Democracy and responsiveness in Maritime Country: Interrelations between ‘blusukan’ of jokowi and the development of infrastructure of ocean toll

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Abstract: In the context of the Asian financial crisis of 1997, a dictatorship in Indonesia that had lasted more than 30 years finally came to an end. Indonesia’s transition process featured, among other aspects, a general overhaul and liberalization of the political system, including the establishment of a multiparty system, freedom of the press and the first free and fair elections in the country since 1956. The important thing is capturing relations between the state and the people as change phenomenon from authoritarianism toward transition democracy. Putting the people as a pivotal aspect of the context state relations is crucial in democracy discussion not only reflected by people participation but also government responsiveness through pro poor policy or welfare policy. It should be discussing democracy in a complete definition. Implementation of democracy should reflect not only of people such as participation and representativeness measure but also for the people such as responsiveness measure. Understanding the relationship between the state and the people in the context of responsiveness through infrastructure development will certainly be more interesting when the ‘Blusukan’ method is put into the frame of development program implementation. Implementation of democracy such as “for the people” is evident in the government’s efforts to meet the needs of the people (responsive) through pro people policy making. In addition to the existing institutional supervision, with the Blusukan method, Jokowi wants to get accurate, fast and direct information from the people. This activity not only wants to bring the state closer to the people but also at the same time wants to control the implementation of infrastructure development that is and will be run.

1. Introduction
In the context of the Asian financial crisis of 1997, a dictatorship in Indonesia that had lasted more than 30 years finally came to an end. Indonesia’s transition process featured, among other aspects, a general overhaul and liberalization of the political system, including the establishment of a multiparty system, freedom of the press and the first free and fair elections in the country since 1956 [4]. But the other hand, transition to democracy in Indonesia also has opened Pandora’s box, fomented ethnic and religious conflict, and even encouraged regional separatism, thereby creating political and economic uncertainties [2].
The important thing is capturing relations between the state and the people as change phenomenon from authoritarianism toward transition democracy. Putting the people as a pivotal aspect of the context state relations is crucial democracy discussion not only reflected by people participation but also government responsiveness through pro poor policy or welfare policy. It should be discussing democracy in a complete definition. Implementation of democracy should reflect not only of people such as participation and representativeness measure but also for the people such as responsiveness measure. It is important since to put government responsibility to increase life standard through produce welfare policies.

Jokowi has a big commitment to implement democratic responsiveness. There are many policies that his administration produced reflects how is big government concern to increase people life standard. One of important is massive infrastructure development in across the region in Indonesia. It is very interesting if Joko Widodo (Jokowi) uses a unique approach to succeed his policy through ‘Blusukan’ methods. This approach is also reflecting how is closer relations between state and society in democracy context.

2. Method
The research literature-based, which data are obtained from many available sources from the internet, books, and journal. Considering new topics, the availability of resources are limited and related research is not widely observed in Indonesia. The research analyzes how relations between ‘Blusukan’ of Jokowi and development of infrastructure as reflection of responsiveness democratic implementation under Jokowi administration.

3. Result
This paper will use indicators that refer to implementing democracy that called Democracy Implementation Model [18] as a tool to elaborate democracy development. The model incorporates the philosophy of democratic, system and institution. The values of the philosophy of Abraham Lincoln, such as “of the people", "by the people" and "for the people" can be implemented if combined with Systems Theory that created by David Easton (1957). In Systems Theory consists three important components, such as "input", "process" and "output". The process of elaboration of the value of philosophy into the system will raise institutions which can be seen more clearly in shape as indicators of the democracy implementation.

Putting the value philosophy "of the people" to "input" will raise representativeness and participation institutions. Meanwhile, the value philosophy "by the people" to "process" will embody institutions, such as partnership, transparency, and accountability. Put the value philosophy "for the people" will bring institutional responsiveness. Sixth institutions of democracy implementation are indicators that can be seen more clearly. The question of democracy implementation is not just a problem of power management of the people and government, such as participation and representation of the people, but also the issue of how the power is managed in transparency and accountability context, and in partnership with the people's position firmly. Equally important, the power should also for the people welfare in the form of responsiveness. Indicators of responsiveness that is the measure of the success of democracy in the context of power management that generates prosperity.

Responsiveness refers to the way in which a given decision-maker – public or private – perceives the needs and responds to the demands of particular groups, such as the poor [3]. Because it is the result of the implementation "for the people", it is understood responsiveness closer to the result of the public service through a series of policies pursued. In this regard, responsiveness defined as the ability of the bureaucracy to recognize the community needs, to sets the agenda and priorities of service, and to develop service plans according to the needs and aspirations of society [18].

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‘Blusukan’ - Jokowi has a unique method to implement responsiveness. Comparing with previously leaders, Jokowi has different approach to the people since using ‘blusukan’ way as policy implementation control. ‘Blusukan’ in other words is inspection visit or impromptu visit. Jokowi explained that his 'blusukan' activity to the remote areas of the capital is not without purpose, but is based on a calculated management principle. In the early days of his leadership, blusukan had a function of knowing the society's conditions and needs (en.tempo.co, 31 July 2013). ‘Blusukan’ is also the latter's preferred method of overseeing developments and communicate with the people. Actually, ‘Blusukan’ method is also a habit Jokowi acquired as mayor of Solo, a small city in central Java, is a novelty in a country where politicians are usually glimpsed, if at all, on a distant rostrum. One of the reasons he is so popular is that he seems humble and approachable and to care about the views of those affected by his decisions (www.economist.com, 21 January 2014).

Jokowi's administration is determined to expand the development area not only to the Java island area but also other remote regions. For three years in his administration, Jokowi has conducted a series of ‘Blusukan’ activities that are almost evenly distributed throughout Indonesia. The picture below shows the map of ‘Blusukan’ of Jokowi during three years of his reign. The digital map issued by the official website of the presidential office of the Republic of Indonesia contains very comprehensive information about Jokowi’s ‘Blusukan’ activities. By clicking one point will appear complete activities of President Jokowi in conducting a series of development activities in the area.

For example if clicking one of Blusukan point in Papua, it will inform about Jokowi Blusukan activity: "President Joko Widodo accompanied by First Lady Iriana reviewing road construction in Kenyam Village area, Nduga District, Papua Province (31/12). This path will connect Nduga and Wamena. President Jokowi hopes that the road will be built so that the Nduga District, including the red zone or unstable, will be more open" (presidenri.go.id).

Figure 1. ‘Blusukan’ of Jokowi (Source: http://presidenri.go.id/blusukan.1.html. Downloaded 1 June 2017).

The Development of Infrastructure – One of important from responsiveness implementation is the development of infrastructure that reflection government responsibility to recognize community needs. In particular to encourage the economic activity of the people through the provision of infrastructure facilities. In World Economic Forum (WEF)'s Global Competitiveness Report 2015-2016, Indonesia ranks 62nd out of 140 economies in terms of infrastructure development, a mediocre ranking, and one that causes major problems. Since the era of reformation replaced Suharto's authoritarian New Order government in the late 1990s, expansion
of Indonesia’s infrastructure has not been able to keep up with robust economic growth that occurred after the recovery from the Asian Financial Crisis amid the lucrative commodities boom. As a consequence, Indonesia’s economic growth fails to reach its full potential (indonesia-investments.com).

The development of infrastructure is very important because if the state of infrastructure is weak it implies that the economy runs in a highly inefficient manner as logistics costs are high, businesses lack competitiveness (because the costs of doing business are high), and there exists a high degree of social injustice when, for example, it is difficult for part of the population to reach healthcare facilities, or, for children to reach a school. In fact, infrastructure development and macroeconomic development go hand-in-hand (have a reciprocal relationship) because infrastructure development gives rise to economic expansion through the multiplier effect, while economic expansion gives rise to the need to enlarge existing infrastructure to absorb the larger flow of goods and people that travel across the economy. However, when existing infrastructure cannot absorb rising economic activity (and not enough new infrastructure is developed) then there occur problems, similar to blocked arteries in the human body that cause life threatening conditions.

As a basic foundation to develop infrastructure, Jokowi produces regulatory reform in economic sectors as a priority. Between September 2015 and February 2016, his government unveiled 10 economic reform packages, with the intention of promoting deregulation and supporting investment in key sectors. Jokowi has recently made a number of announcements about the urgent need for regulatory reform, including, in December, setting the highly ambitious goal of removing half of Indonesia’s 42,000 odd business regulations by the end of 2016 (Jakarta Globe, 8 Dec. 2015). Two months later, in February, he unveiled plans for a ‘big bang’ loosening of restrictions on foreign investment in nearly 50 sectors, as part of the 10th reform package (Reuters.com, 12 Feb. 2016).

It is uncertain whether these packages and announcements will lead to actual reform. Foreign investors, at whom many of these measures are directed, have viewed them with a mix of cautious optimism and healthy scepticism. During the president’s overseas visits, investors have frequently heard that Indonesia welcomes foreign capital, only to then see this commitment countermanded by the actions of ministers and officials wanting more restrictive regulations and practices. As Manning (2015) notes, this government has proven to be stronger on announcements than implementation, having often buckled in the face of opposition and reversed out of, or changed, its commitments [16].

Demonstrating success in delivering infrastructure, in particular, is pivotal to the Jokowi presidency, and requires a well-organised and coordinated effort in communicating the government’s policies and accomplishments. His administration has struggled to sell its messages, both internationally and domestically, owing partly to inexperience in the president’s office and, as Adam Schwarz suggests, partly to the president’s own ‘unstructured, ad hoc style’ (Jakarta Post, 4 Jan. 2016). Being able to show that new infrastructure and better service delivery improve the lives of Indonesians will be the most critical test. This explains the urgency behind the government’s push to accelerate disbursements [16].

The Indonesian government is well aware of the importance to offer a more attractive investment and business climate by improving the nation’s infrastructure. Currently, there are not enough roads, harbors, airports, and bridges in Indonesia (Southeast Asia’s largest economy), while - not unfrequently - the quality of existing infrastructure is weak. However, developing Indonesia’s infrastructure (both hard and soft) is not an easy task. The Archipelago consists of about 17,000 islands (although it is fair to say that many of these islands are not inhabited and show no
economic activity) which make it more complex (thus more expensive) to enhance connectivity and implies there exists a need to focus on maritime infrastructure. Currently, sea transport is more expensive than land transport as the country’s sea transport is yet to be developed substantially. This also explains why - despite being the world's largest archipelago and, as such, having large quantities of waters and seas at its disposal - Indonesia’s seafood business is far from being a flourishing business.

In this difficult context, Indonesian President Joko Widodo seeks a new approach to achieve much-needed breakthroughs to boost infrastructure development. For example, the government budget for infrastructure development has risen sharply since Widodo entered the office (see the table below). Something which is partly made possible by his decision to scrap a large chunk of energy subsidies. Furthermore, Widodo appointed a number of state-owned companies as developers of key infrastructure projects. The state-owned companies usually have bigger assets compared to privately-held companies and are also able to raise additional funds from (state-owned) banks more easily. There has also been an increase in capital injections from the state budget into several key state-owned construction firms. Another new tactic is to organize tenders in the year before the infrastructure project is expected to see groundbreaking (indonesia-investments.com).

![Figure 2. Funds Allocated to Infrastructure Spending in the](image)

The Jokowi administration has made progress on a number of other fronts. At first glance, this progress looks to be quite recent. In mid-2015 there was much pessimism about the government’s push on infrastructure. The largest government procurer of infrastructure, the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, had disbursed only 28% of its budget by the end of August (well below the 44% level achieved by the same point in 2014), mainly because of delays in finalising senior positions and institutional structures under the new administration (Jakarta Post, 3 Sept. 2015). The stalled infrastructure program had also contributed to weaker domestic prices for cement, while shares of the main cement producers, including Semen Indonesia and Holcim Indonesia, plunged by more than 55% between January and August. Construction stocks saw a similar sell-off. As noted in the previous section, the government’s 2016 budget, announced in October 2015, including an increase in infrastructure allocations, from Rp 290 trillion to Rp 313 trillion. Importantly, the government committed to continuing its agenda of fiscal reform. It plans to boost capital spending from 2.2% of GDP to 5.3% of GDP by 2019, by shifting budget allocations away from subsidies and towards more productive spending (such as on infrastructure). The government also hopes to raise subnational infrastructure spending, by way of substantial increases in the DAK and in village funds. Questions remain, however, about the absorptive capability of subnational governments, and villages, to disburse these funds (World Bank 2015).
Public-sector infrastructure disbursements, after a slow start, accelerated sharply in the later months of the year. This is always the case, but the fourth quarter acceleration was much higher in 2015 than in previous years. Capital expenditure by line ministries reached Rp 209 trillion by the end of 2015, up from Rp 147 trillion in 2014. The Ministry of Public Works and Housing, which provided just under 50% of realised total government capital expenditure in 2015, managed to disburse almost 95% of its budget by year-end, a record for the ministry, which is also leading the 2016 spending program by having begun the procurement process in October 2015, three months before the start of the fiscal year [16].

Progress can also be seen in a number of projects that had been stuck in the planning or preparation stages for some time, in some cases for decades. The Makassar–Parepare segment of the Trans-Sulawesi railway has recently been completed, for example, while preparations in other segments, including land clearing, feasibility plans, and environmental impact assessments, are progressing quickly (Media Indonesia, 6 Jan. 2016). Likewise, viability-gap funding has been approved for the long-awaited Umbulan Springs project, which will supply water to Surabaya and surrounding areas (Jakarta Post, 8 Dec. 2015), and the winning bidder of the project was announced on 25 January. Also in this period, a $5.5 billion high-speed-train project to connect Jakarta to Bandung was awarded to a joint Indonesian–Chinese state-owned consortium. Construction commenced in late January, although the manner in which the project was awarded, and subsequently advanced, has invited controversy (box 1). The fourth quarter of 2015 also saw the completion of the first stage (Container Terminal 1) of the New Priok Port. This new development, designed to provide much-needed additional capacity at the country’s premier port, in Tanjung Priok, North Jakarta, has progressed at an impressive rate since construction commenced in late 2012. Trial operations were successfully carried out in January 2016, and the new terminal is scheduled to be fully operational before the end of July [16].

The figure below shows that infrastructure development was built by government reaching across the regions. From the National Strategic Projects, the Government has selected a list of 30 Priority Projects to be the focus of infrastructure delivery in the beginning of 2016. These projects are managed directly by the Committee for Acceleration of Priority Infrastructure Delivery (KPPIP).

![Figure 2. The Development of Infrastructure in the Beginning of 2016](image)

4. Conclusion
Massive infrastructure development in Indonesia is indeed the best performance of Jokowi administration. However, the implementation requires close supervision. Jokowi has a unique
approach to escort the development. In addition to the existing institutional supervision, with the ‘Blusukan’ method, Jokowi wants to get accurate, fast and direct information from the people. This activity not only wants to bring the state closer to the people but also at the same time wants to control the implementation of infrastructure development that is and will be run.

Understanding the relationship between the state and the people in the context of responsiveness through infrastructure development will certainly be more interesting when the Blusukan method is put into the frame of development program implementation. Implementation of democracy such as “for the people” is evident in the government’s efforts to meet the needs of the people (responsive) through pro people policy making. A blusukan method as a typical method of Jokowi’s administration can encourage implementation of democratic responsiveness in a more controlled manner because it can bridge and simultaneously bring the state to the people. No more local elite cheating is usually done to cover the weakness of development in the region. Jokowi can come so suddenly that control of development can be an effective shock therapy for other areas.

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