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Research Article

Amartya Sen: Political Economy in Indonesia (Amartya Sen: The Role of Politics on the Economy in Indonesia)

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Abstract. This article will try to uncover the political problems that study specifically the economy in Indonesia using the perspective of Amartya Sen, one of the politicians based on economists from India. Researchers focus on the economic and political phenomena that exist in Indonesia and how the concepts and ideas offered by Sen in alleviating existing problems. This research uses a qualitative method with a descriptive-analytical approach with data obtained and analyzed by researchers and compared with various existing sources including theses, theses and scientific journals that can be trusted. There are various kinds of writings that explain the ideas, ideas or concepts brought by Sen, but no one has discussed specifically how they are implemented in Indonesia. The result of this research is that the ideas offered by Sen can be an alternative in an effort to alleviate the economic crisis and improve the existing political system in Indonesia. The researcher also considers that the ideas he brings are very relevant if applied in this country. Then at the end, it explains how important it is for Indonesian people to be aware and learn from economic and political phenomena in order to achieve a developed Indonesian state and a good economy.

Keywords: Amartya Sen, Politics, Economy, Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Indonesian nation has been tumultuous at every political change. The transformation from the old order era to the new order was characterized by a demanding movement. Economic issues have always been aware of political changes in this country. The problem faced by Indonesia is that the desired democratic system has not yet been achieved and even only benefits a few parties (Oligarchy), coupled with the systematic destruction of the political system, and the country's economic chaos is worsened by the many debts that have never been resolved. So it is clear that politics in government, especially Indonesia, has not found a solution to all the problems that exist. Here the researcher tries to present eastern figures, precisely India, with the ideas they bring in an effort to bring change in Indonesia.

In addition, political economy is an aspect inherent in the life of a state and society, in implementing policies both regarding the economy and politics during a pandemic is an important thing and must be done. Because in a country this is a challenge in itself to maintain economic growth. The various policies that have been issued are expected to be able to overcome political economy problems in the midst of an economic crisis like today.[1]

We all know that political economy is a discipline that is part of the social sciences based on two sub-disciplines, namely economics and politics. Political economy is a merger between the fields of economics and politics, combining two different focuses. At the very least, both share a concern for the following issues: organizing and coordinating human activities, managing conflict, allocating burdens and benefits, and providing satisfaction for human needs and wants.[2]

After that we will try to present Amartya Sen as a politician who has an economic background. Many contributions from his ideas have been recognized in the world. One of them is his criticism of politics and economics in Myanmar. Here researchers try to explore some of the works, ideas he has, especially in politics to alleviate some of the problems that exist in Indonesia, especially in government and economy. Here we first collect the original book works of these figures, then collect journals related to them and then compare and analyze more deeply about politics.

There are at least 5 journals that discuss Sen, the first journal discusses the reflection of Sen's thoughts and the exposure of global poverty but has not explained the offers and solutions provided by Sen, then the second journal discusses the rationality of Sen's thoughts and economic power but has not been linked to the

[1] Nenden Herawaty Suleman, Ferdiansyah Parenrengi, and Tirta Kurniawan Oelfa, 'Ekonomi Politik Indonesia Saat Ini, Kebijakan, Penerapan Serta Tanggapan Masyarakat Kecamatan Singkil Kota Manado', *Al-'Aqdu: Journal of Islamic Economics Law*, 1.1 (2021), 28 <https://doi.org/10.30984/ajiel.v1i1.1509>. Hlm 6

[2] Suleman, Parenrengi, and Oelfa. Hlm 3

phenomena that occur and is not determined in a particular country. The other 2 journals focus on how Sen's ideas in alleviating economic problems but have not been linked to Indonesia and only discuss his ideas and offers.[3][4].

In this research, the author uses an explanatory descriptive method with a focus on character studies and then examines his ideas and thoughts and then combines, compares and reveals the ideas and breakthroughs described in his works "*Development as Freedom"* and *"The Idea of Justice"*.Then relate it to political issues in Indonesia, especially economic and governmental problems that until now there has been no way out. This is where we as researchers try to study and find solutions to government politics and economics, especially in Indonesia. So in this study aims to explain some of the political and economic problems, especially in Indonesia and present political ideas and offer economic solutions in Indonesia.

Political and economic phenomena in Indonesia

There are various kinds of political problems that exist in Indonesia, one of which is democracy. Democracy in the life of a nation is a prerequisite for the achievement of people's freedom in achieving their political rights. In response to this, Haedar Nashir argued that democracy in its position as a political system is believed to be an alternative to the various shortcomings of existing political systems in various nations' government models such as aristocracy, timocracy, oligarchy, and tyranny. So strong is the notion of democracy that the concept has become the political belief of many nations in the world which eventually metamorphosed into -ism. In practical terms, the ongoing democratic process has not shown satisfactory results. The pulse of democracy appears more in the form of formalities that have not yet absorbed into the niches of factual public life. The political life that develops is still full of nuances that are counter-productive. To some extent, it even contradicts the values of democracy, or more precisely, contradicts the moral values of democracy.[5]

In essence, a country with a democratic system of government should be a state of law. This is because without law (which is good, fair and certain), democratic government is difficult to achieve what is the essence and ideals of democracy. Without law, democracy as people often say today can turn into democrazy as seen in anarchic demonstrations, because popular sovereignty (democracy) tends to be vulnerable to the temptation to transform into the dictatorship of the people and the dictatorship of the majority. Conversely, without democracy, the law can degenerate into a tool of coercion and oppression of the people, as well as a tool of self-justification and a protective umbrella for state power holders. In a democratic system

[3] P Y Nur Indro, 'Kemiskinan Global Dalam Perspektif " Development as Freedom " Amartya Sen Kasus : Indonesia', 1980.

[4] Runesi and Etika, 'MEMBONGKAR RASIONALITAS : PEMIKIRAN AMARTYA SEN TENTANG KEKUASAAN'.

[5] Sistem Politik Demokrasi, Dalam Bias, and Hegemoni Negara, 'Hegemoni (Hal 2) SISTEM POLITIK DEMOKRASI DALAM BIAS HEGEMONI NEGARA':, 7.2 (2018), 257–64. Hlm 2

of governance, the law appears as an objective norm that regulates the entire order of state life and binds all citizens without exception..[6]

The location of democracy in a state of law is a system of government that relies on the people as the highest sovereignty holders to make political decisions, not on a person (dictator) or a group of people (oligarchy, whether aristocrats or technocrats, etc.) who are educated, positioned, and influential in society. In order for the state to be said to be a state of law and democracy, the state or government administration has the following principles: 1) Supremacy of law; 2) Equality before the law; 3) The principle of legality (due process of law); 4) Limitation of power; 5) Independent supporting organs; 6) Free and impartial judiciary; 7) State Administrative Court; 8) Constitutional Court; 9) Protection of human rights; 10) Democratic (democratishe rechtsstaat); 11) Serves as a means of realizing the goals of the state (welfare rechtsstaat); and, 12) Transparency and social control..[7]

This is where the role of political parties should act as a liaison between those who rule and those who are ordered, namely holding information from the community to be channeled to the authorities and vice versa from the authorities to the community. Information from the public in the form of opinions and aspirations is organized and processed in such a way that it can be channeled to the policy makers. Conversely, information from the government in the form of plans, programs or government policies is disseminated by political parties to the public. In reality, in several countries that recognize themselves as democracies, a paradoxical phenomenon often emerges where democratic institutions are not only trapped in oligarchic practices but become the root for the creation of oligarchy itself. Indonesia is no exception. Oligarchy is a political system in which the governing party consists of a group of people (elites).[8]

As a result, when political parties seem to embrace the oligarchy system, there is a silencing of people's voices so that a sense of apathy arises in most circles of society towards politics itself. Ultimately, the oligarchy of power can lead to the collapse of the rule of law and the death of democratic principles. When the oligarchy of power emerges, the engine of democracy has actually experienced its demise. The question of "How Democracies Die" has thus been answered.[9]

The development of the party system in Indonesia, coupled with the many aspirations of the people that cannot be coordinated properly, has led to many attempts by the ruling political elite to fulfill the personal interests of individuals or groups over the interests of the people. A party system is called adaptable if it is able to unite various aspirations into a common agreement that prioritizes the interests of the people. From this point of view, the number of parties determines the effectiveness of political parties in coordinating various aspirations that prioritize the interests of many people or the people..[10]

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[6] Suteki Suteki, 'Hegemoni Oligarki Dan Ambruknya Supremasi Hukum', *Crepido*, 4.2 (2022), 161–70 <https://doi.org/10.14710/crepido.4.2.161-170>.Hlm 3

[7] Suteki. Hlm 4

[8] Suteki. Hlm 4

[9] *Ibid,* Hlm 6

[10] Sudarta. Hlm 11

The development of the party system in Indonesia should have been accompanied by many aspirations from the community that could not be coordinated properly, which led to many attempts by the ruling political elite to fulfill the personal interests of individuals or groups over the interests of the people. A party system is called adaptable if it is able to unite various aspirations into a common agreement that prioritizes the interests of the people. From this point of view, the number of parties determines the effectiveness of political parties in coordinating various aspirations that prioritize the interests of the people..[11]

Then in the economic field, where the current economic crisis has developed into a complicated and complex crisis that sometimes raises pessimism about the success of the Indonesian economy in the present and future. Currently, Indonesia is still experiencing an unsatisfactory economy and it is not certain how long the Indonesian economy will improve. Many observers both political and economic say that Indonesia's economic development is not supported by strong and resilient domestic resources, but because it is supported by foreign investors, uncertain Indonesian politics. It also prioritizes foreign investors who are short-term and at any time they can leave Indonesia rather than the interests of the community for the long term or even forever..[12]

Indonesian economists have given their opinions on the best solutions to solve some of the problems concerning the improvement of Indonesian economics. Some have suggested that economic cooperation with the international community, especially with countries that are members of ASEAN, should be improved. This needs to be done in order to harmonize the development of the world economy with the economic development of ASEAN countries which are full of competition..[13] Even this proposal of ideas has not met with significant results.

From some of the political and economic phenomena above, here the researcher tries to present a relevant solution initiated by Amartya Sen to be applied in politics in the process of building the economy, especially in Indonesia by using descriptive analytical methods and approaches so as to provide cases, depictions of how the role of politics in economic development in Indonesia can be described properly.

Amartya Sen's Political Ideas

Historically, Sen's initial influence entered the realm of philosophical studies first as a response to what Kenneth Arrow offered. Arrow through his book Social Choice and Individual Values offered a concept of social choice and individual values that tried to revive what had emerged during the French revolution. Therefore, through his book Collective Choice and Social Welfare, Sen wants to show that collective decisions will also affect social welfare. Sen's criticism of the rationality of economic power is also his attention to the issue of power instinct. For Sen, reason

[11] Sudarta. Hlm 12

[12] Moh. Hudi, 'Peran Politik Dalam Pembangunan Ekonomi Indonesia', *Madani Jurnal Politik Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan*, 12.03 (2020), 232–48 <https://doi.org/10.52166/madani.v12i03.2172>. Hlm 2

[13] Hudi. Hlm 3

must be able to stem instinct so that every decision made can benefit the common good. As a result, every political and economic policy will be influenced by the instincts that operate in the subconscious of everyone who then unwittingly, in every effort to make policy, often ignores what is really needed by the poor and neglected.[14]

The background of Sen's ideas and political thought is historically, precisely in 1981 Sen published Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation in which the book explains to the general public that hunger is not only caused by a lack of food, but because of inequality in building food distribution mechanisms. Why Sen is interested in studying hunger is because it comes from his own personal experience. At the age of 9 (1943), Sen witnessed a famine in Bengal. Three million people died from the famine. Sen recalls, "At that time, a man with strange behavior came to our school. Some naughty children teased the strange man. Some of us felt bad, and wanted to help the strange man. When we asked, we found out that he hadn't eaten in 40 days! And then, another person, 10, even what felt like 100,000 people passed by our school, headed for Calcutta, hoping to get alms for food.[15]

More than that, biting poverty, hunger so acute, hit little Sen's consciousness. Like Sidharta in the palace before becoming Buddha, until then, Sen had lived in the comfort of his parents' home without knowing what "suffering" meant. When poverty in the form of famine appeared before him, he never forgot. He always wondered why such a subhuman situation was possible. Why is injustice so powerful? Early on, he realized that hunger was dependent on socio-economic class. Hunger only happened to the poor. He, and his family, were completely unaware of the famine.[16]

He describes this situation in a typical sentence in the opening of his book on famines in the Sahel plains, Ethiopia, and China: "Famine is the nature of one's inability to have enough food. Famine is not the absence of food." The reason some people don't have enough to eat, in his research, is an unjust social system. People are starved, people are impoverished, by an unjust system. Amartya Sen went on to state that at that time in India there was still a sufficient supply of food, but what happened was that there were barriers that caused some groups of people, in this case rural laborers, to lose their jobs, which resulted in the loss of the ability to obtain food..[17]

This is where Amartya Sen began to improve the political system in terms of economics and food. Sen's most revolutionary contribution to the development of economic and social indicators was the concept of "Capability" in his article "Equality of What". Sen stated that the government must concretely re-measure the capabilities of its citizens. Sen explains that Capability will be created if the "Functionings" (functions/potentials) that exist in each individual are empowered. Individual "functionings" here are very broad in meaning, one of which is the availability of individuals to obtain education. If the barriers experienced by individuals in accessing

[14] Runesi and Etika, 'MEMBONGKAR RASIONALITAS : PEMIKIRAN AMARTYA SEN TENTANG KEKUASAAN'. Hlm, 2

[15] Syawaluddin. Hlm 8

[16] Syawaluddin. Hlm 8

[17] Ibid, Hlm 9

education have been removed, then it can be said that a person's "Functionings" are used and the person is free to make choices in his life..[18]

Sen's other concept is "Welfare Economics" which explains the impact of any policy taken by the government on people's lives. Where the problem is related to individual rights, rules/regulations, and the availability of information about individual conditions. Sen revealed that methods of measuring poverty are very helpful in providing information to improve economic conditions to be free from poverty.[19]

In addition, his interest in economics was deepened by reading books on culture and philosophy. Because of this broad interest, economic matters are not only seen from the economic side. As a result, some of his works are far more weighty than the results of the studies of economists of his generation. His works have been widely reviewed and become a reference in the management of state (developing) policies, especially development policies that have tended to be subject to "outside" thinking. The submission to outside thinking is because they forget that colonization is usually easier to slip in during "development." As a result, many politically independent countries have become politically independent, but also politically independent. As a result, many politically independent countries are actually still economically colonized, especially by "entrusting" economic development patterns that go against the great ideals of the independent country..[20]

Here at least Sen really contributes to politics by improving the economy of a country, there are at least 3 big points that we can take from Sen, namely he is able to formulate very simply If we want to formulate simply, Sen's ideas actually want to solve three things or pivot on three initial world problems: violence (as a result of poverty), poverty (as a result of wrong economic development), and a just economy (as a solution in solving poverty and violence). To understand violence is to see it as "the fruit and not the tree." Violence is neither the core (life) nor the work. Violence is the product of some deliberate action. As such, it can be picked by anyone and can be produced intentionally. On the other hand, it can also be eliminated and prevented from existing. Of course, as long as we are willing, able and deliberate in "eliminating violence in the world.."[21] Here are some ideas from Sen that researchers consider to be the best solution in Indonesia.

Implementation of Sen's Ideas in Indonesia.

In one of Sen's books entitled: "Development as Freedom" and 'The Idea of Justice'. In the book "Development as Freedom", published in 1999, this book is a very important work in economic and development efforts and politics in a country. Sen explains some of the political problems that occur in many countries, both Asian and others. Where the root of their problems is the destruction of the economy, whether the economy is unstable, lacking or even on the verge of poverty. And many of these

[18] Ibid, hlm 10
[19] Syawaluddin. Hlm 11
[20] Ibid, Hlm 12
[21] Syawaluddin. Hlm 8

countries are caused by the political damage that is there. In his book he also emphasizes that a country must have an understanding of "freedom of economy" where a person is free to determine a decent job according to their abilities and fields of expertise. It is not determined, let alone forced, only because of nominal salary demands.[22]

He also criticized the development model in western countries, where the dominant economic view focuses on economic growth and materialism. In addition, social, political and cultural factors are often considered more important than the individual welfare of the people in a country. If a country has this kind of thinking, it will not progress and develop as expected. Sen offers that any development in a country must be inclusive and participatory, where people are also involved in making state decisions. This is where the role of the DPR is very important in channeling the voice or aspirations of the Indonesian people..[23]

The book *Devolepment As Freedom* specifically opposes the old paradigm of economic development in a country and politics that does not listen to the aspirations of its people. More than that, the existing government or politics makes policies that are contrary to the wishes and even detrimental to its people. This is where he uses the word freedom which means freedom that should run in a country called a democracy. In the economic sphere, he also offers that the government should also take an attitude of freedom in opening up jobs for the people in general and providing salaries that are in accordance with the needs of the community..[24]

It is from Amatya Sen that he fights for the lower classes and to alleviate the economy that exists in all elements of society. According to the author's analysis, Sen focuses on the political system which is specifically focused on the economy. Evidenced by one of his arguments he argues :

"Poverty is a problem faced by the Indonesian people since independence until now. The Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) recorded that the number of poor people in Indonesia until September 2013 was 28.55 million people or 11.47%. Indonesia has not been able to overcome the problem of poverty because the poverty reduction strategies offered by the government have not addressed the root causes of poverty. Government policies only respond to the impact of the poverty problem. This is exacerbated by a perspective that always assumes that the causes of poverty only come from the poor themselves and economic problems. In fact, the reality shows that the poverty that occurs in Indonesia is more caused by a process of impoverishment or better known as structural poverty."[25]

From the point of view of Sen's perspective, the Indonesian government has not been able to answer the economic problems that have plagued most of the Indonesian people. Here he offers several ways taken in politics in order to make a significant contribution, especially in improving the status of the economic strata in Indonesia. That is by improving and justifying the government system, then replacing

[22] 'Development as Freedom (Amartya Sen) (Z-Library).Pdf'.
[23] 'Development as Freedom (Amartya Sen) (Z-Library).Pdf'.
[24] Ibid
[25] Syawaluddin. Hlm 17

some corrupt government officials, and providing the rights of the people themselves. It is emphasized that the Indonesian government must dare to make internal strengthening within the government itself. Also make a grouping movement between local governments to all aspects of government in Indonesia, so here the government must be able to hear all the aspirations of the people by considering the rights and laws of the state constitution..[26]

In addition, Sen's other concept is "Welfare Economics" which explains the impact of every policy taken by the government on people's lives. Where the problem is related to individual rights, rules/regulations, and the availability of information about individual conditions. Sen revealed that the methods of measuring poverty. Here he also offers that a good country's economy starts with politics in quotes "Government" which is able to carry out its duties and mandates in accordance with the wishes, and the welfare of the people.[27].

Initially, the focus was on improving politics and government and then it was supposed to improve and revise the laws of the country. The laws regulated in the government should be in accordance with the needs of society and if they are not in accordance with the economy and amended, amendments to the legislation can be divided into five categories, First, to clarify provisions that invite multi-interpretation. second, amendments are made to better adjust between the values that exist in society and the supporting regulations of the legislation. Third, to improve legislation including the readiness of the substance infrastructure, including the principles regulated. For example, the regulation of the commercial court in the bankruptcy law considering that the commercial court is also used in disputes in the field of IPR. Fourth, to improve procedures. For example, provisions in the competition law. Fifth, to further convince investors to invest in Indonesia, for example, legislation in the fields of limited liability companies, capital markets, regional autonomy, local taxes, mining and investment.[28]

Sen emphasized that poverty should be overcome and resolved properly if the basic rights of the poor are upheld. Poverty in Indonesia, if associated with Sen's thinking, is caused by the government not being able to fulfill the basic rights of the community, starting from good education for the community in order to support a better life, as well as the opening of jobs and opportunities for the community in seeking a more decent life. In this case, the cause of poverty is due to the absence of access that can support the fulfillment of human life, plus the unequal distribution of access to economic resources causes the majority of poor people to be unable to get their rights and efforts..[29]

From the various types of analysis above, the politics carried out by the government should be able to evaluate the work of all government employees, whether the government's duties are in accordance with the expectations or goals he has set, if so then stop him at that level. However, if the results are not in accordance

[26] Indro. Hlm 12

[27] 'Development as Freedom (Amartya Sen) (Z-Library).Pdf'.

[28] Hudi. Hlm 14

[29] Kemiskinan, 'REFLEKSI ATAS PEMIKIRAN AMARTYA KUMAR SEN TENTANG KETIMPANGAN DAN KEMISKINAN Syawaluddin S. Abstrak'. Hlm 3

with expectations or goals, he will re-examine whether in determining the problem is correct or not, in determining the data he has not completed or not, in analyzing he made a mistake or not, in preparing the analysis there is still a lack of insufficient tools or in choosing the best alternative he is not careful and so on. This process must be done quickly and precisely because he is limited by time and there may be many other problems that he must face in improving the economy in Indonesia.

This is where the author agrees with the arguments and explanations of Amartya Sen, where politics has a very important role in building a good country. And a good country starts with a good economy. With this exposure, it can be believed that Sen has good ideas and ideas in the process of improving politics and the economy in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Amartya Sen has the idea that: "In fact, the main problem here is related to the problem of inequality and global poverty that does not recede, not the assumption that the world will be better off without economic and global relations, nor the problem of poverty caused by political corruption and the majority of rulers who are arbitrary. Then after seeing some political and economic phenomena in Indonesia, I studied more deeply the figure of Amartya Sen where he fought for the lower classes to alleviate the economy that existed in all elements of society. By reviewing and focusing on economics, especially those who always study economics.

In addition, we consider the above figures very interesting to be studied more deeply about the ideas and thoughts they carry, as evidenced by Amartya Sen bringing positive changes and contributions until now. Where his works and the understanding he brought are still attached to the milleneal generation like us. However, can the ideas brought by them be applied and used in the republic of Indonesia? The above figures are very correct and feasible if the thoughts of the above figures are to be studied, analyzed and applied gradually and fundamentally.

More so if we look at the ideas and concepts brought by Amartya Sen where he is very systematic, and structured in alleviating the political damage of a country by improving its economy. It is not surprising that he focuses on the economic field because of his life background with the economic crisis during his childhood until he was determined to improve his country starting with the economy. He also emphasized that it is essentially the function of the state (government) that must regulate life in society and try to create a balance between groups in a particular society. However, it is better that the system taken should be in accordance with the culture and culture of the Indonesian people.

In addition, a red line can be drawn, that the economic development in Indonesia is influenced by many other factors, including political factors, globalization or free markets, capitalist economic systems and others. Economic development also has challenges that must be resolved immediately, such as politics that must be pro-people, not the other way around, pro-foreign capitalists who do not care about the fate of the people, but only take advantage. And the most important thing is that the role of politics driven by the government has a very significant role in economic growth and improvement.

From a brief research and exploration, we can apply some of the concepts, methods and ideas of Sen's thoughts that we have explained that his political ideas and economic improvement movements are very interesting and worth trying to improve politics in Indonesia. It is clear that good politics will have a good impact on the economy of a country, especially in Indonesia.

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