

MUHAMMADIYAH AND ANTI-CORRUPTION MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA AFTER REFORMATION 1998

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Abstract

One of most important events in the modern history of Indonesia was Reformation of 1998, event marked by the collapse of Soeharto's regime. That regime was full of corruption. No wonder the one of the Reformations agenda was to fight corruption. Indonesians realized that corruption at the root of many problems in the country. Without addressing corruption, Indonesia would fail to become a prosperous country.

Unfortunately, nearly 16 years after Refomation corruption still exists. Even it has become worst (despite many efforts to eradicate corruption by government and society). Corruptors always find a new way to exploit the system.

To solve this problem, there are so many civil society that always try to engage in corruption eradication. One of them is Muhammadiyah. The biggest modern organization in Indonesian. Muhammadiyah has a moral responsible to overcome the problem of corruption in Indonesia.

This writing want to explain about the effort of Muhammadiyah against corruption. There are two questions that want to be answered. First, what is the effort (either has been done or will be done) by Muhammadiyah in order to against corruption? Second, how effective those effort to eradicate corruption from Indonesia?

The results of this writing shows that Muhammadiyah fights corruption on two levels: at the grass root and at the national level. In grass root level, Muhammadiyah actively campaigns to educate citizens about the dangers of corruption. At the national level, Muhammadiyah makes a coalitions with other civil society groups to criticize the government, but with less attention to solve corruption.

However Muhammadiyah's efforts to fight corruption have been ineffective. The problem is Muhammadiyah put too much attention on moralistic movement. Whereas the corruption in Indonesia has been spread. So, Muhammadiyah need more practice effort to against corruption. In all level. To solve that problem, Muhammadiyah must make a new orientation and strategic plan that more practice.

Keyword: Muhammadiyah, Fight, Corruption, Indonesia, strategy

Introduction

Corruption in Indonesia is like the acute disease that very difficult to be cured. So many methods to solve this problem but the corruption never disappear. The various modes and sophisticated corruption appear. Corruption seemed to follow the geometric progression while the eradication follows arithmetically. Corruption eventually became more massive and brutal.

Basically all religions have a vision of human liberation from tyranny. Corruption is the abuse. Therefore religion has a responsibility and has the right to offer a solution to free of human from corruption. But the solution should not limited only by the doctrine of mere morality. Religion also demanded to offer practical steps to eradicate corruption.

The lack contribution from religion indirectly makes the rampant of corruption in Indonesian. Moreover Indonesia is the country with the largest Muslim community in the world. This could lead to the conclusion that Muslims cannot address the problem of corruption. More ironic if Islam considered compatible for corruption. Although this thesis is still need to be proven, but it can lead to negative stereotypes of Muslims. Therefore, Muslims in Indonesia should be able to provide and offer some solutions to the problems of corruption. Those solutions can be generated from a Muslim perspective.

This paper examines the efforts of anti-corruption movement by one of the modern organization in Indonesia: Muhammadiyah. This paper seeks to answer the questions about what has been done by Muhammadiyah in combating corruption. In addition, this paper also asses the effectiveness of anti-corruption movement that has been done by the Muhammadiyah.

Corruption in Indonesia

By the Law No.31/1999 *junto* Law No.20 / 200, corruption can be defined as a tort, enriching people/group that adverse financial/economic of the state,

abuse of power that may be detrimental the state financial, bribe, embezzlement in office, extortion, chartering, and gratuities.¹

The behaviors mention above seems as “a normal” thing for Indonesian. No wonder the actors of corruption spread everywhere. One of the data that can be referenced the condition of corruption in this country is the annual report of Transparency International (TI). This report gives the highest score of 100 (meaning very good in suppressing corruption). In the report of CPI (Corruption Perception Index) in 2013, Indonesia's ranking arose from 2012 (score 32). But the resulting score is still the same. In 2012, Indonesia was ranked 118 out of the 177 countries assessed. In the ASEAN level, Indonesia is still far less than Singapore (86), Brunei (60), and Malaysia (50).²

One of the reasons the rise in Indonesia's rating is TI assumes there is a progress in the field of law enforcement and the prevention/eradication of corruption by the Corruption Eradication Commission (*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi*). But for the level of corruption in the legislative and political parties it still stagnant. The corruption actor commit in Indonesia are in the judiciary, police, licensing authority, taxation, and customs office.³

Still based on the report, Denmark ranks in the first with a score of 91 along with New Zealand. While Singapore is ranks fifth with a score of 86. Also Norway. Lowest rank occupied by Somalia with a score of 8 along with North Korea and Afghanistan.⁴ In the ASEAN level, Indonesia still far behind Singapore.

Other data show the severity of corruption in Indonesia comes from *KPK* (Corruption Eradication Commission). In the release, *KPK* stated that in the

¹ <http://www.kpk.go.id/id/layanan-publik/informasi-publik/faq-permohonan-informasi>

² *Peluncuran Corruption Perception Index 2013*, <http://ti.or.id/index.php/press-release/2013/12/03/peluncuran-corruption-perception-index-2013> (Dec. 3, 2013).

³ *Korupsi Politik, Penjerumus Indeks Persepsi Korupsi Indonesia*, <http://politik.news.viva.co.id/news/read/464156-korupsi-politik--penjerumus-indeks-persepsi-korupsi-indonesia> (Dec. 6, 2013)

⁴ Brosur CPI, <http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2013/results/>

March 31, 2014, KPK arrested two persons of the profession of judges, one people from heads of agencies/ministries, and one person the echelon I / II / II, one judge, and one private.⁵

While from 2004 to 2014, the perpetrators of corruption committed by members of the DPR/DPRD are 73 people. Head of the Institution/Ministry are 12 people, the ambassador are 4 people, commissioners amounted are 7 people, the governor are 10 people, the mayor/regent and deputy are 35 people, the echelon I/II/III are 115 people, 10 judges, private are 95 people, and 41 persons from other position. So the most corrupt level is in echelon I/II/III, followed by the private sector, and the DPR/DPRD.⁶

The above facts are staggering. This means that corruption is prevalent in all strategic positions concerning the lives of many people. It happen in the executive, legislative, and judicial. Some famous names are indicted doing a corruption is Andi Malarangeng (Former minister RI), Anggelina Sondakh (member of Parliament), Anas Urbaningrum (Chairman of the Democratic Party), and Lutfi Hasan Ishak (Chairman of the PKS). The judiciary, which is supposed to be the keeper of law enforcement, was not immune from corruption. One of the biggest cases is horrendous corruption by Akil Mochtar (Chairman of the Constitutional Court). Looking at the above facts, anti-corruption efforts must be done in systematic and radical way. It is necessary to eliminate the cancer of corruption spread in all of the body of Indonesian. This is the responsibility of all elements of society (not just by the government alone). Especially when government looks ineffective to fight corruption.

Muhammadiyah and Civil Society

According to Hefner, the main character of Islam in Indonesia is its ability to give the opportunity to Muslim scholars and activists, who have a high

⁵ <http://acch.kpk.go.id/statistik-penanganan-tindak-pidana-korupsi-berdasarkan-tingkat-jabatan> (March. 31, 2014).

⁶ *Ibid.*

capacity, to meet the challenges of politics, economics, and culture in modern times. This one is including the founder of Muhammadiyah, Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. He was able to see the traditions of Islam in depth and make Islam relevant to the challenges of the modern world.⁷

Indonesia cannot be separated from Muhammadiyah organization, and vice versa. Both have to interact and co-exist in the history of Indonesia. Muhammadiyah eventually became one of the elements that contribute to civil society in the development of the nation.

Nakamura said that Muhammadiyah major contributions are especially in the areas of education, health, philanthropy, and social welfare. Muhammadiyah and NU become the most important Islamic organization in Indonesia that brought the moderate Islamic movement. He also said the charity efforts of Muhammadiyah perhaps no one can match. Even in global in scope.⁸

Muhammadiyah has a diverse of charitable efforts. In education, Muhammadiyah charitable efforts consisted of 3,370 kindergarten, 2901 SD/MI, 1761 Junior High School/941 SMA/MA/SMK, 67 boarding school, and 167 colleges. In the health sector, Muhammadiyah has 47 hospital, 217 polyclinics, 82 maternity clinic. In the economic field, Muhammadiyah has one Islamic bank, 26 BPR/BPRS and 275 BMT, 81 Cooperative Sharia, 22 minimart, and 5 coastal tavern. In the field of philanthropy, Muhammadiyah has over 400 orphanages, and a shelter. Muhammadiyah's total asset is more than USD 20 trillion.⁹

⁷ Robert W Hefner, *Protestanisme Islam dan Reformasi Protestan* (Tanggapan untuk Sukidi), Kompas, Bentara, 6 April 2005. Dimuat kembali dalam Abdul Munir Mul Khan, *Kiai Ahmad Dahlan* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010), 47-72.

⁸ Mitsuo Nakamura, "Identitas Muhammadiyah, Kompas," *Kompas*, Nov 23, 2012

⁹ *Aset triliunan Muhammadiyah akan luncurkan e-money*, <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/ekonomi/syariah-ekonomi/14/03/12/n2bhm5-aset-triliunan-muhammadiyah-akan-luncurkan-emoney> (March. 12, 2014)

Martin van Bruinessen¹⁰ said that Muhammadiyah and NU are the most stable Indonesian Muslim community. Their cadres are not only active in the organization, but also involved in other social activities. The main characteristics that inherent in both of these organizations are moderate and tolerant.

Based on the long history and the potential movement possessed, Muhammadiyah has a huge capital to move the Indonesian nation in efforts to combat corruption. This task must be realized by Muhammadiyah. Therefore Muhammadiyah have to start to systematize the anticorruption movement.

Corruption Eradication efforts by Muhammadiyah

In the reform era, Muhammadiyah made the issue of corruption as a strategic issue to be solved. They consider corruption is one of the main problems of the Indonesian nation. One of the reform agenda is the eradication of corruption, but it turns out the reform era that fosters corruption. Even spread following the development of local autonomy.¹¹

Muhammadiyah is certainly concerned with this condition. Not surprisingly, they began to make a move for the prevention and eradication of corruption. Good Governance Committee Chairman of Muhammadiyah, Rizal Sukma, said Muhammadiyah as a moral movement have main 3 main goals: building a public awareness; strengthening public supervision; enhance capacity building and institution building¹².

Some of the activities are the establishment of the Working Group for Good Governance. This institute made by *Pimpinan Pusat* Muhammadiyah in 2002. One of the working group's agenda is to eradicate corruption in the internal

¹⁰ Martin van Bruinessen, "Post-Soeharto Muslim Engagements with Civil Society and Democratization", in Hanneman Samuel and Henk Schulte Nordholt, ed., *Indonesian in Transition* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004), 37-66.

¹¹ Syarifuddin Jurdi, *Muhammadiyah dalam Dinamika Politik Indonesia 1966-2006* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010), 370.

¹² *Muhammadiyah Beri Sanksi Anggotanya yang Korupsi*, <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2003/12/02/05532228/Muhammadiyah-Beri-Sanksi-Anggotanya-yang-Korupsi> (Dec. 02, 2003).

and external Muhammadiyah. The external mean Muhammadiyah focus the problem of corruption related with the state and government.¹³

The steps to make Muhammadiyah as the organization that is free from corruption are: (a) Develop a system of accounting and administration to the charity-owned enterprises, (b) socialization of the system to the workers and cadres of Muhammadiyah, (c) Encourage the elements in Muhammadiyah comply with the procedures in the system of organization. While in the external level, Muhammadiyah is conducting in collaboration with other organizations to actively control the state administration and public activities in order not to commit corruption.¹⁴

Muhammadiyah is well aware that their asset is very prone to corrupt. Therefore, the effort is to strengthen the internal Muhammadiyah through the effort to clean governance. NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama*) bitter experienced which have been involved in cases of corruption can be a lesson to Muhammadiyah. According to Greg Fealy, in its history, NU had bad experienced in corruption. It happened when NU came into a political party. In the mid to late 1950s, NU leaders widely reported involved in corruption scandal. They face an investigation by the police and taken in a judicial corruption. One factor is no separation between business and personal affairs department. They also utilize the acquired positions. This is further exacerbated by the behavior of their supporters. Leaders should take advantage of his position is considered beneficial for the outcome and can be enjoyed together.¹⁵ Thus, any Islamic organization (including Muhammadiyah) must be sensitive to the potential for corruption.

In external level, some derivatives activities to strengthen public awareness of the dangers of corruption by arranging interpretation of corruption, publishing books on corruption, anti-corruption workshops, training combating

¹³ Abdul Munir Mulkhan , *Kiai Ahmad Dahlan* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010), 153-154.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 154

¹⁵ Greg Fealy, *Ijtihad Politik Ulama* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1998), 255-29.

corruption in the system of organization. Muhammadiyah also teach the preachers, lecturers, teachers, and students to fight corruption. Anti-corruption learning was originally started from various educational institutions owned by the Muhammadiyah. Another efforts include anti-corruption lessons in the national curriculum system.¹⁶

According to Muhammadiyah, Indonesia as the Muslim majority need to deconstruct the entrenched culture of corruption in public life. Deconstruction of the culture is very important for anti-corruption. Because the institutions were formed, are still not able to solve the problem of corruption in Indonesia.¹⁷

Muhammadiyah, through the Legal Affairs Committee and *Tajdid* Muhammadiyah, offers some steps to fight corruption. Those steps including preserving cultural deconstruction of corruption, through education, religious lines, socio cultural approach, legal and political approach, choosing a clean leader, exemplary leader, repair wage system, de-bureaucratization, community participation in the control of public policy, and reward and punishment.¹⁸

For comparison, the National Conference and the Conference of NU's clergy had issued a fatwa on recommendation of the death penalty for criminals who repeat his actions. Rais Syuriah NU, KH Syaifuddin Amsir explain death penalty imposed as a deterrent for criminals.¹⁹

Anti-Corruption in the Grassroots Level

The oversized of Muhammadiyah organization strongly supported by the activities of the organization at the grass roots level. They determine the dynamics

¹⁶ Abdul Munir Mulkhan, *Op. Cit.*, 154-155.

¹⁷ Majelis Diktilitband dan LPI PP Muhammadiyah, *1 Abad Muhammadiyah* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010), 359.

¹⁸ Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah, *Fikih Antikorupsi* (Jakarta: PSAP, 2006), 122-155

¹⁹ Hamidulloh Ibda , *NU dan Fatwa Hukuman Mati Koruptor*, <http://www.nu.or.id/a.public-m.dinamic-s.detail-ids,4-id,39949-lang.id-c.kolom-t,NU+dan+Fatwa+Hukuman+Mati+Koruptor-.php> (Sep, 25. 2012).

of the Muhammadiyah movement in efforts to combat corruption (although many actions seem sporadic). But Muhammadiyah in the regional level also plays a major role in efforts to combat corruption.

One was conducted by Muhammadiyah branch Yogyakarta. On March 1, 2014, all elements of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta declared the Young Anti-Corruption Task Force. This Task Force is the combination of PD HDI, PC IMM Djasman Al-Kindi, PC Fakhruddin IMM AR, PD PM, PD NA, MPK, PDM, PDM LHKP. This Task Force has three tasks. First, encourage corruption in the city of Yogyakarta in cooperation with the authorities and the communities. Second, conduct anti-corruption education for citizens and communities of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta. Third, to help the poor people to get their rights (through monitoring government policies and programs the city of Yogyakarta). The goal is to ensure that the government policy is not misplaced.²⁰

If Muhammadiyah able to move all of the branches to take action like this, it would give a positive effect to suppress corruption. But the problem is not all branches of Muhammadiyah able to independently perform this effort. This has been one of the chores of Muhammadiyah. Another example is done by Muhammadiyah to arouse public awareness of the dangers of corruption is on Wednesday (23/04/2014). Muhammadiyah, in cooperation with the Commission, launched an anti-corruption rickshaw. This rickshaw is built of Community Empowerment Council of Muhammadiyah. MPM Chairman, Said Tuhulele said it will soon involve the rickshaw pullers in the anti-corruption campaign that engages in grassroots level.²¹

Corruption in National Aras

²⁰ *Satgas Muda Anti-Korupsi Dideklarasikan*, <http://www.pdmjogja.org/satgas-muda-anti-korupsi-dideklarasikan/> (March. 2, 2014)

²¹ *KPK dan PP Muhammadiyah Luncurkan Becak AntiKorupsi*, <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/14/04/23/n4gzq4-kpk-dan-pp-muhammadiyah-luncurkan-becak-antikorupsi> (April. 23, 2014).

Above already mentioned that the efforts made Muhammadiyah not only internally, but also external. In this case Muhammadiyah involved in law enforcement efforts in the national context. One of the action when there is a suggestion to disband the KPK. Chairman of Muhammadiyah, Din Syamsyuddin, immediately put the body and expressed disapproval. This polemic occurs when Fahri Hamzah, a member of Parliament from PKS, propose the dissolution of the Commission (KPK). According to Din Syamsuddin, the KPK is still spearheading the eradication of corruption in Indonesia. He said that if the Commission is dissolved then corruption will be rampant that it is more difficult to eradicate.²²

Muhammadiyah makes hard stance against the corrupt government. According to him, the government is not *ulil amri* because of corruption. According to him, ministry of religion is not *ulil amri* that must be obeyed (especially if corruption occurs at the institution). This makes the ministry of religion does not deserve to be called by *ulil amri*.²³ Din Syamsuddin statement insinuating the corruption in the procurement of the Qur'an at the religion department. By this case, the former director of Islamic Affairs Director General of the Islamic Society of Religious Guidance, Ahmad Jauhari, was sentenced to eight years in prison and a fine of Rp 200 million subsidiary of 6 months imprisonment. She was convicted for committing corruption of Alquran in Ditjen Binmas Islam 2011-1012.²⁴

The Concrete Action to Fight Corruption

²² Muhammadiyah Ajak Rakyat Indonesia Lintas Agama Bela KPK, <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/11/10/05/lskhnm-muhammadiyah-ajak-rakyat-indonesia-lintas-agama-bela-kpk> (Oct. 5, 2011).

²³ Muhammadiyah: Pemerintah Bukan Ulil Amri yang Ditaati, Karena Korupsi, <http://www.voa-islam.com/read/indonesiana/2013/07/08/25770/muhammadiyah-pemerintah-bukan-ulil-amri-yang-ditaati-karena-korupsi/#sthash.QbLsHC6x.dpuf> (July. 8, 2013).

²⁴ Divonis Korupsi Al Quran, Jauhari Minta Pejabat Wamenag Diadili, <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/04/10/2033522/Divonis.Korupsi.Al.Quran.Jauhari.Minta.Pejabat.Wamenag.Diadili> (April. 10, 2014).

Muhammadiyah is not just throwing discourse related to the eradication of corruption in Indonesia. One important event is when the Muhammadiyah with the community conduct a judicial review of the oil and gas law. Muhammadiyah ever filed a judicial review of Law No. 22 of 2001 on Oil and Gas. The law outlined the tasks and functions of the Executive Agency for Oil and Gas (BP Migas). The result is the dissolution of BP Migas. But then the government, through a presidential decree, replaces BP Migas with SKK Migas.²⁵

A few moments after the decree, KPK arrested a suspicious person on oil and gas corruption. He is the Chief of SKK Migas. This means that Muhammadiyah assume that BP Migas, which later turned into SKK Migas, very prone to corrupt. So no wonder Din Syamsuddin with other elements called GMKK (The Movement for Enforcing the State Sovereignty) urges the Commission to catch the perpetrators and the mafia of oil and gas. Corruption has to be dragged into the path of law and justice. This is a response to the enactment of Head of SKK Oil and Gas, Rudi Rubiandini, as a suspect in the alleged bribery of private sector.²⁶

Critical notes

Anti-corruption movement, that has been doing by Muhammadiyah, so far not meet the expectations. There are several factors. First, Muhammadiyah has a lot of charity effort that requires serious attention. This means in the internal affairs Muhammadiyah face a lot of problems. So they cannot split their attention to internal and external level effectively. As a result, anti-corruption movement has a lack of support from the internal level. Second, the below level of Muhammadiyah not strong emphasizes in corruption eradication. Although the

²⁵ *Din Syamsuddin Desak KPK Bongkar Korupsi di Sektor Migas*, <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/08/15/1455495/Din.Syamsuddin.Desak.KPK.Bongkar.Korupsi.di.Sektor.Migas> (April. 29, 2014).

²⁶ *Din Syamsuddin Desak KPK Bongkar Korupsi di Sektor Migas*, <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/08/15/1455495/Din.Syamsuddin.Desak.KPK.Bongkar.Korupsi.di.Sektor.Migas> (April. 29, 2014).

organization at the grassroots level are also making efforts to eradicate corruption, but was impressed with the sporadic and unplanned Third, Muhammadiyah has not consistently run the anti-corruption movement. Muhammadiyah has not explicitly commits moral sanction against those allegedly involved in a corruption case. For example in the case of Siti Fadilah Supari, former Minister of Health, KPK set out her as a suspect of corruption in the procurement of medical equipment buffer stock. Din Syamsuddin said it would provide the aid and assistance to the suspect. The reason Muhammadiyah is an organization that recommends the suspect as Minister of Health.²⁷

Although the legal aid is the right of every suspect, but the statement to support and give legal assistance can make Muhammadiyah still give a suspect a space in Muhammadiyah. It can be counterproductive with anti-currption agenda that want to eradicate corruption from the roots. Muhammadiyah is supposed to be neutral and leave it to law enforcement. So when the suspect wanted to meet with the Chairman of Muhammadiyah, then it should be rejected. In addition, Din Syamsuddin must issues a statement to support the law apparatus to continue this case. So Mummadiyah not become a bumper to suspect of corruption. Din Syamsuddin action is also contrary with Haedar Nasir, Chairman of Muhammadiyah in Ideological Consolidation, Institutional, and Member Empowerment. He said that one of Muhammadiyah approach is social ostracism. Another efforts are impoverishment, cleaning the apparatus and bureaucratic institutions, the rule of honesty, and a reversed burden of proof. The social sanctions that can be given is not give a trust to corrupt leadership. Neither the suspect nor convicted.²⁸ Fourth, the anti-corruption movement by Muhammadiyah still moralistic and less practical. The concrete action is the main

²⁷ *PP Muhammadiyah Siap Dampingi Siti Fadilah Hadapi Proses di KPK*, <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/04/10/1713378/PP.Muhammadiyah.Siap.Dampingi.Siti.Fadilah.Hadapi.Proses.di.KPK> (April. 10, 2014).

²⁸ *Muhammadiyah: Koruptor Diberi Sanksi Sosial*,

<http://www.hukumonline.com/berita/baca/lt52712eeae156c/muhammadiyah--koruptor-diberi-sanksi-sosial> (Oct. 30, 2013).

thing in eradicating corruption. To overcome this, Muhammadiyah need to revise their anti-corruption movement. In addition, Muhammadiyah must be able to describe and simultaneously implementing a plan to eradicate corruption in the concrete steps.

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