

The Jokowi
Presidency

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Indonesia Update Series

The Jokowi Presidency

Indonesia's Decade of
Authoritarian Revival

EDITED BY

SANA JAFFREY

EVE Warburton

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30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace
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Contributors

Suraya A. Affif, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia

Edward Aspinall, Professor, Department of Political and Social Change, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, The Australian National University

Ridho Al Izzati, Researcher, SMERU Research Institute, Jakarta

Faisal Basri, Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitas Indonesia

Simon Butt, Professor of Indonesian Law and Director (Indonesia) of the Centre for Asian and Pacific Law, The University of Sydney

James Guild, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Social Science, Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia

Sana Jaffrey, Research Fellow, Department of Political and Social Change, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, The Australian National University

Sidney Jones, Adjunct Associate Professor, New York University

Yoes C. Kenawas, Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia, Jakarta; Researcher, Lembaga Survei Indonesia

Tim Lindsey, Malcolm Smith Professor of Asian Law, Redmond Barry Distinguished Professor and Director of the Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society at The University of Melbourne

Fauziah Mayangsari, Independent human rights researcher, Indonesia

Nurina Merdikawati, Research Fellow, Global Institute for Women's Leadership, The Australian National University

Marcus Mietzner, Associate Professor, Department of Political and Social Change, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, The Australian National University

Nava Nuraniyah, PhD candidate, The Australian National University and Postdoctoral Researcher, Macquarie University

Arianto Patunru, Policy Engagement Manager of the Indonesia Project, Crawford School of Public Policy, The Australian National University

Rizal Sukma, Senior Fellow, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Indonesia

Asep Suryahadi, Senior Research Fellow, SMERU Research Institute, Indonesia

Laode M. Syarif, Senior Lecturer, Hasanuddin University Law School, Makassar Indonesia; Commissioner of the Corruption Eradication Commission (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi): 2015–2019

Hipolitus Ringgi Wangge, Senior Lecturer, School of Social Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia

Eve Warburton, Senior Lecturer, Department of Political and Social Change, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, The Australian National University

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This volume looks back at a decade of economic and political developments under President Joko Widodo (Jokowi), 2014–2024. Each chapter is based on authors' contributions to the Indonesia Update Conference, held at the Australian National University on 13 and 14 September 2024. Conference papers spanned problems of welfare governance, security, the environment, the economy and democracy. We asked contributors to assess the nature of Jokowi's legacy in view of both what he inherited from President Yudhoyono and the promises he made to Indonesian voters. Despite the broad array of topics and themes our authors examined, they drew similar conclusions about Jokowi's decade in power. The chapters in this volume all show how the president's developmental ambition, and his pursuit of political stability and personal power, led to a precipitous decline in institutional strength and quality. By reviving old ideas and practices from Indonesia's recent authoritarian past, Jokowi's governments oversaw significant democratic regression while achieving only modest economic progress.

Contributors to this volume are all acclaimed experts in their field, and we are extraordinarily grateful to each of them for the time and effort they dedicated to this project. The result of their intellectual generosity is, we believe, an analytically rigorous, critical, but also fair assessment of the mark Jokowi left on Indonesia's political and economic landscape. In the years to come, we hope this volume will be a point of reference for students, academics, government, activists and businesses seeking to understand Jokowi's complex legacy, and the kind of polity his successor, President Prabowo, inherits.

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Sana Jaffrey and Eve Warburton
Canberra, June 2025

Glossary

5PC	Five Point Consensus (ASEAN)
<i>adat</i>	custom or tradition; customary or traditional law
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AFC	Asian financial crisis (1997–1998)
AMAN	Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of Indonesia's Archipelago)
Anti KKN Law	Law 28/1999 on Government Officials Who Are Clean and Free from Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism
APBN	Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara (State Budget of Indonesia)
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
AQL	ar-Rahman Qur'anic Learning
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
Askeskin	Asuransi Kesehatan Keluarga Miskin (Health Insurance for Poor Families)
<i>babinsa</i>	non-commissioned army officer posted at the village level
<i>bajaj</i>	three-wheeled auto-rickshaw operated in some parts of Jakarta
Banpres	Bantuan Presiden (presidential assistance)
<i>bansos</i>	social assistance programs
Bapanas	Badan Pangan Nasional (National Food Agency)
Bappenas	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (National Development Planning Agency)
BCLS	Badan Cadangan Logistik Strategis (Strategic Logistic Reserve Agency)
BDF	Bali Democracy Forum
<i>bebas-aktif</i>	free and active (in foreign policy)
<i>bhineka tunggal ika</i>	unity in diversity

Bidikmisi	Bantuan Pendidikan Mahasiswa Miskin (Education Assistance for Poor Students)
BIN	Badan Intelijen Negara (State Intelligence Agency)
BKKBN	Badan Kependudukan dan Keluarga Berencana Nasional (National Population and Family Planning Agency)
BKS	Bantuan Khusus Sekolah (school support program)
BLT	Bantuan Langsung Tunai (cash transfer program)
BLT DD	Bantuan Langsung Tunai Dana Desa (Village Fund cash assistance)
BLT El Niño	Bantuan Langsung Tunai El Niño (cash transfer for El Niño drought)
BMKG	Badung Meteorologi, Klimatologi, dan Geofisika (Meteorology, Climatology and Geophysical Agency)
BNPB	Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana (National Agency for Disaster Management)
BNPT	Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorism (National Anti-Terrorism Agency)
BPJS Health	Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial Kesehatan; one of two managing bodies of Indonesia's National Social Security System
BPJT	Badan Pengatur Jalan Tol (Toll Road Regulatory Agency)
BPK	Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan (Financial Audit Agency)
BPNT	Bantuan Pangan Non-Tunai (Non-Cash Food Subsidy Program; now Kartu Sembako)
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik (Statistics Indonesia)
BSM	Bantuan Siswa Miskin (education cash stipend program)
BST	Bantuan Sosial Tunai (cash-based social assistance)
<i>bupati</i>	district government head
COP21	2021 United Nations Climate Change Conference
CSO	civil society organisation
<i>diplomasi bermanfaat</i>	beneficial diplomacy, for the people
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (Regional Representative Council)
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (People's Representative Council, also known as the House of Representatives or parliament)
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (regional parliament)
DTKS	Data Terpadu Kesejahteraan Sosial (Integrated Database for Social Welfare, previously Basis Data Terpadu, Unified Data Base UDB)

<i>dwi fungsi</i>	dual function: doctrine of the Suharto years which gave the military a role in both security and politics
Elsham Papua	Papua human rights organisation
e-Warong	<i>elektronik warung gotong royong</i> (debit card purchases from eligible private providers)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FDI	foreign direct investment
FKP	Forum Konsultasi Publik (public consultation forum)
FPI	Front Pembela Islam (Islamic Defenders Front)
FUI	Forum Umat Islam (Forum of the Islamic Community)
G20	Group of 20 (forum for international economic cooperation, 20 member states)
G2P	government-to-people
G7	intergovernmental political and economic forum (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States)
GDP	gross domestic product
Gerindra	Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Greater Indonesia Movement Party)
GFC	global financial crisis
GMF	Global Maritime Fulcrum
GNPF-MUI	National Movement to Safeguard MUI's Fatwa
Golkar	Golongon Karya (the state political party under the New Order, and a major post-New Order party)
ha	hectare
HDI	human development index, human development indicators
<i>hilirisasi</i>	downstreaming industrial policy
HTI	Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (Indonesia Liberation Party)
ICT	information and communication technology
ICW	Indonesia Corruption Watch
IDP	internally displaced person
IIGF	Indonesia Infrastructure Guarantee Fund
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPAC	Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict
IT	information technology
ITE Law	Electronic Information and Transactions Law

Jamkesda	Jaminan Kesehatan Daerah (regional health insurance)
Jamkesmas	Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat (public health insurance)
JDP	Papuan Peace Network
JKN	Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (National Health Insurance)
<i>kabupaten</i>	district, regency
KAI	Kereta Api Indonesia (a state-owned railway operator)
KAMI	Koalisi Aksi Menyelamatkan Indonesia (Action Coalition to Save Indonesia)
<i>kampung</i>	urban hamlets
KATR/BPN	Kementerian Agraria dan Tata Ruang/Badan Pertanahan Nasional (Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency)
Kemlu	Kementarian Luar Negeri (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
KIM	Koalisi Indonesia Maju (political coalition)
KIP	Kartu Indonesia Pintar (Smart Indonesia Card)
KIP Kuliah	KIP for tertiary education
KIS	Kartu Indonesia Sehat (Indonesia Health Card)
KKB	Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata (armed criminal group)
KKS	Kartu Keluarga Sejahtera (Prosperous Family Card)
Kogabwilhan	Komando Gabungan Wilayah Pertahanan (three strategic joint commands of Indonesian armed forces in Papua, established 2019)
KPA	Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (Consortium of Agrarian Reform)
KPK	Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (Corruption Eradication Commission)
KPS	Kartu Perlindungan Sosial (Social Protection Card)
KSB	Kelompok Separatis Bersenjata (armed separatist group)
<i>laskar</i>	militia groups
LMAN	Lembaga Manajemen Aset Negara (State Asset Management Agency)
LMIC	lower-middle-income countries
LPI	logistics performance index
LRT	light rail transit
<i>mal pelayanan publik</i>	public service mall
MBG	Makan Bergizi Gratis (free nutritious meal program)
MK	Mahkamah Konstitusi (the Constitutional Court)

MKMK	Majelis Kehormatan Mahkamah Konstitusi (Constitutional Court Ethics Council)
MoEF	Ministry of Environment and Forestry
MoSA	Ministry of Social Affairs
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)
MRT	mass rapid transit
Muhammadiyah	modernist Islamic organisation
MUI	Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Ulama Council)
Nahdlatul Ulama	traditional Islamic organisation
Nawa Cita	Jokowi's nine-point agenda
New Order	political regime under President Suharto, 1966–1998
NIK	Nomor Induk Kependudukan (population identification number)
NSP	National Strategic Project
Omnibus Law	Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja (Omnibus Law on Job Creation)
OPK	Operasi Pasar Khusus (Special Market Operation)
OPM	Organisasi Papua Merdeka (Free Papua Movement)
Ormas Law	Organisasi Kemasyarakatan (Societal Organisations) Law 17/2013
Otsus Law	Special Autonomy Law (Papua) 21/2001
P3KE	Pensasaran Percepatan Penghapusan Kemiskinan Ekstrem (Acceleration of Extreme Poverty Elimination database)
PA-212	Persaudaraan Alumni 212 (212 Brotherhood Alumni)
Pak	(Bapak) respectful term of address to men
PAN	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)
Pancasila	the five guiding principles of the Indonesian state (belief in God, humanitarianism, nationalism, democracy and social justice; or, in another formulation: belief in one supreme God, just and civilized humanity, national unity, democracy led by wisdom and prudence through consultation and representation, and social justice)
PBI-JKN	Penerima Bantuan Iuran – Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (subsidised health insurance premium waiver)
PDI-P	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle)
PEN	Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional (National Economic Recovery) program
Perhutani	SOE that manages forest resources on Java and Madura

Perlinsos	Program Perlindungan Sosial (Social Protection Program)
PIK 2	Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 (property company headquartered in Jakarta)
PIP	Program Indonesia Pintar (Smart Indonesia Program)
PIS	Program Indonesia Sehat (Healthy Indonesia Program)
PKH	Program Keluarga Harapan (Family Hope Program)
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)
PKPB	Partai Karya Peduli Bangsa (Concern for the Nation Functional Party)
PKS	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperity Party)
PLN	Perusahaan Listrik Negara (State Electricity Company)
PNPM	Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (Community Empowerment Program)
Polri	Polisi Republik Indonesia (Indonesian National Police)
<i>polsek</i>	subdistrict-level police stations
PPLS	Pendataan Program Perlindungan Sosial (Social Assistance Program Database)
PPP	purchasing power parity
<i>preman</i>	gangster, thug
PSI	Partai Solidaritas Indonesi (Indonesian Solidarity Party)
PT Agrinas	PT Agro-Industry Nasional
PT MEG	PT Makmur Elok Graha
PTUN	Jakarta Administrative Court
Raskin	Beras untuk Keluarga Miskin (Rice for the Poor Program)
Rastra	Beras untuk Keluarga Sejahtera (Rice for Welfare Program)
<i>reformasi</i>	reform: usually denotes the period from 1998 to 2004
<i>reformati</i>	'reform is dead'
Regsosek	Registrasi Sosial Ekonomi (socio-economic registry)
Rp	rupiah
RPJMN	Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional (National Medium-Term Development Plan)
Satgassus	Satgassus Merah Putih (Red and White Special Taskforce)
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
Sembako Program, or Kartu Sembako	Staple Food Card (from <i>sembilan bahan pokok</i> , nine basic commodities, originally rice, sugar, cooking oil, meat, eggs, milk, corn, kerosene and salt); formerly known as BPNT

SEPBS	Survei Efektivitas Program Bantuan Sosial (Survey of Social Assistance Program Effectiveness)
sharia law	Islamic religious law
SimPel	Simpanan Pelajar (student savings account)
SMERU	SMERU Research Institute—an independent institution for research and policy studies founded in 2001; formerly Social Monitoring and Early Response Unit, run by the World Bank
SME	small and medium enterprise
SMI	PT Sarana Multi Infrastruktur
SOE	state-owned enterprise
SP3	Surat Penghentian Penyidikan Perkara (Investigation Termination Order)
Susenas	Survei Sosio-Ekonomi Nasional (National Socioeconomic Survey)
Tatmadaw	Myanmar military
Tim Pengawasan Organisasi Asing	Monitoring Team for Foreign Organisations
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Army)
TNP2K	Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan (National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction)
TORA	Tanah Obyek Reforma Agraria (Land Objects of Agrarian Reform)
TPNPB	Tentara Pembebasan Nasional Papua Barat (West Papuan National Liberation Army)
UCT	unconditional cash transfer
UDB	unified database (TNP2K)
UMIC	upper-middle-income country
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UP4B	ad hoc team formed during Yudhoyono era to investigate root causes of the Papuan conflict
USD	US dollar
<i>ustadz</i>	respectful title for Islamic scholar or teacher
WALHI	Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (Indonesian Forum for the Environment)
WHO	World Health Organization
YLBHI	Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (Legal Aid Foundation Indonesia)

