



## INDONESIA AFTER JOKO WIDODO: THE INCREASE IN POLITICS AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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### Abstract

This study aims to capture public appraisal, especially student groups as young voters. The public appraisal that will be captured relates to the satisfaction of young voters on the one-year performance of Jokowi – Jusuf Kalla government. Using a survey method, this study will be conducted on student groups at the Pancasila and Citizenship Education Study Program at Ahmad Dahlan University. The data collection was done by spreading the questionnaire which then being assessed with tabulation and correlation analysis. This study is expected to be the baseline data in the first year of Jokowi – Jusuf Kalla's reign as the basis for future leadership prediction analysis for the next four years. Thus, by knowing the basic pattern in the first year, can be analyzed how the trend of satisfaction and political beliefs of society until the end of Joko Widodo office. This study showed that the increase of politics and public administration in Indonesia after Joko Widodo's government. To sum up, this study assumed that there are so many improvement and development in Indonesia today.

**Keywords:** Politics, Economy, Joko Widodo

### I. INTRODUCTION

This study aims to determine the level of satisfaction of young voters, which in this study is represented by students at Ahmad Dahlan University. Young voters as the largest group of voter segments in Indonesia have become important to measure the level of satisfaction as downstream from the performance evaluation of Jokowi-JK government for one year. This study aims to provide an overview to the community about how young voters really are actually rated with higher education background. This assessment is important, as some of us only see the performance of Jokowi-JK's current government by simply swallowing the mainstream media exposure in Indonesia.

Another important thing that should be known to the public is that the unstable economic and socio-economic conditions of the past few months have led to what is called a public distrust to the current performance of the quo government. This study is important to do because it would be unfair

if we debate the poor performance of the current government simply by following the flow of debate between a coalition of government and a coalition outside the government. This study is expected to be a source of reference for the community to provide scientific data and analysis on how the actual quality of government performance is measured by a survey at the young voter level, in which is represented by the students.

Borrowing the concept of thinking (Weakliem, 2005) there are several important factors as the basis for thinking to justify public opinion in the performance assessment of the government cabinet. Firstly, the conditions of economic development; it is clear that the decline in the rupiah exchange rate against the US dollar and the targets of achieving slowing economic growth are a simple illustration of how current government performance is important in measuring the perspective of young voters. Secondly, Weakliem (2005) explains that religious tolerance is also an important factor in influencing

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public opinion on the socio-political stability of a government. It is not a secret that the continuing problems of inter-religious conflicts, such as those that have just occurred in Tolikara or the unresolved Ahmadiyah conflict, have come to the conclusion that indeed the ruling government has not been able to address these very sensitive issues.

Nevertheless, Weakliem (2005) insists that the conditions of economic growth remain the most prominent indicator of the level of public satisfaction with government performance. This study will focus on measuring the satisfaction of young voters on government performance, especially in the sector of economic growth as the basis of the most fundamental indicators. The development of other indicators will still be undertaken as a form of broadening the scope of perspective, but only as a supporter and form of scientific justification for public appraisal, especially students in assessing the performance of their supreme leader in this republic.

In order to examine how the public judgment of one year of Jokowi-JK government's performance, this study becomes important to prioritize how the disparity between the theory of political power and the reality of power is manifested in the performance of the government. Referring to the thinking of the political beliefs of society, it is explained that the government born out of a fair electoral process with the support of a majority vote would result in high public expectations as well (Blais & Pruyers, 2017; Huddy, Mason, & Aarøe, 2015; Rudolph & Evans, 2005). Jokowi-JK as the ruler with the majority vote support has illustrated that they are the leader who is born from the majority of voters in Indonesia in 2014. The amount of community support to Jokowi-JK impacts sociologically to the high public expectations of the performance quality of the current Jokowi-JK cabinet government.

However, the extent of public support to Jokowi-JK in 2014 and high public expectations of the working cabinet is not necessarily followed by a satisfactory performance of the public's health. On that basis, it becomes important then, to answer the problem of disparity between theories that explain the high Political Trust during the 2014 election with the reality that shows the performance of the Jokowi-JK government that has not been maximized.

The main idea in the theory of political economy by Staniland (1985) is to explain the relationship between politics and economics. Political economy is a concept of social relations that are very complicated to untangle. Seeing these two processes are interrelated and connecting with the aspect of public policy. On the other hand, it is to understand the political economy as well as a way to look at the cost and benefit of decision-making structures.

The political economy is a process related to the design of policies and identification of the problem to find a solution. Therefore, in political economy, the approach is referred to as an interdisciplinary approach that is relevant in the social sciences. There are several potential difficulties in the study of political economy. Firstly, political economy would be a fundamental difficulty in seeing the market. In some study, there is a kind of resistance to the non-Marxian concepts that consider the market as an arena for the struggle of the working class. Secondly, it is difficult to incorporate the rules in a very unconstrained political science to economics rationality that is very far from the concept of power.

A research assumption thought by Staniland is how the global political economy can be run in a multicultural realm. The most difficult challenge faced in the global political economy concept is how to reconcile the equal individuals in very diverse conditions. The relationship of global theory in political economy is not easily applied in the international world conditions that have different ideologies and cultures. In contrast, Staniland (1985) formulated three categories that need to be understood in the context of the global political economy; first, the creation of intellectual theory to run harmoniously with the culture of a nation. Secondly, content that is relevant to the ideology of a nation to understand the political economy. Thirdly, the impact of social theory in political and economic stability as a necessary condition of success of political and economic management in a nation (Staniland, 1985).

The basic concept presented by Robert Gilpin of political economy is to understand the relationship between market and state. An understanding of the political economy, in principle, is to see the market as an actor in the political economy. In fact, the market is strongly influenced by how the state policy is, especially in the production and distribution activities. A state in market economy mechanism controls its nets in order to remain stable (Gilpin, 1987).

Gilpin emphasized that state and market have a mutual relationship in order to establish the efficiency of production and creating prosperity. It is a modern thought of a basic idea on the understanding of the theory of political economy (Gilpin, 1987). In addition, on the basis of a framework of thinking like this, it can develop a real relationship that market and states will provide no independent economic impact in political battles. So, it is irrelevant if it is assumed that political economy is a science that is not valued as free.

However, Gilpin also said that in fact there is a fundamental difference in the understanding of the market and states. First, the state is an actor who stands on the strength of the power to manage

civil societies. In this sense, there is one factor of the power monopoly. States have a policy of hegemony shaped to be able to regulate how market mechanisms can be executed. Therefore, in the theory of political economy, a state is the dominant power to determine how the prevailing price in the market as a mechanism for the production and distribution process.

The second actor is the market, which also has a relationship directly with states. The market, in principle, avoids all sorts of problems that can hinder the process of production and distribution that could undermine the stability of prices in the market. Thus, the political problems and everything that is not related to the production and distribution process is not a concern for the market. In certain conditions, political issues that become a concern by the states are often a bottleneck for the market to develop and strengthen the economy. The Condition like this shows that at a certain point, the economic policy can be interconnected and at the same time can be conflicted.

Cohn elaborates the international political economy in relations between the state, market, and territorial units. This reasoning shows that the strength of international political economy cannot be built by a single actor like state (Cohn, 2012). There must be other actors who support the state policy in the economic mechanism. State and market have a mutually supportive relationship to establish good economic conditions. State guarantees on the individual rights in the market mechanism. Moreover, the state also provides infrastructure, such as transportation to support the economic process. State also gives an opportunity to the domestic private sector to be able to compete internationally. International competition by private business should receive maximum support from the state.

Another concept proposed by Cohn is about state protection for the domestic market. The state has a very strong role to create a robust domestic demand and supports the private sector competition in international economic competition. Moreover, the state becomes an actor whose task is to promote the domestic potential market in the form of agreements with other countries. The good management of the domestic economy performed by the state will provide benefits for the state in process of industrialized economy (Cohn, 2012).

Domestic market also holds promise as an actor that can be developed from the foreign investment, which is part of international politics carried out by the state. A process like this gives us an idea that there is a relationship between power and wealth. In essence, the power owned by the state is a way to create wealth and prosperity. This principle also simultaneously provides an understanding to

us that the market can develop a policy success if supported by the favourable domestic market to compete. In creating stable economic conditions, the state also has a responsibility to create political security.

It is crucial to help us understand the global trade flow based on trade and regionalism concept because regionalism and globalization are not only about territory, but also there are other concepts that affect this term in the understanding of international trade. First is to discuss cultural globalization. The cultural aspect is an important aspect of international trade to explain, which involves various countries. Culture greatly influences how the shape of international trade is conducted between countries with the characteristics of each country.

Second is the economic aspect of the relationship that greatly affects trade mainly to support economic growth in each country. Each country has an economic interest in international trade relations. Thus, a mutual benefit has always been a basic relation to forge international trade today.

Third is political or organizational cohesiveness, for international trade relations would also consider the political relations among countries. Each trade will also impact on the diplomatic relations of the countries involved. I see this as a form of efforts to initiate political relations between countries. For example, Indonesia and Taiwan already established trade relations for a long time, but have not had formal diplomatic relations in relations of two states. Thus, international trade relations can be used as a way to initiate political relations between the two states.

However, in some cases, it became a stimulation of the increasing globalization of trade regionalism. In some case, it shows that the financial crisis is to find a solution to the management of political economy at the global and multilateral level. To find a solution that occurs in regionalism, it involves the participation of various countries. Regional economic growth can be supported with economic transactions at a global level that was done by the member countries of the organization (Ebrahim, Girma, Shah, & Williams, 2014; Shahzad, Raza, Balcilar, Ali, & Shahbaz, 2017).

To be able to explain the impact of regionalism and globalization in international trade, it is necessary to understand the three approaches in the theory of international political economy.

The first approach explains how globalization and regionalism impact on trade because of the main idea in liberal explanation is about economic growth. The main reason for the management of international economic trade is to improve the country's economic growth and the region. In

understanding the liberal approach, the state serves to promote an increase in exports, and at the same time also be able to attract foreign investment in large numbers. Two economic balances are the relevant options to improve the country's economic growth and the region.

Liberalism provides enormous space to the market to support the economy at the level of the region that can compete globally. To improve economic growth also needed the upgrading of technological capabilities. Multilateral trade is also a way to facilitate access to technology upgrades to trade commodities exchange. This approach also provides a policy goal to increase the income of state and society in a social community (Gupta, Madhavan, & Blee, 1998). Thus, in essence, liberalism also provides stimulation derived from international trade to support domestic trade. Expanding the domestic market to the global level is the main goal of liberalism.

There are four struggles for third world countries to challenge the international institution that has been manipulated and dominated by the north ever since the 1950s (Tilzey, 2017). First of all, third world countries are exposed to vacillations of an international system from which they cannot extricate themselves but over which they only have limited control. Secondly, the gap between northern and southern capabilities is already so great that even if the countries of the South grew very quickly and those of the North stagnated, only a handful of developing countries would significantly close the power gap within the next one hundred years. Thirdly, the third world states have adopted a range of strategies to cope with their poverty and vulnerability. Strategies directed primarily toward alleviating vulnerability are most frequently played out in international forums concerned with the establishment or maintenance of international regimes. Fourthly, the third world states have supported international regimes that would ameliorate its weakness. As a group, the developing countries have consistently endorsed principles and norms that would legitimate more authoritative as opposed to more market-oriented modes of allocation (Kirchner & Wijnbergen, 2016; Wisniewski & Lambe, 2015).

There are three major determinants for the third world states to success in altering international regimes (Scruggs, 1998). Firstly, the nature of existing institutional structures, including existing international organizations, has influenced the ability of third world states to secure an environment governed by authoritative, as opposed to market and allocation. The most important general institutional advantage enjoyed by the third world has been the acceptance of the principle of the sovereign equality of states. In the

present system, the principle of sovereign equality dominates that of great-power primacy, and states with the most exiguous national power capabilities deny that others have special prerogatives.

Secondly, the ability to formulate a coherent system of ideas, which set the agenda for international negotiations and cemented third world unity. Developing states were never entranced with the liberal market-oriented regimes established at the conclusions of the second world war. But their initial forays were limited to sniping at bits and pieces of this order and calling attention to areas where developed states had violated their own liberal principles.

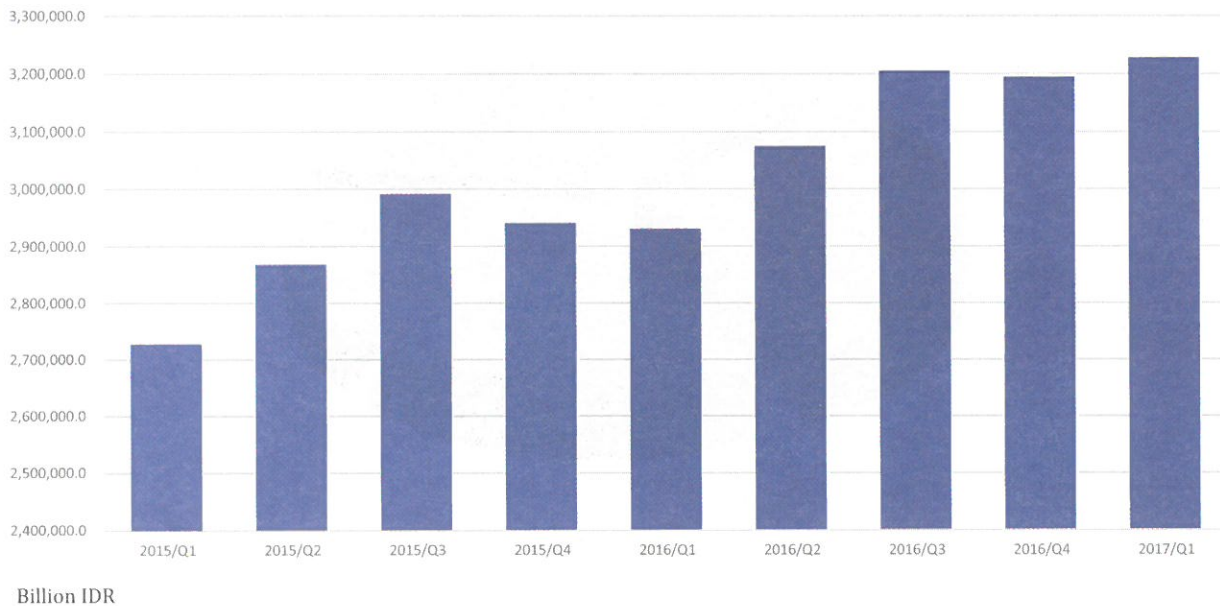
Thirdly, the attitude and power of the North, especially the United States, toward both the demands of the south. The United States emerged from the Second World War in an extraordinarily dominant position. Its physical plant had not been damaged by the fighting. Its gross national product was three times as large as that of its main rival.

The major limitation for the Third World states is that political weakness and vulnerability, which are fundamental sources of third world behavior. This weakness is a product of both external and internal factors. Externally, the national power capabilities of most Third World states are extremely limited. The national economic and military resources are at the disposal of their leaders, which are unlikely to alter the behavior of Northern actors or the nature of international regimes. Southern states are subject to external pressure that they cannot influence through unilateral action.

## II. METHOD

Prior to the field survey, the first modification and improvisation of survey instruments were adopted from research that had been done by Cole (1973). The study will involve all students at Ahmad Dahlan University, Yogyakarta. As for the subjects of the survey, they are students who are still actively taking classes from the class of 2015 to class 2012 with details of the number of students per class as follows.

The survey data were collected by distributing the questionnaire directly to the students. Distributing the questionnaire was done at the time after the lecture took place. So, the quality control of filling can be done in accordance with the standard of surveys data filling of political satisfaction. Indeed, this survey involves all members of the population in the department of civic education, so that if there are some students who do not attend the lecture when questionnaires are distributed, it will be identified with the questionnaire data.



Source: Statistics Indonesia

Figure 1. Indonesia Quarterly GDP

### III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The existence of fluctuations in the economy in a country is actually directly correlated to the satisfaction of a government's performance (Hetherington & Rudolph, 2008). By learning from the experience in the United States during the administration of President Bill Clinton, the national economic conditions outlined by the public's assessment of how inflation and direct economic growth are an integral part of the societal assessment of the socio-economic performance of President Bill Clinton's administration. In addition to the general economic conditions, household income directly felt by the community is fundamental to the public assessment which in this study is represented by young voters as the basis of the measure of how the Jokowi-JK government's performance works.

On the other hand, referring to what Citrin and Green say in (2008) explained that at the level of individual citizens, the perceptions of the assessment of economic conditions sometimes have a very wide effect on public satisfaction on government performance. The suggestion was built on the idea of a strong relationship between public trust and national economic conditions. In a narrower perspective, national economic conditions are also affected by some unexpected conditions such as natural disasters or sudden social changes (Jansen, De Graaf, & Need, 2011).

The most important first aspect to be measured in evaluating the performance of government is to see how the country's economy runs steadily (Galasso & Nannicini, 2015; Klingeman, 2015; Palea, 2015). It is also important to see the satisfaction of

voters, especially young voters, assess how Jokowi-JK government gives satisfaction from economic sector.

In this aspect, this study captures that 12% of respondents feel very satisfied with the economic condition after Jokowi-JK runs the government for a year. The figure is not too far by 13% of other respondent's rate satisfied with the current economic conditions. However, it seems that the majority of respondents are considered to be quite satisfied with the percentage of 34% and 31% were not satisfied with the national economic conditions.

The interesting thing is that the numbers of respondents who feel very dissatisfied and very satisfied have the same proportion, ie 12%. This data is interesting to be studied more deeply, as it appears that unsatisfied respondents are more dominant than those satisfied with the performance of Jokowi-JK government in the economic sector. In fact, indeed, the condition of the economy in the early days of the reign of Jokowi was relatively not really stable. Moreover, there is an imbalance of income in the 2016 APBN balance sheet. This data also confirms that indeed in the one-year era of Jokowi-JK-mass, the government takes time to bring the national economic condition to creep up in the targeted growth level.

The height of dissatisfaction in the minds of voters from the national economic sector, in fact, has been responded promptly by President Jokowi by reshuffling the finance minister. There is a kind of causality relationship, that with a presidential decree, Joko Widodo replacing the finance minister is an appropriate and strategic decision. The

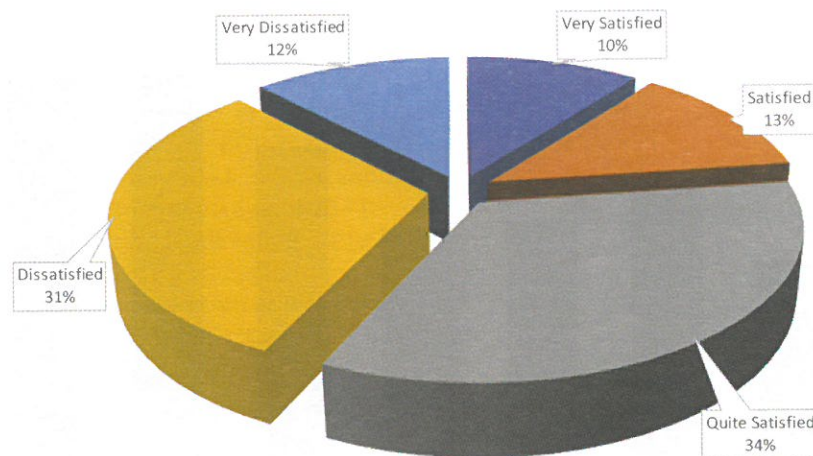


Figure 2. Indonesia Economy in Public Opinion

expectation that can be built later is that how the new finance minister can rebind the economy to return to the targets that have been scheduled (Huddy et al., 2015).

As a follow-up of voter satisfaction on the performance of government in the national economic sector, it is interesting to look deeper at how public opinion about the government's assessment of the handling of the rupiah exchange rate against the US dollar, which is currently above the average score when compared to the previous government. The research finds that the majority of voters are not satisfied with Jokowi-JK's performance in handling the current rupiah exchange rate problem. It is seen that 42% of respondents answered dissatisfied and 17% are very dissatisfied with the way Jokowi handles this issue.

This data also shows that there are many voters who are not satisfied with the government's performance in maintaining the stability of the rupiah. It is because, if summed between unsatisfied and highly dissatisfied respondents, the total is 59%. This figure certainly shows a huge public disappointment to the government's performance in handling the rupiah exchange rate problem against the US dollar.

There is another mission that I am aiming in this research. In addition to the main purpose of this study, which is to provide a picture of the data to the public about the level of young voters satisfaction among Ahmad Dahlan University students as a simple sample form in Yogyakarta, this study is also a form of my contemplation of the rule that Cole calls the Political Trust (Cole, 1973). Most academics of political science may be more interested in looking at the perspective of political satisfaction by the use of community perspective in the micro sense. However, my interest is closer to young voters, especially students as representatives

of the newbie voters segment in the environment and higher education background.

It is important to use the students as the subject of this research, because, Cole (1973) mentions that the loss of political belief in a government is a result of the loss of a democratic idea as a symbol of the warning of society's expectations to the Jokowi-JK government. This study was strongly inspired by the model of "Postulated Trust Model" which was décorized by Cole (1973). There are several components of thinking that become consideration of this research understand about the public satisfaction of Jokowi-JK government. First, the study seeks to relate the form of political beliefs to the educational background of young voters and political beliefs to the government of the status quo.

In detail, Cole (1973) understands the educational background of society is the beginning of how to develop political satisfaction and public trust. In my opinion, using students as a research subject is my way of interpreting how the educational background that thinks is considered upstream in a model of thinking about public satisfaction research on the performance of the Jokowi-JK government. It is very interesting in this model of Cole (1973). First, the trend in Indonesia, the student is a group in society that is very limited in number. At the same time, however, students, as a well-educated group, are also the largest group of people in Indonesia.

It is imperative for the researcher to consider the students who are the subject of this research as well as the age group of young people in Indonesia who become the majority voting group in Indonesia. Thus, it is very typical later that this study at the same time become a collector of public perceptions of political satisfaction in two rooms at once. The first space is a reservoir of student group aspirations as a representation of educated groups (education) and students as a group of young people (age) at the