



## Anti-Corruption Programs for Governors' Campaign Period 2017-2018 in Java Island

**Muhammad Hilmy Bramantyo\***

Master of Global Crime and Justice, School for Business and Society  
University of York, United Kingdom

Received: January 23, 2023; Reviewed: April 16, 2023; Accepted: June 13, 2023

### Abstract

Most of the studies regarding political campaigns focus heavily on strategy, evaluation, and communication by the candidate during the campaign. However, the study regarding anti-corruption programs campaigned by political candidates is still under research. This study examines the anti-corruption programs proposed by candidates for governor and vice governor on Java Island during 2017-2018 regional election. Further, this study employed a qualitative method using content analysis. The three objectives of this study are to examine the existence of anti-corruption program in vision-mission-working programs (VWMP) set by candidates, communication regarding anti-corruption programs during campaigning, and explanation of anti-corruption programs during electoral debate. The results revealed that only six of the thirteen candidates who ran for regional office included anti-corruption programmes in their VWMPs, seven candidates communicated their programs during the campaign period, and nearly all candidates explained their anti-corruption strategy in the electoral debate because the panelists asked them the question. It is argued that candidates did not prioritize campaigning for their anti-corruption programs because programs such as economic development, free education, and health care are more likely to get sympathy and support from voters.

**Keywords:** Anti-corruption; Political Campaign; Governor

**How to Cite:** Bramantyo, M.H. (2023). Anti-Corruption Programs for Governors' Campaign Period 2017-2018 in Java Island. *JPPUMA: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Sosial Politik UMA (Journal of Governance and Political Social UMA)*, 11 (1): 26-35

\*Corresponding author:  
E-mail: [m.hilmy.bramantyo@gmail.com](mailto:m.hilmy.bramantyo@gmail.com)

ISSN 2549-1660 (Print)  
ISSN 2550-1305 (Online)



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/).

## **INTRODUCTION**

The political campaign is important in the modern era since the battle of a candidate or party will depend on the program arranged in the campaign. The political campaign could be a complex process since the politicians need to ensure their electorate to choose them for their performance in the campaign and the strength of the programs delivered in the campaign (Farrell & Schmitt-Beck, 2002; Hansen & Pedersen, 2014). Based on this theoretical framework, therefore, the primary focus on the campaigns of candidates for governors, regents, and city mayors (to simplify, the term will be “head of region”) are on economic growth and physical development in the regions they will govern. This is typical, given that economic growth and physical development programs are the most visible and directly perceptible to voters. The candidates also take advantage of this tendency by creating campaign programs that have short periods and are quickly produced, in consequence the long-term programs are unappealing to candidates (Welsh & Farrington, 2012). According to information from Indonesia Corruption Watch (2022), between 2010 and 2018, 253 heads of regions were suspected of corruption. Furthermore, since Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) established in 2003, there were 22 governors and 122 regents/city mayors have been punished by the court because corruption case (Prakoso, 2021). If the head of region has been named as a subject of investigation by law enforcement agencies (LEA) or has been imprisoned while governing, it is possible that the economic or physical development programs established by the head of region will be neglected (Garoupa & Jellal, 2007). This in turn could disrupt the regional and economic

development agenda (De Vaal & Ebben, 2011; Halkos & Tzeremes, 2010). However, society may believe that corruption prevention is not as urgent as poverty prevention (Ankamah & Manzoor E Khoda, 2018). In the end, financial crimes such as corruption have indirect or invisible effects on society (Anderson, 2015; Davies et al., 1999; Welsch, 2008). Also, the candidates may believe that preventing and eradicating corruption is not their primary responsibility, since law enforcement agencies are responsible for that (Widoyoko, 2018). This phenomenon could explain why the candidates do not prioritize the anti-corruption program even though many head of regions in Indonesia have been convicted by the district court in corruption cases. Each candidate is supposed to reflect on the presidential election, where the electorate needs to hear anti-corruption program from each candidate of president because they do not want to vote for the candidate who has been involved in corruption (Dick & Mulholland, 2016; Hamilton-Hart, 2001). This is the reason why candidates running for regional elections should include an anti-corruption program in their campaign and the voters should consider this program.

This study will focus on the anti-corruption program proposed by candidates for governor and vice governor in Java Island during the 2017-2018 election cycle. The island of Java has been designated as the primary research topic because most corruption cases have occurred there (Widi, 2022). The only region excluded from this study is Yogyakarta, which has specific criteria where the governor and vice governor are inaugurated by the Sultan according to National Laws No. 13 of 2012 on the Yogyakarta Special Region. This study will examine the anti-corruption programs proposed by candidates as follows:

**Table 1. The Candidates of Election for Governor & Vice Governor Period 2017-2018**

Banten	Jakarta	West Java	Central Java	East Java
Rano Karno	Agus Harimurti	Ridwan Kamil	Ganjar Pranowo	Khofifah Indar
Embay Mulya	Sylviana Murni	Uu Ruzhanul	Taj Yasin	Emil Elestianto
Wahidin Halim	Basukti Tjahaja	Hasanuddin	Sudirman Said	Saifullah Yusuf
Andika Hazrumy	Purnama	Anton Charliyan	Ida Fauziyah	Puti Guntur
	Djarot Saiful			
	Anies Baswedan	Sudrajat		
	Sandiaga Uno	Ahmad Syaikhu		
		Deddy Mizwar		
		Dedi Mulyadi		

This study aims to answer three key questions related to anti-corruption programs in the context of the 2017-2018 regional elections: (1) Whether anti-corruption programs were included in the working programs of candidates who ran during this period; (2) whether candidates campaigned their anti-corruption programs to the public on a large scale; and (3) the way candidates explained their anti-corruption programs during electoral debates.

Previous studies regarding political campaigns in Indonesia heavily discussed strategy and evaluation, the use of social media, and political communication. But none of the studies talk about the campaign program to fight crime issues like corruption, where political actors play a role in preventing corruption through anti-corruption programs like being transparent about how public funds are used and releasing an annual report on their activities as politicians that involve public funds (Roberts & Hastings, 2012). This study attempts to fill a knowledge gap regarding political campaigns on crime issues, with a primary focus on corruption. The limitation on this study is the scope of examining regional elections, which only focus on the island of Java, where there are 34 provinces in Indonesia.

For future research, the object of study could be extended to all provinces in Indonesia to gain a better understanding of the performance of each candidate for

governor and vice governor while campaigning for their ideas to prevent corruption and also the implementation of their programs after they are officially elected.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a qualitative method using content analysis, a methodology to analyze media communication, including text, documents, or even speech, to measure the objective of content (Bryman, 2012; Graneheim et al., 2017). To acquire data from media, this study will conduct data collection throughout the Internet, since the Internet can cover any topic from major media (Hewson et al., 2003). Furthermore, the use of the Internet is necessary because the program of each candidate has been uploaded by The Regional General Election Commission so that voters can obtain information regarding the profile and program of candidates. However, this study finds it difficult to collect the official program of each candidate contested in regional elections because the documents probably have been overlapped by any other publication or erased on The Regional General Election Commission's website. Thus, the solution is to search for other sources, such as social media and national news. Authenticity and accuracy of the information are prioritized because the

Internet can generate misleading information.

This study also needs to capture the communication of each candidate regarding anti-corruption programs during the campaign period by exploring national news through the internet. Finally, the electoral debate broadcast on national television will be transcribed to gain information regarding anti-corruption programs for each candidate. By combining the official documents, the communication of each candidate during the campaign period, and transcribing the electoral debate held by The Regional General Election Commission, this study examines the anti-corruption program designed by each candidate and answers the

research questions stated above. The methods mentioned above are similar to the research conducted by Marion and Farmer (2003), where the use of news in national media will be maximized to obtain a crime prevention program campaigned by the candidates.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Anti-Corruption Program in Candidate's Vision-Mission-Working Program (VWMP)

After examining the official programs submitted by the candidates, we summarize the anti-corruption programs of each candidate as follows:

**Table 2. Anti-Corruption Programs Set by Candidates in General**

Candidate	Region	Vision-Mission-Working Program
Rano Karno Embay Mulya	Banten	Mission: Good corporate governance, involving KPK to prevent corruption in Banten government
Wahidin Halim Andika Hazrumy	Banten	Corruption problem in Banten*: Corruption is a chronic problem in Banten. In Banten, there are numerous cases of corruption which creates the perception among Banten citizens that the government is unreliable Working Program: Creating good corporate governance by improving the Corruption Perception Index
Agus Harimurti Sylviana Murni	Jakarta	Mission: Improve the quality of government bureaucracy and create a clean and responsible government
Basuki Tjahaja Purnama Djarot Saiful	Jakarta	Mission: Developing a government that is transparent, free of corruption, collusion, and nepotism, that serves the people
Anies Baswedan Sandiaga Uno	Jakarta	Working program: Reformation on bureaucracy and anti-corruption
Ridwan Kamil Uu Ruzhanul	West Java	Working program: Develop smart province through e-planning, e-budgeting, e-remuneration, and e-monev (monitoring & evaluation)
Hasanuddin Anton Charliyan	West Java	Mission: Develop clean, professional, and integrity government Working Program: Monitoring public officials' performance via the website ( <a href="http://molotot.com">molotot.com</a> )
Sudrajat Ahmad Syaikhu	West Java	-
Deddy Mizwar Dedi Mulyadi	West Java	Mission: Clean governance
Ganjar Pranowo Taj Yasin	Central Java	Vision: Independence and prosperous Central Java. No corruption, no falsification

Candidate	Region	Vision-Mission-Working Program
		Working Program: 1. Anti-corruption training in school 2. Bureaucracy reformation
Sudirman Said Ida Fauziah	Central Java	Working program: Prosperous Central Java without corruption
Khofifah Indar Emil Elestianto	East Java	Mission: Develop clean, open, and participatory government
Saifullah Yusuf Puti Guntur	East Java	Mission: Clean government

\*: Wahidin Halim-Andika Hazrumy explain their background to arrange their working program regarding anti-corruption prevention

Based on Table 2, almost all candidates mention anti-corruption programs or make a statement to create a clean and open government in their VWMP, This is important because corruption cases involving the region's head occur on Java Island (Indonesia Corruption Watch, 2022; Widi, 2022). However, only Sudrajat-Ahmad Syaikhu, the candidate from West Java, does not mention an anti-corruption program in their VWMP. Furthermore, this study finds that only six candidates specify anti-corruption programs and not only state "clean government" and/or "bureaucracy reformation". The candidates who specify the details of the anti-corruption programs at VWMP are as follows:

**Table 3. Specific Anti-Corruption Programs Set by Candidates**

Candidate	Region	Vision-Mission-Working Program
Rano Karno Embay Mulya	Banten	Mission: Good corporate governance, involving KPK to prevent corruption in Banten government
Wahidin Halim Andika Hazrumy	Banten	Corruption is mentioned in the background to arrange vision-mission-working programs: Corruption is a chronic problem in Banten. In Banten, there are numerous cases of corruption which creates the perception among Banten citizens that the government is unreliable  Working Program: Creating good corporate governance by improving the Corruption Perception Index
Anies Baswedan Sandiaga Uno	Jakarta	Working program: 1. Transparency in managing regional income and expenditure budget (APBD) 2. Monitoring and evaluation of project by third party and upload it in website
Ridwan Kamil Uu Ruzhanul	West Java	Working program: Develop smart province through e-planning, e-budgeting, e-remuneration, and e-monev (monitoring & evaluation)
Hasanuddin Anton Charliyan	West Java	Mission: Develop clean, professional, and integrity government Working Program: Monitoring public officials' performance via the website (molotot.com)
Ganjar Pranowo Taj Yasin	Central Java	Working Program: 1. Anti-corruption training in school 2. Bureaucracy reformation

Beside specific programs set by six candidates, this study finds that the candidate from Banten, Wahidin Halim-Andika Hazrumy, explains the background condition regarding the chronic problem of corruption in Banten and states it in their working program. Since the candidates set anti-corruption program on their VWMP, however, they must deliver this program to the voters during campaign. The next session will discuss the campaign of the anti-

corruption program and this study will capture it from national and/or local media.

### **Anti-Corruption Program Communication in Political Campaign**

Setting a program in VWMP is insufficient if candidates fail to communicate it to the electorate. After studying multiple online news sources, the following table outlines the details of anti-corruption plans and where they communicate them if they are elected:

**Table 4. Anti-Corruption Programs Communicate by Candidates in Campaign**

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Region</b>	<b>Specific Anti-Corruption Programs</b>	<b>Location</b>
Ridwan Kamil Uu Ruzhanul	West Java	Candidate (Ridwan Kamil) has made e-budgeting system, to avoid government official from corruption while he became Bandung city mayor and will be adapted in West Java bureaucracy if candidate win	Anti-corruption events held by KPK
Hasanuddin Anton Charliyan	West Java	Candidate will create molotot.com. Citizens can report government wrongdoing on this website. This site promotes anti-corruption and clean government	Public Campaign
Basuki Tjahaja Purnama Djarot Saiful	Jakarta	Government transparency prevents corruption. Transactions in Jakarta's government must be completed via bank transfer, not cash on hand. Candidate has created one stop service bureau in Jakarta to serve public. Every transaction in this bureau should be completed by bank transfer	International anti-corruption day Public campaign
Anies Baswedan Sandiaga Uno	Jakarta	1. Fight corruption by showing an anti-corruption figure to the media 2. Candidate would resign if the court sentenced the candidate for corruption 3. Develop system that can be accessed by citizens, including the use of regional income and expenditure budget 4. Commitment to avoid corruption and showed the nominal of campaign fund as proof for transparency 5. Forming special team consists of anti-corruption activist (ex-member of KPK)	International anti-corruption day Public campaign
Rano Karno Embay Mulya	Banten	Collaborate with KPK to prevent corruption	Public campaign
Wahidin Halim Andika Hazrumy	Banten	Appointing government officials according to competence, not by collusion or nepotism	Public campaign
Saifullah Yusuf Puti Guntur	East Java	1. Improve transparency in the bureaucracy (including regional income and expenditure budgets, as well as procurement) 2. Increase budget accountability. Every fund spent must be accountable	Asset Declaration event held by KPK

This study discovered seven candidates who communicated in detail to the public about anti-corruption programs during the campaign period. However, some candidates communicated the anti-corruption strategy during KPK-hosted events, but barely mentioned it during their campaigns with voters. This study also finds that there are four candidates who utilize symbols to show that they will avoid corruption. The candidates and symbols are shown in the table below:

**Table 5. Anti-Corruption Symbol Shown by Candidates**

Candidate	Region	Anti-Corruption Symbol
Rano Karno Embaya Mulya	Banten	Support from an ex-KPK member (Taufiqurrahman Ruki)
Anies Baswedan Sandiaga Uno	Jakarta	Support from an ex-KPK member (Adnan Pandu Praja & Bambang Widjojanto)
Basuki Tjahaja Purnama Djarot Saiful	Jakarta	Basuki Tjahaja has won the Bung Hatta Anti-Corruption Award
Sudirman Said Ida Fauziyah	Central Java	Sudirman Said is well known as an anti-corruption figure

The use of symbols such as support from anti-corruption activists or being publicly known as an anti-corruption figure were used by candidates to convince the electorate that they would not be involved in corruption while they became governor and vice governor. After examining the communication from candidates regarding anti-corruption programs to the electorate, this study argues that some candidates may not specify the details of their anti-corruption programs during the campaign because they understand that voters need a program that can bring direct prosperity, such as free education, the opening of new jobs, and enhancement in the regional economy, rather than programs to prevent corruption. However, in the long run, society will have a negative impact on corruption, thus affecting prosperity (Bentzen, 2012; Tay et al., 2014). Furthermore, this study suggests that

candidates must communicate details to the public and not depend only on symbols. The last section discusses the anti-corruption programmes delivered by candidates in the electoral debate.

### **Anti-Corruption Programs Explanation in Electoral Debate**

This study also examines the ability of each candidate to communicate anti-corruption programs in the electoral debate held by the Regional General Elections Commission. Candidates will explain their plans if the panelists or the opponent ask them. However, the theme of the debate was not specifically anti-corruption but combined with the theme of "Clean government and public services". The Table 6 below shows the anti-corruption programs discussed by each candidate in the debate:

**Table 6. Explanation from Each Candidate Regarding Corruption Prevention Methods**

Candidate	Region	Anti-Corruption Program Discussed in Debate
Ridwan Kamil Uu Ruzhanul	West Java	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Providing one-stop service system to serve public (e-Hibah, e-Permit, e-Budgeting, and e-Procurement)</li> <li>• Ridwan Kamil claimed KPK chose Bandung government as an anti-corruption model. It is a guarantee that the candidate will avoid corruption</li> </ul>
Hasanuddin Anton Charliyan	West Java	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creating molotot.com for public official supervision</li> <li>• Candidate refused private sector funding during campaign, so no debt to private sector</li> </ul>
Sudrajat- Ahmad Syaikhu	West Java	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increasing internal control</li> <li>• Increasing public officials' prosperity, so they don't corrupt</li> <li>• Creating an early warning system to supervise public officials who tend to corrupt</li> <li>• Punish public officials who are convicted of corruption</li> </ul>
Deddy Mizwar- Dedi Mulyadi	West Java	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bureaucracy reformation</li> <li>• Creating system to control competency &amp; performance of public officials</li> <li>• Candidate refused private sector funding during campaign, so no debt to private sector</li> </ul>
Agus Harimurti Sylviana Murni	Jakarta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increasing professionalism &amp; competency for public officials</li> <li>• Implement Key Performance Indicator (KPI) for public officials</li> </ul>
Basuki Tjahaja Purnama Djarot Saiful	Jakarta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Giving public officials a proper performance allowance to prevent bribes</li> <li>• Open selection for echelon position</li> <li>• Fired corrupt bureaucrats</li> </ul>
Anies Baswedan Sandiaga Uno	Jakarta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increasing professionalism &amp; competency for public officials</li> <li>• Creating open &amp; transparent government</li> </ul>
Rano Karno Embay Mulya	Banten	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Open selection for echelon position</li> <li>• Increasing professionalism &amp; competency for public officials</li> <li>• Providing one-stop service system to serve public (e-Budgeting &amp; e-Planning)</li> <li>• Involving KPK to prevent corruption</li> <li>• Increasing regional financial statement score to unqualified opinion</li> </ul>
Wahidin Halim Andika Hazrumy	Banten	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transparency budgeting</li> <li>• Increasing professionalism &amp; competency for public officials</li> <li>• Involving society to supervise public officials &amp; Regional Income and Expenditure Budget (APBD)</li> <li>• Have integrity, enhance morality, and say "no" to corruption</li> </ul>
Ganjar Pranowo Taj Yasin	Central Java	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enforcing "Mboten korupsi (no corruption)" motto to public officials</li> <li>• Involving KPK to prevent corruption</li> <li>• Enrolling head of regency to anti-corruption school</li> <li>• Forcing public officials to regularly submit Report on Wealth of the State Officer (LHKPN)</li> </ul>
Sudirman Said Ida Fauziyah	Central Java	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Building anti-corruption culture in bureaucracy</li> <li>• Creating open &amp; transparent government</li> <li>• Governor as a role model for anti-corruption behavior</li> <li>• Candidate (Sudirman Said) claimed he had reformed Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resource</li> </ul>
Khofifah Indar Emil Elestianto	East Java	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prepare system to prevent corruption</li> </ul>
Saifullah Yusuf Puti Guntur	East Java	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Continue unqualified opinion on regional financial statement score</li> </ul>



The most popular methods mentioned by candidates to prevent corruption in government are to build one-stop service system to serve the public (such as e-permit, e-catalogue, e-procurement), show transparency on planning and budgeting, involve KPK to prevent corruption, and announce open bidding for echelon or head of bureau positions. The main objective of all the methods mentioned by the candidates above is to prevent the governor and his team from accepting bribes or illegal fees because bureaucracy is well-known for corrupt behavior (Banerjee et al., 2015; Kuncoro, 2006).

However, this study finds that during the debate some candidates only use slogan and commitment not to corrupt but not specify clear program to prevent corruption in bureaucracy if they elected as governor and vice governor. Furthermore, this study also finds that the panelists in the electoral debate in Central Java and East Java do not ask plans from each candidate to prevent corruption. Therefore, this study recommends that the General Election Commission hold an electoral debate with KPK as a panelist so the voters can obtain a clear understanding of the plans of each candidate to prevent corruption.

## CONCLUSION

This study examines anti-corruption programs set by candidates of governor and vice governor running for regional elections period 2017 to 2018 in island of Java and has three objectives: to examine the existence of anti-corruption program in vision-mission-working programs (VWMP) set by candidates, communication regarding anti-corruption programs during campaigning, and explanation of anti-corruption programs during electoral debate. The results showed that only six out of thirteen candidates running for the 2017–2018 regional election period specified the

programs in their VWMP. Furthermore, only seven candidates communicate their programs during the campaign period. It could be argued that candidates prioritize delivering their economic, education, and health programs rather than anti-corruption programs to gain sympathy and support from the electorate. During the debate held by the Regional General Elections Commission, all candidates explained their anti-corruption programs in response to questions from the panelists. However, the arguments from the candidates were not deepened by the panelists and candidates only had two minutes to explain their anti-corruption programs. The results of this study indicate that anti-corruption programs is not prioritized by candidates. Programs to prevent corruption are set by candidates just formality and as a symbol that they are not corrupt candidates. Reflecting on the 22 governors convicted of corruption since KPK established in 2003, the candidates are supposed to seriously design anti-corruption programs and explain them to the public, as the public has the right to select a competent candidate with an effective anti-corruption program.

## REFERENCES

- Anderson, B. B. (2015). Corrupting activities and economic development. *World Journal of Entrepreneurship, Management and Sustainable Development*, 11(1), 64–70. <https://doi.org/10.1108/WJEMSD-07-2014-0020>
- Ankamah, S. S., & Manzoor E Khoda, S. M. (2018). Political will and government anti-corruption efforts: What does the evidence say? *Public Administration and Development*, 38(1), 3–14. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.1815>
- Atkin, C. K., & Heald, G. R. (1976). Effects of Political Advertising. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 40, 216–228.
- Banerjee, R., Baul, T., & Rosenblat, T. (2015). On self selection of the corrupt into the public sector. *Economics Letters*, 127, 43–46. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econlet.2014.12.020>

- Bentzen, J. S. (2012). How Bad is Corruption? Cross-country Evidence of the Impact of Corruption on Economic Prosperity: HOW BAD IS CORRUPTION? *Review of Development Economics*, 16(1), 167–184. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9361.2011.00653.x>
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th ed). Oxford University Press.
- Davies, P., Francis, P., & Jupp, V. (Eds.). (1999). *Invisible crimes: Their victims and their regulation*. Macmillan [u.a.].
- De Vaal, A., & Ebben, W. (2011). Institutions and the Relation between Corruption and Economic Growth: INSTITUTIONS, CORRUPTION, AND ECONOMIC GROWTH. *Review of Development Economics*, 15(1), 108–123. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9361.2010.00596.x>
- Dick, H., & Mulholland, J. (2016). The politics of corruption in Indonesia. *Geo. J. Int'l Aff.*, 17, 43.
- Farrell, D. M., & Schmitt-Beck, R. (2002). *Do political campaigns matter? Campaign effects in elections and referendums*. Routledge.
- Garoupa, N., & Jellal, M. (2007). Further notes on information, corruption, and optimal law enforcement. *European Journal of Law and Economics*, 23(1), 59–69. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10657-007-9002-1>
- Graneheim, U. H., Lindgren, B.-M., & Lundman, B. (2017). Methodological challenges in qualitative content analysis: A discussion paper. *Nurse Education Today*, 56, 29–34. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.nedt.2017.06.002>
- Halkos, G. E., & Tzeremes, N. G. (2010). Corruption and Economic Efficiency: Panel Data Evidence. *Global Economic Review*, 39(4), 441–454. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1226508X.2010.533854>
- Hamilton-Hart, N. (2001). ANTI-CORRUPTION STRATEGIES IN INDONESIA. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 37(1), 65–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/000749101300046519>
- Hansen, K. M., & Pedersen, R. T. (2014). Campaigns Matter: How Voters Become Knowledgeable and Efficacious During Election Campaigns. *Political Communication*, 31(2), 303–324. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2013.815296>
- Hewson, C., Yule, P., Laurent, D., & Vogel, C. (2003). *Internet Research Methods*. SAGE Publications, Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849209298>
- Indonesia Corruption Watch. (2022). *Korupsi Kepala Daerah*. ICW. Retrieved January 7, 2023, from <https://antikorupsi.org/id/korupsi-kepala-daerah>
- Kuncoro, A. (2006). Corruption and Business Uncertainty in Indonesia. *Asean Economic Bulletin*, 23(1), 11–30. <https://doi.org/10.1355/AE23-1B>
- Marion, N. E., & Farmer, R. (2003). Crime control in the 2000 presidential election: A symbolic issue. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 27(2), 129–144. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02885690>
- Prakoso, J. P. (2021). *Selama Berdiri, KPK Tangkap 155 Kepala Daerah yang Terlibat Korupsi*. Bisnis.com. Retrieved January 7, 2023, from <https://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20211116/16/1466810/selama-berdiri-kpk-tangkap-155-kepala-daerah-yang-terlibat-korupsi>
- Roberts, J. V., & Hastings, R. (2012). *Public Opinion and Crime Prevention: A Review of International Trends*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195398823.013.0024>
- Tay, L., Herian, M. N., & Diener, E. (2014). Detrimental Effects of Corruption and Subjective Well-Being: Whether, How, and When. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 5(7), 751–759. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550614528544>
- Welsch, H. (2008). The welfare costs of corruption. *Applied Economics*, 40(14), 1839–1849. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00036840600905225>
- Welsh, B. C., & Farrington, D. P. (2012). Science, politics, and crime prevention: Toward a new crime policy. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 40(2), 128–133. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2012.01.008>
- Widi, S. (2022). *Kasus Korupsi di Indonesia Terbanyak dari Pemerintah Pusat*. DataIndonesia. Retrieved January 3, 2023, from <https://dataindonesia.id/ragam/detail/kasus-korupsi-di-indonesia-terbanyak-dari-pemerintah-pusat>
- Widoyoko, J. D. (2018). Menimbang Peluang Jokowi Memberantas Korupsi: Catatan untuk Gerakan Anti Korupsi. *INTEGRITAS*, 2(1), 269. <https://doi.org/10.32697/integritas.v2i1.134>