# JOKOWI'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SURAKARTA-
## LESSON LEARNED FROM GOOD GOVERNANCE BEST PRACTICE

**Teguh Yuwono**
PhD Candidate in Government Studies at Padjadjaran University and
Senior Lecturer of  Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Diponegoro University, Indonesia

**ABSTRACT**:    *Study of local good governance is important because of two main reasons. Firstly, focus of local governance analysis has so far mainly put on the study of measuring indicators of good governance.  There are stil limited studies on local governance subjects focused on how the local governance processes take place.  Secondly, good implementation of practical local governance is needed to be studied since it is important to look for a best example  in order to enhance the good local governance practices. This reserach is  intended to study factors determining good local governnaces practices in Surakarta City from  2005-2014.  The main research question is what are factors determining  local good governance  in Surakarta City? Research result shows that there are enrichment  factors determining  good governance practice in Surakarta. These factors  include  leader and leadership,  organized civil society,  tradition and culture, informal factors, bureaucratic reforms, public sector modernizations and other factors (geographic position and  cultural city history). Among them, four finding factors are determinant, namely leader and leadership, organized civil society, tradition and society cultures and informal factors.*

**KEYWORDS** : good govornance, leader and leadership, civil society, tradition and cultures , informal factors.

## INTRODUCTION

No one may not argue that successful new Indonesia's President Joko Widodo (known as Jokowi)   because of his excellent performance when led local government of Surakarta from 2005-2012.  His good performance when being mayor of Surakarta inspires many people to study what was really going on in Surakarta city.  Performance of Surakarta city under Jokowi leadership showed impressive outputs. These can be seen from several data, for example good human development index (HDI),  good local government revenues and good brutto regional domestic product.

Human development index (HDI)  of Surakarta city  under Jokowi was in the first rank of all local government in Central Java Province and in the 17th rank of all Indonesia's local government. HDI of Surakarta city from 2005 until 2012 were 75.98, 76.6, 76.58, 77.16, 77.49, 77.86, 78.18, and 78.60.  These Surakarta's HDI  during eight years  were upper Central Java Provincial HDI and place on number one rank of this province. Local government revenues during 2005-2012 increased dramatically especially in  2010 to 2011 namely 32.44%  and 19.21% from 2011 to 2012 (Bappeda Surakarta City 2013:25-27).  Economic growths of Surakarta city from 2005 to 2012 had also indicated good performance and had still provided the best economic climate in Central Java Province.

Under Jokowi leadership, Surakarta city became internationaly and nationally popular. There were a lot of national and international events held in Surakarta City such as International Solo Batik Carnival and international Keraton Festival. Number of domestic and international tourists visited to Surakarta City also increased from 11,922 visitors in 2007 to 22,583 visitors in 2011 (for foreign visitors) and from 90.625 in 2007 to 718.521 in 2011 (for domestic visitors).

In terms of good governance practices, Surakarta city under Jokowi leadership showed excellent performances. Using UNDP's indicators of good governance (include participation, rule of law, transpareny, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and strategic vision), it can be concluded that Surakarta city played good pratices in managing local governance. Public participations were held from bottom level in which people were actively involved in the processes of policy making, implementing and evaluating. Policy planning meeting in very bottom level of government (namely *kelurahan* or village level society) was sustainably held to guarantee that policy making process was conducted well. Rule of law was done well by using persuasive methods such as practicing in deal with street traders relocation and other informal workers in Surakarta City. Transparency of local government was started by providing information technology intended to make sure that every process of government can be watched by all actors involved. Responsiveness of government was shown by Jokowi's method of approching people as well known as *blusukan*[1] method. Consencus orientation was also managed well since the Jokowi's government would always try to sit and discuss together with directly affected people. Jokowi's government did not strongly enforce any policies withoout public agreement. Equity was also guaranteed under Jokowi's local government where can be seen in public services at the goverment office. Effectiveness and efficiency of Jokowi's local government were established by reforming bureauracies to make sure that final mandate of government was met, namely improved social justice and welfare. Accountability mechanism was set by using information technology and reforming local government agencies. Strategic vision was well managed by implementing Surakarta City's strategic vision that was well known as *Solo: the Spirit of Java*.

This good performance of Jokowi's Surakarta city is unique since only several local governments in Indonesia are able to manage their government well. The questons are then, why Surakarta local government can perform well? What kinds of factors determine the capacity of Surakarta local governement to manage its local government well? Are there any unanticipated factors or phenomena find in the field? This paper tries to answer these questions by conducting qualitative research in Surakarta city. Qualitative research was used for six reasons, namely (a) understanding the meaning of good governance in Surakarta city, (b) understanding the context of good governance, (c) identifying unanticipated phenomenon, (d) understanding what kinds of processes under the pratice of good governance in Surakarta, (e) trying to buld causal explanation, and (f) describing patterns of good governance in Surakarta. Three methods of data collection were used namely observation, interview with 24 key informan (from three main actors, nemely public, private and civil society actors) and focus group discussion with all informan.

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[1] Blusukan is Javanesse word, means method to approach the people by directly visit or meet them in their own homes or locations. Leaders does not wait for people t o come to their office, but reversely, they come and visit directly to their people or society.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Clarifying the meaning of Governance

Governance has a lot of meaning. It may refer to practice of management in private sector, international relation, political science and also government studies. In a different context, the mening of governance may be different as well. In this government study context, the meaning of governance refers to the one defined by the World Bank in 1989. In this 1989 World Bank report, governance is defined as "the exercise of political power to manage a nation affairs." (The World Bank 1989:2). This 1989 World Bank definition is too broad, so that in 1992, the World Bank made clearer definiton by saying that:

> "*governance is epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy making (that is transparen processes); a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos; an executive arm of government accountable for its actions; and a strong civil society participating in public affairs and all behaving under the rule of law*" (World Bank 1994: vii).

In the academic writing, the concept of governance refers to not only government performance output, but also to a process by which a policy is implemented. Evans (2012:40), for instance, defining governance by stating that governance is *"the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)"*. In line with this concept, Davis and Keating confirm the definition of governance as governing processes which is covering not only government, but also other important actors, such as private sector and civil society actors. Scope of governance is broader than government. Governance, according to Davis and Keating (1993:3-5), is concerned with "*the links between the parts of political system as with the institutions themselves*". Chhotray and Stocker (2009:3) provide clearer concept of governance by stating that "*Governance is about the rules of collective decision making in settings where there are plurality of actors or organizations and where no formal control system can dictate the terms of the relationship between these actors and organizations*".

Based on Chhotray and Stocker's definition, governance meaning refers to four elements. First element is rule. It is about either formal or informal rule of the game in relating to policy making. Second element is collectiveness. It refers to collective actions in which no one can determine or dictate the process including government. Third elemen is policy making. Governance refers to policy making by whom policy is made, how many actors involved, whether the policy made is accountable or not. Fourth element is equity, namely no one can formally control the relationship between actors involved in policy making. It may cover both formal and informal factors involved such as negotiation, specific political signal, hegemony or communication.

Governance is therefore not referring only to policy making, but also related to many kinds of relations among stakeholders (public, private or civil society actors) in which formal or informal interaction may take place. Studying governance is therefore not only focusing on list of successful governance perfomance, but also a process by which the governing and interaction among actors take place. This paper subscribes to the meaning and the context of governance as stated here.

**Two Perspectives on Good Governance**

Study of good governance may be seen as relatively new  since firstly  conducted by the Word Bank in 1989. This study refered to the experience of African governance pratices when these countries received international grant from the World Bank to pratice good governance. The term "good" in governance  actually  referred to the real bad practice of governance in Africa. Therefore, the Bank initiated the word "good' to replace the practice of bad governance in Africa.

Refer to African countries, bad governance points to several characteristics such as (a) political instability dan violence (incude unconstitutional conduct, interference of the military, political terrorism),  (b) regulatory burden (includes incompetent personnel, market unfriendly policies, ineffective judicial control)  dan (c) graft (include corruption, state capture dan rent seeking) (Wagener 2004:129-130).  Considering to these bad practices of  African governance then the World Bank initiated a program to reform it called promoting good governance in 1989. From this year, the term of good governane  was then prominent and widely used.

Based on many literature and discussion about good governance practices and theories, the study of good governance is divided into two perspectives, namely normative and academic perspectives. Normative perspective on good  governance  focus its analysis on something "good" that must be promoted in  developing countries. Normative perspective refers   to international donor institutions such as the World Bank,  International Monetary Fund (IMF) and also United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).  Academic perspective on good governance refers to scientists who paying much attention on the study of good governance subjects.

In the context of normative perspectives on good governance, the World Bank defines good governance as:

> "the tradition  and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes (a) the process by which governments are eleted, monitored and replaced: (b) the capacity of the government to efectively formulate and implement sound policies: and (c) the respet of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them" (the World Bank 2010:5).

Moreover the World Bank mentions six main characteristics of good governance, namely (a) voice and accountability, (b) political stability and absence of violence, (c) government effectiveness, (d) regulatory quaity, (e) rule of law  and (f) control of corruption.

Similar to the World Bank, IMF  carify the meaning of good governance as:

> "1) improving the management of public resources through reforms covering public sector institutions (e.g. the treasury, central bank, public enterprises, civil service, and the official statistics function), including administrative procedures (e.g. expenditure control, budget management and revenue collection); 2). Supporting the development and maintenane of a transparent an stable economic and regulatory environment conducive to efficient private sector activities (e.g. price systems, exchange and trade regimes, and banking systems and their related regulations" (IMF 1997:3)

This IMF definition may confirm that good governance is not only about the government, but also good practices in private sectors such as efficient, accountable and transparent.

UNDP then provide more comprehensive indicators of good governance by stating that:

> *Good governance is among other things, participatory, transparent, and accountable. It is also effective and equitable, and it promotes the rule of law. Good governance ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the allocation of development resources...its definition includes the following characteristics of good governance: participation, rule of law, transpareny, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equality, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and strategic vision (UNDP 1997:3).*

UNDP definition points several important characteristics of good governance, namely participation, rule of law, transpareny, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equality, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and strategic vision. This characterictis had been widely used in international donor programs especially managed by the UNDP. This paper occupies these characteristics of good governance since among oters, UNDP perspectives on good governance is clearer and more comprehensive.

Meanwhile, in the context of academic perspective of good governance, there experts who stress their analysis on deeper concept of good governance. Several experts (such as Leftwich 1993:61 and Hadiz 2000:101) critizes the normative perspectives by saying that there is ideological agenda behind good governance grant projects in developing countries. Liberal ideology is suspected as hidden agenda in poviding and promoting good governance projecs to developing or poor countries. They refuse that good characteristics of good governance as designed in the donor setting will be able automatically implemented in developing countries. They argue local context and cultures must be taken into consideration when implementing good governance projet.

According to experts on academic perspectives, good governance is not only about a list or a charateristic. It is a long dynamic procesess behind the process of becoming good. Some experts in this group are for example Jon Pierre, B. Guy Peters, Merilee S. Grindle, Paul Hirst, Rhodes, Andrew Gamble, Leftwich dan Gerry Stoker. They believe that good governance is not simple process since it must pay attention to an existence of local people, local context and local cultures.

Merilee S Grindle (2010:14) sees good governance as:

> *"good enough governance means that interventions thought to contribute to the ends of economic and political development need to be questioned, prioritized, and make relevant to the conditions of individual countries. They need to be assessed in light of historical evidence, sequence, and timing and they should be selected carefully in terms of their contributions to particular ends such as poverty reduction and democracy. Good enough governance directs attention to the minimal conditions of governance necessary to allow political and economic development to occur".*

This Grindle's definition clarifies the significant of conditions of individual countries, historical evidence, political timing and so the like. It implies that implementing good governance in different country must use different method as well. Good governance is not a panacea that can happen samely in all countries.

Meanwhile, Gerry Stocker provides good explanation of good governance by arguing that there are five main propositions of good governance, namely:

> *1) governance refers to a complex set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond government; 2) governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibles for tackling social and economic issues; 3) governance identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action;  4) governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors; 5) governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority" (Stocker 1998:18).*

Stocker's concept of good governance puts clearer point that good governance is a complex one, in terms of different actors, different interests and different methods in making public policies.  There are a lot of things may happen in the process of governing whether formally or informally, in or out of government authorities. Based on this meaning, good governance is not a simple process that may be simple from developed country experience to developing countries.


## THEORIES OF DETERMINANT FACTORS TO GOOD GOVERNANCE

Since good governance is a complex one (as discussed above), this leads to the question what are then  factors determining  successful good governance? Theoretically, there are several pivotal factors determining  a success of good governance according to some experts (such as Merilee S Grindle, Institute of Governance (IOG), Geoffrey Dudley and Jeremy Richardson, Jon Pierre and B Guy Peters and Hetifah Sj Sumarto) namely (1) leadership, (2) institutional reform, (3) public sector modernization, (4) organized civil society and (5) tradition and democratic cultures.

Leadership, according to Dudley and Richardson (2000:18), Hetifah Sj Sumarto (2009:84), Grindle (2007:170-171)  and Babajanian (2008:375-377), plays important role in a success of good governance achievement. Leadership determines  direction or objectives of reform.  Good leadership will make it simple in achieving governing process to get the goals. Grindle mentions entrepreneurship leadership is conducive to determine the success of governance.

Institutional reform is also main factor  in determining    good governance achievement, according to Dudley and Richardson (2000:19), Piere and Peters (2000:3-5)  and Hetifah Sj Sumarto (2009:84-85).  Institutional reform may take place in terms of structural, insitutional and cultural reforms that are conducive to achieve good governance. Structural reform may be related to new structure of organization and also provide enough authority to the institution to do their job well.  Institutional reform refers to  organizational changes such as reforms in management functions (planning, implementing and evalating system) or supporting resources such as finance or infrastructure. Cultural reform is deal with human resource behaviour that is supported to achieve good governance practices.

Public sector modernization determines success of good governance according to several experts such as Grindle (2007:172-174) and Dudley and Richardson (2000: 19-20). This public sector modernisation includes three important changes namely implementaation of new ideas, new technology and new training. New ideas, technology and training may speed the process up in achieving good governance objectives.

Organized civil society is also important factor in determining good governance. Grindle (2007:174-175) and Hetifah sj Sumarto (2009:51-55) clarify that critical and organized civil society may influence the success of good governance. Critical oraganized civil soiety is indicated by active and supportive participation as well as intensive social control to governance process.

Last but not least, tradition and democratic cultures are also key factors to determine success of good governance. Tradition and demoratic culture according to IOG, Pierre and Peters (2000:1-5) include several elements such as tradition of soial agreement, egalitarian culture, democratic and participative cultures. Grindle (2007:168-170) mentions competitive elections as democratic culture to achieve good governance. Leftwich (1993:605-606) warns that western culture can be use to be guidance to democratize developing countries. Developing countries have their own cultures may be in line with western liberal democratic cultures.

Based on this literature review, study about factors that determine good governance can be concluded as figure 1 bellow. Theoretical proposition of this reasearch is that success of good governance is determined by five important factors namely leadership, institutional reform, public sector modernization, organised civil society and tradition and democratic cultures.
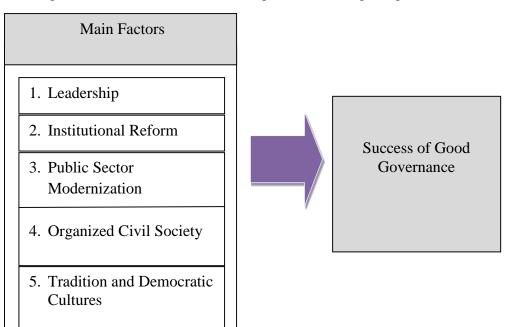
Figure 1 : Main factors determining the sucess of good governance

This theoretical foundation is used to analyze the practice of good local government practices in Jokowi's Surakarta city. Is this proposition  workable in Surakarta city's good governance practices?

## GOOD LOCAL GOVERNANCE PRACTICES

Research results show that good local governance pratices under Mayor Jokowi can be seen from two aspects, namely local government performance indicator (output based result) and good governing processes (process based result). Local government perfomance indicators can be seen from good achievement in human development index (HDI), education program performance, health program performance, infrastructure performance, economic performance and poverty reduction program performance.

HDI of Surakarta city from 2005 to 2012 shows good results indicated by position of Surakarta's HDI among local governments in Central Java Province is always number one, and place number 17 among 350 cities  across Indonesia. Education programs in Surakarta are also running well indicated by quantity and quality of schools and students attend the class. There are plenty  opportunities for the societies to study at  schools  or  universities where are  located in Surakarta. Jokowi's inovation program in education is by providing *Kartu Pintar* (Clever Card) to guarantee that all people in the city served by educational program well. *Kartu Pintar* program has been running well since 2005 until now.

Health program performance is also running well since public participation from very bottom line takes place in the city. There are many societal groups  or informal organizations (such as PKK or *Posyandu*) support these health programs effectively. Number and quality of health facilities such as local medical centre (*puskesmas*) dan hospitals are in good enough in the city. There are enough doctors, nurses and other supporting staff to guarantee the health program is managing well. Jokowi's inovation program in health care is called Kartu Sehat (Health Card) which is intended to guarantee that all needed people served by the program.  *Kartu Sehat* program has been running well from 2005 until now.

In terms of infrastructure, Surakarta city is well known as good in public roads and other city facilities. Majority of roads and facilities is in good conditions so that support economic and social activities of the society. Interviews with many informan show that there are almost no complaint for infrastructure facilities in Surakarta City.

Performance in economy of the city during Jokowi's leadership from 2005-2012 showed good results. Local government revenues always increased well from year to year, especially in the year of 2010 and 2011. In 2006, the city government was able to pay back big loan. Brutto regional domestic products (PDRB) have been running well  from 2012 up to now.

Capacity of Surakarta local government to reduce poverty was on the right track since there have been significant decrease of the bumber of poor from 37,528 families  in 2007   to 18,290 families in 2010. This capacity has been  working well because of two supoorting programs namely PKMS (health care program) and  BPKMS (education care program). By implementing these two programs, poor people in Surakarta city have been well backed up.

The next quetions are then why Jokowi's local government is able to do these program successfully? What are the main factors determining the succes of Jokowi's Surakarta government in establishing good governance?

## FOUR DETERMINING FACTORS

Research results show that there are seven factors determining  the sucess of local good governance in Surakarta city, namely leader and leadership, institutional reform, public sector modernization, organized civil society, tradition and society cultures, informal factors and other factors (see figure 2 bellow).  Among these factors, there are four main categories of factor strongly   determining the success of good local governance in Surakarta city, namely (1) leader and leadership, (2) critical and organized civil society, (3) tradition and community cultures  and (4) informal factors.
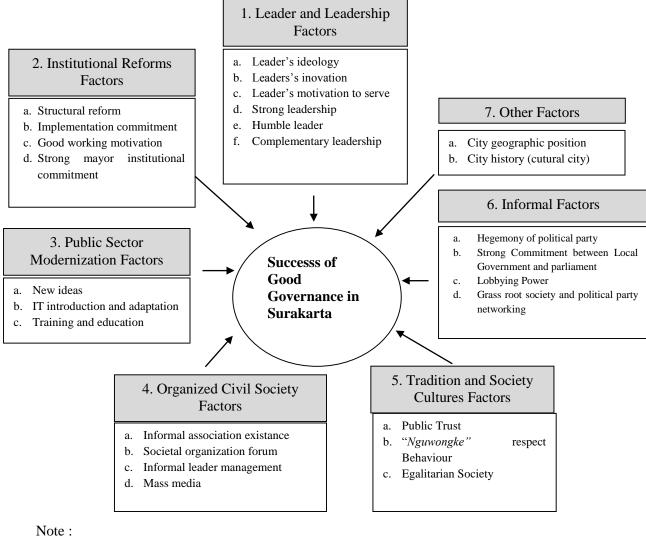
*Firstly,* leader and leadership factors include factors coming directly from personal capacity of leader and organizational capacity of leader when he/she deal with others (leadership). Personal capacities of leader that are becoming key successes of good governance in Surakarta city are leader's ideology, leader's innovation, leader's motivation, leader's decision strength and humble leader's. Organizational leadership refers to complementary leadership between mayot and vice mayor of the city.

Research result shows that almost all informan deeply interviewed confirm that mayor Jokowi and vice mayot Rudy personalities  are key elements in succeeding local good governance practices. Jokowi-Rudy implements different kinds of general leadership in Indonesian such as not using formal protocoler mechanism to meet their people, easily met or accessed  by everyone, actively visiting to their people  to discuss a policy planning (this is then well known as *blusukan*).

Complementary leadership between Mayor Jokowi and Vice Mayor Rudy provide  better opportunities to successfully plan, implement and evaluate good policies. They are not competing each other but collaborating  in all aspect of government reforms and policies. Key informan from bureaucratic, private sector and civil society key actors confirm that Jokowi leadership in Surakarta will not be successful  without important endorsement  role of Rudy. Jokowi is briliant in marketting and branding the city, whereas Rudy is excellent in organizing grass root support and master in managing political affairs in Surakarta city. Rudy is a well known political leader of  PDIP, the biggest political party in the city. He has been a Head of PDIP of Solo City for more than 15 years and very respected by all political activies, informal leaders and city ordinary people (grass root).

**Figure 2. Factors Determining Good Governance in Surakarta City**



Note :
Boxes 1, 4, 5 & 6   : Main Factors
Boxes 2 & 3          : Supporting Factors
Box  7                  : Relevant Factors

*Secondly,* critical and organized civil society plays important role in succeeding good local governance practices in Surakarta city. Research results show majority of key informan interviewed clarify that Surakarta people are very critical and active in policy making. Surakarta city has many society groups both formally and informally in which they are very active and productive in policy making processes. In local policy planning forum, they are enthusiastic to come and actively discuss  a city policy plan. Several informal leaders, such as Ramelan (Head of Becak informal workers), Joko Sugiharto (Head of City Street Traders) and Aris Saputro (Head of Traditional Market Traders), confirm that they are always ready to protest the city government  by managing demonstrations or boicots if the policies do not meet people's need and interests. Ramelen strongly asserts that demonstration is a tool to ask for more attentions from the government. He states that demonstration  is a tool for struggling in

the city to get sound policies for poor people. Interestingly, Jokowi and Rudy are very open and welcome to these kinds of protests so that almost all  demonsrations and boicots end well.

*Thirdly*, tradition and community cultures contribute strongly to get successfull local governance in Surakarta City. Good tradition and community cultures are indicated by strong trust from Surakarta's people, capacity to respect people and egalitarian people of Surakarta. Strong trust to Jokowi's local government and trust among Surakarta people make it possible for the government to generate support and participation from the People. MT Arifin, well known cultural analist in Surakarta confirms that strong trust to government, make Jokowi easily manages impossible  policy such as street trading relocation from crowded Banjarsari area to new formally market in Notoharjo, Semanggi Subdistrict of the city. Efforts to make street traders sure and trust to Jokowi do not come instantly. Negotiations and lobbies (through many ways, such as togetherly lunch or dinner more than 50 times) are done to get trust from the traders. Finally, all traders are then agreed to Jokowi's plan to make better hope and life by relocating their informal bussiness to a new location. Today, this new location of street traders (namely Notoharjo Market) is very populer and many customers come to this market regularly. Joko Sugiharto, head of this street traders group says that since Jokowi is able to make sure that new market will provide better future, all street traders then trust and respect to him. Capacity of Jokowi-Rudy to respect all people of Surakarta, especially street traders, make them easily to generate traders's support and participation to develop the new market. Respect to the people (well known as "nguwongke", in local Javanesse language) is then becoming an important key to get policy objectives done. Meanwhile, egalitarian people of Surakarta also contribute to this local governance success. People are not affraid to express their opinions eventhough  this opinion is different from government's point of view. They also think  that they are equal both to government and bussiness people actors so that it creates good atmosphere in discussing  policy plans. People are not reluctant to actively participate in all aspects of city policies.

*Finally*, informal factors also contribute to success of Surakarta local governance.  These include political hegemony of PDIP, executive-legislative commitment, lobbying power and PDIP grass root politics. It is known that PDIP is the biggest political party in Surakarta. Roles of PDIP in  policy making is very pivotal since PDIP dominates Surakarta's  local government. Interestingly, Rudy is head of Surakarta's PDIP as well as vice mayor. This makes government policy initiatives are easily agreed by local parliament  (DPRD)  since major political party is well controlled by Rudy. Several key important informan such as MT Arifin, Toto Amanto, Mulyanto Utomo and Dwi Joko confirm that political affair to guarantee that policy planning is well supported politically by DPRD and grass root people is excellently done by Rudy. Jokowi does not have good political resources to do these poitical jobs. It is therefore not surprising when many informan say that Jokowil will not be successful without Rudy's strong political supports.

Commitment between  executive body (Surakarta's government) and legislative body (local parliament:DPRD) is initially controlled by Rudy. Rudy plays very important role to create supporting commitment from DPRD to the executive government. Initiaation and ability to stop  bribery from the government to DPRD in the early of Jokowi-Rudy's government in 2005 (as well known as collutions, namely providing some money for DPRD members to agree executive policy plans) are well done by Rudy. Power and political charisma  of Rudy as head of the biggest PDIP are very determining factors to guarantee the policy agreement from

DPRD. Several people, for instante,  a senior DPRD member, RM Kusraharjo, critizes that DPRD is loyal or agreed to the executive policy plans since they are affraid to Rudy. As PDIP Head, Rudy has capacity to recall DPRD members from his party who are not loyal or supported his policy. In this context, Jokowi is surely benificial  from Rudy's strong political position. Jokowi does the rest such as city branding, marketting or other innovative policies.

Lobbying powers who are haved by Jokowi and Rudy both vertically to the central government and horizontally to DPRD are significant elements in achieving  government policies of Surakarta. There are a lots of programs such as river normalization policies, green environmental policies, informal sector empowerment and traditional market revitalizations. In indepth interview with Rudy, it is revealed that in their early of their leadership in 2005, Rudy and Jokowi often visited to  a central government agency in Jakarta to lobby any projects may be implemented in Surakarta. They did not care of whether feeling tired or not, the main target was to get grant or national projets from Jakarta.

PDIP grass root politics support many successfull  Jokowis' innovative programs particularly in relocation programs of street trading and traditional markets. It is well known in Indonesian context that there are a lots of  informal leaders ocuppy traditional markets or street trading. If the government does not good networking with them, it is then clearly difficut to rearrange those informal markets. PDIP is a party that is very closed to them, so it makes easier for Rudy an Jokowi to follow market rearrangement up. There are many strong "bad" informal leaders who almost untouchable by authoritative government. However, since PDIP led by Rudy has very good access to them, it is not difficult then to get supports from them in succeeding the related market projects. PDIP power to very bottom level of society provides good opportunities for Rudy as well as Jokowi to get  important endorsements from them.

## LESSON LEARNED

In the context of good  local governance  practices in Surakarta City, there are several lessons may be learned. *Firstly*, leader and leadership plays pivotal role in  making sure that reforms toward  good governance  are implemented. Two asprets of leadership, namely personal capacity and organizational capacity contribute strongly to successful governance reforms. Mayor Jokowi and Vice Mayor Rudy provide good examples in leadership practices such ability to effectively communicate to their society and capacity to follow public aspiration up in implementing public policies. Success of street trading development and empowerment  as well as traditional market revitalization are important examples of these leadership capacities.

*Secondly,* good leadership which is supported by  critical and organized civil society can push more effectively in  achieving good governance objectives. Critical and organized civil society is shown by several characteristics such as  active, supportive and productive  civil organizations. These civil  organizations operate not only in city level but also start from very bottom level of society namely household organization activities. Roles of  small woman organization in household level in supporting city program of child care are examples of their active support to succeed the city policy. Intensive discussions between Jokowi's  government and some active civil organizations (such as street trading and traditional  trader association) in planning and implementing related policy  provide bigger opportunities to successful policy.

*Thirdly,* strong leadership and organized civil society guarantee good results in good governance when they are supported by conducive tradition and cultures. Conducive tradition and cultures refer to several practices such as commuity trust, respect behaviour and egalitarian culture. Community trust makes a leader easy to plan, implement and evaluate a public policy. Community trust will generate great public support and participation. Behaviour of respect among people produces effective supports in policy process. Egalitarian culture is indicated by fair an equal position among three main element of governance, namely government, private sector and civil society. Conducive tradition and strong democratic culture provide more chances to sucessfully acheive good governance.

*Finally*, good leadership, organized civil society and tradition or cultures can speed good governance achievement when they are endorsed by informal supporting factors. Informal supporting factors are for instance, political party political hegemony, executive-legislative commitment, lobbying power and grass root community supports. Political hegemony of political party makes easier for the mayor to get formal agreement from the parliament. Commitment between executive and legislative bodies not to stealing public budget (corruption) get easy understanding between them in agreeing a policy. By political supports from local parliament, the future of sustainable good governance may be guaranteed. Lobbying power capacity of the mayor and vice mayor becomes key success in getting many projects from the central government to take place in local government. Lobbying power may relate to several skills such as communication and network skills of the leaders. Grass root community supports having by the leaders through political party networking help the city government to improve capacity in implementing good governance. Supports from grass root community can speed up the efective process of policy making as shown in the cases of street trading development and traditioal market revitalization in Surakarta city.

## CONCLUSION

Studies of good governance have commonly focused on the question of how to measeure of good government performance indicators as widely conducted by international donors such as the World Bank, IMF, UNDP, ADB and so forth. This research fills the gap of the study by offering analysis of local good governance based on processes explanation. This case of Surakarta city confirms that despite many formal factors (such as leadership, institutional reforms, organized civil society), there are informal factors that determine local good governance practices.

These informal factors includes political party hegemony, commitment of local executive-legistative bodies, lobbying power and strong network between ruling political party and grass root society. All these informal factors support strong complementary leadership of the city mayor (Jokowi) and the vice city mayor (Rudy). This strong complementary leadership contribute determinely to the success of local governance practices in Surakarta City.

The success of local governance practices in Surakarta City brings several worries that this success may not be sustainable since the reforms is dominantly led by Jokowi as strong mayor. These worries are understandable since many people think that the role of Jokowi's leadership is very significant. In order to guarantee that this local good governance success is sustainable, there are several recommendations need to be followed up, namely:

1. Active, productive and supportive local civil society in Surakarta city need to be effectively developed. Local civil society should have a plenty room to play its importance roles in building their own capacity of development.
2. There should be guarantee that strong complementary leadership become istitutionalized system of leadership in the city so that whoever become next mayor and vice mayor will still be effective leaders. This good institutionalized system will assist new leaders to develop their capacities.
3. The behaviour of *"nguwongke"* (respect to people) is important to be used as basic main approach to succeed local governance practices in Surakarta city.
4. Participatory system of governance among public, private and civil society actors need to be continuoesly implemented in Surakarta city. This is important in order to make sure that all governing processes are working on the right track.

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## ABOUT AUTHORS

**Teguh Yuwono** is a Senior Leturer in the department of Government Science at Diponegoro University, Semarang, Indonesia. He obtained Master's of Public Policy and Administration from Flinders University, Australia in 2001 and his PhD in Government Science from Padjadjaran University  in 2014 (just almost to complete). He was visiting fellow at Arizona

State University in 2007 and Van Vollen Hoven Institute, Leiden University, Nederland in 2010.  He currently teaches a number of subjects in both undergraduate and postgraduate programs  including Public Policy, Public Sector Management and Local Politics. Yuwono's academic opinion has often broadcasted by several national and local news media such METROTV, TVone, National Television of Indonesia (TVRI) and  famous Suara Merdeka newspaper. He has written a number of books such as *Public Secor Management: Indonesian Experience* (2001),  *Local Government Management* (2001),  *Public Policy: Theory and Practice* (2003), *Justice in Political Perspective* (2008) and  *Central Java Province: Not Great* (2014, forthcomig).  Yuwono is also well known as political analist in Central Java province and become a member of expert team for the Central Java Governor and several mayors in Central Java Province (such as Semarang and Pekalongan).  His man expertise is in Public Policy and Government Studies, Local Politics, Voting Behaviour and Elections. He is currently working a joint research with Dr. Tom R Seitz  from Wyoming University, USA  on the subject of political voting and behaviour in Indonesia.