords: corruption cultural, financial corruption, social justice

Introduction

Corruption is a constantly occurring issue worldwide. Corruption gives bad impacts to reduce social justice in the community (Rothstein & Uslaner, 2006). A study showed that control on corruption will improve social justice in the community (Weiss, Yates, & Gulati, 2016). Because of its importance of eradicating corruption, philosophers and researchers have tried to determine any factors resulting in or preventing corruption.

Since a long time ago, philosophers have been aware of that corruption is one of the social justice problems (Augustine, 2015; de Spinoza, 1926; Rawls, 1971), but any offered solutions are still general and assumed to be similarly applied to all nations (Van Dyke, 1975). Unique characteristic factors of certain social group are not considered as distinguishing factors and the root of origin of corruption since social justice has a concept as a sociological construct.

Recently, studies are directed to more particular cultural determinant of corruption by dividing community based on certain characteristics. However, the studies still faced the same problem namely developing uniformity to all cultures by universal cultural framework such as framework of Hofstede or Schwartz (Achim, 2016; Jha & Panda, 2017; Li, Triandis, & Yu, 2006; Morris & Leung, 2000; Primeaux, Karri, & Caldwell, 2003). There are still lack of studies which specifically direct to characteristics of an individual nation and describe why the nation upholds social justice can result in or prevent corruption.

This study seeks to fill this gap by investigating certain cultural-specific factors to determine how these cultural aspects are seen as an important variable in creating or preventing corruption. Indeed, this research does not rule out aspects of social justice as a universal sociological construct, and even tries to synthesize thoughts about social justice and thoughts

about the unique cultural characteristics of human groups. In this way, it is expected to be able to fill gaps in the literature on corruption eradication. To achieve this goal, studies of corruption cases in Indonesia are viewed in a philosophical manner by developing first a unique analytical framework to Indonesian culture. Indonesia was chosen because it is one of the countries with a high priority of social justice. The preamble to the Indonesian constitution contains two phrases of universal social justice (The Republic of Indonesia, 1945), which are seen to be rare in a country's constitution. On the same side, the Indonesian constitution is also one of the shortest constitutions in the world (Comparative Constitutions Project, 2020). This emphasizes the priority of social justice by Indonesian.

Theoretical Based

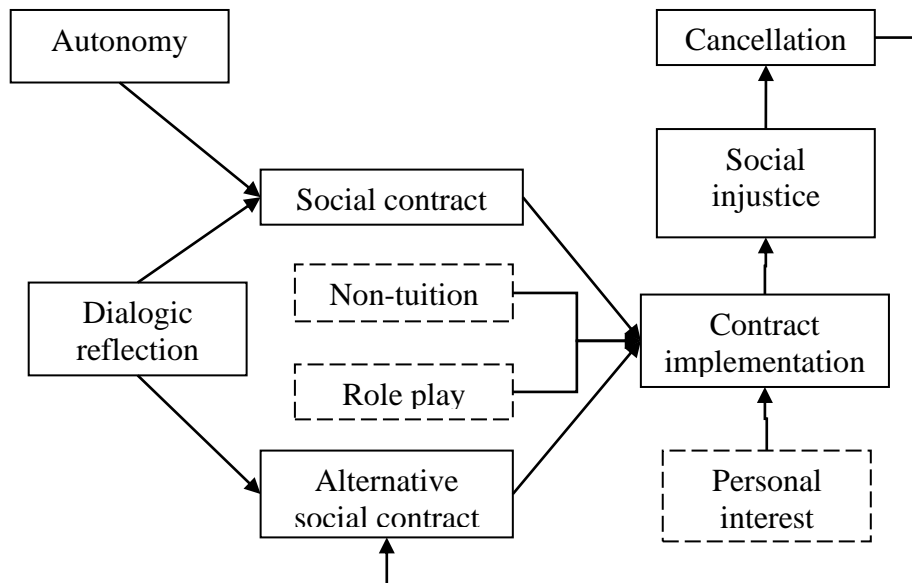
In framing the problem of corruption in Indonesia, the researchers started by giving an anthropological assumption that human is a bidimensional being. He is an individual as well as a social being, homo economicus as well as homo socius. This bidimensional nature allows humans to be divided into individual aspects and collective aspects and so does society, into individualist and collectivist societies.

From these two aspects, the researchers took Rawls's theory of contractualism as an explanation of the individualist dimension and cultural theory as an explanation of the social dimension. Both were united by the thesis of Darwinism stating that the goal of human life is survival. This means that humans choose to be individualistic or collective depending on which choice is the most suitable for their survival.

Contractualism of John Rawls stated that rationality requires human to appreciate other humans, and to guarantee this appreciation to be on-going, it is necessary for moral principles to be upheld commonly by both parties (Cudd & Eftekhari, 2018). Rawls contractualism is still seen to be in a

broad scope in its context since there is no community specification and all communities in the world are only categorized into a nationality political system (Van Dyke, 1975), Rawls theory has no important component in describing social justice, namely social aspect itself.

Indeed, Rawls theory has great benefits for social justice. This is formulated appropriately by Walsh (2015), contractualism allows for a liberator or deliberator. Deliberator is a person who thinks by his own mind using all his intelligence, free from socio-cultural pressures. Deliberators are important figures in the society who can provide social changes by thinking more deeply than people who think automatically through cultural norms. Deliberator does this by using dialogic reflection. Dialogic reflection is taken autonomously for the sole purpose of personal interest (to be neutral) by a deliberator by considering the existing social contract, setting aside its emotions / affections / thoughts on the social contract and its implementation, playing a role in understanding the thoughts of both parties in the contract, and also presupposing a better alternative social contract. Dialogic reflection will evaluate the implementation of social contract, in this case between the actor (who later becomes corruption) and the community. If there is injustice case, as outlined by Rawls's principle of justice, it is necessary to cancel and take alternative social contracts. The researchers constructed Walsh's thought visually in Figure 1 below.



Source: dash line indicates role of deliberator

Figure 1 Contractualism Theoretical Framework

Culture serves as a explanatory of human social aspect in unique group level than other groups. There have been a number of frameworks trying to describe culture comprehensively such as framework of Hofstede and Schwartz globally, as well as Notonagoro and Nasroen in Indonesian context (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010; Mudhofir, 2006; Nasroen, 1967; Schwartz, 1999). Even though, the researchers consider that it is still necessary to develop it using comprehensive and coherent framework as a basic of cultural characteristic classification.

In this case, the researchers developed a comprehensive and coherent frame of mind to draw a classification of Indonesian people characteristics using the same anthropological assumption as before, that humans are bidimensional beings. In the collective context, these bidimensional creatures have two dimensions in relation to their surroundings: microcosmic and macrocosmic dimensions. The microcosm relates to human relations with natural surroundings (including other humans), the macrocosm relates

to human relations with powers that are considered unseen or higher than nature, say God.

Because the analysis is directed at the relationship between humans and other humans, human dimensionality can be fractured into the microcosmic dimension, into physical, individual, and social dimensions. The physical dimension includes spatial dimension and time dimension. The spatial dimension includes human relations with their geographic area while the time dimension is related to human relations with temporal region in the context of their life. Personal orientation can be divided into cognitive orientation and affective orientation, while group orientation can be divided into group orientation (intra-group) and orientation between groups (intergroup). To clarify this system, the researchers illustrated it in Figure 2 below.

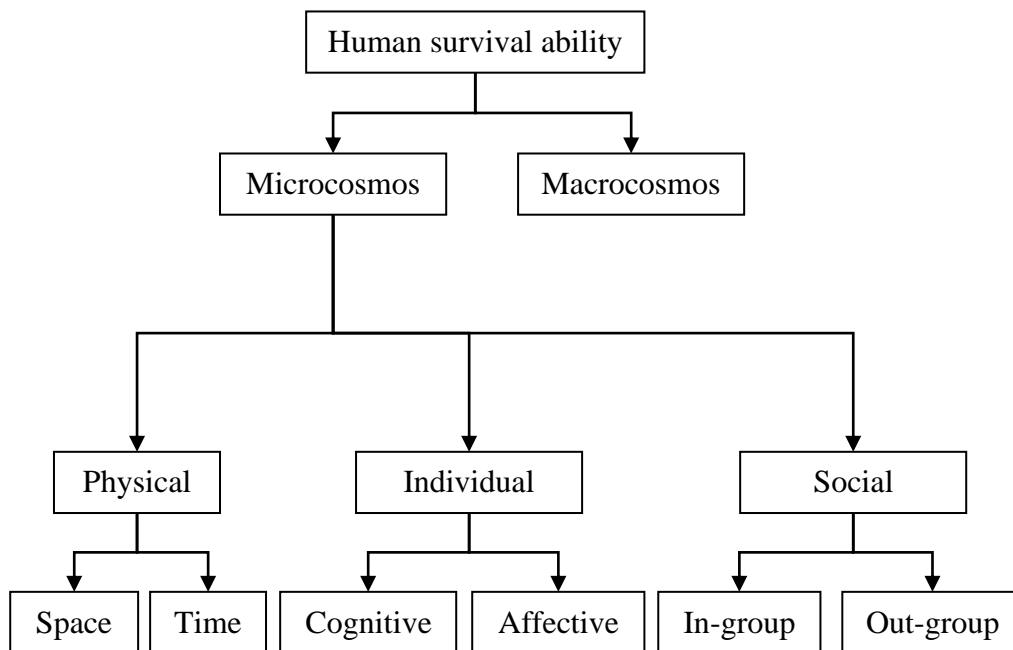


Figure 2 Cultural Framework

In the figure 2, position of the deliberator is on individual cognitive component. Regardless the highest point (human survival ability), all of these components are human cultural characteristic domain including individual cognitive component since part of these cognitive components will be influenced by cultural environment.

Method

This research is in the realm of axiology by formulating a model of social justice in Indonesian society by involving corruption as a part of the model. The epistemology of this model is materialized in the hermeneutic spiral method (McKemmish, Burstein, Manaszewicz, Fisher, & Evans, 2012; Paterson & Higgs, 2005) as the methodological design. This design is implemented by method and technique of document analysis and case study.

The hermeneutic spiral method was chosen because the researchers considered that this method could help in overcoming the gaps regarding the research problems and therefore, it could re-conceptualize social justice and corruption in Indonesian society. This is possible because the hermeneutic spiral is a practical philosophical method to achieve understanding through dialogue, not through monologues as in analytical methods in general (White, Cooper, & Anwaruddin, 2017). The hermeneutics aims not to win arguments, but to build harmony between empirical and theoretical aspects. This is the true meaning of the act of understanding the world (Chica, Sanchez, & Pacheco, 2020). Hermeneutics is not used to impose a theory on opposing facts or vice versa, to manipulate facts in order to get the argued theory. Hermeneutics understands the world within the boundaries of what humans have as interpreters.

As a research method, the hermeneutic spiral (Gadamer, 2008; Osborne, 2006) has go-back-and-forth moments from theoretical moments to empirical moments. This cycle can continue continuously but not as a circular cycle, but rather as a spiral. There is more limited decision to take a certain number of cycles in the analysis since there are limited resources by the researchers. In this research practice, three cycles were used for

data analysis and in each cycle, the theoretical aspect is the beginning and the empirical aspect is the end.

The first cycle is by starting from developing a model of the cultural characteristics of Indonesian society and ending by a test of this model. The test is taken by understanding the text of court rulings in corruption cases involving members of DPR in Indonesia. Data were collected based on the most famous and most recent corruption cases from the Supreme Court decision database. The data analyzed must meet the requirements, namely to have a detailed case file so that there are possible causes of corruption and any involved perpetrators could be drawn from the existing texts. Based on these considerations, the researchers used an electronic-ID corruption case in Indonesia and which resulted in state losses of up to 2.3 trillion IDR. This case was the biggest case in the last five years.

The second cycle was started from further development of the model based on input from the first cycle. The model that has been developed was then tested at an empirical level. Since the hermeneutic spiral model insists that the subsequent cycle must be at a broader level, the bribery case was taken at the empirical moment of the second cycle. The phenomenon of bribery is an act that is categorized as an act of corruption. But it was different from the first case which the corruptors directly took the country's wealth for personal gain, the bribery case was more focused on efforts to streamline a policy or demand to take priority over others. It did not take state money directly and if it was prosecuted from the beginning, bribes would not harm the state because state money had not been issued. The bribe money was from the bribe party, not from the state treasury even though in the end, the money could be considered as a debt that would be paid by the state treasury when the money was received. In this case, it took the case namely a bribery case for the Special Allocation Fund for the Arfak

Mountains Regency, West Papua Province. This case was used as an example because it was the most recent bribery case which had been decided by the court at the time this research was conducted.

The third cycle was started from further development of a model that has been rearranged based on the inputs from the previous cycle by a wider testing context. The researchers used the cases outside the context of governance but still had relation to governance because they were antecedents, namely the case of buying votes or popularly known as money politics. The vote buying was a corrupt moment in the administration of democracy but did not occur within the administrative system but outside the system when the perpetrator was still a candidate to become a manager in the state political administration system.

The third cycle provided outputs of a theoretical framework that has been tested three times in three different levels, according to the cycle in the hermeneutic spiral. In each cycle, the researchers also compared cases with comparative theories. In the subsequent process, the conceptions prepared with these comparative theories are juxtaposed with the interpretive aspect and argued so that they could be at the final conclusion. This final conclusion could take the form of a partial revision of the original theoretical framework, a complete overhaul, or no overhaul at all.

Results

The first cycle was started by the researchers' efforts to develop the Indonesian society concept as well as its characteristics into a theoretical framework. The researchers started from the facts that Indonesian society is a maritime society as migration result of Austronesia ancestors about five thousand years ago when Taiwan community migrated to southern islands (Tanudirjo, 2006). Geographic form of archipelago also leads to preservation of this maritime

characteristic over time. Living on a narrow and full of danger boat and marine environment uncertainty encourages high level of community cohesiveness and deliberation-based problem solving. It is quite fair to say that deliberation is a closely related component in Indonesian community (Pattianakotta & Samosir, 2018). This principle has been upheld internally in various communities and since there is inseparable internal aspect and also cross-cultural aspect in Indonesian community, then it is acceptable that deliberation is Indonesian nation characteristic (Prabuki, Hartopoh, Atmaja, Aulia, & Satya, 2018).

Further, close danger and great social demands imply in extreme emotional situation by a very wide emotional experiences. Empirical studies have confirmed that individual from Indonesia has high level of negative affection as well as the positive one, than any individuals from European countries (Adrianson, Ancok, Ramdhani, & Archer, 2013). Paradoxically, Indonesia is a country with the most delighted community in the world (Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2019) as well as a country with history of violence and terrifying conflicts (Wilson, 2006). English language has no understanding on this unique characteristic so there is no translation for the work “*mengamuk*”-rampage and adding the work ‘*amock*’ as a rare situation in which a very friendly and kind person suddenly becomes malignant and rages.

In this tensed situation, it is important to build a strong social hierarchy down to the family level. Although Indonesia is not as extreme as India which uses the caste system, Indonesia is known as a society with a high distance between powers. Even within families, there are different names based on the order of birth of each generation, creating a complex system of nicknames. Individual identity does not even really matter, so that Indonesian society is a society that has a single name for each individual.

However, people who are scattered on thousands of islands with each island having different resources need to interact between groups to maximize their survival. This opens the space for a very flexible economy based on trust and tolerance, including on tolerance of time. Indonesia is currently listed as the country with the largest MSME density in the world, even more than twice the second-ranked country in the world (Nationmaster, 2006). Indonesian society is also seen as the most generous nation in the world (Helliwell, Huang, Wang, & Norton, 2020). These show very high levels of economic flexibility and time owned by Indonesian society.

At the macrocosmic level, the risk of death in the society can be a driving force for high religiosity in Indonesian society. Mysterious non-meteorological forces, such as wild animals, dangerous substances, accidents due to topography, drowning, diseases typical of tropical climates, or misunderstandings and conflicts between peoples, are strong reasons to rely on higher powers. Religion has long been recognized as an effective coping factor in dealing with social problems (Nooney & Woodrum, 2002).

Researchers consider these seven characteristics to be sufficient and suitable for a comprehensive framework regarding human life in the world. It includes spatial factors (maritime culture), time factors (time flexibility), individual affective factors (extreme affective), intragroup social factors (social hierarchies), extragroup social factors (deliberation consensus), individual cognitive factors (economic flexibility), and individual factors. macrocosm (religiosity). To determine the comprehensiveness of this framework, it is illustrated in the Figure 3 below.

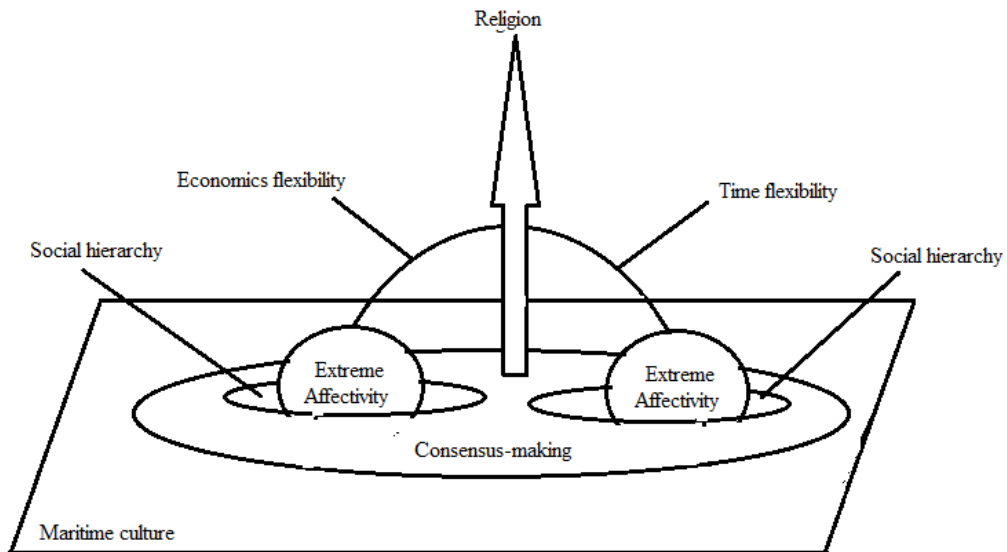


Figure 3. Indonesian Society Characteristic Theory Framework

Figure 3 shows its relation with figure 2 in the following figure 4. In this map, the researchers show how to place each human characteristic in all domains in the research framework.

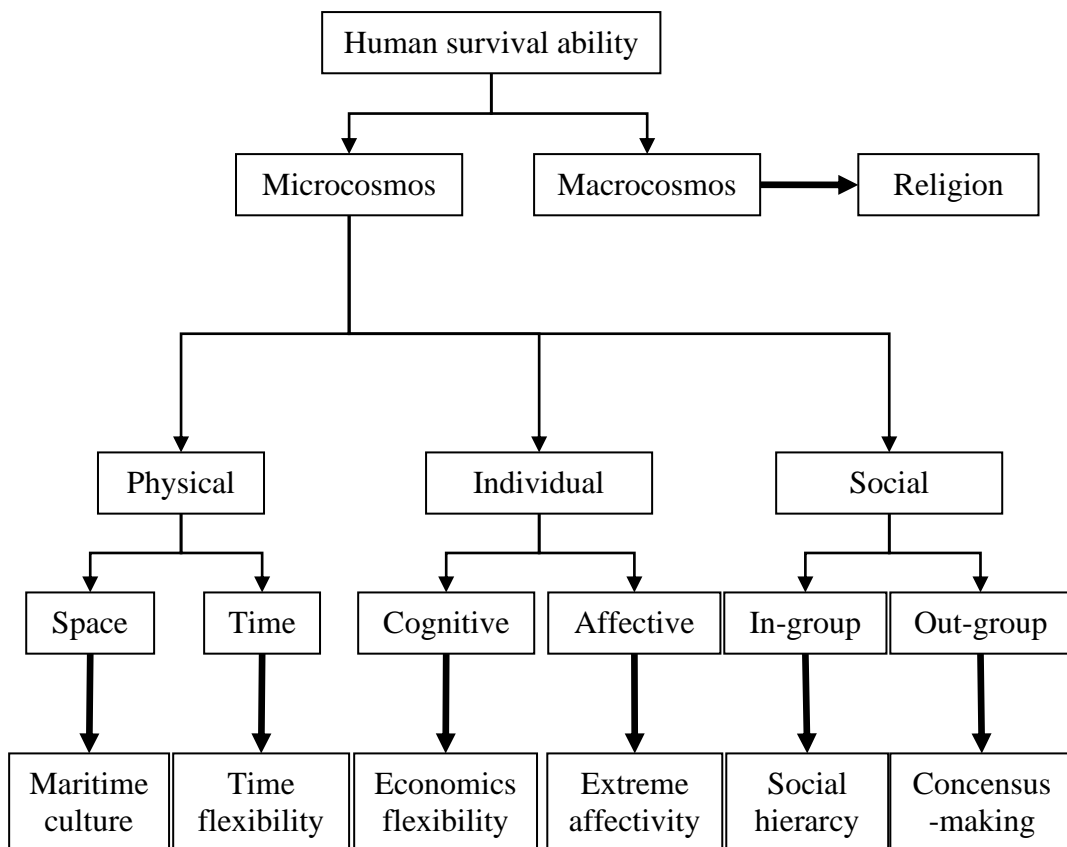


Figure 4 Characteristics of Indonesian Society in a Cultural Framework

Furthermore, it is necessary to examine what components of the characteristics of Indonesian society can be a source of corruption. Contractualism views that the characteristics of society determine the sense of justice in society, whereas other models do not. For the purposes of explanation in the next analysis, the researchers suggested several comparative models that have not yet decided on the advantages and disadvantages of contractualism in explaining the role of community characteristics in the sense of justice. There are three alternative models that can be compared with contractualism in determining it namely consequentialism, virtue ethics, and Kantian ethics (Singleton, 2002; Sticker & van Ackeren, 2018). Consequentialism requires each person to follow simple rules if these are followed by all people then it will lead to the best consequences (Giubilini, 2019). Meanwhile, in general, any theories based on rights, rule or laws are non-consequentialism ones (Gustafson, 2018). The virtue ethics are teleological theories showing goals to be achieved. Some consider its beyond category of consequentialism-non-consequentialism since it focuses on virtue development not on actions (Gustafson, 2018). The Kantian ethics are similar to the virtue ethics since both uphold a universal moral (Singleton, 2002). The first sees human having process leading to an ideal condition while the latter sees already-ideal humans and are completing tasks (Gustafson, 2018).

The corruption case of e-ID card involved 34 people and also some DPR members as well as six companies and one management; all of which enjoyed the funds for personal gain. The corruption was taken place when Novanto and Narogong made consensus with vendor company if there was a chance for corruption. The consensus resulted in three 'shadow' groups which would compete to win the project, which actually these three groups are the same. After the process and the budget was

determined, there was a pressure given by the involved party to ask for fee continuously so it led to uncomfortable situation for other actors (District State Court of Central, 2019).

From the analysis of court documents on the corruption of electronic ID cards, the researchers found that not all of the seven characteristics of Indonesian society were the sources of corruption. There are four characteristics of Indonesian society that can be a source of corruption, namely maritime culture, deliberation to reach consensus, economic flexibility, and extreme affective. First, maritime culture can be seen as an avenue of corruption since maritime culture leads to courage. The circle of Electronic ID card corruption could be likened to a ship that had courage and bravery to navigate the corrupted world with great danger from information leakage, whether it is from the BPK, KPK, or other supervisory agencies (Schütte, 2012). The circle of Electronic ID card corruption planned their actions by deliberation and consensus. Constant pushy and collecting promise behaviors reflect excessive enthusiasm. In the case of Electronic ID card corruption, economic flexibility manifests itself in a very bad form: making money in an immoral way.

Consequentialism ethics viewed that corruption is caused by consequences of such corruption. Even so, the researchers viewed that the problem was in whether having corrupt money is morally good? Implicitly, to say that great wealth as a result of corruption is morally good thing; then this further leads to a question about the meaning of such wealth. Reflective or mature enough corruption perpetrators to understand the meaning of religion must understand that wealth is not always a source of happiness, that money from corruption is illegal money, or that conceptually, they are representatives of the people who can betray other people. These things can discourage a person to do corruption, moreover if he or they were religious person (Hanifah &

Yudianto, 2019; Marquette, 2012). As a result, consequence reason is not enough to describe corruption behavior in Indonesia.

The virtue ethics and Kantian ethics describe corruption as a inhibiting behavior for development of one moral but it can describe why people still break moral rules. In one of the testimonies, one witness rejecting to get the bribe from one of the perpetrators said that he needed no pity by being given portion of corruption money since he has felt satisfied economically (District Court of Central Jakarta, 2019, p. 56). This shows that universal virtue is not seen as the determinant of someone to have willingness to corrupt or not, but the factor is financial one (Moore, 2008). Religious norm is also not seen as the determinant for a person to corrupt. One of the defendants is a religious person as a servant for congregation (District Court of Central Jakarta, 2019, p. 331).

In this case, the researchers did not state that religion can or certainly cannot prevent corruption. In the case of Electronic-ID Card corruption, religion cannot prevent it. In other cases, when someone did not commit corruption, religion could play a role. This consequently does not contradict with previous researchers' statements regarding the failure of consequentialism (Vallentyne, 2006). This only confirms that religion is not ideal as a source of corruption / anti-corruption because it is not universal in preventing or encouraging corruption. Virtue ethics claims that this might be universal (Thomas, 1996).

The description above shows that cultural explanation is the explanation that makes the most sense and acceptable philosophically. The fact that the perpetrators are part of Indonesian society and the victims of the corruption are also Indonesian people shows that Indonesian people can respond to injustice on a cultural basis and that corruptors also do corruption for cultural reasons (Pržulj & Kostadinovic, 2014).

For Indonesians, religiosity is a principle that determines the perception that corruption is unfair. For corruptors, courage, consensus, economic flexibility, and extreme affective are driving-factors of corruption (Robertson-Snape, 1999). This can be illustrated graphically in Figure 5 below.

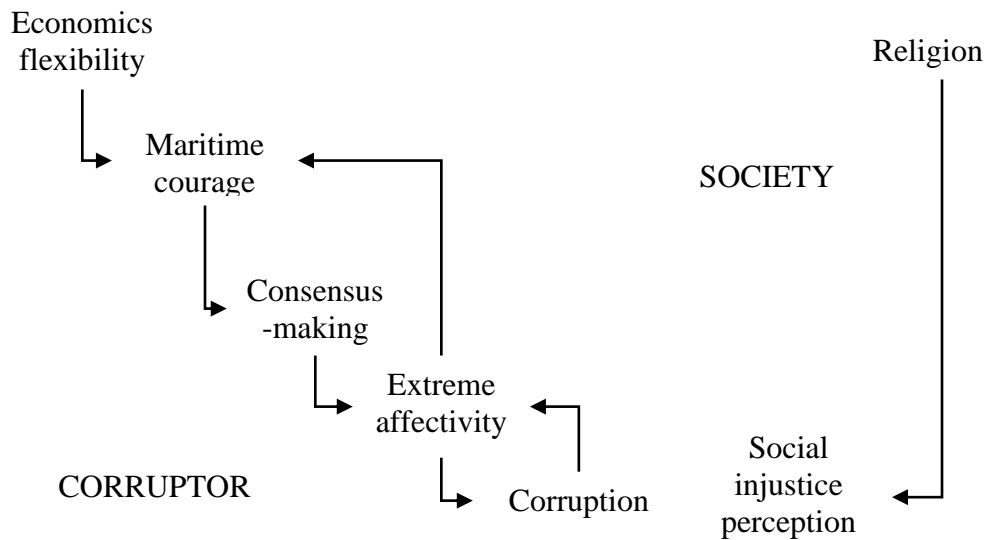


Figure 5 Driving Factors of Corruptors and Society

The model described above was then tested in the second cycle of the research using an empirical case of the bribery of DPR members to include the special allocation funds for Arfak Mountains Regency in the state budget. The perpetrators had bravery to commit corruption acts even though they understood that they were being watched by KPK and there were threats of imprisonment for their actions. Even after committing the corruption in 2017, they repeated the action in 2018. Maybe if they were not caught, they would continue for 2019 and beyond (Arifianto, 2000). The excessive positive affection on the part of the bribes for the success of DAK budgeting by DPR members, which they believe has triggered continued corrupt behavior. There was deliberation to consensus to commit evil deeds between the parties because the deliberation was informal and involved the provision of fees.

Virtue and Kantian ethics also gave no justification of fee provision as a form of high morale in reciprocal

relationships between people (Rendtorff, 2010). Consequently, universal moral guidance at the individual level according to the perspective of virtue and Kantian ethics should be no better than contractualism ethics operating at a broader level.

Meanwhile, it is not sufficient for consequentialism to emphasize social injustice in cases of corruption in balancing funds. DAK corruption was seen as a moral problem because of involvement of fees in the management. As a result, social injustice was found out in deeds, not consequences, and therefore, consequentialism could not easily explain social injustice in the DAK corruption case. On another hand, contractualism is very relevant because society has better alternatives for obtaining DAK than using alternatives forced by the corruptors.

From the second cycle, it can be seen that the framework for Indonesian society characteristics that has been formulated could still explain the problem of bribery and could have more capability than any alternative paradigm. Furthermore, in the third cycle, the researchers put forward the vote buying case.

Vote buying is not a new thing because it has long existed in a very local context, namely village head election (*pilkades*) to support certain village head candidates (Amanu, 2015). The Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) tried its best to eradicate the practice of vote buying by developing trust that vote buying led to unfair, unintelligent elections, eliminated people political freedom, and was morally unacceptable.

In the literature, there were two theories regarding the relationship between vote buying and corruption. First, the political budget cycle theory (Hanusch, 2013) stating that corruption and vote buying were parts of a cyclical political economy game. A corrupt official could use his funds of corrupted outcomes to buy votes in the subsequent election

period, so he could defeat any competitors who had no capital to buy votes or had no intention of doing so. If it is efficient, then the corruptors would be in a continuous cycle in which the government would continue to be controlled by corruptors who bought people's votes and then filled the deficit with corruption, took surplus for their interests and capital for the subsequent election. Second, credibility theory (Hanusch & Keefer, 2013) which argued that politicians having inability to make credible commitments to their voters would gain power by buying votes and, after coming to power, they used the power to gain credibility through vote buying. This means that vote buying is nothing but an attempt by a politician to be seen as credible by the public and this will be continued during his term of office in the form of corruption so that he becomes more credible in society.

Referring to the first theory, it is clear that corruption violates social justice because something that should make society prosperous is actually used for personal welfare, thus, there are lies and theft which are prohibited by religion. Referring to the second theory, political tastes are more obvious (Jiang, 2015). An ordinary person who is not famous but rich, can use his personal wealth to buy votes to sit in DPR. After that, he can fight for people's rights sincerely (including by stealing for the virtue of many people). This perspective is clearly utilitarian consequentialism: if money politics and corruption benefit many people, then it is morally legitimate (Pacuit, 2019).

Even though, it is still impossible since corruption steals money from treasury funds and the country itself aims to give welfare for its society. As revealed by Hanusch and Keefer (2013), the perpetrator tend to only buy votes if they consider themselves to be incredible, directing to any voters who are not trusted as their credibility and only buy votes from people who are accustomed to sell their votes in the past. As a result, there

will be a tendency that only the party who has been bought its votes would obtain the welfare. There will be also a committed vote group among them which would be only controlled by money and not by other more immaterial or comprehensive things. This system will always bring injustice as a result of centralization in the political business group. Thus, if vote buying is prohibited, public welfare in this group will be reduced but public welfare will be improved (Hanusch & Keefer, 2013).

The issue of vote buying has also been studied philosophically by many contemporary philosophers. Umbers (2020) argued that vote buying was immoral because it failed to respect autonomous agency of citizens. Previously, some philosophers had argued that vote buying was morally valid. Lippert-Rasmussen (2011) argued that it had no difference from promising voters to submit their demands to the government after the candidate was selected by ensuring that the candidate was elected by giving a certain amount of money. Freiman (2014) viewed that vote buying had no difference from purchasing goods which both parties made an exchange and both parties also got what they wanted. In this case, Freiman (2014) tried to refute Satz (2010) statement that the implementation of voting market would give unequal power to others because poor voters were more likely to sell their votes than rich voters. Archer & Wilson (2014) specifically opposed Freiman (2014) by refuting Freiman's argument by stating that it was a weak argument due to three problems. First, the strategy of prohibiting vote buying was a part of an effective electoral regulatory strategy. Second, there were reasons to suspect that electoral regulation would be ineffective if vote buying was permitted. Third, there was different legitimacy between inequalities, for example information inequality. The inequality of the bought votes was less legitimate inequality than the inequality of information.

From the perspective of contractualism, vote buying can be analyzed in terms of Indonesian society characteristics. In the case of corruption, the researchers argue that corruption is caused by the characters of courage, consensus, economic flexibility, and extreme affective. In the case of vote buying, the aforementioned arguments also apply. Vote buyers are clearly courageous because laws and regulations prohibit and punish this behavior. It is also necessary for the existence of consensus between buyers and sellers, although not necessarily through deliberation between both (Muzaqqi, 2012; Way, 2017). Deliberations take place on candidate's side with his fund backers and delegates. Economic flexibility occurs because candidates see that this gift is a part of the economic system. Extreme affectivity occurs when there is a bad response from the community, for example when the community refuses a gift or accepts a gift but is proven not to carry out the agreed upon contract (not choosing the candidate who gives them money). If the candidate wins, the candidate can take revenge by not fulfilling public wishes who previously did not vote for him, even though they have been given a certain amount of money.

The proposed model also states that religion is a factor that encourages perceptions of injustice in corruption. How then in the case of money politics is? In some people's moral beliefs, for example *Piil Pesenggiri* in Lampung (Kurniawan, 2017; Kurniawan & Hermawan, 2004), money politics is a crime because it humiliates oneself, family, and relatives. It is argued that Islamic teachings strongly prohibit money politics because it is considered a part of bribery and the scholars have agreed to consider it as prohibited one (*haram*) (Zen, 2015). Bawaslu (General Election Agency) stated that money politics is rejected by all religions, including Christianity (Pattianakotta & Samosir, 2018), Buddha (Rahardjo, 2018) and Hindu (Wirayasa, 2018) as well as Kong Hu Cu (Prabuki et al., 2018).

This means that as long as Indonesian society is religious one and aware that money politics is against religious teachings, it can be accepted that religious teachings are a factor that creates the perception of injustice in society when there is money politics.

Discussion

Corruption issue in Indonesia has a root in Indonesian human culture or characteristics. This does not mean that each human will be fully influenced by cultural factor. Its anthropological analysis is that human identity has two components namely culture and dialogical reflection. Culture is a social aspect compiling human identity while dialogical reflection is an individual aspect compiling human identity. In another language, humans have unifiable social and individual components. One aspect is external aspect (culture) and another aspect is internal aspect (dialogical reflection) (Walsh, 2015). Both then are a result of human response to any life events (Laland, Odling-Smee, & Feldman, 2001). It means that human survival leads to development of human individual dialogical reflection thinking framework meanwhile, collectively it can develop culture. Any time human faces any problems, he can choose one of the constitutions. Corruption is one of the behaviors that is a manifestation of one of the survival strategies, in this case is culture.

The researchers choose culture instead of dialogic reflection as a factor causing corruption, because culture is particular, affective, and automatic, in contrast to dialogical reflection which is universal, cognitive, requires rational thinking, and internal (Walsh, 2015). The particular nature of culture results in a different culture in one place from another one if the context covering the cultural system is different (Laland, Odling-smee, & Feldman, 2000). This particular nature makes Indonesian people culture different from other

countries. That is why in other countries, corruption does not appear on a large scale while in Indonesia it can occur.

Culture is also affective because the cultural system is built through cooperation between people. Humans are not completely rational creatures. Irrationality develops in a lot of human life because survival does not always require rationality (Haselton & Ketelaar, 2005). Irrationality also does not need time to appear, in contrast to rationality which takes time to think. Irrationality in the form of affection allows humans to cooperate, without even having to speak. Affection can be shown by facial expressions, gestures, and movements. Affection is an inherent aspect between children and parents without parents having to think deeply about whether it is rational to raise children or not. It just happens and is commonly referred to as instinct, tuition, emotion, and so on. Affection then forms emotional intelligence that attaches humans to one another and constructs cultural norms which, in content, may be very rational, but are emotionally attached.

Furthermore, culture is automatic. It must be automatic because it allows everyone, no matter how smart the person is, to react quickly when there are any threats to his life. It is embedded in human behavior so that without the need to think, humans will do it like what other people and their ancestors did. Studies in the field of biology also show that there will be sociality even in creatures without a brain (Young, 2008). For example, a research has found that bacteria have a self-identity and self-recognition (Gibbs, Urbanowski, & Greenberg, 2008). Ants have a very primitive brain but are very social in their behavior. Only when such behavior results in problems of survival will humans begin to shift resources from culture to dialogic reflection and come up with solutions. If this solution is successful and is liked by other members of the community, then this solution can be used as a part of a community local wisdom.

Thus is corruption, it develops from automatic, affective, and particular thing. If community culture is conducive to corruption, then some individuals will automatically and affectively be motivated to commit corruption (Wellen, 2004). Indonesian society cultural characteristics that emphasize courage, deliberation and consensus, extreme affective, and economic flexibility are very conducive to enabling corruption. Individuals who feel an economic need will dare to violate norms (which are also built as part of culture) and commit corruption through deliberation and consensus and are colored by positive and negative tuition such as joy, greed, competition, and others.

It should be admitted that corruption has elements of cognition. Corruptors use all their intelligence to evade the laws with tactics that require deep thought (Neu, Everett, Rahaman, & Martinez, 2013). That is why the authors did not use the term of reasoning or ratio in the elements called by dialogic reflection, as used by Walsh (2015). The concept of reason or ratio is too broad and allows it to be used by corruptors as well.

The concept of dialogic reflection is more appropriate to show how humans react to injustice. This concept was first developed by Westlund and developed as a critical reflection as a situation where someone responds to something without autonomy and then autonomously reconsiders the response (Westlund, 2003). Westlund (2003) perceived that support (or reasoning) can only be ours, if we have passed through a procedurally independent critical reflection process: "... our endorsements pass through a procedurally independent process of critical reflection before qualifying as fully our own. (Westlund, 2003, p. 503)."

In the example of corruption cases, dialogical reflection will consider what if he is in the position of a corruptor? What if he is the one who is corrupted? Apart from that, dialogical reflection will also raise the same questions as monological

reflection, namely what is the impact of corruption on the poor. The added value of dialogic reflection is that a person can judge social justice based on two perspectives, before making a decision (Andersen, 2012; Walsh, 2015).

Is then taking the perspective of the corruptor a fair act? Isn't it clear by religious norms that corruption is unfair? If we take the perspective of religious norms directly, which means automatic, then we will become a society that thinks automatically through existing norms. But it takes a first person to recognize that such corruption is against religious norms and to think about what kind of justice is betrayed. If we only say that corruption is a violation of religious norms, then the problem is over. But we do not know whether the corruptor deserves criticism or whether the corruptor is just an accomplice who is forced to act on threats or oppression from a larger party. In this case, the deliberator not only frees the public (Walsh, 2015), but also frees the corruptors by revealing the mastermind behind the corruption. A clear example is how a successful team member or subordinate bribes the community in order to win over his superior (District Court of Labuha, 2014). If he did not do so, he would be fired and his wife and child would not earn any income.

This clearly raises the potential for sympathy, if done by affection. After realizing that the corruptor is committing corruption because he does not get enough salary to feed his nine children, for example, maybe someone will feel sorry for him and think this is unfair to the corruptor. That is why it is very important that tuition / emotion / affection is put aside from evaluating dialogical reflection and only rationality is used (Walsh, 2015).

The following picture will emphasize how the deliberator's position is in the cultural framework of eradicating corruption in Indonesia. From this illustration, it can be seen how important the deliberator's role is in testing the validity of

social contracts that have been corrupted by corruptors in Indonesia. Deliberators, whether charismatic leaders, clerics, NGOs, civil society, and others, use their individual dialogical reflections with their cognitive powers to evaluate the social contract. If the social contract reflects injustice, it can be corrected. For example, if there is corruption, it is clear that the social contract has been violated and this means that there is a perception of injustice that demands contract cancellation, for example revisions to laws and regulations, increased monitoring policies, programs to strengthen religious belief in society to fight corruption, law enforcement, and others. This is built on Indonesian culture characteristics which in turn will result in a new social contract. This new social contract, if effective, will enhance Indonesian people survival.

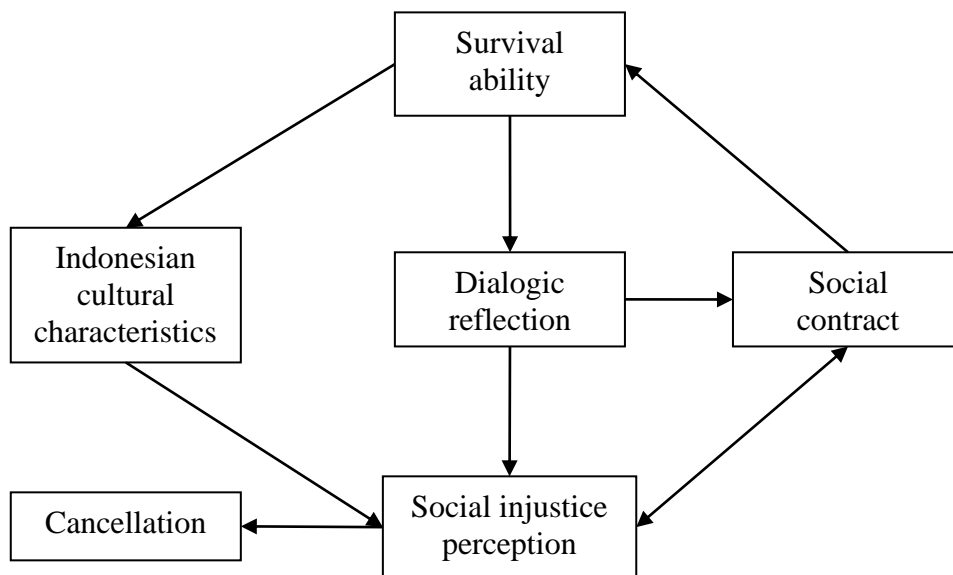


Figure 6 Corruption Case Contractualism Theoretical Model in Indonesia

Conclusion

The researchers have tried to present a number of Indonesian society cultural characteristics as sources of corruption and also presented components of the characteristics which can be used as a solution for corruption eradication. By referring to various characteristics such as maritime culture, high level of religiosity, deliberation for consensus, economic flexibility, time flexibility, extreme affective and social

hierarchy, the researchers identify that maritime culture which is manifested as bravery, deliberation for bad intention, economic flexibility which looks for source of income beyond the rights given by the laws, and form of extreme affective such as greed and faith to God the Almighty are seen as the sources of anti-corruption. Though it can argue that the developed framework is neither unique nor comprehensive, this framework is basic and parsimony, in a simple and elegant sense so it has potentials to be effective and efficient to be applied in practical level. By combining deliberative perspective of Rawls' justice theory, it is expected to provide comprehensive and unique strength to develop anti-corruption Indonesian society.

This cultural and individual based social justice framework can find a good place in the corruption eradication program in Indonesia. From the perspective of the researchers, this will result in important community empowerment programs such as empowerment programs for religious communities to eradicate corruption, training and deliberator education programs in various organizations, local wisdom-based surveillance systems to detect and report potential corruption, and design of regulatory policies and legislation that prioritizes social justice. Cultural factors can be empowered to eradicate corruption, and society can be encouraged to be more courageous, cooperative, enthusiastic, and gain economic benefits as a deliberator profession.

The researchers recognize the hermeneutic method as a complex method and require a deep understanding of the postmodern paradigm and deconstructivism, but it is still used because hermeneutics is able to capture comprehensive theory development rooted in direct events in the field at various phenomena levels. Future research can improve the methods used to develop a better framework as well as make constructive criticism of the results of current research.

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