


# Mapping the Discourse: A Bibliometric Analysis of Corruption Research by Indonesian Scholars (1945–2024) Through the Lens of Habermas's Public Sphere Theory

## *Memetakan Wacana: Analisis Bibliometrik Penelitian Korupsi oleh Cendekiawan Indonesia (1945–2024) Melalui Lensa Teori Ruang Publik Habermas*

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### Abstract

This study presents a bibliometric analysis of literature published by Indonesian scholars on corruption issue in Indonesia from 1945 to 2024, covering the reigns of seven different Presidents. Using the Google Scholar database, we conducted searches for up to 200 relevant publications on each President. Our methodological tools included VOSviewer, Google Scholar, and Harzing's Publish or Perish software. By employing this approach, we were able to identify the specific focus areas emphasized by Indonesian scholars regarding corruption in Indonesia during each Presidential administration. We also examined the connection between these focal points and the characteristics of each President's administration, providing insight into the issues scholars emphasized and sought to address in relation to corruption in Indonesia. We use Jürgen Habermas's theory of the public sphere which provides a profound analytical framework for understanding how academic discourse on corruption contributes to the formation of public opinion and social control over power. Result shows that the evolution of Indonesia's public sphere demonstrates a clear correlation with the nation's socio-political transformations. While scholars play a crucial role in preserving a critical dimension within this sphere, significant obstacles remain. The persistent stagnation in the Corruption Perceptions Index, for instance, suggests that scholarly discourse has thus far been insufficient in catalyzing the intended structural reforms. Consistent with Habermasian thought, attaining a robust public sphere necessitates inclusive societal engagement and an ongoing commitment to institutional change.

### Keywords

Corruption; Law; Indonesian; Scholar; Literature.

### Abstrak

Studi ini menyajikan analisis bibliometrik literatur yang diterbitkan oleh para sarjana Indonesia tentang isu korupsi di Indonesia dari tahun 1945 hingga 2024, yang mencakup masa pemerintahan tujuh Presiden yang berbeda. Dengan menggunakan basis data Google Scholar, kami melakukan pencarian hingga 200 publikasi relevan untuk setiap Presiden. Alat metodologis kami meliputi VOSviewer, Google Scholar, dan perangkat lunak Publish or Perish dari Harzing. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan ini, kami dapat mengidentifikasi area fokus spesifik yang ditekankan oleh para sarjana Indonesia mengenai korupsi di Indonesia selama setiap pemerintahan Presiden. Kami juga meneliti hubungan antara titik fokus ini dan karakteristik pemerintahan setiap Presiden, memberikan wawasan tentang isu-isu yang ditekankan dan diupayakan oleh para sarjana terkait korupsi di Indonesia. Kami menggunakan teori ruang publik Jürgen Habermas yang memberikan kerangka analitis mendalam untuk memahami bagaimana wacana akademis tentang korupsi berkontribusi pada pembentukan opini publik dan kontrol sosial atas kekuasaan. Hasil menunjukkan bahwa evolusi ruang publik Indonesia menunjukkan korelasi yang jelas dengan transformasi sosial-politik bangsa. Meskipun para akademisi memainkan peran penting dalam melestarikan dimensi kritis dalam bidang ini, hambatan signifikan masih tetap ada. Misalnya, stagnasi yang terus-menerus dalam Indeks Persepsi Korupsi menunjukkan bahwa wacana ilmiah sejauh ini belum cukup untuk mendorong reformasi struktural yang diinginkan. Sejalan dengan pemikiran Habermas, mencapai ruang publik yang kuat membutuhkan keterlibatan masyarakat yang inklusif dan komitmen berkelanjutan terhadap perubahan kelembagaan.

### Kata Kunci

Korupsi; Hukum; Indonesia; Cendekiawan; Kepustakaan.

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## 1. Research Background

Jürgen Habermas's conception of the public sphere provides a critical analytical framework for understanding how discourse influences public opinion and governmental accountability, especially in the context of corruption in Indonesia. The public sphere serves as an arena for informal deliberation, crucial for shaping democratic values and ensuring that diverse perspectives can be voiced (Habermas et al., 1974). This notion is underscored by recent assertions about the role of scholars in Indonesia who have engaged in critical discussions surrounding corruption yet face significant impediments, such as societal apathy and political inertia.

Scholarly contributions to anti-corruption discourses have been integral in promoting transparency and accountability in governance. Some studies highlight the importance of sound corporate governance as a mechanism to combat corruption in Indonesia by fostering trust and efficient resource allocation (Prabowo et al., 2017). Some discussions draw attention to robust corporate governance as pivotal for stimulating investment climates and mitigating corruption, proposing that such frameworks must exist to ensure social and economic sustainability (Prabowo et al., 2017). These discussions align with Habermas's ideals, suggesting that informed citizens are better equipped to demand accountability from their governments.

However, despite the vigor with which scholars have approached the subject, the academic discourse in Indonesia has not effectively translated into meaningful governance reforms. The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) remains stagnant, suggesting a disconnect between the theoretical outputs of academic discourse and the practical mechanisms of reform that facilitate change (Rajasa Asdiansyah et al., 2023). For instance, Prabowo et al. (2017) illustrate that the normalization of corruption in the Indonesian public sector complicates efforts for transparent governance; they argue that systemic re-engineering is necessary to overcome entrenched corruption cultures that often subvert academic insights aimed at reform.

The dynamic evolution of the public sphere in Indonesia can be correlated with various socio-political transformations that have occurred under different presidential regimes. Each administration has prompted shifts in the nature and focus of academic inquiries, thereby shaping public discourse in alignment with governance objectives. Studies reveal that collaborative governance strategies have emerged as collective responses to reduce corruption, highlighting an evolving relationship between scholarship, public sentiment, and state power (Arayankalam & Krishnan, 2019).

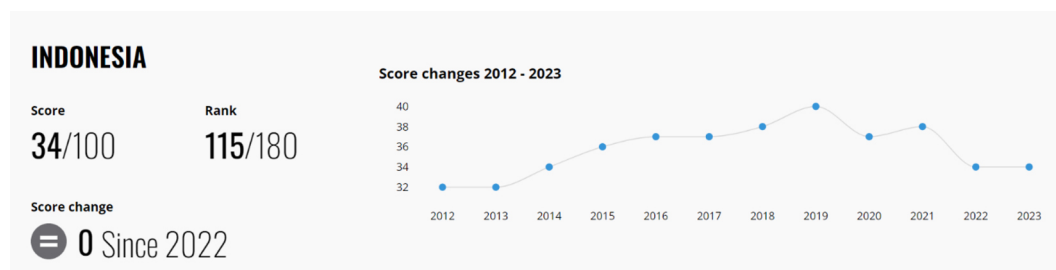
For instance, collaborative action (Rajasa Asdiansyah et al., 2023) encompasses ongoing dialogues among stakeholders aimed at curbing corruption, indicating that scholars play a crucial role in fostering these dialogues (Arayankalam & Krishnan, 2019). This dynamic is essential for understanding how academic discourses can influence public perceptions and incite communal action against corruption. Nevertheless, despite scholarly efforts, the persistent apathy among the populace and the inertia of political institutions poses significant challenges to translating these discourses into actionable reforms, reminiscent of Habermas's caution against the pitfalls of a non-participatory public sphere.

Political inertia, a reluctance from governing bodies to enact substantial reforms also contributes to the stagnation of progress in combating corruption, despite an existing body of academic discourse advocating for change. The interplay between the acceptance of corruption by the population and a resistant political elite creates a profound barrier to

meaningful engagement and reform efforts (Edwards, 2004). Political engagement among younger generations in Indonesia is pivotal for re-energizing dialogues surrounding governance and accountability, further reiterating the necessity for an active public sphere (Suwanda et al., 2018).

An analysis of the public sphere in Indonesia, as articulated by Habermas's theoretical framework, underscores a significant but challenging interaction between academic discourse and public perception of corruption. While scholars critically contribute to discourse on governance and corruption, the barriers of societal apathy and political inertia demonstrate that the relationships between academic insights and actionable reforms remain tenuous at best. Therefore, for a genuinely effective public sphere, it is essential to cultivate more inclusive and engaged civic dialogue that transcends traditional political narratives and invites active participation from all societal segments.

Based on data from Transparency International, Indonesia's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) for the current year remains at 34, which is consistent with the previous year's figure. This positions Indonesia at the 115th spot among 180 countries ([www.transparency.org](http://www.transparency.org)). The Corruption Perceptions Index functions as a principal global gauge of corruption within the public sector. Countries are assessed and ranked based on their Corruption Perception Index (CPI) score, which evaluates the level of corruption risk within a country. A higher score on the scale of 0 to 100 signifies a lower risk of corruption, while a lower score indicates a higher risk.



Source: S-W Song 2017

**Figure 1. Indonesia's Corruption Perception Index**

Indonesia's score has shown both fluctuations and improvements over the past decade. In 2012 and 2013, Indonesia's score stood at 32. However, from 2014 to 2019, the score increased to 34 and reached its peak in 2019 at a score of 40, indicating positive development during that period. Unfortunately, the score dropped again in 2020, implying a resurgence in corruption cases until 2023.

Notably, there has been a change in the presidency during the last ten years. In 2014, President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the 6th President of Indonesia (2004–2014), was succeeded by President Joko Widodo, the 7th President of Indonesia (2014–2024). This study aims to analyze research conducted by scholars during each presidency, examining published writings that reflect the concerns of Indonesian scholars regarding corruption in each era.

Beginning with Indonesia's first President, President Soekarno (1945–1961), the focus of corruption research primarily revolved around the newly established Law on Corruption and its regulations. As the presidency changed hands seven times leading up to 2024, the trends in scholarly research on corruption also underwent shifts. To explore these changes, we conducted a bibliometric analysis using VOSviewer software on a sample of 200 literature

sources from the Publish or Perish/Pop database, based on data from Google Scholar. By visualizing the network of keywords related to corruption, we gained insights into the research focus of Indonesian scholars across the different presidential eras.

Through this analysis, we identified common threads and observed the evolution of the research focus on corruption among Indonesian scholars. By understanding the shared opinions of these scholars on the issue of corruption in Indonesia, as well as their aspirations for its improvement, we hope to shed light on potential avenues for addressing this problem. Scholars' viewpoints reflect the educated public's assessment of the government, as evident in their academic writings. Riots in a country occur when public dissatisfaction towards the government accumulates, which is often indicated by the issues they consistently highlight. By examining scholars' perspectives on a country's problems, we can gauge their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the government and potentially predict the likelihood of social unrest related to specific issues.

Jürgen Habermas's theory of the public sphere provides a profound analytical framework for understanding how academic discourse on corruption contributes to the formation of public opinion and social control over power. In his work, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), Habermas defines the public sphere as a social arena in which rational individuals gather to discuss public issues through open dialogue free from political or economic domination. This ideal public sphere functions as a mechanism for critiquing the state, where arguments are based on facts and rationality rather than manipulation. However, Habermas also criticizes the distortion of the public sphere by capitalism and authoritarianism, which transforms it into a passive or colonized arena.

In the Indonesian context, scholarly literature on corruption can be seen as a manifestation of a public sphere that has evolved alongside presidential changes. Legal scholars not only produce knowledge but also facilitate critical dialogue that influences anti-corruption policies, though often distorted by political contexts such as the New Order era or the challenges of reform. This analysis integrates Habermas's theory to explore how scholarly perspectives reflect the transformation of the public sphere from a restricted one (during the authoritarian era) to a more inclusive one (in the reform era), while identifying their contributions to efforts aimed at building a more transparent and accountable society.

## 2. Literature Review

During the presidency of the second President of Indonesia, President Soeharto's, there were significant issues related to corruption in Indonesia. Soeharto's regime was characterized by a system that provided incentives for public officials to pursue growth-oriented policies that allowed them to enrich themselves through corrupt activities (Rock, 2016).

During the third President of Indonesia, President Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie's presidency, there was unprecedented scrutiny from the press, uncovering scandals that would have been overlooked during the Suharto era, indicating a shift towards a more transparent and open political environment under Habibie's leadership (Steele, 2012). These factors contributed to shaping the political landscape during President B.J. Habibie's tenure.

The establishment of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) during the fourth President of Indonesia, Megawati Soekarnoputri's presidency was a significant step in Indonesia's anti-corruption efforts. The KPK was formed as an independent institution to combat corruption, aligning with broader governance reforms in the country (Hadiz, 2004). The KPK's establishment marked a crucial instrument in fighting systemic corruption and

enhancing public integrity, reflecting the government's commitment to addressing corruption issues (Umam & Head, 2020). However, challenges and retrogressions in governance reform and anti-corruption measures during the period of 1999-2001 highlight the complexities and obstacles faced in combating corruption effectively (Juwono, 2020).

One of the first steps taken by President Yudhoyono was to strengthen anti-corruption institutions, including the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). Established in 2003, the KPK has become a vital institution in combating corruption in Indonesia. Under Yudhoyono's leadership, the KPK received greater support, despite facing challenges from various parties, including some elements within the government and politics (Pancaningrum, 2017). Furthermore, SBY also introduced legal reform programs aimed at improving the judicial system and increasing transparency in the public sector. These efforts included strengthening public accountability systems and implementing good governance principles, which are crucial for controlling corruption. Despite good intentions, the implementation of these programs was often hampered by politicization and internal resistance from within government organizations themselves (Pancaningrum, 2017).

During President Joko Widodo's era, the fight against corruption remained a primary focus in strengthening governance. Despite various policies and development programs, efforts to suppress and eradicate corruption remained a priority. President Joko Widodo has established various anti-corruption programs and strengthened related institutions, such as the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), to combat corrupt practices that harm the state and society (Nazifah, 2020).

Throughout President Joko Widodo's leadership, there have been efforts to enhance integrity and anti-corruption values across various societal levels, including through character education. The Strengthening Character Education Program (PPK) initiated by President Joko Widodo is one of the initiatives to cultivate a young generation with integrity and the ability to combat corruption (Izzalqurny et al., 2022).

Nevertheless, challenges in combating corruption persist, and corruption cases involving government officials or related groups continue to attract attention (Hutasoet et al., 2023). Therefore, under President Joko Widodo's leadership, the fight against corruption remains a crucial agenda in strengthening governance and building a corruption-free nation.

Each presidential administration possesses its own distinct approach to combating corruption and addressing the nature of corruption within its tenure. Scholars contribute to the oversight of government through their published works, which offer insights into the prevailing concerns of Indonesian scholars regarding corruption within their country. By examining this literature, we can identify common themes and perspectives on the issue of corruption in Indonesia over time. Scholars and academics frequently evaluate and analyze the correlation between presidential policies and the prevalence of corruption within a nation. Their research encompasses case studies, policy analyses, and empirical observations to comprehend how presidential leadership influences the dynamics of corruption. Additionally, they assess the efficacy of anti-corruption measures implemented by the president and their reflection in global corruption indicators.

### 3. Methodology and Research Methods

Bibliometric analysis is grounded in the principles of library science and quantitative research. Broadus defines bibliometric studies as a structured approach to evaluate academic literature using statistical methods that reveal the productivity and influence of authors,

journals, and institutions (Vaksevanidis et al., 2019). The complexity of knowledge structures and interrelations between research outputs forms an essential component of this analytical framework, allowing for a comprehensive overview of scientific domains (Gao & Ruan, 2018).

Key Components of Bibliometric Analysis are such as Citation Analysis which involves the examination of citation data to assess the impact of individual publications and authors within a scientific community. Citation analysis has evolved from simple counts to complex metrics that consider the context and nature of citations, revealing deeper insights into academic influence (Thompson & Walker, 2015). Next is Co-citation Analysis which is a technique that identifies patterns in how often two documents are cited together, which can indicate thematic connections in research. This methodology supports the identification of influential works that form the backbone of specific academic conversations (Ferreira et al., 2016). Then comes Keyword Analysis which examines the keywords associated with publications, researchers can discern emerging trends and shifts in focus within a field. This analysis is crucial for anticipating future research directions (Al-Moraissi et al., 2020). These components allow researchers to synthesize large datasets into meaningful narratives about the development of knowledge and the interconnected nature of research activities (Lazăr et al., 2022; Solórzano et al., 2022; Turan & Yilmaz, 2024).

Bibliometric methods can be implemented using various software tools such as VOSviewer and Biblioshiny, which facilitate visualization and interpretation of complex bibliometric data (Budler et al., 2021; Kurdi & Kurdi, 2021). The integration of these tools aids researchers in identifying clusters of related research and emerging fields, offering insights that traditional qualitative reviews might overlook (Hidayah et al., 2024).

As a rigorous methodology, bibliometric analysis is often paired with systematic reviews. While systematic reviews aim to synthesize findings across studies, bibliometric analysis quantitatively delineates the research landscape, revealing both historical and contemporary trends (Mahato et al., 2023). The combination of these methodologies enhances the reliability and comprehensiveness of research outcomes (Maliha, 2023). However, for this study, the author only used bibliometric analysis as a methodology.

The main hypothesis of this study is to determine the fundamental similarities in the perspectives of Indonesian scholars from the first through seventh administrations regarding the issue of corruption in Indonesia. The research steps include the following steps:

1. Utilizing the Publish or Perish Tools/PoP, the study conducted a search using the Google Scholar database and retrieved 200 relevant literature sources for each presidential administration.
2. Employing the keyword “korupsi” in the PoP Tools, to search for 1400 literatures. (we use the word “korupsi” from Bahasa/Indonesian Language, in English it means “corruption”).
3. Out of an initial pool of 1400 literature records, a rigorous screening process was undertaken, resulting in the selection of 1089 papers deemed pertinent to the research objectives.
4. Conducting a bibliometric analysis using VOSviewer Software, the study identified the key dimensions (Clusters and Items) of the scholars’ literature on each presidential administration through bibliometric analysis using VOSviewer Software. (key dimensions are in Bahasa/Indonesian Language).



5. Analyzing the scholar's point of view using the most frequently used overall keywords across the entire period of the seven presidential administrations. (in the analysis we translate the key dimensions in Bahasa/Indonesian Language).

The design is then framed within Jürgen Habermas's theory of the public sphere, positioning academic literature as a critical arena for rational-critical debate on public issues.

#### 4. Results and Discussion

The literature produced by scholars over time contributes to the legal culture and serves as a mechanism for community control over corruption crimes in Indonesia. The focus of our study is on the perspectives of Indonesian scholars regarding corruption. Using bibliometric analysis, we map the research conducted by Indonesian scholars on corruption between 1945 and 2024, covering the terms of seven presidents who have governed Indonesia since its independence. By examining the keywords used in Indonesian scholarly literature on corruption, we analyze the common themes and perspectives that emerge from 1,089 works studied by Indonesian scholars on corruption crimes. This allows us to identify the trends that Indonesian scholars continue to emphasize in relation to corruption crimes in Indonesia over time.

In this discourse, the scholarly investigation will scrutinize the primary focus of research conducted during the seven terms of the Indonesian President through bibliometric analysis.

##### 4.1. President Soekarno's Tenure (1945–1967)

Soekarno held the position of the First President of Indonesia from August 18, 1945, to March 12, 1967, which amounted to nearly 22 years. Assisting him as Vice President was Mohammad Hatta, who served from March 18, 1945, to December 1, 1956. The political landscape throughout President Soekarno's era was defined by significant power dynamics and shifts. Notably, Soekarno's presidency was characterized by political instability, with the transfer of power from Soekarno to Soeharto symbolized by Surat Perintah 11 Maret (Budita, 2023). Extensive research has explored the political power structures during the Guided Democracy period (1959-1965), highlighting the roles of President Soekarno, the Indonesian Army (TNI-AD), and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) (Hati & Ginting, 2022). Under Soekarno's guidance, this era witnessed the emergence of a confrontational Indonesian foreign policy (Hidayatullah, 2022).



**Figure 2. The Network Visualization of the Co-citation of the Paper on Corruption Issues During President Soekarno Reign**



## Analysis

**Cluster 1: Core Issues of Corruption (Red)** consist of: **Bribery:** This cluster examines the role of bribery as a form of corruption during Soekarno's presidency. It focuses on how bribery facilitated illicit transactions and influenced political and economic decisions. **Other Serious Criminal Acts:** This cluster includes a range of corrupt practices beyond bribery, such as embezzlement, fraud, and abuse of power. It indicates a broader spectrum of corruption issues. **The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia:** This cluster analyzes how the constitutional framework either addressed or failed to address corruption. It examines legal gaps and enforcement issues.

**Trend:** Cluster 1 focuses on the fundamental aspects of corruption, including key criminal activities and the role of legal frameworks. It reflects a deep dive into understanding the nature of corruption and how it was facilitated by both individual acts and systemic issues within the legal structure.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars were concerned with dissecting the mechanisms of corruption and evaluating the effectiveness of constitutional and legal measures in addressing these issues. This cluster indicates an interest in both the direct corrupt practices and the structural elements that influenced their prevalence.

**Cluster 2: Investigative and Temporal Aspects (Green)** consists of: **Specific Years:** This cluster focuses on particular time periods within Soekarno's presidency when corruption was notably prevalent or underwent significant changes. It provides insight into how political and economic contexts affected corruption. **Information Related to Investigations:** This cluster covers efforts to investigate corruption cases, including methodologies, challenges, and outcomes. It highlights the effectiveness of anti-corruption measures and institutional responses.

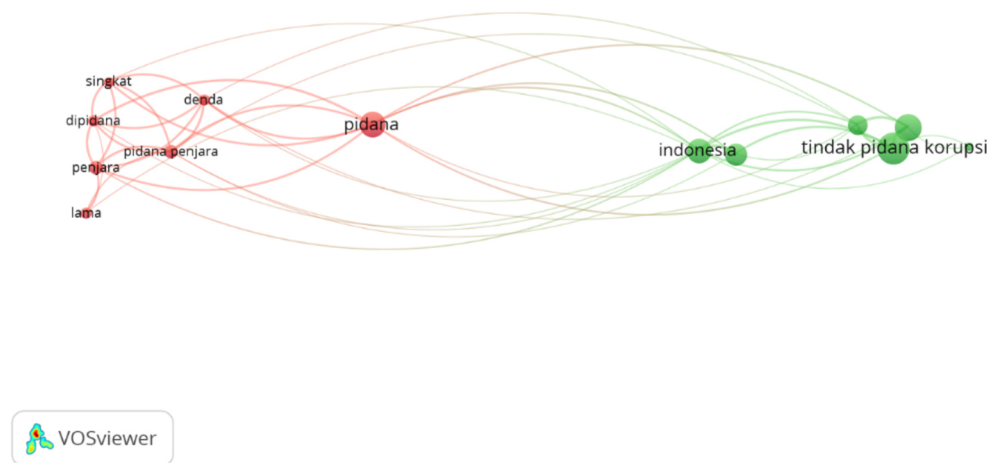
**Trend:** Cluster 2 emphasizes the temporal and investigative dimensions of corruption. It shows how the focus on specific years and investigative efforts contributes to understanding the evolution and handling of corruption over time.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars aimed to contextualize corruption within specific time frames and evaluate the efforts made to investigate and address it. This reflects an interest in understanding how corruption evolved and how effectively it was managed during different periods of Soekarno's presidency.

### 4.2. President Soeharto (1968–1998)

President Soeharto (1968–1998) assumed the position of the second President of the Republic of Indonesia, succeeding President Soekarno, during the transition from the Old Order to the New Order era. President Soeharto holds the record for the longest presidential tenure, serving for five terms spanning 30 years. His presidency commenced on March 27, 1968, and concluded on May 21, 1998. Notable individuals who served as Soeharto's Vice Presidents include: Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX (March 24, 1973–March 23, 1978) during the first term, Adam Malik (March 23, 1978–March 11, 1983) during the second term, Umar Wirahadikusumah (March 11, 1983–March 11, 1988) during the third term, Soedharmono (March 11, 1988–March 11, 1993) during the fourth term, and Try Sutrisno (March 11, 1993–March 11, 1998) during the sixth term. Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie served as Soeharto's seventh Vice President from March 11, 1988, until May 21, 1998. President Soeharto's government was characterized by a consolidation of power and a centralized governance structure. The New Order regime, which spanned over three decades,

prioritized national stability and economic development as its key policies (Rosidi, 2022). Consequently, the government under Soeharto embraced modernization theory, focusing on economic advancement through increased investments and technological progress in the fields of industry and agriculture (Astuti, 2023).



**Figure 3. The Network Visualization of the Co-citation of the Paper on Corruption Issues During President Soeharto (1968–1998) Reign**

### Analysis

**Cluster 1: Penal and Judicial Aspects (Red)**, consist of: Fine: Refers to monetary penalties imposed for corruption.

Convicted: Focuses on individuals who were found guilty of corruption. Length: Likely pertains to the duration of legal processes or sentences. Imprisonment: Discusses imprisonment related to corruption convictions. Criminal: Relates to the nature of the criminal acts involved. Imprisonment (repeated): Emphasizes imprisonment again, highlighting its significance. Short: Likely refers to shorter sentences or brief cases.

**Trend:** Cluster 1 highlights the focus on judicial and penal measures associated with corruption. The literature in this cluster examines various aspects of legal responses to corruption, including the imposition of fines, conviction rates, the length of legal processes, and imprisonment. The repetition of “Imprisonment” underscores its central role in discussions about handling corruption.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars focused on understanding how the legal system addressed corruption through different types of penalties and sentencing. The detailed examination of imprisonment and fines indicates an interest in evaluating the effectiveness and consistency of judicial responses to corruption during Soeharto’s presidency.

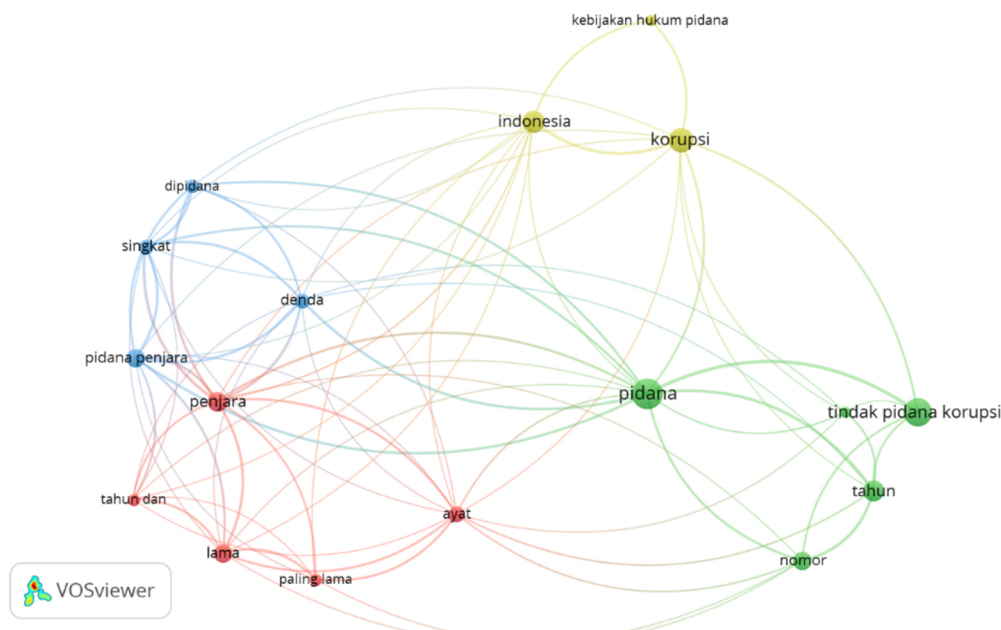
**Cluster 2: Contextual and Legal Framework (Green)**, consist of: Indonesia: Refers to the geographical and political context. K.Pid: Likely refers to Indonesian criminal procedure codes or specific legal frameworks. Corruption: General discussions on corruption within Indonesia. Year: Provides temporal context relevant to the studies or cases. Criminal Act: Examines the classification and definition of criminal acts related to corruption. Corruption (repeated): Emphasizes corruption as a central theme.

**Trend:** Cluster 2 focuses on the broader context and legal frameworks surrounding corruption. It includes discussions on the political and legal environment in Indonesia, the specific legal codes or frameworks in place, and the general characteristics of corruption.

**Scholarly Point ofView:** Scholars in this cluster were interested in understanding how corruption was contextualized within Indonesia’s legal and political framework. The emphasis on legal codes (K.Pid) and the political context reflects a desire to analyze how the broader environment influenced and shaped the handling of corruption.

#### 4.3. President Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie (1998-1999)

Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie served as the third President of the Republic of Indonesia. In 1998, following a successful reform movement led by Indonesian students, President Soeharto was overthrown and his Vice President, Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie, assumed the presidency. Habibie’s office term span from May 21, 1998, to October 20, 1999. During his tenure, he formed the Development Reform Cabinet (May 23, 1998–October 20, 1999). Habibie’s presidency lasted for a duration of one year and five months. President B.J. Habibie’s presidency was marked by significant political events, notably the decentralization policy that ignited political forces leading to the separation and independence of East Timor from Indonesia in 1999 (Daimon-Sato, 2021). During his presidency, there was unprecedented scrutiny from the press, uncovering scandals that would have been overlooked during the Suharto era, indicating a shift towards a more transparent and open political environment under Habibie’s leadership (Steele, 2012). These factors contributed to shaping the political landscape during President B.J. Habibie’s tenure.



**Figure 4. The Network Visualization of the Co-citation of the Paper on Corruption Issues During President Soeharto (1968–1998) Reign**

#### Analysis

**Cluster 1:** Procedural and Temporal Aspects (Red), consist of: Articles: Refers to scholarly articles or publications discussing corruption. Length: Likely pertains to the length of articles, legal processes, or corruption cases. Longest: Could indicate the longest cases, articles, or discussions related to corruption. Prison: Discusses imprisonment related to corruption convictions. Year: Provides the temporal context relevant to the studies or corruption cases.

**Trend:** Cluster 1 emphasizes the procedural and temporal dimensions of corruption studies. It reflects a focus on documenting corruption cases, the duration of legal processes or articles, and the role of imprisonment. The inclusion of “year” suggests an interest in the timing and historical context of corruption cases and scholarly work.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars were concerned with the length and depth of discussions and analyses related to corruption, as well as the temporal context of corruption cases. This cluster highlights the academic interest in understanding how corruption was addressed over time and the impact of imprisonment as a response to corruption.

**Cluster 2:** Legal and Statistical Framework (Green), consist of: Number: Refers to numerical data related to corruption cases or publications. Criminal: Focuses on the criminal nature of the acts involved in corruption. Year: Provides the temporal context of corruption cases or studies. Corruption Crime: Discusses specific crimes related to corruption. The Law of the Republic of Indonesia: Examines legal frameworks and laws related to corruption.

**Trend:** Cluster 2 focuses on the legal and statistical aspects of corruption. It includes discussions on numerical data, specific criminal acts, and legal frameworks. This cluster reflects an emphasis on understanding the legal context and quantifying aspects of corruption.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars aimed to analyze the legal and statistical dimensions of corruption, focusing on how specific laws and numerical data related to corruption crimes were handled. The inclusion of “year” also suggests an interest in the evolution of legal frameworks and their impact over time.

**Cluster 3:** Penal and Conviction Aspects (Blue), consist of: Fine: Refers to monetary penalties imposed for corruption. Convicted: Focuses on individuals who were found guilty of corruption. Prison: Discusses imprisonment related to corruption convictions. Short: Likely refers to brief sentences or concise cases.

**Trend:** Cluster 3 centers on penal and conviction aspects, including fines, convictions, imprisonment, and the duration of sentences. This cluster highlights the focus on the legal penalties and sentences associated with corruption.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars were interested in evaluating the effectiveness and impact of various penal measures, including fines and imprisonment. The focus on both short and lengthy sentences indicates an interest in how different types of penalties influenced the handling of corruption cases.

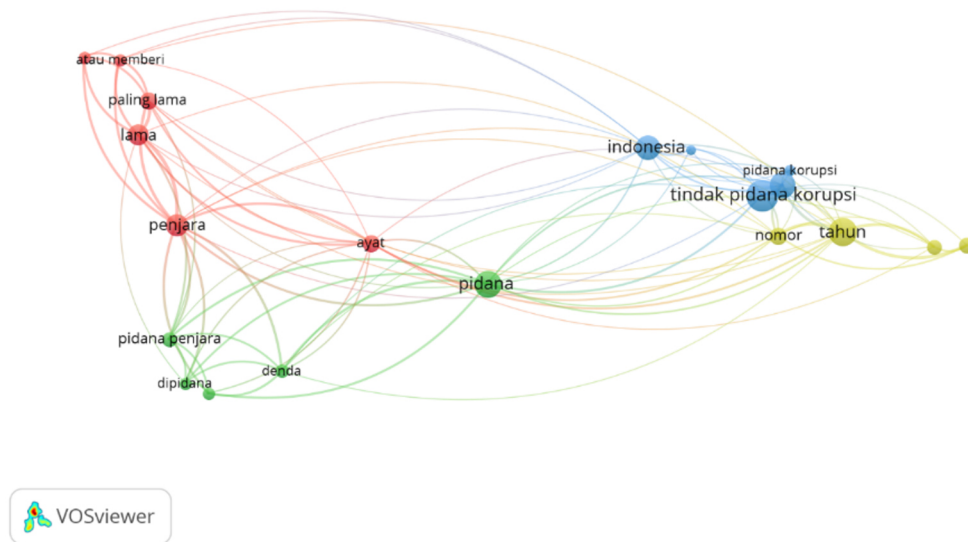
**Cluster 4:** Contextual and Policy Aspects (Yellow), consist of: Indonesia: Refers to the geographical and political context of the studies. Criminal Law Policy: Discusses policies related to criminal law and their impact on corruption. Corruption: General discussions on corruption within Indonesia.

**Trend:** Cluster 4 emphasizes the broader contextual and policy aspects of corruption. It includes discussions on criminal law policies and the general characteristics of corruption within Indonesia.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars sought to understand corruption within the broader political and legal context, including how specific policies and the overall environment influenced corruption. This cluster reflects an interest in the systemic factors that affected corruption and its management.

#### 4.4. President KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (1999–2001)

KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, commonly known as Gus Dur, served as the fourth President of the Republic of Indonesia from October 20, 1999 to July 23, 2001. His term lasted for one year and nine months, during which he led the National Unity Cabinet. Wahid's vice president was Megawati Soekarnoputri, who also served during the same period. Gus Dur's leadership was notable for its unique combination of religious influence and political challenges. As a prominent figure within the traditionalist Islamic organization Nahdlatul Ulama, his governing style and impact on Indonesia were heavily shaped by his religious background (Franklin, 2024). Despite his relatively short time in office, Wahid's influence continued to be felt even after his passing in 2009, leaving a lasting legacy on Indonesia's development in a positive manner (Franklin, 2024).



**Figure 5. The Network Visualization of the Co-citation of the Paper on Corruption Issues During President KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (1999–2001)**

#### Analysis

**Cluster 1:** Procedural and Penalty Aspects (Red), consist of: Offer: Likely refers to the context or mechanisms of bribery or illicit offers related to corruption. Verse: May refer to legal or religious texts related to corruption, suggesting an integration of normative or ethical perspectives. Reference to the Verse: Indicates citations or discussions of specific texts or references in the context of corruption. Lengthy: Refers to the length of legal documents, cases, or discussions related to corruption. Longest: Likely pertains to the longest cases, sentences, or discussions. Imprisonment: Discusses imprisonment as a penalty for corruption.

**Trend:** Cluster 1 focuses on procedural aspects, the length and nature of legal discussions or cases, and the role of imprisonment. It reflects an interest in the detailed procedural elements and the ethical or normative references used in discussing corruption.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars in this cluster were interested in the procedural and ethical dimensions of corruption, examining how different types of cases and penalties were handled. The integration of normative texts suggests a focus on how ethical or legal frameworks influenced the understanding and management of corruption.

**Cluster 2:** Legal and Penal Framework (Green) consists of: Fine: Refers to monetary penalties imposed for corruption. Conviction: Focuses on individuals convicted of corruption. Criminal: Discusses the criminal nature of acts related to corruption. Incarceration: Refers to imprisonment as a penalty for corruption. Brief: Likely pertains to shorter cases or sentences related to corruption.

**Trend:** Cluster 2 emphasizes the legal and penal aspects of corruption, including fines, convictions, incarceration, and the duration of sentences. This cluster indicates a focus on the effectiveness and nature of legal responses to corruption.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars were concerned with evaluating the legal penalties and convictions associated with corruption. This cluster reflects an interest in understanding how different legal responses, including fines and incarceration, were applied and their impact on addressing corruption.

**Cluster 3:** Contextual and Policy Aspects (Blue), consist of: Indonesia: Refers to the geographical and political context of the studies. Criminal Law Policy: Discusses policies related to criminal law and their impact on corruption. Corruption: General discussions on corruption within Indonesia. Criminal Act: Examines the classification and nature of criminal acts related to corruption. Corruption (repeated): Emphasizes corruption as a central theme.

**Trend:** Cluster 3 focuses on the broader contextual and policy aspects of corruption. It includes discussions on criminal law policies, the nature of corruption, and the impact of these factors within the Indonesian context.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars aimed to understand corruption within the broader socio-political and legal context. This cluster reflects an interest in how criminal law policies and the general environment influenced corruption and its management.

**Cluster 4:** Statistical and Temporal Aspects (Yellow), consist of: Number: Refers to numerical data related to corruption cases or studies. Year: Provides temporal context relevant to corruption cases or studies. Pertaining to Corruption Eradication: Discusses efforts and measures related to eradicating corruption. Law Number: Refers to specific laws or legal provisions related to corruption.

**Trend:** Cluster 4 emphasizes statistical and temporal aspects, including numerical data, specific years, and laws related to corruption. This cluster reflects a focus on understanding the quantitative and temporal dimensions of corruption.

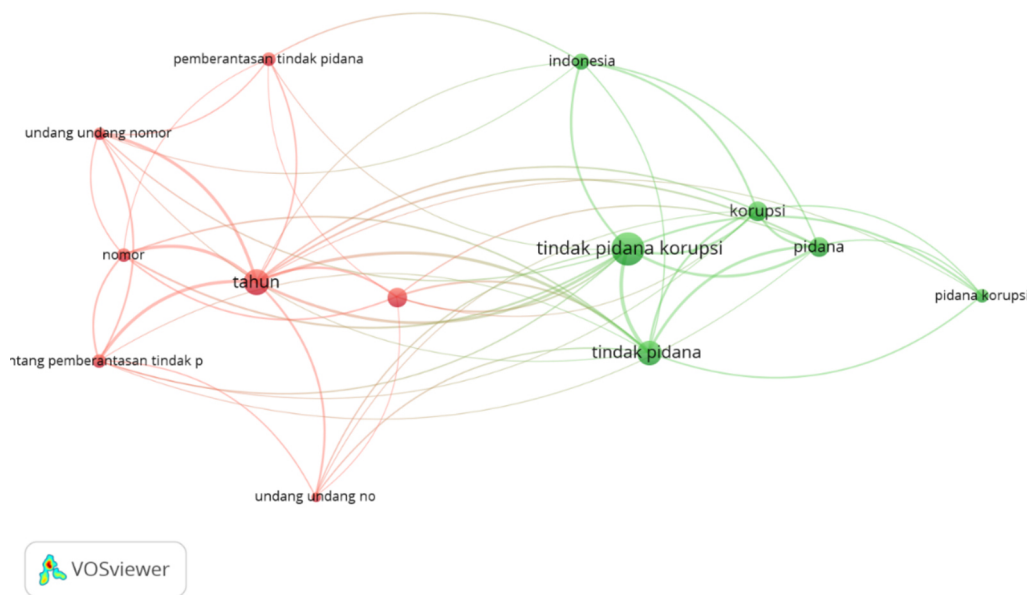
**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars in this cluster were interested in analyzing numerical data, the timing of corruption cases, and the legal frameworks for corruption eradication. This approach highlights a desire to quantify and contextualize corruption within specific legal and temporal frameworks.

#### 4.5. President Megawati Soekarnoputri (2001–2004)

President Megawati Soekarnoputri is the fifth President of the Republic of Indonesia, having served from July 23, 2001, to October 20, 2004, for a total of three years and three months. During her presidency, she was accompanied by Vice President Hamzah Haz from July 23 to October 20, 2004. The cabinet under her leadership was known as the Gotong Royong Cabinet, which was in office from August 10, 2001, to October 20, 2004. President Megawati held a prominent position in Indonesian politics, particularly as the leader of the Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle (PDI-P) (Ahlstrand, 2021). She played a crucial role in the party's institutionalization and its resilience within the Indonesian electoral democracy (Agustino et al., 2023). Notably, her leadership was characterized by a strong



display of power, as evident in her political speeches and party leadership (Pratiwi & Rahmawati, 2023). Furthermore, Megawati's political trajectory and performance as a female opposition leader have been subject to analysis in the context of Indonesian politics (Choi, 2023). The post-Megawati era in Indonesian politics has witnessed significant changes in gender inclusion, with a deeper consideration of female candidates and increased participation of women in political campaigns (Lalu & Nurdiansyah, 2024). Moreover, Megawati has been perceived in various ways, including as a representative of the common people (Kusumo & Hurriyah, 2018). Research has demonstrated that, despite her brief presidency, she effectively managed and navigated through multiple multidimensional crises faced by Indonesia.



**Figure 6. The Network Visualization of the Co-citation of the Paper on Corruption Issues During President Megawati Soekarnoputri (2001–2004)**

### Analysis

**Cluster 1:** Legal and Eradication Framework (Red), consist of: Number: Refers to quantitative data or scholarly articles related to corruption cases. Eradication of Criminal Acts: Discusses efforts to eliminate criminal activities, including corruption. Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption: Focuses specifically on efforts to combat corruption. Year: Provides temporal context relevant to the studies or actions discussed. About the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption: Refers to general discussions or overviews of eradication efforts. Law: Examines legal frameworks and statutes related to corruption. Law Number: Refers to specific legal provisions or numbers related to anti-corruption efforts.

**Trend:** Cluster 1 emphasizes the legal framework and eradication efforts related to corruption. It includes discussions on laws, specific legal provisions, and efforts to eliminate criminal acts of corruption. The inclusion of “number” and “year” suggests an interest in quantitative data and the historical context of anti-corruption measures.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars focused on the legal and procedural aspects of combating corruption, including the effectiveness of laws and specific eradication efforts.



This cluster reflects an academic interest in how legal frameworks and anti-corruption measures were applied during Megawati Soekarnoputri's presidency.

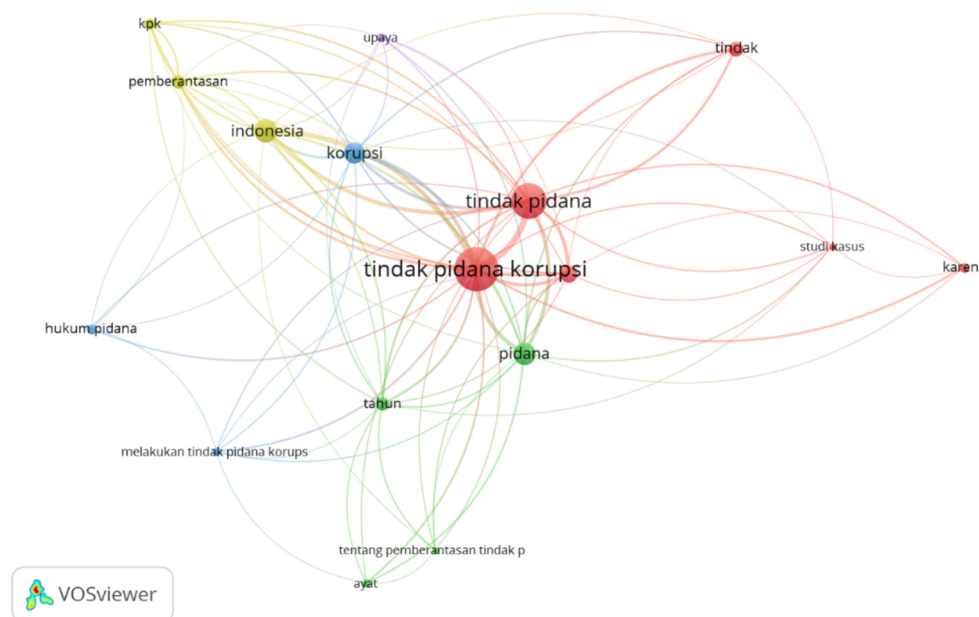
**Cluster 2:** General Context of Corruption (Green), consist of: Indonesia: Refers to the geographical and political context of the studies. Corruption: General discussions on corruption within Indonesia. Criminal: Examines the criminal nature of corruption-related activities. Criminal Corruption: Focuses on corruption as a criminal activity. Criminal Acts: Discusses various criminal acts, including corruption. Criminal Acts of Corruption: Specifically targets criminal acts that involve corruption.

**Trend:** Cluster 2 focuses on the broader context of corruption, including its nature as a criminal activity and its impact within Indonesia. This cluster highlights the general discussions on corruption, its classification as a criminal act, and the impact on Indonesian society and governance.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars were interested in understanding corruption within a broader socio-political context, examining how corruption was classified, its impact, and how it was perceived within Indonesian society. This reflects an academic focus on the general characteristics and implications of corruption.

#### 4.6. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004–2014)

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the sixth President of the Republic of Indonesia, held this position for a decade, from October 20, 2004 to October 20, 2014. During his first term, he was accompanied by Vice President Muhammad Jusuf Kalla, who served from October 20, 2004 to October 20, 2009. In his second term, Vice President Boediono served alongside him from October 20, 2009 to October 20, 2014. The cabinet under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was known as United Indonesia Cabinet I (October 21, 2004 to October 20, 2009) and United Indonesia Cabinet II (October 22, 2014 to October 22, 2014). The election victory of retired three-star General Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2004 greatly contributed to the restoration of domestic stability and a renewed sense of political direction in Jakarta (Emmers, 2014).



**Figure 7. The Network Visualization of the Co-citation of the Paper on Corruption Issues During President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004–2014)**

## Analysis

**Cluster 1:** Corruption and Case Studies (Red), consist of: Cause: Examines the underlying reasons and factors contributing to corruption. Corruption: General discussions on corruption, its nature, and impact. Case Study: Specific instances or examples of corruption investigated in detail. Legislation: Refers to laws and regulations related to corruption. Criminal Activity: Focuses on the criminal aspects of corruption. Corruption (repeated): Emphasizes corruption as a central theme.

**Trend:** Cluster 1 addresses various aspects of corruption, including its causes, impacts, and specific case studies. It also highlights the role of legislation in combating corruption.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars were focused on understanding the multifaceted nature of corruption, including its causes, the legislative framework, and detailed case studies. This cluster reflects an interest in both theoretical and practical aspects of corruption, including the application of laws and detailed analyses of corruption cases.

**Cluster 2:** Articles and Eradication Efforts (Green), consist of: Articles: Refers to academic papers and publications on corruption. Criminality: Discusses the criminal nature of corruption and related activities. Year: Provides temporal context relevant to the studies. Eradication of Corruption: Focuses on efforts and strategies to combat corruption.

**Trend:** Cluster 2 emphasizes the academic output related to corruption, its criminal aspects, and the efforts made to eradicate it. The inclusion of “year” suggests an interest in the timing and evolution of anti-corruption measures.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars were engaged in producing and analyzing academic literature on corruption, focusing on its criminal nature and the effectiveness of eradication efforts. This cluster reflects an interest in the chronological development of anti-corruption measures and the impact of academic research on addressing corruption.

**Cluster 3:** Criminal Law and Corruption (Blue), consist of: Criminal Law: Discusses legal frameworks and criminal law as it pertains to corruption. Corruption: General discussions on corruption. Committing Corruption: Focuses on the act of committing corruption and its implications.

**Trend:** Cluster 3 centers on the intersection of criminal law and corruption. It examines how criminal law addresses corruption and the implications of committing corruption.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars focused on the legal aspects of corruption, including how criminal law addresses and prosecutes corrupt activities. This cluster highlights an interest in the legal framework and its effectiveness in handling corruption.

**Cluster 4:** Institutional and Eradication Framework (Yellow), consist of: Indonesia: Refers to the geographical and political context. Corruption Eradication Commission: Focuses on the role and activities of Indonesia’s Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). Eradication: Discusses efforts and strategies for eradicating corruption.

**Trend:** Cluster 4 emphasizes institutional efforts and frameworks for corruption eradication, particularly focusing on the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and its role in combating corruption.

**Scholarly Point of View:** Scholars were interested in the institutional mechanisms for addressing corruption, with a specific focus on the KPK. This cluster reflects an academic interest in evaluating the effectiveness and activities of key anti-corruption institutions.

**Cluster 5:** Efforts (Purple), consist of: Efforts: Refers to various initiatives and efforts aimed at combating corruption.

**Trend:** Cluster 5 is singular but focuses on the broader concept of efforts made to tackle corruption, suggesting an interest in evaluating different approaches and strategies.

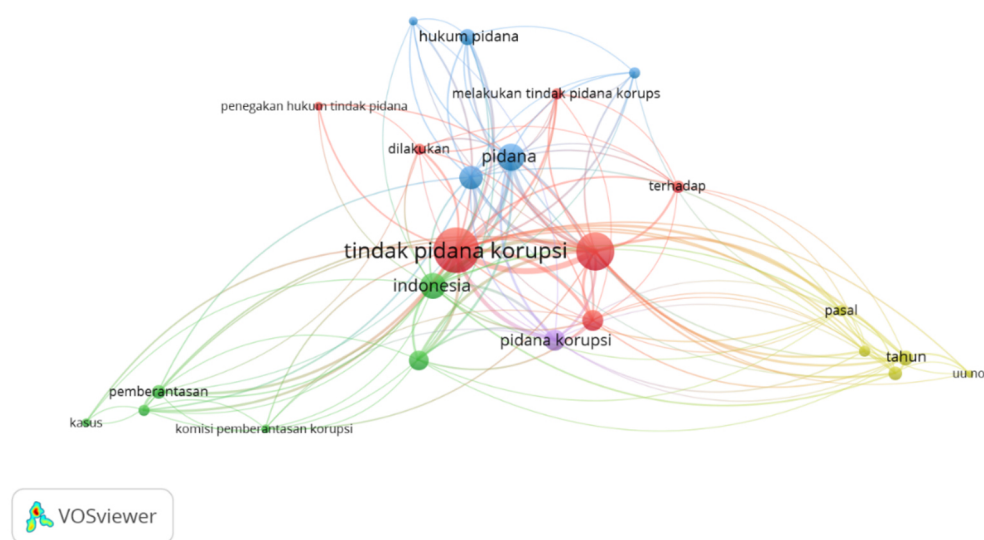
**Scholarly Point of View:** The focus on “efforts” highlights an interest in understanding and assessing the different initiatives and strategies employed to address corruption, reflecting a practical perspective on combating the issue.

#### 4.7. President Joko Widodo (2014–2024)

President Joko Widodo is the seventh President of the Republic of Indonesia. He has served two terms as President, from October 20, 2014 to October 2024. In his first term, his Vice President was Muhammad Jusuf Kalla, who served from October 20, 2014 to October 20, 2019. In his second term, his Vice President was Ma'ruf Amin, who served from October 20, 2019 to October 2024.

During his leadership, President Joko Widodo has fostered a rise in nationalist sentiment in Indonesia. There has been a particular focus on rejecting foreign interference and asserting Indonesia's power and status on the global stage (Putri, 2023). His foreign policy agenda from 2014 to 2019 emphasized security, economic and maritime diplomacy, and cooperation within ASEAN. He also expanded Indonesia's foreign policy towards East Asia (Setiawati & Roziqin, 2024).

President Joko Widodo's approach to governance has been described as conservative, nationalistic, and pragmatic. He places a strong emphasis on economic development and infrastructure projects (Karim & Yudha, 2021). His administration has faced several challenges, including the controversial decision to relocate the Indonesian capital city to East Kalimantan, which has sparked diverse opinions and discussions (Kadewandana & Cahyadi Putra, 2023).



**Figure 8. The Network Visualization of the Co-citation of the Paper on Corruption Issues During President Joko Widodo (2014–2024)**

#### Analysis

**Cluster 1: Law Enforcement and Corruption (Red),** consist of: Carried Out: Refers to actions taken in response to corruption. Corruption: General discussions on corruption. Carrying Out Corruption: Examines the act of committing corruption. Law Enforcement of Corruption: Focuses on how law enforcement addresses corruption. Against: Likely refers to

measures taken against corruption. Criminal Acts: Discusses criminal activities related to corruption. Corruption (repeated): Emphasizes corruption as a central theme.

**Trend:** Cluster 1 centers on the actions, enforcement, and legal aspects of addressing corruption. It includes a focus on how corruption is carried out, how it is enforced against, and the criminal nature of such acts.

**Scholarly Point ofView:** Scholars in this cluster are interested in the practical aspects of combating corruption, including how laws are enforced, how corruption is executed, and the criminality associated with it. The emphasis is on evaluating the effectiveness of enforcement and legal responses to corruption.

**Cluster 2:** Institutional Framework and Eradication (Green), consist of: Indonesia: Refers to the broader geographical and political context. Case: Specific instances or examples of corruption. Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK): Focuses on the role and activities of the KPK. Eradication: General discussions on the eradication of corruption. Eradication of Corruption: Specific focus on efforts to eliminate corruption.

**Trend:** Cluster 2 emphasizes the institutional framework for addressing corruption, particularly the role of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), and overall eradication efforts.

**Scholarly Point ofView:** Scholars are examining the role of key institutions like the KPK in combating corruption. There is a focus on the effectiveness of institutional efforts and strategies for corruption eradication, highlighting the importance of institutional frameworks in addressing the issue.

**Cluster 3:** Legal and Penal Aspects (Blue), consist of: In Corruption: Likely refers to contexts or cases of corruption. Criminal Law: Examines the legal framework addressing corruption. Prosecutor: Focuses on the role of prosecutors in handling corruption cases. Criminal: Discusses criminal aspects related to corruption. Death Penalty: Refers to the use of the death penalty in corruption-related cases.

**Trend:** Cluster 3 focuses on the legal and penal aspects of corruption, including the criminal law framework, the role of prosecutors, and extreme measures like the death penalty.

**Scholarly Point ofView:** Scholars are analyzing how criminal law addresses corruption, including the roles of legal professionals and the application of severe penalties. This cluster reflects a concern with the legal processes and punishments associated with corruption.

**Cluster 4:** Data and Legislative Details (Yellow), consist of: Number: Refers to quantitative data related to corruption. Article: Focuses on specific legal articles or provisions. Year: Provides temporal context relevant to the studies. Regarding the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption: Focuses on the legal framework and efforts to eradicate corruption. Law Number: Refers to specific legal provisions or statutes.

**Trend:** Cluster 4 deals with data and legislative specifics, including quantitative data, legal articles, and temporal aspects. It highlights the focus on understanding the legislative framework and its impact on corruption eradication.

**Scholarly Point ofView:** Scholars are interested in the specifics of legal provisions and data related to corruption. This cluster reflects an academic focus on the detailed aspects of legislation and the effectiveness of various legal measures.

**Cluster 5:** Singular Focus on Criminal Corruption (Purple), consist of: Criminal Corruption: Focuses specifically on the nature of corruption as a criminal activity.

**Trend:** Cluster 5 is singular but emphasizes the criminal nature of corruption, suggesting a targeted examination of corruption as a criminal act.

**Scholarly Point of View:** The focus on criminal corruption indicates an interest in understanding the criminality of corruption itself, possibly highlighting the legal and moral dimensions of corrupt acts.

#### **4.8. Overall Academic Trends and Scholarly Perspectives on Corruption**

The scholarly literature on corruption in Indonesia, spanning various presidential administrations, provides a nuanced and evolving view of the issue. Here's a consolidated conclusion based on the trends and scholarly points of view observed across different presidencies:

##### **4.8.1. Systemic Understanding and Evolution**

Across different administrations, there is a consistent academic focus on understanding corruption as a systemic issue with deep-rooted causes and wide-ranging impacts. Scholars have explored corruption from multiple dimensions—its mechanisms, legal frameworks, and institutional responses. This systemic approach reflects a recognition of corruption as a pervasive problem that requires comprehensive strategies for effective management.

Sukarno Era: Early literature emphasized the systemic nature of corruption, focusing on bribery, criminal acts, and constitutional issues. Soeharto Era: The focus shifted towards the practical aspects of enforcement and legislative details, highlighting the scale and impact of corruption during the New Order era. Habibie Era: The literature was concentrated on legal frameworks and case-specific analyses, reflecting a period of transition and reform. Wahid Era: Research focused on the role of religious and moral perspectives in combating corruption, alongside institutional efforts and legal frameworks. Megawati Era: Academic attention was given to the eradication efforts and legislative specifics, with a notable peak in publications around significant anti-corruption measures. Yudhoyono Era: Scholars examined detailed case studies, legal frameworks, and institutional efforts, emphasizing the practical application of anti-corruption strategies. Widodo Era: The literature covered law enforcement, institutional roles, and legislative details, indicating a focus on evaluating the effectiveness of current anti-corruption measures.

A prominent trend across administrations is the emphasis on legal and institutional frameworks for addressing corruption. Scholars have scrutinized the effectiveness of various laws, institutions like the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), and the implementation of anti-corruption measures. There is a consistent focus on how legal provisions and reforms address corruption, with detailed analyses of specific laws and their impact. The role and effectiveness of key institutions in combating corruption have been a recurring theme, reflecting an interest in institutional responses and reforms.

Another significant trend is the use of empirical analysis and case studies to understand corruption. This includes examining specific corruption cases, the effectiveness of anti-corruption measures, and the impact of legislative and institutional frameworks. Detailed investigations into specific instances of corruption provide insights into the practical challenges and outcomes of anti-corruption efforts. Scholars have utilized quantitative data to assess the scope and impact of corruption, reflecting an interest in evidence-based evaluations.

The timing of scholarly publications often correlates with significant political and institutional developments. Peaks in academic output generally align with periods of reform,

high-profile corruption cases, or changes in leadership. Periods of heightened scholarly activity reflect ongoing reforms, political transitions, and major anti-corruption initiatives.

Literature provides both theoretical and practical insights into corruption, balancing discussions of its systemic nature with evaluations of practical measures and institutional responses. Scholars aim to bridge the gap between theoretical understanding and practical application, offering recommendations for improving anti-corruption strategies.

Overall, the academic literature on corruption in Indonesia reveals a dynamic and evolving understanding of the issue. Scholars have consistently focused on systemic aspects of corruption, the effectiveness of legal and institutional frameworks, and empirical analyses of specific cases. The literature reflects deep engagement with both theoretical and practical dimensions of corruption, driven by ongoing reforms and significant political developments. This comprehensive approach underscores the complexity of corruption and the need for multifaceted strategies to address it effectively.

#### 4.8.2. Introduction to Jürgen Habermas's Public Sphere Theory

The public sphere theory developed by Jürgen Habermas in his 1962 work, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, is an important analytical framework for understanding the dynamics of interaction between public discourse and political power. Habermas describes the public sphere as an arena where rational individuals gather to discuss public issues, form collective opinions, and influence state policy (Habermas et al., 1974). This concept emerged during the development of bourgeois society in 18th-century Europe, with coffee houses, salons, and newspapers serving as sites for the free exchange of ideas, independent of state influence (Leclercq, 2018). In this context, the public sphere functioned as a mechanism of social control over power, enabling educated citizens to criticize the government and promote accountability (Murphy & Moerman, 2018).

Habermas argues that an ideal public sphere must be free from economic and political domination, with arguments built upon facts and open dialogue, not manipulation or private interests (Habermas et al., 1974). He distinguishes between a “pure” liberal public sphere and forms distorted by capitalism and state intervention. He criticizes the practice of “refeudalization,” which occurs when mass media and commercial advertising transform public discussion into a form of passive consumption rather than active participation (Goktepe, 2018). In the Indonesian context, the analysis of corruption can be viewed as a representation of the evolution of the public sphere, reflecting political, legal, and social changes over time (Murphy & Moerman, 2018).

From a Habermasian perspective, academic discussions on corruption by Indonesian scholars constitute an integral part of the modern public sphere. Scholars act as critical actors who promote rational dialogue concerning public issues. The issue of corruption, which is closely related to state power and accountability, is a highly relevant theme for analysis through the lens of the public sphere (Murphy & Moerman, 2018). Habermas contends that the public sphere functions not only to form opinion but also to transform social structures, enabling criticism of institutions perceived as corrupt (Habermas et al., 1974).

Indonesian scholars function as a bridge between society and the state. Through scientific publications, they critique corrupt practices that have occurred across various leadership eras (Buschman, 2006). Bibliometric analysis indicates that the focus of research related to corruption law and policy shifts alongside changes in political power, indicating an evolution of the public sphere responsive to existing challenges (Patel et al., 2025). However, during



the New Order era, many discussions on this topic were constrained by government control, thereby creating a more passive condition within the public sphere (Widdersheim, 2015).

Habermas highlights how the state can colonize the public sphere through censorship and manipulation. In the Indonesian context, although the New Order era restricted academic discussion, scholars continued to produce literature explaining the legal and contextual aspects of corruption (Branet & Hategan, 2024). This demonstrates an effort to maintain critical elements within the public sphere despite distorted conditions. Data from Transparency International shows stagnation in Indonesia's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), which can be interpreted through a Habermasian lens as a sign of public failure to drive the expected structural change through academic discourse (Lewis & Hendrawan, 2020).

#### 4.8.3. Analysis of Public Sphere Dynamics Based on Presidential Eras

The bibliometric analysis presented in this research provides a comprehensive overview of how the public sphere in Indonesia has changed across different leadership periods, from Sukarno to Jokowi. Each leadership transition reflects changes in the structure and character of the public space (Asomah, 2025).

##### **Sukarno Era (1945–1967): Focus on Constitution**

From a Habermasian viewpoint, early discussions on law and power were crucial in the formation of the post-independence public sphere. The research focuses on constitutional issues and integrity implies an effort to build rational dialogue amidst political tensions (Murphy & Moerman, 2018). However, significant political influence remained evident in the limitations of that public sphere.

##### **Suharto Era (1968–1998): Distortion and Suppression**

During the authoritarian regime, academic discussion was often distorted by the need for power legitimization. Although criticism of corruption existed, the focus on technical aspects reduced the potential for broader structural critique (Junaedi, 2020). Furthermore, the attention to law enforcement and the context of corruption reflects the complex transformation of the public sphere during this period (Widdersheim, 2015).

##### **Post-Suharto Reformation Era: Restoration of the Public Sphere**

Post-Suharto, there was a renewal of the public sphere marked by increased discussion on law and transparency (Au, 2020). Scholars began to focus on procedural aspects and corruption data, reinforcing Habermas's theory of a more open and socially responsive public sphere.

## **5. Conclusion**

This analysis shows that the evolution of the public sphere in Indonesia is closely linked to political and social shifts. Although the contribution of scholars in maintaining critical elements within the public sphere is essential, challenges persist, particularly related to the stagnation in the Corruption Perceptions Index, which indicates that academic dialogue has not yet fully driven the desired structural reforms (Dwijayani et al., 2023). Habermas's theory reminds us that to achieve an ideal public sphere, broader participation from all societal elements and continuous reform are required.

This bibliometric analysis of Indonesian scholarly discussions on corruption from 1945 to 2024 reveals an evolution in research focus that correlates with presidential leadership



transitions. The study began with constitutional and systemic aspects during Sukarno's era, subsequently shifting towards law enforcement, institutional frameworks, and eradication efforts in subsequent periods. The peak of scholarly literature production occurred during the post-Suharto Reformation era, reflecting a more open public sphere. However, Indonesia's stagnation in the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) indicates that academic discourse has not fully driven the expected structural reforms. Applying Habermas's public sphere theory reveals how scholarly literature functions as an arena for rational dialogue, often distorted by political control, particularly during the New Order era.

Theoretically, this research reinforces Habermas's theory by elucidating the transformation of Indonesia's public sphere from a restricted to a more inclusive domain, wherein scholars act as agents of social control. Practically, the findings underscore the need for broader public participation and sustained institutional reform to achieve an ideal public sphere capable of mitigating corruption through open dialogue and accountability. This provides insights for policymakers to enhance the effectiveness of institutions like the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK).

Nevertheless, this study has limitations, including reliance on data from Google Scholar and Publish or Perish, which may not encompass all relevant publications, and a focus on Indonesian scholarly perspectives that overlooks international or non-academic viewpoints. Additionally, potential bias exists from using CPI as the primary impact indicator. Recommendations for future research include expanding the analysis with international databases such as Scopus, conducting longitudinal studies on the specific impact of literature on anti-corruption policies, and exploring the application of Habermas's theory to digital contexts like social media.

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