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## AN ACCOUNT OF GOVERNOR ANIES BASWEDAN'S PERFORMANCE ON INCLUSIVE ECONOMIC GROWTH IN DKI JAKARTA (2017-2021)

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**Abstract:** Adopting the principles of good corporate governance by state governments in times of influence of corporations is crucial given the mandate of the Constitution that government agencies must adhere to. Beginning with “abnormal” politics of the elected governor in 2017, Anies encounters challenges both politically and the choice of the road to inclusive economic development. This paper makes an account of Anies’s performance in executing the tasks. The method of the study employs qualitative research method, with secondary data to be analyzed through meta-analysis. The concepts of good corporate governance and inclusive economic growth are the two concepts to look into the performance. It is our finding that amidst controversies in the early days in office when sociological legitimacy was questioned, Anies eventually gains performance legitimacy as has been reflected by several awards by authorities in their respective government and international agencies.

**Keywords:** Inclusive economic growth, good corporate governance, Anies Baswedan, DKI Jakarta, performance legitimacy

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### INTRODUCTION

In 1970s economic development in Third World nations had such strategies as growth model, growth with distribution—to improve the drawbacks of the former—and other models of pro-poor development. And Schumacher’s book *Small is Beautiful*—claimed to be a Buddhist economics—once became the focus of attention to the endeavor of formulating pro-poor economics along with Schumacher’s project focusing on preserving culture and developing small economies in Burma (Leonard, 2019). Now days, as the trend of the adoption of inclusiveness as a new clue in betterment of humanity is on the way, economic development has taken the idea of inclusive growth into consideration. While

trickledown effect within the neo-liberal philosophy excludes significant involvement of poorer segments in making the economy grow, contemporary inclusiveness of smaller businesses becomes mandatory. This paper makes an account of economic growth carried out by the Governor Anies Baswedan in DKI Jakarta during his 2017-2021 term in office.

Beginning with “abnormal” Jakarta politics—when such issues as the politics of identity and ethnic politics—Anies’s administration in DKI Jakarta have to tackle multi-faced challenges. “Abnormal” politics covers the spread of hoaxes—political hoaxes (Utami, 2018). “Abnormal” politics in 2017 also was made possible by the presence of heated opinions. Political hoaxes emerged between the communities supporting the two candidates—Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok) and Anies Baswedan. To a greater extent, the 2017 Jakarta politics seemed to be triggered by the way Ahok expressed his criticism of his competitor, Anies, in a way that was for many people rude, with his loud voice. Such bad communication has had no precedence. Ahok’s culminating act was his slip of the tongue; “he slid into deep controversy when he was captured on video camera making questionable references to a Quranic verse that provoked the Muslim electorate” (Syailendra, 2017). Before Anies took office in DKI Jakarta, mass media with their own inclination to the ideology of media (Van Dijk in Anggoro, 2019) described differently the persons in contestation. In the days of campaign, Media Indonesia.com supports the incumbent, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, whereas Okezone.com supports Anies Baswedan (Anggoro, et.al., 2019). Though “abnormalcy” took place, in general, the normal politics is in fact takes place—business as usual: such normal process of power politics includes the involvement of a few intellectuals who back up candidates in contestation in power politics. McRay and Robet (2021) note that very few academics express more or less “neutral” account on particular issues. But obviously all candidates in contestation enjoyed overt support from the respected “partisan” academics.

From the perspective of political economy, the heated debate during this “abnormalcy” should resemble the harsh conflict of interest between the two parties—those few upper and high classes obtaining economic advantages vs. the vast segments of the disadvantaged. Quoting Oxfam report, Wilson (2017, 4) finds that:

*“inequality has been driven by a combination of ‘market fundamentalism’, high concentration of land owners and the second lowest rate of tax collection in Southeast Asia.... Once (Jakarta was) a city of mixed neighborhoods, (and is now) large parts of the city are spatially divided by class and ethnicity”.*

The economic disparity mentioned above is confirmed by the activisms of pro-poor social movements in Jakarta—such as JRMK or Jaringan Rakyat Miskin Kota or

urban poor network, RCUS or Rujak Center for Urban Studies, and Ciliwung Merdeka—that have been actively involved in “development for the poor”. Not only were they putting pressure on resettlement programs launched by consecutive governors—Joko Widodo, Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, and Anies Baswedan, but also, in collaboration with a few non-government agencies made a joint-project in designing alternative housing project. These movements “have organized to challenge state-led displacement and resettlement, and to stake claims to land that are often not recognized by the state.” (Colven & Irawaty, 2019; 5). A few years before Inclusive Economic Growth was initiated nation-wide in 2011, Teixeira & Edelblutte (2017) made a study on risk management strategy that involve resettlement program for urban poor living in slums areas in Jakarta in 2005-2007 and in Mumbai, India, in 2013. They presented a paradox about this issue in Jakarta: though the goals are to “(1) increase green areas in order to prevent hazards, and (2) reduce vulnerability by relocating slum dwellers to safer areas”, but “many relocation apartments are in fact built on riverbanks, and include shopping centers....”. Another fact was that the goal to create green areas was not met—some absorbing areas were transforming into commercial cities: “Pantai Indah Kapuk Residence in West Jakarta, Kelapa Gading in North, and commercial areas in the city forest of Cibubur are some examples of the shifting process of water-absorbing areas into a commercial site.” (Teixeira & Edelblutte (2017; 89)

After winning the Jakarta politics in 2017 convincingly, Anies would have to prove that not only is he legitimate legally, but is also competent. Does Anies gain legitimacy from sociological to performance legitimacy? Is it very likely that moving toward performance legitimacy that Anies gain eventually proves that Anies performs well? How has good corporate governance and implementation of the mandate of Indonesia’s National Bureau of Development Planning (Bappenas) to adopt pro-poor growth in economic development been materialized by the governor? This paper shall make an account of this subject.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Gandhour (2020) notes high increase in Gross Domestic Products (GDP) in the 12 Arab countries in Western Asia did not reflect high increase within Inclusive Development Index (IDI) framework; Social inclusion was not part of their respective GDPs. In Indonesia, similar finding was also obtained during 2010-2015. (Sitorus & Arsani. 2018). In Indonesia, the strategy for involving inclusive development was first adopted by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2009 (Tambunan, 2015; 5). Given the diverse conceptions of pro-poor growth by international institutions and unclear focus of indicators, Bappenas RI, claims to possess its own and launch the 2011-2017 nation-wide Program of Inclusive Economic

Development. With respect to the execution of programs, inclusive growth in provinces across Indonesia has not filled the gap of economic disparity between the rich and the poor; therefore, it is suggested that relevant data on the issue be reviewed and that direct intervention be launched by the government in the areas of employment, education and poverty (Andrian, 2020). Findings of Rini & Tambunan (2021) showed only a few provinces in Indonesia have achieved inclusive economic growth and that households are accelerated to economic growth with help of IT. Making an account of Indonesia's inclusive economic growth (until 2017), employing Environmental Kuznets, Suharto, et. al. (2021) found that the growth has degraded the environment. Why less inclusive? Dartanto (2013) mentions two possible reasons—dependent heavily on capital intensive sectors and services-oriented economy causing only fewer jobs for job seekers, and agriculture was less productive, causing fewer benefits that were gained by those working in the sector. Before 2017, exactly the years 2014-2016 was the time when income inequality existed across most regions in Indonesia—causing economic growth less inclusive (Puguh & Widyasthika, 2017).

The second concept is about good corporate governance (GCG). Adapted from corporation, good governance or GCG is meant that an organization is well-administered involving the preparedness of bureaucrats to be accounted for by the public and open for public control. This implies the need for society to participate—thus democratic politics. To measure the relative success of GCG in the area of economy would touch upon the crucial notion of economic “development” employed by chief executive officer such as the president and governors. In contrast to GCG's concept among most corporations—predominantly oriented towards economy of scales while undermining social dimensions—the government's concept of GCG should conform to the state's philosophy and ideology along with its model of economic development generated from it. While strong state in Soekarno's era was heavily inclined to more of Socialism or *Sosialisme Indonesia*, strong state under the rule of Suharto was made the economy more internationalized and liberalized. As of the 1998 reform, it has been observed that big corporations have been very influential—with its subsequent negative impact on having the state government weak in the country.

## METHODS

The study employs qualitative research method with secondary data gathered from documents and research findings presented in journals. A number of articles in electronic journals on related issues were accessed through mostly the Google scholars. Following the procedure in qualitative research, categories and concepts are simultaneously carried out, with eventually coming up with empirical

generalization. The method of the analysis is meta-analysis whereby findings and accounts on Anies's performance made by previous studies are reviewed for more credible interpretation. Card (in Utami & Helmi, 2017) describes meta-analysis as accumulating diverged findings of previous researches and making it integrated within a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena.

## RESULTS & DISCUSSION

100-day performance was studied by Ma'arif (2018), basing his account on Tweeter Analysis. Though the finding presented no indicative conclusion about AB's performance in the eye of tweeter users, the study showed two (2) significant issues discussed by tweeter users, i.e. (1) comparing Anies in office against that of the previous governor, Ahok; and (2) debates over reclamation project at the Jakarta Bay. In the early years in office, "political sentiment" was found as neutral—as far as it is captured from Twitter and Instagram; "the public view of the Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta ...for one year is dominated by neutral sentiment with a proportion of 59% on Twitter and 46% on Instagram".

Using three parameters of inclusive economic growth—economic growth, income distribution and poverty alleviation, and greater access to job opportunity—Bappenas presents the data as follows. In the first parameter, three regions with the highest growth are: DKI Jakarta, 6.74 %, Kepulauan Riau, 5.4%, and Sulawesi Tengah, 5.2 % respectively. In the second parameter, three top regions are: Bangka Belitung, 8.28 %, Kalimantan Selatan, 7.97%, and Kalimantan Tengah, 7.71% whereas in the third parameter, three best regions are: DKI Jakarta, 7.18 %, Kepulauan Riau, 6.16 %, and Yogyakarta, 6.1%.

### Economic Dimension

It was reported by Central Bureau of Statistics R.I. that the economic growth of DKI Jakarta sharply took place, i.e. 7.07 % in the second quarter of 2021—the highest growth ever taken place since the fourth quarter of 2004 year on year (CNBC-Indonesia, 06 August 2021; Bisnis.com mentions 10.91%). And this is not achieved within growth model of economic development, neglecting informal and smaller sectors. Rather, it is done in the framework of inclusive development of both big sectors and small sectors respectively. This sharp hike should be the result of the way DKI Jakarta in tackling "economic deficit" of Jakarta in the second quarter of 2020, which was minus 8.22%, with only minus 5.32.% of the deficit nation-wide. What has been done by Anies in his day-to-day governing may be in line with Hidayat's call on the need for moving from a mere good governance to what he terms as proper governance. Hidayat's key point is "the way a democratic governance ought to be practiced for achieving the wealth of nations" (Hidayat, 2020; 6).

### Income Distribution & Poverty Alleviation

As to the second parameter—income distribution and poverty alleviation—it is indicative of complicated problems are faced by DKI Jakarta. Citizens of Jakarta are satisfied by Anies’s work performance—survey by Populi Center mentions 73.3%; yet, citizens also identify problems need tackling better: poverty alleviation, job opportunity, and economic disparity (Media Indonesia, 09 Feb 2022). In the case of resettlement programs for urban poor, the three governors have not performed satisfactorily. *Kampung Deret Program* (KDP) was launched by Governor Joko Widodo and was continued by Governor Basuki Tjahaya Purnama; Community Action Program (CAP) has been Anies’s program. Pangeran & Akbar note that “the key factor of the KDP Program failed because of the complicated land tenure problem in Petogogan. Indeed, even if the KDP Program was successful in physical upgrading, but it is still unsustainable because of land tenure issues”. (Pangeran & Akbar, 2015; 243-4). Quoting the Jakarta Post (2019), CAP’s implementation deviated from the origin design; it was not community-based but it became Consultant Action Plan. Another drawback was single executor of local government agency with limited coordination among other parties, including the residents (Pangeran & Akbar, 2015; 241). In the public involvement it is noted that Ahok’s approach was more of top-down whereas Anies has been participatory. In one case of *kampung susun* initiated by Ciliwung Merdeka, it was noted that, “While initially meeting with a number of community organizers, then-governor Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (known as Ahok) abruptly and unexpectedly ended negotiations between the city administration, and the community with their allies”. (Colven & Irawaty, 2019; 15). Anies’s participatory approach is in essence praised (Fadli and Sorofah, 2019). Concerning the issue of filling the disparity, it was in the early days of Anies’s candidacy was also full of pros and cons on land reclamation project. After a year in office, Anies’s policy was to stop the Reclamation Project in 2018, the income of DKI Jakarta was made lowered; however, the policy is economically better distributed. Suryani et. al. (2019) noted that in addition to lowering the income of DKI Jakarta, the controversy of the reclamation project has invited the advocacy by several NGOs: the coalition of the NGOs consists of WALHI (environmentalists), KNTI, LBH Jakarta (law advocacy agency), Kiara (women’s solidarity NGO), and ICEL (the Indonesian center for environmental enforcement).

Anies Baswedan’s policy to stop reclamation project of the cluster of “B” islands in 2018 seems to be on the right course: to city planners like Tjoei & Kesuma (2019), the failure of the reclamation is that it has deviated from the ideals previously set forth: “The orientation of economic benefits from extra spaces on D island is a form of capitalist space and ignores the social space”. With social space it should also

covers preserving eco-system—some aspects of green economy mandated by Indonesia's 1945 amended Constitution. A study used by the 2003 decree of the Ministry of Environment reveals such environmental hazard of Jakarta Bay Reclamation: the "reclamation increases the risk of flooding, especially in the northern region, damaging marine ecosystems, causing fishermen's income to decline, and disrupting the Muara Karang power plant" (Priyanta, 2010; 82).

Given so many awards that are given to DKI Jakarta during 2017-2021, especially award on the success of inclusive economic development, this research is indebted a lot to all those awards. A nation-wide TV station, Metro TV, awarded Anies (DKI Jakarta) the Best Governor for Inclusive Economic Growth on the talk show of People of the Year 2021 ((Seputar Tangel.com, Thru 02 Dec, 2021); Governor of Bangka Belitung Province, and Governor of East Java (Antara Babel, 25 Nov 2021). The economic growth in Province of Bangka Belitung for example obtains significant contribution from mining sector (22%) and agriculture and fishery (20%), (Medcom.id, 17 Nov, 2021). In case of East Java, government spending gives impact on the inclusive economic growth for long term only but gives negative impact for short term on unemployment. This finding was obtained by Safitri, M.I.D, et.al. (2021), conducting research in 28 municipal cities and districts across East Java for the period of 2014-2018.

Two other awards worth mentioning are (a) DKI Jakarta, status as WBK (*Wilayah Bebas Korupsi* or the region free from corruption) awarded by the Ministry of State Apparatus & Bureaucracy Reform; and (b) BAPPENAS's assessment in 2021 resulting in their support to the policy of DKI Jakarta to hike the wages of workers in DKI Jakarta.

### Issues of Environment-Friendly

In the environment-friendly side, Dewi (2019) notes the strong points of Anies's program that concern provision of public space and environment-friendly. Anies's design of *Taman Maju Bersama (TMB) Ruang Publik Terpadu Ramah Anak (RPTA)* is more participatory in its designing compared to Ahok's *Ruang Publik Terpadu Ramah Anak (RPTA)*. In this regard, by comparing urban infrastructure for tackling the over volume of water in the city of Amsterdam and that in Jakarta, Syahriani and Ellisa (2020) make an analysis of some parks designed during Ahok and Anies—RPTA compared to TMB—they find strong points of TMB:

*"We believe it serves as an extra value for Taman Maju Bersama compared to RPTRA since it is based on its surrounding area's needs and context. It also has the potential to reduce runoff flooding on a neighborhood scale. The existence of references and guidelines in the design of the RPTRA can limit the potential of the RPTRA as a public space that prevents runoff flooding on a neighborhood scale".*

Viewed from the criteria set forth by the government, it can be summarized that the overall criteria for achieving inclusive growth has been met by Governor Anies Baswedan during his office in 2017-2021. In the context of weakening position of state in central government as the negative impact of influence of big corporations, Anies Baswedan has made a breakthrough as was the case of his policy to stop some of Jakarta Bay reclamation projects. From the performance accounted, it is indicative that “political and/or economic concession” addressed to hardliners of Islamic groups was not given by Anies Baswedan. Pro-poor policy has been based in general on implementing the principles of good corporate governance and achieving inclusive economic growth as regulated by the law. “Abnormal politics” that appeared before his term in office has not brought with it subsequent giving of such a concession to a few elites or segments of this type of supporters. Such a “clean”, good governance may be much different from, for example, several bad practices of provision of economic leverage by political elites to their (ethnic/religious) clients supporting them in what Chandra call patronage democracy—first introduced to identify the practice of ethnic parties in India (2003)—and, later on, is also applied in Indonesia (Berenschot, 2018; Klinken, 2009; Simanjuntak, 2012, Chandra, 2007), to criticize similar bad practices of economic leverage.

So far, the inclusive idea is defined in terms of more technocratic and economic mode of developing Jakarta, including the poor. The existing government design of inclusive economic growth has not adopted a more “radical” notion of a true **inclusive society**. Anies’s participatory approach to tackling urban poor could be a new step towards what Wirutomo (2016) recommends—the needs for the government to have more social engagement. Though sounds utopia, the following reflection of an anthropologist that once worked and lived in Jakarta may be worth quoting—a very ideal city where segments of the society really interact and develop their life economically, culturally, and pursuing knowledge:

*The challenge is to produce an account of urban contemporary city life that demonstrates the intricate inter-linkages among how residents are housed, how land is used, how work and income are created, where people can circulate and congregate, how residents access critical knowledge...and participate in the critical process that determine their livelihoods and rights.” (Simone, 2015; 22-23).*

## CONCLUSION

It is our conclusion that there has been sufficient evidence that the program of inclusive economic growth by Governor Anies Baswedan in DKI Jakarta 2017-2021 has comparatively been implemented—amidst several weaknesses, especially limited capacity of institution, collaborative work and the way local authorities

carry out the tasks. The evidence includes several awards recognizing the achievement. Along with all these, Anies's good performance is done not only in a variety of public services and general management but also Anies's absence of giving economic or political concession for hardliners; all these prove that good governance has also been carried out satisfactorily. Moreover, environment-friendly development has also been done.

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