



**TEN YEARS OF PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO'S LEADERSHIP
FORGING A DOMINANT NATIONAL LEGACY**

***SEPULUH TAHUN KEPEMIMPINAN PRESIDEN JOKO WIDODO
MENANCAPKAN LEGACY NASIONAL YANG DOMINAN***

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ABSTRACT

This article examines Joko Widodo's ten years in office in Indonesia with a focus on key policies and their impact on society. It begins with the need to understand the social and economic transformation that has taken place under Jokowi's administration, as well as the challenges faced by the country. Initially, Jokowi was known as a populist leader as he showed his simplicity in living his life. However, politics can take a different course. The presidential term in Indonesia lasts for five years in one term and can be re-elected for one more term. Based on Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution. This means that the leadership era of President Joko Widodo or familiarly known as Jokowi is coming to an end, because he has been in power for two periods or the equivalent of ten years. The issues raised include how the implemented policies contribute to economic growth, infrastructure, and social welfare, as well as the community's response to these policies. The purpose of this study is to analyze the impact of government policies and evaluate Jokowi's leadership performance in the political and social context. The results show that despite significant progress in infrastructure development and poverty reduction, there are still major challenges in terms of uneven development and human rights issues that need to be addressed to build a more inclusive future for Indonesia.

Keywords : Policy, Joko Widodo's Leadership, Politics, President.

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini mengkaji sepuluh tahun kepemimpinan Joko Widodo di Indonesia dengan fokus pada kebijakan-kebijakan utama dan dampaknya terhadap masyarakat. Berawal dari adanya kebutuhan untuk memahami transformasi sosial dan ekonomi yang terjadi di bawah pemerintahan Jokowi, serta tantangan yang dihadapi oleh negara. Pada awalnya, Jokowi dikenal pemimpin dengan citra yang merakyat karena memperlihatkan kesederhanaannya dalam menjalani kehidupan. Namun jalan politik nyatanya dapat berkehendak lain. Masa jabatan presiden di Indonesia berlaku selama lima tahun dalam satu periode dan dapat dipilih kembali untuk satu periode lagi. Berdasarkan Pasal 7 Undang-Undang Dasar 1945. Artinya, era kepemimpinan Presiden Joko Widodo atau akrab dikenal dengan Jokowi sebentar lagi berakhir, karena telah berkuasa dua kali periode atau setara dengan waktu sepuluh tahun. Masalah yang diangkat mencakup bagaimana kebijakan yang diimplementasikan berkontribusi terhadap pertumbuhan ekonomi, infrastruktur, dan kesejahteraan sosial, serta respon masyarakat terhadap kebijakan tersebut. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisis dampak dari kebijakan pemerintah serta mengevaluasi kinerja kepemimpinan Jokowi dalam konteks politik dan sosial. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa meskipun ada kemajuan signifikan dalam pembangunan infrastruktur dan pengurangan kemiskinan, masih terdapat tantangan besar dalam hal ketidakmerataan pembangunan dan isu-isu hak asasi manusia yang perlu diperhatikan untuk membangun masa depan Indonesia yang lebih inklusif.

Kata Kunci : Kebijakan, Kepemimpinan Joko Widodo, Politik, Presiden.

I. INTRODUCTION

Jokowi's maneuvers in politics began with his profession as a furniture entrepreneur. In 2002, Jokowi served as Chairman of the Indonesian Furniture and Craft Industry Association (Asmino). Apparently Jokowi's activeness in managing the association made the entrepreneurs who were members of it wanted Jokowi to run for the candidacy for the 2005 Solo mayoral election.¹ The reason is that Solo is led by a person who is engaged in business, especially fellow furniture partners and is expected to be able to improve the trade economy to the tourism sector. Jokowi was considered capable of realizing these hopes, but Jokowi refused.² At first, Jokowi had no

¹ Ali Noer Zaman. *Kemunculan Jokowi di Pentas Politik Nasional*. Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Sosial, Studi atas Peran Public Relations di Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta. Volume 1, Nomor 1, 2020., hlm. 57.

² Alberthiene Endah. *Jokowi: Memimpin Kota, Menuju Jakarta*. Solo: Metagraf. 2012., hlm. 24.

intention of serving as mayor of Solo. However, as Confucius said about humans, humans as social beings are dynamic. Events experienced by humans are diverse and often encounter various life problems that make them experience development and change.³ Jokowi finally changed his mind. In his candidacy as mayor of Solo, Jokowi was paired with FX Hadi Rudyatmo and carried by PDI Perjuangan. As a result, Jokowi-Rudy won 37 percent of the vote. Jokowi began to build Solo, starting from infrastructure, economy, education, health, to the management of street vendors. Jokowi-Rudy's brilliant performance led them to their second term candidacy in 2010 to 2015. In their second term, they received a fantastic 90 percent of the vote. This achievement is clearly impressive, especially if you look at Indonesia's election history after the New Order Era.

Jokowi's success in Solo was heard up to the capital and then offered to take part in the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election in 2012. From this, Jokowi's popularity skyrocketed. The blusukan style, aka going directly to the field, brought the distance between him and the community closer to his method and the capital he brought from Solo. It was this gesture that made him dubbed as a populist leader. His simple demeanor is considered a contrast to the majority of Indonesian officials who are seen as keeping their distance from their constituents. On one occasion at the beginning of his tenure as Governor of DKI Jakarta, Jokowi already had to face the classic problem of the capital city in the form of flooding. It was at that time that Jokowi entered the culvert to check the sewerage in the Hotel Indonesia Roundabout area which was affected by flooding. Jokowi's actions again succeeded in branding himself as a leader who did not spout a lot of rhetoric, but a political populist who did not hesitate to enter the sewer.

Figure 1 Branding Jokowi, an official who is willing to enter a culvert
(December 16, 2012)



Source: <https://www.merdeka.com/jakarta/jokowi-pejabat-yang-rela-masuk-gorong-gorong.html>

Not only popular for his blusukan, Jokowi is also known as a humble figure. He was born in Solo in 1961 to a timber businessman father and a housekeeping mother. His house was also evicted three times. When he served

³ <https://ugm.ac.id/id/berita/15510-hakikat-manusia-menurut-konfusius-dalam-pelaksanaan-ham-di-indonesia/#:~:text=Menurut%20Konfusius%2C%20manusia%20adalah%20makhluk,kekerasan%2C%20ketidakadilan%2C%20dan%20intoleransi>. Diakses 5 Juni 2024

as mayor, governor, and then as president, Jokowi remained consistent with his simple appearance. That is why he is also dubbed as the leader of the little people. The image built by Jokowi broke down political elitism, making him a populist and clean figure because he did not join the elite and was work-oriented. As a result, the 2014 election belonged to Jokowi. The middle and lower classes voted for Jokowi, because they felt that his ideology suited them best.⁴ In the 2019 general election, Jokowi repeated the same victory, a victory that became a new phase of Indonesian politics. Amidst the dominance of political elites, oligarchs, and the military, Jokowi was able to seize the peak of power and win the election contest at that time. When viewed in the aspect between the causal relationship between Law and Politics in its development that in the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia there are shifts and changes in the review of political aspects, the movement between authoritarian political configurations towards a democratic political configuration if the barometer used is after the fall of the new order regime, as we know that the results of democratic political configuration products will produce responsive legal products, but on the contrary, if the authoritarian political configuration will produce legal products that have orthodox tendencies.⁵

In a historical approach, the ups and downs between authoritarian and democratic configurations in this understanding make researchers to open an in-depth historical perspective, examine traditions about the flow of development of the authoritarian era and enter into the democratization period. from the New Order period with the discourse of economic development goals featuring a logical background into authoritarian bureaucratic, with an interventionist character making the state appear as a strong state in the New Order era but there were a number of restrictions on the political rights of the people who were constantly under pressure. the existence of similarities in the development postulates between President Joko Widodo's regime and the New Order regime in the researcher's point of view directs some analysis in this study for researchers to do.

II. METHOD

The research method used in this study uses sociological-historical juridical research methods, namely by looking at legal issues as rules. The materials used in this research include primary materials including the results of President Jokowi's policies and the history of leadership development during President Jokowi's term. Secondary legal materials use literature reviews and online media. The data is carefully reviewed, processed

⁴ Aji N., Dartanto T. *Behind the Jokowi's victory: did economic voting matter in the 2014 Indonesian presidential election?* Asia-Pacific Journal of Regional Science 2(1): 115–138. Crossref. 2018., hlm. 134.

⁵ Moh. Mahfud MD, *Politik Hukum di Indonesia*, 2019, (Depok: Rajawali Pers), hlm. 373.

qualitatively using deductive sentence ideas in the form of main ideas that are at the beginning of writing by describing existing facts both narratively and normatively.

III. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

a. Jokowi's Maneuver to Build Political Influence through Development

Elected as president, Jokowi's policies are dominant in the industrial and economic sectors, which are realized through infrastructure development. Jokowi also promised to encourage development that is not only centered on Java Island. Under his leadership, Jokowi formulated the National Strategic Project (PSN) as a guiding document that guides the development of infrastructure projects, such as the construction of Trans Papua and toll roads outside Java.⁶

The most visible legacy at the end of his tenure is the toll road. Since coming to power in October 2014 until 2023, the length of toll roads in operation has reached 1,713 kilometers. This is equivalent to 64.7% of the total toll roads operating in Indonesia. Not to mention the airports that increased from 237 in 2014 to 257 in 2023. Likewise with train stations, from 586 to 607 in 2023. Jokowi's development performance has gained appreciation, giving rise to the term *Jokowinomics*, because the output of this policy is considered good. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth, which measures national economic growth in Indonesia, has stabilized at 5% since Jokowi's leadership (2014-2024). Although, this is actually far from Jokowi's promise of targeting growth of up to 7% in 2018.⁷

Another of Jokowi's achievements is the development of infrastructure in villages, many of which were realized thanks to village funds. The Central Statistics Agency (BPS) also noted that the poverty rate in the Jokowi era decreased, from 28.51 million in 2015 to 25.9 million in 2023.⁸

But development ambitions don't always end well. *Tempo* (news media) reports that a number of Jokowi's infrastructure projects are inefficient and have not been able to boost the economy. Kertajati Airport, for example, as one of the objects of the National Strategic Project in West Java, has been empty of passengers since its operation in 2018. Even though the investment value of its construction reached Rp 2.6 trillion. In addition, Jokowi's development focus is still largely centered on Java. The report of the Committee for the Acceleration of Priority Infrastructure Provision (KPPIP) as of 2022 found that the distribution of infrastructure projects is still dominated by Java and Sumatra. 19 projects for Sumatra Island with a value of Rp 400.55 trillion and 18 projects for Java Island worth Rp 639.18 trillion. In

⁶ Dyah Amalia. *Analisis pengaruh infrastruktur terhadap pertumbuhan ekonomi (Studi pada 33 Provinsi di Indonesia tahun 2008-2017)*. Jurnal Fakultas Ekonomi dan Bisnis Universitas Brawijaya. 8 Mei 2019., hlm. 11.

⁷ <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20230815204758-4-463293/berkuasa-9-tahun-jokowi-bangun-70-tol-di-indonesia> diakses 6 Juni 2024

⁸ <https://www.bps.go.id/id/pressrelease/2023/07/17/2016/profil-kemiskinan-di-indonesia-maret-2023.html> diakses 6 Juni 2024

Maluku and Papua, there are only two projects although the value is quite high, reaching IDR 428.66 trillion. In Sulawesi, there are only three projects with a value of Rp 51.83 trillion.⁹

b. Oligarchic Compromise in Jokowi's Power

When he was elected president in 2014, the US magazine Time described Jokowi as "A New Hope" for Indonesia. But to see the real Jokowi, we need to look from the perspective of Hans J. Morgenthau, a political scientist, in his book *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Morgenthau said that it is very biased and wrong to judge the quality of politicians or officials only from their personal values or image. Instead, the quality of politicians must be seen from their abilities, skills and the impact of the policies they have made.¹⁰

A few days in October 2020, thousands of people demonstrated in the center of Jakarta. They were angry with President Jokowi, who is considered to be the originator of the Job Creation Law. This law is considered full of controversial articles because it harms and limits the rights of workers. Among them are facilitating foreign labor permits, increasing overtime hours, and abolishing the UMK (City Minimum Wage). In addition, the process of formulating the Job Creation Law is also considered legally flawed because it is not transparent and seems lightning fast. Amid the turmoil of rejection, Jokowi ignored it. Not only that, during almost 10 years in power, Jokowi twice approved the revision of the ITE Law which contains rubber articles, restraints on freedom of expression, and restrictions on the public's critical attitude towards the government. There was also a revision of the KPK Law in 2019 that weakened the institution's position.¹¹ By 2022, Indonesia's Corruption Perception Index had fallen to its lowest point in 10 years.¹² There is also the IKN Law, which was passed quickly without public participation. The image of the people's leader faded instantly, replaced by an authoritarian figure defending the ruler. This condition is related to the opinion of Jeffrey Winters, in his book *Oligarchy and Democracy in Indonesia*, who said that from the beginning Jokowi had been involved in oligarchic interference.¹³

Although Jokowi is favored by the public, to run for president he still needs a vehicle, in this context a party, and a figure who has the capital to

⁹ <https://koran.tempo.co/read/cover-story/486453/dampak-semu-ambisi-proyek-infrastruktur> diakses 6 Juni 2024

¹⁰ Hans J. Morgenthau. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Political Science Quarterly. Oxford University Press. Vol. 64, No. 2 (Jun., 1949), hlm. 290. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2144235>

¹¹ https://setneg.go.id/baca/index/presiden_jokowi_telah_tanda_tangani_surpres_usulan_revisi_uu_kpk diakses 6 Juni 2024.

¹² <https://ti.or.id/indeks-persepsi-korupsi-indonesia-2022-mengalami-penurunan-terburuk-sepanjang-sejarah-reformasi/> diakses 6 Juni 2024.

¹³ Jeffrey A. Winters. *Oligarchy and Democracy in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press. No. 96, Special Issue: Wealth, Power, and Contemporary Indonesian Politics (Oktober., 2013), hlm. 12.

<https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.96.0099>

support his candidacy. Therefore, the consequence when elected is that Jokowi does not manage his government alone. Behind him are oligarchs or coalition party elites who certainly have interests. In the end, the figure of the little man who appears populist must pay dearly for democracy by compromising with the will of the oligarchy. From here, controversial policies emerge. On the other hand, Jokowi is an astute politician who is able to embrace his political opposition, including Prabowo Subianto, who was his rival twice in the elections. The government coalition also controls 81.9% of seats in the House of Representatives, which allows various policies to pass almost without a hitch despite public opposition.

c. Jokowi and the Determination of the Apparatus

Joko Widodo's two-term leadership has been characterized by various policies aimed at advancing Indonesia. One important aspect in achieving these goals is the role of state apparatus. The determination of the apparatus, which includes commitment, professionalism and integrity, is very influential in the implementation of government policies. Since taking office in 2014, Jokowi has introduced various strategic programs, ranging from infrastructure development to bureaucratic reform. However, the success of these programs largely depends on the extent to which government officials are able to perform their duties well. In this context, Jokowi's role in managing the apparatus is key to ensuring that government policies not only work on paper, but are also able to be realized on the ground.

When he was mayor of Solo, Jokowi was able to solve the problem of moving street vendors without clashing with the authorities. He prioritized a dialogue and humanist approach to the street vendors, a method that seems to be no longer used towards the end of his presidency. Behind the glitter of Jokowi's development, there are things that must be sacrificed, namely social impacts in the form of agrarian conflicts and human rights violations. The Consortium for Agrarian Reform (KPA) noted that the National Strategic Project had an impact on the occurrence of 115 agrarian conflicts with an area of 516,409 hectares and affected 85,555 families during 2020-2023. Among them occurred in Rempang, Wadas, and Air Bangis. Different from his approach when he was in Solo, Jokowi now responds by mobilizing the apparatus which leads to violence and intimidation. Methods include excessive patrols around conflict areas, arrests of environmental activists who oppose projects and forced evictions. This includes crackdowns on indigenous peoples and affected local populations. In the Nusantara Capital Region (IKN) for example, in February 2024 police arrested 9 farmers for allegedly threatening the IKN VVIP airport project.¹⁴ Jokowi or the government refuses to use excessive force in smoothing out development projects, arguing that he will continue to prioritize a communication approach with residents in connection with all projects he builds to advance the economy.

¹⁴ <https://www.kpa.or.id/2024/01/16/lapar-lahan-proyek-strategis-nasional-picu-konflik/> diakses 14 Juni 2024.

In 2019, when elected for his second term Jokowi announced that he would move the capital city. North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan, was the choice. The issue of moving the capital city seemed unprecedented, including during the campaign. Since the announcement, the construction of IKN has been massively accelerated. Jokowi even targeted the 2024 independence ceremony as his last Indonesian independence ceremony as president to be held at IKN. The government allocated funds of around Rp 96 trillion from the state budget for the construction of IKN, which overall requires funds of up to Rp 480 trillion, which means that the remaining Rp 384 trillion must be funded by the private sector. The problem that arises is that investors in IKN are still practically quiet. As of November 2023, there were 300 expressions of interest in investment, but only 23 have progressed to the investment stage. Another problem is that the idea of relocating the capital city is characterized by rejection from the public. Starting from inadequate public involvement, land disputes with indigenous peoples, to concerns about Chinese investment that is feared to make IKN a "new Beijing", Jokowi remains firm in his stance, turns a deaf ear and continues development. He did not even hesitate to go directly to woo investors. If you look at his strong enthusiasm, Dadang Muljono in his writing says this is a big political battle for Jokowi.¹⁵

Jokowi seems to want IKN to be a masterpiece of all the results of his infrastructure legacy during his 10 years in power. Jokowi wants to maintain his legacy through the construction of IKN. Jokowi's efforts to secure the IKN project can be seen from a series of recent political events. How he was considered to be involved in the candidacy in the 2024 presidential election contest of president Prabowo Subianto and vice president Gibran Rakabuming Raka, the last name is Jokowi's son. The intervention was successful, through the Prabowo-Gibran victory, Jokowi was allegedly able to entrust the interests of IKN. This condition, if it really happens, in Anthony Hall's political studies, is called the "reciprocity" phenomenon involving a network of patron-client relationships.¹⁶ The client, in this case Prabowo-Gibran, who received support from Jokowi's patron, will return the favor by securing the patron's interests after the client gets what he wants.

IV. CONCLUSION

As the decades pass, Jokowi's administration is considered to have changed from the impression of a people's leader to a "person full of contradictions", a leader who was once known as a populist is now getting closer to the elite and openly building a political dynasty. Jokowi has transformed from a politician who did not come from the political party elite,

¹⁵ Dadang Muljono. *2024 ganti presiden, pakar ungkap strategi Jokowi untuk tetap mengamankan IKN*. Jurnal The Conversation edisi Oktober 2022, hlm. 7.

¹⁶ Anthony Hall. *Patron-client relations*. The Journal of Peasant Studies. The Journal of Peasant Studies Volume 1 Issue 4. 1974., hlm. 2.

to a major force among the elite. His shadow will continue to leave an impression. With the most visible legacy of Jokowi's performance towards the end of his presidential term in the form of the construction of the Archipelago Capital (IKN), it will be a tough task for the next elected president to continue the program and manage it or even abandon the project that has spent so much money.

Ten years of Joko Widodo's leadership has brought significant changes in various aspects of life in Indonesia. Massive infrastructure development policies have improved connectivity and supported economic growth, while poverty alleviation efforts have shown positive results, despite the fact that many of his programs are still predominantly in Java. Challenges such as uneven development, environmental issues, and human rights remain key concerns. Evaluation of the government's performance shows the need for a more inclusive and sustainable approach so that the benefits of development can be felt by all levels of society. To face the future, it is important for the next leader to continue the vision of development that prioritizes people's welfare and pays attention to social and environmental aspects.

If an in-depth review is placed on the variable between political configurations and legal products, it is increasingly seen that the close relationship between politics and law means that the law is affected by politics, if the legal variable must be faced with politics, it is the law that is under political pressure, Lev explained in understanding the legal system as a whole observation in the midst of political transformation must have an impact on the role of social politics in influencing society¹⁷. Dahrendorf explained that law is a reflection of the will as the holder of power, this identification leads to every legal product is the result of the performance of the ruler at that time who exercises his power in the state.

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