

Indonesian Political Economy Policies in the Aftermath of Global Pandemic Turbulence

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Abstract

The pandemic turbulence caused countries worldwide, including Indonesia, to experience economic turbulence. The research in this scientific paper focused on studying the national economic recovery policies that the Indonesian government produced as the political economy policies in the country's economic recovery after the pandemic turbulence. This scientific paper aimed to determine the effectiveness and productivity of political economy policies in the national economic recovery in Indonesia. Lastly, this scientific paper revealed the Indonesian government's political economy policies in the national economic recovery after the pandemic turbulence through three main aspects as analytical tools. Those aspects consisted of allocation, distribution, and evaluation of the implementation of the national economic recovery. Therefore, the effectiveness and productivity of the national economic recovery policies that the government implemented could be revealed through political economy policies.

Turbulensi pandemi menyebabkan negara-negara di seluruh dunia, termasuk Indonesia, mengalami turbulensi ekonomi. Penelitian dalam karya tulis ilmiah ini berfokus pada kajian kebijakan pemulihan ekonomi nasional yang dihasilkan pemerintah Indonesia sebagai kebijakan politik ekonomi dalam pemulihan ekonomi nasional pasca gejala pandemi. Karya tulis ilmiah ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui efektivitas dan produktivitas kebijakan politik ekonomi dalam pemulihan ekonomi nasional di Indonesia. Terakhir, karya tulis ilmiah ini mengungkap kebijakan politik ekonomi pemerintah Indonesia dalam pemulihan ekonomi nasional pasca gejala pandemi melalui tiga aspek utama

sebagai alat analisis. Aspek tersebut meliputi alokasi, distribusi, dan evaluasi pelaksanaan pemulihan ekonomi nasional. Dengan demikian, efektivitas dan produktivitas kebijakan pemulihan ekonomi nasional yang dijalankan pemerintah dapat terungkap melalui kebijakan politik ekonomi.

Keywords: policy; political economy; economic recovery

Introduction

World Health Organization (WHO) officially declared Corona Virus Disease 2019 as a pandemic on March 11, 2020. Then, Indonesia issued Corona Virus Disease 2019 as a national disaster through Presidential Decree No. 12 of 2020 concerning the Determination of Non-Natural Disasters for the Spread of Corona Virus Disease 2019 as a National Disaster on April 13, 2020. The pandemic and its various problems require the government to immediately deal with the increasingly widespread problems in the pandemic disaster in Indonesia. The central government is very unlikely to work alone in fighting and spreading the virus in a pandemic situation, coupled with many problems that arise in the midst of society. Strong institutions and synergies from various lines are needed to combat the pandemic in Indonesia.

Strengthening the economy in the crisis era during the pandemic is a shared task starting from the diversity of interests in the community. The form of security sought by the government refers to the three functions of government. First, the allocation function of the government which acts to allocate economic resources, followed by the second function, namely as a distribution function where in the midst of a pandemic the government needs to strengthen social safety nets, and as an estuary to the third government function related to the stability function, requiring the government to participate. and play a large portion while maintaining the stability of the socio-economic life of the community. The current form of economic conditions requires Indonesia to let go of its ego and together with other countries, determine and strengthen its national identity through public performance which is considered to be a shared responsibility to break the chain of virus spread and lead to improving economic conditions. As an effort to strengthen and maintain short and long term stability.¹

The Government's flexible, adaptive, and responsive reaction in handling the Pandemic, especially in terms of national economic recovery, can be reflected through the issuance of legal products of Government Regulation No. 23 of 2020 concerning the Implementation of the National Economic Recovery Program to Support the Country's Financial Policy for Handling the Corona Virus Disease Pandemic 2019 and/or Facing Threats That Endanger the National Economy and/or Financial System Stability and Rescue the National Economy. As a step of refinement, the regulation was changed through the issuance of

Government Regulation No. 43 of 2020 concerning Changes to Government Regulation No. 23 of 2020.

Government Regulation on the Implementation of the National Economic Recovery Program is an implementing regulation on the issuance of government regulation in place of Law No. 1 of 2020 concerning State Financial Policy and Financial System Stability for handle the Corona Virus Disease 2019 and to face threats that endanger the national economy and financial system stability that has been established through Law No. 2 of 2020 concerning Determination Government Regulation in place of Law Number 1 of 2020 Becomes Law. Then, it changed with the issuance of Law No. 7 of 2021 concerning Harmonization of Tax Regulations.

Following the principles that have been mandated, the Government in implementing the National Economic Recovery program must be careful, considering that the conditions faced are very crucial conditions where they must maintain the stability of community conditions during a pandemic situation. Good governance, including maintaining the principles of social justice and the use of national economic recovery funds as much as possible for the prosperity of the people, must be upheld. The Government must continue to ensure that the management of the National Economic Recovery fund is carried out in a transparent and accountable manner.

In social living conditions that are classified as abnormal in a pandemic situation, there will be many dynamics of changes that occur both incidentally and systematically. Other aspects of life, including in terms of economic policy, must be determined to be able to adapt to the social circumstances that occur. Thus, in this scientific work, the main problem is how to apply the political economic policies set by the Government to carry out national economic recovery amid the shock of pandemic turbulence. Finally, this scientific work aims to uncover the effectiveness and productivity of implementing national economic recovery as an economic policy in handling the Pandemic by the Indonesian Government.

Literature Review

Political Economy

Barry R. Weingast and Donald A. Wittman, in their book 'The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy', view the political economy as an economic methodology applied to the analysis of political behavior and institutions. Thus, political economy is not a single approach but a mixed approach.² Lipsey and Steiner argue that politics is the study of production and trade as well as law, custom and government, also with the distribution of state revenues and national prosperity. From the various political economies that have developed,

it can be simplified that political economy is a theory or study of economic and social welfare in terms of politics, and it is also stated that political economy is a science that deals with production and trade and with customs, government and law. This science discusses and implements economic theories and methods that have an impact on different and developing social and economic systems, such as capitalism, socialism, etc., and also examines how public policies are made and implemented.³ Therefore, in this scientific paper, what was meant by the political economy was a political policy born by stakeholders in producing economic policy as a step considered ideal for solving existing problems. Political policy, in this case, was the policy of the Indonesian government to take steps in the national economic management program as an economic policy that was born to overcome the problems of the pandemic that rocked Indonesia.

National Economic Recovery

The economy does not always develop properly and does not always progress in an orderly manner because sometimes the economy experiences periods of ups and downs. At certain times there are times when the economy experiences a slowdown in its development. Of course, in this case it will be a problem of declining economic progress, which in the end will cause economic instability.⁴ The national economic recovery program was launched in April 2020 as a form of the government's commitment to dealing with the pandemic in handling the health sector, protecting affected groups and providing support to the business and financial sectors. The goal is that the impact of the pandemic is not too deep and the economic recovery process can run well.⁵ In the formulation of Government Regulation Number 23 of 2020 concerning Implementation of the National Economic Recovery Program to Support State Financial Policy for Handling the Corona Virus Disease Pandemic 2019 and/or Facing Threats that Endanger the National Economy and/or Financial System Stability and Economic Rescue Nationally, it is explained that the National Economic Recovery Program is a series of activities for the recovery of the national economy as a part of the state financial policy implemented by the Government to accelerate the handling of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 pandemic and/or face threats that endanger the national economy and/or financial system stability and rescue the national economy. Under the applicable laws and regulations, in this scientific paper, what was meant by National Economic Recovery was a government program carried out for economic recovery in the context of handling the pandemic in Indonesia, which was realized in various programs covering the Health Sector, Social Protection Sector, Ministry Sector or Institutions and Regional Governments, Business Incentives Sector, Support Sector to Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises, Corporate Financing Sector following Minister of Finance Regulation Number: 185/PMK.02/2020 concerning Budget Management in the Context of Handling

the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Pandemic and/or National Economic Recovery Program.

Methods

This scientific paper used a normative legal research method, as a legal research method that examines from the perspective of legal norms as an object of research.⁶ Because what was being studied was the implementation of the concept of law as a principle of justice in the moral system. In this case, what was being studied was the implementation of legal norms as a political economy policy regarding National Economic Recovery in the form of laws and regulations that were born as government policies in carrying out national economic recovery as a form of government responsibility for handling pandemic shocks in Indonesia. The main object of research as a legal norm studied is Government Regulation Number 23 of 2020 concerning Implementation of the National Economic Recovery Program to Support State Financial Policy for Handling the Corona Virus Disease Pandemic 2019 and/or Facing Threats that Endanger the National Economy and/or Financial System Stability and Economic Rescue Nationally.

Results and Discussion

Nowadays, the relationship between law and economic development again receives serious attention in developing **policy-making** activities due to the demands of needs in the state or government institutions.⁷ Many factors determine the economic performance, and the three that most affect it are the economic policies carried out by the Government, the operating economic environment, and the political economy.⁸ All the factors determining the economy's performance can change at any time. Suppose various conditions in society change, either because of changes in the way people look at society (ideology), habits, customs, norms, or rules and legal procedures. Therefore, the political economic system recognized by society can also change.

The economic sector is one sector that is very important to measure the level of prosperity of a country. In general, if the rate of economic growth shifts in a positive direction, then the country can be said to be prosperous, and vice versa.⁹ In terms of handling a pandemic, the prosperity of a country and the welfare of the people are at stake significantly. If the government as the policy maker is able to produce ideal and targeted policies in handling the pandemic, the country's economy will be saved. However, on the other hand, if there is a wrong step in formulating policies, the welfare and prosperity of a country is also at stake.

In assessing the effectiveness and productivity of the implementation of the National Economic Recovery program, it is certainly not as simple as simply understanding the figures obtained in the report on the results of the implementation of the National Economic Recovery program. Various dynamics certainly occur, especially in the unstable social situation of society due to the Pandemic. The extent of the economic and political dynamics that occur in implementing the National Economic Recovery program can be examined through three main aspects, i.e. **allocation**, **distribution**, and **evaluation**.

Allocation, the Indonesian Government uses a strategy to prioritize the balance between health care and national economic recovery in handling the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Pandemic. Under the control of the President, "Brake and Gas" was chosen as the optimal step to strike a balance between the Corona Virus Disease 2019 handling and the national economic recovery, or life and livelihood.

Therefore, the National Economic Recovery Fund is also inseparable in allocating health programs. Thus, it becomes a unit of the program formulated in the "Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and National Economic Recovery". The Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program includes various fulfillments of Corona Virus Disease 2019 handling spending, including medical personnel incentives, death compensation, national health insurance contribution assistance, the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Task Force, and tax incentives in the health sector. The National Economic Recovery is carried out through several programs classified into several integrated sectors, including social protection, sectoral ministries and institutions, local governments, MSMEs, corporate financing, and business incentives.

The budget allocation for the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and National Economic Recovery is stated in the Regulation of the Minister of Finance Number: 185/PMK.02/2020 concerning Budget Management in the Context of Handling the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Pandemic or the National Economic Recovery Program in Article 4, which states that the allocation of funds is carried out for several sectors that include:

Health Sector included the provision of spending on handling the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Pandemic, medical personnel incentives, medical personnel death compensation, National Health Insurance contribution assistance, procurement of medical devices, facilities, and infrastructure, and human resource support for the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Task Force, tax incentives in the health sector, and other health care.

Social Protection Sector included the Family Hope Program, Sembako Card, Jabodetabek Basic Food Package, Non-Jabodetabek Cash Social Assistance, *Prakerja* Card, Electricity Discount, Logistics/food, Village Fund Cash Direct Assistance, and other social protection programs.

Ministries or Institutions and Local Governments sector included labor-intensive programs of Ministries or Institutions, housing incentives, tourism in the form of grants to the regions and discounts on tickets by Ministries or Institutions, economic recovery area incentive funds, physical special allocation fund reserves, regional loan facilities, and sectoral support of Ministries or other institutions and local governments.

Business Incentive Sector included Income Tax borne by the Government, exemption of Import Tax Income, reduction of Income Tax installments, preliminary return of value-added tax, decrease in the income tax rate, and other business incentives.

The support sector to MSMEs included interest or margin subsidies, guaranteed return spending, placement of government funds in banking, guaranteeing loss limits on micro, small, and medium enterprise credits, final income tax is borne by the Government, investment financing to cooperatives through MSMEs' cooperative revolving fund management institutions, as well as support to other MSMEs. The realization of economic growth, for one, is the result of the role of entrepreneurs. This is in Schumpeter's Theory, that in carrying out economic activities, innovation will be carried out continuously. Such innovation activities will require new investments. This new investment is expected to increase the country's economic activities.¹⁰

The Corporate Financing Sector included placement of funds in banking, participation of state capital, financing for working capital, underwriting activities with schemes established by the Government, lending, spending on corporate business actors' guaranteed returns and **loss limit** guarantee services, and other government investments following the provisions of the legislation.

Implementing the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling program and National Economic Recovery often experienced a problem in the field. Various problems also frequently appeared. The allocation of funds for handling Corona Virus Disease 2019 and the national economic recovery was not based on clear data in the division of each sector. Statistically, to carry out the allocation of funds was regulated through laws and regulations. However, the basis for the funds' distribution for each sector did not have a solid foundation on the exact amount needed in each sector. It was not uncommon for various types of data related to the allocation of funds for handling Corona Virus Disease 2019 and National Economic Recovery not to have harmony between the data of implementers in the field and government data owned by the ministry concerned.

The amount of funds allocated for handling Corona Virus Disease 2019 and the national economic recovery requires the Government to be more careful in determining budget allocations. The agencies authorized to supervise must also ensure that stakeholders do not misuse the allocation of funds for handling

Corona Virus Disease 2019 and national economic recovery since it does not rule out the possibility of the process of allocating funds for handling Corona Virus Disease 2019 and National Economic Recovery, the conditions for interest, including the occurrence of corruption.

Distribution, two years of implementation of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and National Economic Recovery can be used to assess the extent to which stakeholders carry out the maximum distribution. Ideally, under challenging circumstances in people's lives, the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and National Economic Recovery can be realized in all sectors. It goes back to the original goal of combating pandemic attacks and recovering from economic turbulence so that Indonesia can get out of the pandemic shock.

The facts on the ground say otherwise. Two years of implementing the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and the National Economic Recovery showed that budget realization had not been implemented one hundred percent of the time every year. The budget of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and national economic recovery in 2020 was realized at IDR 575.8 trillion, or 83% of the allocation of IDR 695.2 trillion, while the budget of the COVID-19 Handling Program and the 2021 National Economic Recovery reached IDR 658.6 trillion, or 88.4% of the allocation of IDR 744.77 trillion. The budget was intended for the health sector, social protection, priority programs, incentives of businesses, support for MSMEs, and corporate financing. Each sector experienced the dynamics of budget realization during the two years of implementation of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and the National Economic Recovery.

Health Sector increased from IDR 63.51 trillion (2020) to IDR 172.84 trillion (2021). The budget included costs for vaccinations and health worker incentives. Also, for the realization of the funding for **diagnostic testing and tracing** of Corona Virus Disease 2019, the cost of treating 206,270 patients, providing health worker incentives, death compensation, and procurement of drugs and personal protective equipment. The health budget was also used to procure 37.78 million doses of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 vaccine, the provision of National Health Insurance contribution assistance for 19.15 million people, and health tax incentives, including the exemption of import duties and taxes in the framework of vaccine imports.

Social Protection decreased from IDR 220.39 trillion (2020) to IDR 148.27 trillion (2021). The budget was to provide the Family Hope Program for 9.9 million beneficiary families, the basic food card for 15.93 million beneficiary families, and cash social assistance for 10 million beneficiary families. In addition, there was direct cash assistance for village funds for 4.81 million

beneficiary families, *Prakerja* Card for 2.82 million people, and internet quota assistance for 27.67 million students.

The Priority Program increased from IDR 66.59 trillion (2020) to IDR 127.85 trillion (2021). Its use was for labor-intensive programs that absorb 699,100 workers, tourism support, food security, and strategic area development.

Incentives for Business increased slightly from IDR 56.12 trillion (2020) to IDR 56.73 trillion (2021). These incentives were in the form of tax incentives for the business world, including the Business Incentive Program for Government-Borne Income Tax, which 90,317 employers have utilized, and the Final Income Tax of Small and Medium Enterprises Borne by the Government for 127,549 MSMEs. Furthermore, the exemption of import income tax for 15,700 taxpayers, the reduction of income tax installments for 69,087 taxpayers, the preliminary return of value-added tax for 819 taxpayers, a decrease in the rate of income tax for all taxpayers, the Government's insured value-added tax property for 519 sellers, and the value-added car tax for five sellers.

Support to Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises, and Corporate Financing increased from IDR 173 trillion (2020) to IDR 193.74 trillion (2021). Its use was for Ultra Micro Productive President Assistance, which targeted 9.8 million businesses and provided interest subsidies for distributing People's Business Loans worth IDR 112.8 trillion to 3.1 million debtors. In addition, there was a guaranteed return for MSMEs for the accumulation of secured credit worth IDR 15.25 trillion. Then, the placement of funds to banks for the distribution of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) to banks was worth IDR 380.05 trillion to 5.17 million debtors.

The initial objective of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 handling program and national economic recovery is to accelerate national economic growth, increase state revenue, and reduce the burden of state spending and financing, thus improving the financial system, as indicated by the decline of various domestic activities as a mitigation measure for the implications of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Pandemic. Various government efforts to save health and the national economy, focusing on spending on health, social safety nets, and economic recovery, including for businesses and affected communities, continue to be carried out productively. However, let's look at the implementation results of the budget realization of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and the National Economic Recovery in 2020 and 2021. They are not fully realized, and the percentage that makes up the Government's primary goal in handling the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Pandemic and National Economic Recovery is also not achieved optimally.

Data on the realization of the budget of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and the new National Economic Recovery reached 83% in 2020 and 88.4% in 2021, showing that there are still many budget allocations

that have not been contributed to beneficiaries. Indeed, it becomes a problem. Because amid the pandemic shock that continues to occur and various problems in the community, it certainly means the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and National Economic Recovery have not been fully responsive to existing problems. The realization of the budget of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and national economic recovery, which are implemented in full, cannot necessarily overcome all health and social activities that occur in the community. Moreover, what happens is realizing a budget that is not fully distributed to eligible beneficiaries in each sector.

The distribution of funds for the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and National Economic Recovery through various health care and national economic recovery programs is still experiencing many problems. The frequent unsynchronized data of beneficiaries of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and the National Economic Recovery in each sector resulted in frequent confusion over the discrepancy between those entitled to and those who should not receive benefits. Thus, the distribution becomes uneven.

Evaluation, implementation of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and National Economic Recovery is certainly not an easy matter. Various adaptations in carrying out policies must be carried out with the various dynamics of pandemic development because this program is implemented in extraordinary conditions. Therefore, it is always significant to evaluate the program's implementation that has been realized. To know, assess, and disclose the achievements indicators that have been achieved in welcoming the program goals to transparency and accountability for the program's implementation.

After running for two years, the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and the National Economic Recovery have not been reported on in detail because of the budget realization and the achievements that have been obtained during the handling of the Pandemic. Budget realization reports are only delivered globally in the total recapitulation in each sector. As for the detailed report, it can only be accessed by certain parties and interested parties. Whereas it should be in a state of shock during the Pandemic, the Government must be more transparent so that all parties can support each other and jointly evaluate the improvement of the next program so that Indonesia can get out of the difficult pandemic situation faster.

Facts on the ground show that one of the pandemic management programs by the Government in the form of social assistance in the form of food packages is one of the cases of programs that stakeholders dispute. The minister of social affairs was convicted of corruption over the food package program distributed to the community. It should be a harsh reminder to the Government that the entire pandemic countermeasures program can be perverted until it is corrupted. Periodic evaluation is vital to be carried out. It includes community

involvement to voice aspirations and input to the Government on programs that run during the community in pandemic management.

As a preventive measure, the Government should demonstrate accountability to the public for the implementation of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and National Economic Recovery through transparency of program implementation results. It is not only limited to the funds' allocation and distribution for the implementation of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and National Economic Recovery but also transparency regarding what indicators have been achieved and are effectively implemented in handling the Pandemic. Also, any policies that did not run optimally or failed to be implemented in the Pandemic through the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and National Economic Recovery. Thus, the public, as the main target for the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and the National Economic Recovery implementation, can find out the effectiveness and productivity of the implementation of the program.

The various dynamics that exist will certainly continue to occur. In addition to social conditions, indeed, Indonesia was first affected by a pandemic like this because of the large number of residents and the vastness of Indonesia with various geographical dynamics, implementing the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and National Economic Recovery continues to experience its dynamics in its implementation. Cooperation between all parties, both the Government as stakeholders and the community, must be well established. Therefore, the implementation of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling program and National Economic Recovery can run effectively and productively, Indonesia will soon recover and rise, getting out of the pandemic condition.

Conclusion

Based on the studies that have been carried out in this scientific work, it can be concluded that in determining the economic-political policy in the national economic recovery, it can be seen through three aspects. **First is the allocation aspect**, where facts show the allocation of National Economic Recovery funds cannot be separated from the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling fund. The President continues to balance health care and national economic recovery in handling the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Pandemic, or between life and livelihood, through the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling and National Economic Recovery program. In the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling and National Economic Recovery programs, the allocation of funds is still carried out by several more classifications through several sectors. Hence, the issue states that there is no solid basis for allocating the number of funds in each sector according to the community's needs. Thus, it does not rule out the possibility of allocating resources that will experience disadvantages or

advantages in each sector. **Second, the distribution aspect**, which the distribution has been in place for two years running, the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling Program and the National Economic Recovery, is still not effective. Because the realization of the budget for handling Corona Virus Disease 2019 and national economic recovery has only reached 83% in 2020 and 88.4% in 2021, the Government has not maximized the program, especially since the community needs the fund during difficult circumstances in Pandemic. **Third, the evaluation aspect**, at least one basic problem has not been resolved, namely the synchronization of data between all stakeholders, both implementers in the field and the Government in policy formation. The problem of differences in data ownership results in the allocation and distribution of budgets not being on target. However, reality shows there is no significant step by the Government to solve the existing problems. Even problems in the allocation and distribution aspects have not been evaluated significantly. There are no similar errors in managing the Corona Virus Disease 2019 Handling and National Economic Recovery programs. The three aspects of allocation, distribution and evaluation show that there are still many government policies in terms of national economic recovery that must continue to be improved so that the real economic recovery can be realized. Due to the pandemic shock, Indonesia can be completely out of the difficult situation. As a recommendation on existing problems following the study in this scientific paper, the Government should not combine the national economic recovery budget and the handling of Corona Virus Disease 2019 into a single unit of policy program strategy because the two things are different. Even if the President wants the two to run together, it can be separated from the policies and strategies implemented. Because basically, the stability of people's health and social lives is a different thing that has different dynamics. Moreover, due to the separation of strategies, it will be easy to conduct policy supervision and evaluation.

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