

Using Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework: An Analysis of the Jokowi's Administration of Food Estate Policy in Indonesia

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Abstract. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has warned global leaders about the potential for the COVID-19 pandemic to disrupt food supply networks. President Jokowi implemented an extensive food estate initiative in response to the warning. Using it as a case study, this article primarily examines the Jokowi administration's food estate policy. There are two main benefits to using this case. First, political contestation and the intensity of disputes were prominent features of the development of food estate policies. Second, President Jokowi, the study's principal policy entrepreneur, has national-level influence. This article bases its theoretical arguments on the work of John Kingdon, namely his multiple streams approach. The Jokowi administration places food estate as a strategic programme so that it becomes a top priority in his administration. A critical review of the opening policy window in the Food Estate reveals two things. The first focus event is the spread of the pandemic. The Jokowi administration saw this gap in the market and seized the opportunity to create the Food Estate Policy as a holistic and coordinated strategy to deal with the issue of food insecurity. Second, a moment for reconciliation of national political leadership after the general election 2019. This can be reflected in the delegation of strategic tasks from President Jokowi to Defence Minister Prabowo Subianto to become the leading sector of food estate management. Jokowi, as a policy entrepreneur, takes strategic steps to orchestrate the food estate programme.

Keywords: food estate, Jokowi's administration, multiple streams framework (MSF)

1. Introduction

The COVID-19 epidemic has significantly affected both public health and the food security sector in Indonesia [1–5]. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) warned global leaders in 2020 about the potential for the COVID-19 pandemic to disrupt both food supply systems and income streams. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) issued a warning, and President Jokowi responded by launching a massive food estate program. Millions of acres, including large swaths of customary forest, were set aside to be used mostly for cultivating rice and cassava.

A number of experts and predictions have told the government that the problems and challenges in agriculture and food security faced by the people, state and government of Indonesia are disruptions in the food supply, decreased demand for agricultural products, the threat of a food crisis and restrictions on production fields. With these problems and challenges, the government has prepared anticipatory plans in the 2020-2024 RPJMN, including the

National Food Estate Program [6]. The food estate program is a government initiative that aims to promote integrated food production, encompassing agriculture, plantations, and livestock within a specific area. This policy program is included in one of the National Strategic Programs (PSN) 2020-2024. The development of food estate areas is intended to expand land to increase national food reserves [7].

This article, mainly focused on the Jokowi administration's food estate policy, is used as a case study. There are two main benefits to using this case. First, political contestation and the intensity of disputes were prominent features of the development of food estate policies. Second, President Jokowi, the study's principal policy entrepreneur, has national-level influence. The multiple streams framework developed by Jhon Kingdon is used as the main theoretical framework. This framework has gained widespread acclaim and considerable traction over the past three decades.

According to [8], the convergence of three distinct streams is crucial during a critical juncture for policy change. The theorist essentially articulated his conceptual framework in the following manner: "The distinct streams of problems, policies, and polities converge during specific pivotal junctures." According to [8], solutions and problems are interconnected, and favourable political forces influence their interdependence. Consequently, this acknowledged issue catalyzes the establishment of the agenda-setting and policy-making processes.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Overview of the MSF

The MSF, proposed by [8], serves as a conceptual framework for comprehending the dynamics of agenda-setting processes and policy transformation. The underlying framework's fundamental structure remains unaltered. Kingdon's conceptualization of the policy process involves three distinct streams: the problem stream, the policy stream, and the political stream.

2.1.1. Problem Stream

The problem stream encompasses the perspectives of the elite regarding societal conditions, which are derived from indicators, significant events, and feedback from past initiatives [8]. According to [9], "Indicators" are tools employed by actors to identify and monitor problems. "Focusing events" are unexpected incidents that draw attention to a particular policy issue. "Feedback" refers to information obtained from a program that shares similarities with the problem.

2.1.2. Policy Stream

Included within policy communities, such as bureaucrats and researchers, the policy stream can incorporate expert views, recommendations, or solutions [8]. According to [10], ideas are more likely to endure if they are part of substantially connected networks. Ideas need to be technically practical so that decisions can be made and put into action, and they need to be in line with the ideals of policymakers. Furthermore, [8] suggests that the availability of essential implementation resources is crucial for the survival of these ideas. The other subcomponents of the stream are value acceptability, technical feasibility, and resource adequacy [9,11].

2.1.3. Political Stream

Electoral processes, changes in administration, adjustments in the balance of power within parliament, shifts in public mood, and the impact of interest group advocacy efforts all shape

the political landscape. Advancements in this particular field have had significant impacts on various agendas. When a government undergoes a shift, it becomes easier for new items to gain prominence on the political agenda [8,11].

2.1.4. Policy Window

When three streams align - an issue requiring attention, a viable policy solution, and a receptive political atmosphere - the likelihood significantly increases for an item to gain prominence on the decision agenda [8]. In this context, a specific type of moment and a specific type of actor are of utmost importance. As defined by Kingdon, a policy window refers to the specific timing and opportunity to advocate for and implement change. A policy window refers to a specific timeframe in which it becomes much more feasible for proponents of specific policy solutions or issues to promote their ideas.

2.1.5. Policy Entrepreneur

Kingdon famously stated that those who “could be in or out of government, in elected or appointed positions, in interest groups or research organizations” fall within this category. Their defining feature, however, is an investment of time, effort, reputation, and even money with the expectation of a return in the future, just as is true of business entrepreneurs [12]. Policy entrepreneurs can emerge from diverse backgrounds. Kingdon refers to individuals such as elected officials, civil workers, lobbyists, intellectuals, attorneys, and journalists [8].

3. Data and Methods

The study period was from 2020 to 2023, and the data came from various sources that the researcher carefully chose. The research relied on written materials, including relevant statutes and the food estate program's master plan document. Some criticisms of law enforcers and policymakers were based on books, media stories, and interest group materials. There are two stages to the analysis. The first step was to conduct a content analysis using the five aforementioned MSF categories as our guideposts: problem stream, policy stream, politics stream, policy windows, and policy entrepreneur. The data were broken down into portions labelled with the concepts that best described them and then analyzed as needed. However, due to the paper's complexity, there were a few instances where two or more subcomponents were arranged under separate sections. Data or data elements for each notion were culled from various sources, including but not limited to papers, journals, newspapers, and magazine articles. Second, the theoretical claims of the MSF were analyzed using the content analysis results and descriptive data. The groups considered in the investigation range from formally organized associations to looser networks of like-minded individuals.

4. Results and Discussions

4.1. Food Estate's Policy Background

The COVID-19 pandemic has prompted many countries to implement policies to restrict human movement and quarantine areas to prevent the spread of the disease. Not only at the production level, this policy has also caused the flow of food distribution from producers to consumers to experience significant disruption. This has made it difficult for consumers to access food. Access to food has worsened along with the decline in purchasing power due to the economic downturn triggered by restrictions on human movement and regional quarantine [7].

National food reserves need to be strengthened quickly. Large tracts of land outside Java, which have the potential to be developed, are encouraged to become a Food Production Center Area to ensure national food reserves. President Jokowi, in the Leadership Meeting on June 2 and 24, 2020 and the Limited Meeting on September 23, 2020, on the national food improvement program, provided direction for the development of Food Estate or Food Production Center Areas as a way to strengthen national food reserves as a way to strengthen national food reserves. In development, the Food Estate or Food Production Center Area must ensure the availability of supporting infrastructure, managers, the type of crops chosen, the technology used, and the financing. The development of a Food Estate or Food Production Center Area is one of the approaches to developing a Food Estate or Food Production Center Area in Indonesia [13].

Integrating various agricultural sectors and sub-sectors is the primary notion behind the food estate concept. Professional management and the backing of competent human resources are essential to achieving this level of integration. Strong institutions and ecologically friendly technologies are also important to this idea. Focusing on local community empowerment as the foundation for regional development, the strategy is geared toward the agricultural sector [14].

4.2. Food Estate's Problem Stream

4.2.1. Indicators

There are three indicators of why the food estate program does not address the food security policy agenda in Indonesia. *First*, the food estate is an ambitious strategic initiative. This is reflected in the policy objective to increase Indonesia's rice production reserves through massive land clearing. On the other hand, this expectation is complex regarding implementation challenges. *Second*, implementation in dispersed governance. Food estate policies formulated at the national level face challenges in ensuring consistency in their implementation at the regional level. This is the case in the context of food estates, which face consistency constraints because each region has varying levels of political authority. *Third*, Solutions to food insecurity should not include practices that could be harmful to people's health, the economy, or the environment.

4.3. Food Estate's Policy Stream

4.3.1. Developmentalism Group Proposals

Jokowi's administration has seen the emergence of a new developmentalism, as defined by [15]. Economic growth, direct industrial upgrading, and economic redistribution are all necessary components of this developmental ideology [16]. Despite Jokowi's government's adoption of New Developmentalism for economic growth, Indonesia's politics have faced numerous difficulties [17]. Jokowi's efforts to increase the power of the state have made Indonesia resemble a more and more authoritarian regime. Studies have shown that conservative Islamic morality, hypernationalism, religious polarization, and religious nationalism have all flourished in Indonesia since Jokowi came to power [15,18–21].

4.3.2. Environmentalism Groups Proposals

Agroecology encompasses both theoretical ideas and practical measures aimed at providing environmentally friendly food production strategies that prioritize the well-being of farmers as key actors in agricultural growth. Greenpeace International has released a paper that outlines seven principles for 'ecological agriculture', which are based on the research and expertise of agroecologists [22]; it should encompass these seven factors. *First* is food sovereignty; ecological agriculture promotes a global scenario in which producers and

consumers rather than corporations govern the food chain. Food sovereignty pertains to the methods and individuals involved in food production. *Second*, it enhances the well-being of farmers and rural communities; ecological farming is crucial in promoting rural development and combating poverty and hunger. It achieves this by creating secure, wholesome, and economically sustainable livelihoods in rural areas. *Third*, it must intelligently enhance food production and yields to enhance global food availability and improve living conditions in impoverished areas. It is imperative to decrease the unsustainable utilization of current agricultural output. *Fourth*, it maintains biodiversity; ecological farming focuses on preserving and promoting the variety of life forms found in nature, from the initial seed stage to the final consumption stage, and across the entire agricultural environment. Diversity enhances the appreciation of the flavours, nutritional value, and cultural significance of our food, promoting healthier diets and overall well-being. *Fifth*, it must enhance soil fertility and water cleanliness through sustainable soil health practices without relying on chemical inputs is achievable. Ecological farming safeguards the soil from erosion, pollution, and acidification. Increasing soil organic matter as necessary is possible to enhance water retention and minimize land deterioration. *Seventh*, it maintains robust food systems; ecological farming enhances resilience by fortifying our agricultural practices and adeptly adjusting our food systems to accommodate shifting climate conditions and economic circumstances.

4.4. Food Estate's Politic Stream

4.4.1. National Mood

Late in 2019, only a few months after the divisive presidential election, Jokowi and Prabowo reached a peace agreement that appeared to ease political tensions. Prabowo's party, Gerindra, joined the ruling coalition after being invited by Jokowi, who then made Prabowo minister of defence. A government's abrupt inclusion of the leading opposition figure, especially soon after a bitter election, would be unprecedented in most politically polarised contexts. Prabowo's about-face did not surprise those who follow Indonesian politics closely [23].

In the end, Prabowo was appointed by Jokowi to be the leading actor in the implementation of the food estate. This appointment also confirms the momentum of reconciliation between Jokowi and Prabowo. The Defence Minister given to Prabowo is a prestigious momentum. In addition, when referring to the neo-Malthusian theory related to resource availability, the lack of food reserves in a country can lead to conflicts between communities that can also threaten the stability of the state. Therefore, it is evident that food security is an integrated part of the concept of national security. In addition, steps to achieve national security are no longer limited to traditional security aspects but also non-traditional aspects, such as food security. One of the steps to achieve this is to securitize this aspect by developing the domestic agricultural sector while creating strategic food reserves.

4.4.2. Balance of Interest

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

The Central Kalimantan Food Estate Research Report Synopsis of research covering legal and regulatory considerations, biophysical and factual results in the field, and economic and political analysis from several angles; this research provides solid justification for WALHI Central Kalimantan's rejection of Indonesia's food estate scheme [24]. Greenpeace Indonesia has published research entitled Indonesia's Food Estate Program: Feeding The Climate Crisis [25]. This document is an urgent warning regarding Indonesian President Joko Widodo's food estate program, a multi-million-hectare agriculture expansion into forests and peatlands touted as a solution to the food crisis. It reports on the dire situation in a number of locations in which

food estate expansion is currently underway, resulting in failure found in forests, peatlands, and Indigenous territories across Kalimantan and Papua.

Rainforests fall for Indonesia's food estate program: an investigation by The Gecko Project has been published. A politically connected business hopes to make a profit from looser rules. A study by The Gecko Project and Tempo discovered that the ministry had broken these reduced restrictions, possibly illegally clearing hundreds of hectares of rainforest. The ministry's long-term plans involve cultivating an additional 400 thousand hectares of land, not just the plantation on Borneo. As part of the "food estate" plan, Defence Minister Prabowo Subianto would be responsible for overseeing the planting of more than a million hectares of the root vegetable cassava across the country. The report concludes that the Ministry of Defence has been trying to give multibillion-dollar contracts for food estate development to a company with a poor track record of establishing such projects. Prabowo's organization, the owner of Agrinas, has the backing of both active and former military leaders. The ownership structure has been called into question by experts because it violates laws designed to protect charitable donations [26].

Pantau *Gambut* has released an informative website that comprehensively explains the food estate policy process. *Pantau Gambut* is a digital hub where stakeholders in Indonesia's peat ecosystem restoration can go to access and share information. *Pantau Gambut*'s mission extends beyond its stated core goals of environmental preservation, pollution reduction, and community welfare improvement to include a greater awareness of the need for peat protection. Communities may monitor government, NGO, and company pledges to restore peatlands through the use of technology, open data, and community networks [27].

Governmental Institution

BRIN

Swampland rice researcher Susilawati from the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) said that the amount of agricultural land in Indonesia continues to decrease, including in the Central Kalimantan (Kalteng) area. This condition, she said, can be overcome by adopting a food estate programme that utilises swamp agricultural land to increase the area of rice cultivation. Moreover, the area of swamp land utilised for agriculture is still small, namely 23.8%. She explained that three types of swamp land can be utilised based on their inundation: tidal swamp land, lebak swamp land, and transitional lebak swamp land. She also thought it was a good idea that the government had decided to launch the food estate initiative in Central Kalimantan. This is because the character of the vulnerable land there is mostly tidal swamp land. The food estate programme is the right policy because it can be an investment in providing food solutions in the future. In order for the food estate programme to remain sustainable, she also hopes that the local government can establish harmony with ministries or institutions to build supporting facilities and infrastructure [28].

4.5. Jokowi's Policy Entrepreneurship Strategies

Fears of a food shortage have grown since the conflict broke out between Russia and Ukraine. Russian restrictions on Ukrainian wheat supplies contributed to a global food price spike that had a particularly severe impact on Indonesia due to the ongoing conflict. Widodo went to Moscow in an effort to restart wheat commerce. At the conference, Putin decided to end the blockade and restore shipping traffic via the Black Sea. The Widodo administration has identified the protection of Indonesia's food security as a top concern, as evidenced by its inclusion in Indonesia's G20 presidential agenda [29].

The food estate programme is a high priority because it is labelled a national strategic programme by the Jokowi administration. However, the existence of a programme that uses the

former Central Kalimantan peatland programme during the Soeharto era is a matter that provokes debate. The Environment and Forestry Ministry's feasibility study supported the mayor of Central Kalimantan's suggestion [30].

One of the most notable aspects of Jokowi's securitization strategy has been his utilization of the TNI. The president also gave the go-ahead to create a military reserve to support TNI missions in national security and economic development. In order to be ready to serve in both military and civilian capacities during times of crisis and peace, up to 25,000 reservists are expected to undertake basic military training. The Ministry of Education later declared that university courses would begin for anyone seeking academic credit for participating in military reserve training. The Reserves would play a vital economic and security function, as affirmed by Deputy of Defence Minister Sakti Wahyu Trenggono [31].

4.6. Policy Windows: The Pandemic Effect and the Moment of Reconciliation between Jokowi and Prabowo in Top Politics Event

A policy window refers to the precise moment when an issue gains attention and becomes ripe for policy action [8]. In the context of Food Estate policy in Indonesia, the policy window can be seen as the period during the COVID-19 pandemic when the government realized the need for a comprehensive strategy to ensure food security and reduce dependence on imported food. This policy window was critical in garnering support for the Food Estate program and providing impetus for its development and implementation.

The policy window for a Food Estate policy in Indonesia opened due to the challenges and uncertainties caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. During the pandemic, there was a growing awareness of the vulnerability of the food supply chain and the need to strengthen domestic food production. Because of Central Kalimantan's preexisting advantages, the Indonesian government's Food Estate Policy is viewed as a long-term, strategic solution. Among these benefits are abundant land that may be used for agriculture, access to a favourable climate and water supply, and a wealth of social and cultural resources. Therefore, the government of Indonesia decided to adopt a holistic and coordinated strategy to deal with the issue.

A critical review of the policy window in the context of agenda-setting for the food estate policy in Indonesia reveals several things. *First*, the pandemic has triggered the food estate policy window opening in Indonesia. The pandemic highlighted the vulnerability of global food supply chains and emphasised the need for domestic food security. The Indonesian government recognised this need and took the opportunity to introduce the Food Estate Policy as a comprehensive and integrated approach to address food security challenges. *Second*, the policy window for the food estate policy in Indonesia was influenced by the collaborative efforts of various stakeholders. Local governments, businesses, and communities played an important role in supporting the formulation of the Food Estate program. Their involvement contributed to the success of the policy and highlighted the importance of a multi-sectoral approach to addressing complex policy issues. *Third*, momentum for reconciliation of national political leadership. This can be reflected in the delegation of strategic tasks from President Jokowi to Defence Minister Prabowo Subianto to become the leading sector of food estate management.

5. Conclusions

The three main streams described by Kingdon are influential in setting the food estate policy agenda in Indonesia. The COVID-19 pandemic-related food crisis has an impact on the problem stream. However, there are indications of policy learning failures because the food crisis has always intervened with rice self-sufficiency policies by opening the widest possible

land, which has implications for ecosystem damage and deforestation. This confirms Hart's study that the food estate is the new face of the political economy of agricultural policy in Indonesia [32]. The policy stream is characterised by two poles: developmentalism and environmentalism. Developmentalism is carried out structurally through government policies that rely on the production paradigm, thus using the logic of capitalism, such as food estates. In the meantime, NGOs are in charge of the environmentalism pole and consistently engage in advocacy work to ensure that food security development does not solely rely on the logic of megaprojects but also empowers farmers in a way that respects the environment's carrying capacity. The political stream is a vital stream where the political and economic interests of the mega food estate project find their moment. President Jokowi directly orchestrated policy entrepreneurs to support this. The peak was the opening of the policy window due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the momentum of political reconciliation by Jokowi and Prabowo Subianto. This entire policy process is intertwined to form an agenda for food estate policy in Indonesia.

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