



Testing the Limits of Public Integrity: The Impact of Vested Interests and Countervailing Forces on Indonesia's KPK

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The establishment of Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) is as a crucial instrument for fighting systemic corruption and improving public integrity. However, corrupt forces in post-Soeharto Indonesia found opportunities to develop powerful coalitions built on the legacy of pre-reform power relationships. This article examines the extent to which the KPK's initiatives have been impeded by these vested interests. By examining two major cases involving conflicts against senior law enforcement officers – we identify some of the conditions where vested interests have exerted a significant influence in resisting anti-corruption efforts. Their greatest impact occurred when their attempts to exploit KPK's institutional weaknesses occurred in a permissive environment where political stakeholders were indecisive or unassertive. The fragmentation within civil society and independent media also seriously undermined on the capacity of anti-graft supporters to hold corrupt official to account in Indonesia.

Key words: anti-corruption, democratization, Indonesia, KPK, market liberalization

检验公共诚信的限制：既得利益与抵抗势力对印尼肃贪委员会产生的影响：

肃贪委员会（KPK）的建立是作为打击系统性腐败和提升公共诚信的一个关键工具。然而，印度尼西亚后苏哈托时期的腐败势力找到机会建立基于改革前权力关系影响的强大联盟。本文检验了KPK提出的倡议计划在多大程度上受到这些既得利益的阻碍。通过检验两

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个涉及反对高级执法人员的冲突的重要案例，我们识别了一些联盟，既得利益在这些联盟中对抵制反腐工作一事施加了显著影响。当既得利益为利用KPK的制度弱点所做的尝试，出现在一个对政治利益攸关方的犹豫不决或不够果断进行放任的环境中时，既得利益则会发挥最大的影响。公民社会的分化和独立媒体也严重削弱了反腐支持者在让印尼腐败官员承担责任一事上的能力。

关键词: 反腐, 民主化, 市场自由化, 肃贪委员会 (KPK), 印度尼西亚

Prueba de los límites de la integridad pública: el impacto de los intereses adquiridos y las fuerzas compensatorias en el KPK de Indonesia:

El establecimiento de la Comisión de Erradicación de la Corrupción (KPK) es un instrumento crucial para combatir la corrupción sistemática y mejorar la integridad pública. Sin embargo, las fuerzas corruptas en Indonesia post-Soeharto encontraron oportunidades para desarrollar coaliciones poderosas basadas en el legado de las relaciones de poder previas a la reforma. Este artículo examina la medida en que las iniciativas del KPK se han visto obstaculizadas por estos intereses creados. Al examinar dos casos importantes relacionados con conflictos contra altos funcionarios encargados de hacer cumplir la ley, identificamos algunas de las condiciones en las que los intereses creados han ejercido una influencia significativa en la resistencia a los esfuerzos anticorrupción. Su mayor impacto ocurrió cuando sus intentos de explotar las debilidades institucionales de KPK ocurrieron en un ambiente permisivo donde los actores políticos eran indecisos o inseguros. La fragmentación dentro de la sociedad civil y los medios de comunicación independientes también socavaron seriamente la capacidad de los partidarios de la lucha contra el injerto para hacer que los funcionarios corruptos rindan cuentas en Indonesia.

Palabras Clave: anticorrupción, democratización, liberalización del mercado, KPK, Indonesia

The post-Soeharto regime in Indonesia introduced many processes for democratization and market liberalization. One anticipated benefit was a reduction in patronage and corruption. The new governance arrangements were reinforced by a set of anti-corruption laws, including the establishment in 2002 of an independent and powerful anti-corruption agency, the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), to enhance transparency and accountability in public governance and thus combat systemic corruption. By integrating the functions of investigation and prosecution, the KPK was gradually able to demonstrate its professionalism and improve the government's anti-corruption efforts, including attempts to target previously untouchable corrupt actors and to dismantle their networks. The KPK has successfully promoted public integrity and "changed the unchangeable" by prosecuting and jailing ministers, governors, mayors, members of parliament, judges, senior bureaucrats, senior police officers, senior prosecutors, ambassadors, and other prominent figures. Hence, the secretariat of the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) commended the KPK for its "best practice" in the global anti-corruption agenda (*Kompas*, 9 October 2017). The agency also won the prestigious Manila-based Ramon Magsaysay Award in 2013, widely considered as Asia's equivalent of the Nobel Prize, in recognition for its tireless anti-corruption campaign in Indonesia,

reforms in Indonesia tends to be much more highly political, rather than simply a legal-technical or administrative matter.

Note

¹Ethics approval for the research was obtained from the University of Queensland, including confidentiality provisions to protect informants with anonymity.

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