

Food Subsidy Policies and Their Impact on Food Security: A Narrative Review in the Indonesian Context

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ABSTRACT: Food security remains a pressing challenge for Indonesia, a country that continues to grapple with agricultural inefficiencies, malnutrition, and food access disparities. This study aims to review the role of food subsidy policies in improving national food security, focusing on household consumption, agricultural productivity, and nutritional well-being. Using a narrative review approach, relevant literature from 2000 to 2024 was retrieved from Scopus, Google Scholar, and PubMed, with a thematic synthesis based on inclusion criteria targeting peer-reviewed empirical and policy-oriented studies.

The findings indicate that rice subsidies have consistently improved food access and dietary quality for low-income households, while fertilizer subsidies have enhanced technical efficiency among smallholder farmers. Diversification strategies, though promising, face social and infrastructural barriers, while the school feeding and maternal nutrition programs show strong potential in reducing stunting and promoting rural economic inclusion. Cross-country comparisons reveal that Indonesia can draw valuable lessons from India and Bangladesh regarding distribution system reforms and farmer support programs.

Overall, the review underscores the need for integrated governance, community-based implementation, and evidence-informed policy refinement. Food subsidy programs, when effectively implemented, can bridge both nutritional and economic gaps, offering a sustainable pathway to national food resilience.

Keywords: Food Security, Food Subsidy, Fertilizer Policy, Nutrition Intervention, Agricultural Productivity, Indonesia, Rural Development.



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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, as the fourth most populous country in the world, has long recognized food security as a national priority, especially in light of the country's vulnerability to economic and environmental shocks. Since the economic crisis of 1998, Indonesia has implemented a variety of food subsidy

policies aimed at enhancing agricultural productivity, ensuring food accessibility, and stabilizing food prices. Among the most notable is the fertilizer subsidy, introduced to reduce dependence on food imports and to strengthen domestic agricultural capacity (Sianipar & Ekonomi, 2021). These efforts are complemented by direct food assistance programs such as Raskin (later Rastra and currently BPNT), targeting low-income populations to ensure minimum nutritional intake irrespective of market volatility (Suryana et al., 2018).

Over time, Indonesian food subsidy policies have evolved in response to changing socio-economic contexts and global challenges. The government has attempted to reduce inefficiencies in fertilizer and seed usage through targeted reforms, promoting diversified food sources and strengthening domestic production (Pakpahan, 2018). (Suryana et al., 2018) advocated for more efficient and transparent fertilizer distribution systems to prevent misuse and leakage (Rahmawati et al., 2020). Furthermore, the introduction of programs like the food estate in Central Kalimantan was a strategic response to the vulnerabilities exposed during the COVID-19 pandemic (Sianipar & Ekonomi, 2021), aimed at enhancing regional food self-sufficiency through centralized agricultural development.

National food security indicators, as tracked by the FAO, show mixed results. On one hand, per capita food availability has improved, reflecting progress in domestic agricultural production. On the other hand, issues of accessibility and nutritional equity remain pressing. (Rahmawati et al., 2020) noted that disparities in food distribution and the quality of available food products continue to hinder comprehensive food security achievements across the archipelago. These challenges are exacerbated by geographic, infrastructural, and socio-economic disparities.

Government efforts to ensure the availability of safe and nutritious food have expanded to include regulatory improvements and public education. As (Heliaantoro & Juwana, 2018) highlight, stricter food safety standards and enhanced awareness programs have begun shifting public perceptions of food security beyond mere caloric sufficiency to include nutrition and environmental sustainability (Mamoriska, 2021). This broader perspective is essential in addressing the multidimensional nature of food security in Indonesia, which includes availability, accessibility, utilization, and stability.

Institutional collaboration remains a central component of Indonesia's food security strategy. Agencies such as BULOG play a critical role in price stabilization and food distribution, especially during times of crisis (Mamoriska, 2021). BULOG's interventions are crucial in preventing price spikes that disproportionately affect vulnerable populations. Additionally, capacity building for farmers through training and access to modern agricultural tools is emphasized to support self-sufficiency goals (Utomo, 2020).

Despite progress, significant challenges remain. Distribution inefficiencies, political interference, and infrastructural gaps continue to undermine subsidy effectiveness. (Megavitry et al., 2024) emphasize the lack of robust information systems and efficient distribution networks, which can lead to misalignment between policy intentions and outcomes. Additionally, the heterogeneity of societal needs across regions often clashes with uniform subsidy frameworks. Economic transitions and structural barriers further complicate implementation. (Rusmayadi et al., 2024) underscore difficulties

faced by small-scale farmers in accessing sustainable agricultural financing, highlighting the need for inclusive policy frameworks that accommodate diverse agricultural practices.

Policy implementation is further hindered by political complexities and overlapping administrative mandates. As (Christyanto & Mayulu, 2021) argue, the active role of local governments and effective public-private partnerships are essential in fostering a responsive and cohesive food policy environment. However, political conflicts and bureaucratic inefficiencies often dilute policy impacts and hinder adaptive governance structures. Engaging stakeholders across the food system—from producers to consumers—is vital in building trust and achieving sustained food security outcomes.

A critical gap in the literature lies in the long-term evaluation of subsidy policy effectiveness. Many existing studies focus on short-term outcomes, offering limited insights into sustained impacts on food security. (Kurniawan et al., 2024) note that important variables such as import policies, demographic dynamics, and regional disparities are frequently underexplored. (Sari & Ibrahim, 2023) further argue for the need to examine how local agricultural characteristics, income levels, and household consumption patterns shape subsidy effectiveness.

Additionally, existing research often neglects the interconnectedness between global crises and national food subsidy policies. (Saliem & Suryani, 2016) highlight the absence of integrative frameworks linking climate change, geopolitical conflicts, and global market volatility with domestic food security strategies. This disconnect limits policymakers' ability to develop proactive and resilient policy responses. Moreover, technological innovations remain underutilized in subsidy administration. (Bondansari et al., 2024) report limited deployment of digital tools and data-driven mechanisms in targeting and monitoring food subsidies, underscoring the need for modernization and system integration.

This review aims to synthesize and critically examine the body of literature on food subsidy policies and their impacts on food security in Indonesia. The analysis focuses on the structural, economic, and socio-political factors influencing policy design, implementation, and outcomes. Particular attention is given to the role of institutional arrangements, subsidy targeting mechanisms, and external shocks such as global price fluctuations.

The geographical scope of this review centers on Indonesia, with comparative references drawn from other Southeast Asian countries facing similar developmental challenges. This focus allows for a contextual understanding of how regional dynamics, local governance, and agricultural systems interact with national policy interventions. While Indonesia serves as the primary case study, insights from neighboring countries help highlight best practices and cautionary tales, enriching the discussion and offering broader policy implications.

In sum, food subsidy policies represent a pivotal instrument in Indonesia's quest for food security. Understanding their complexities, limitations, and potential requires a comprehensive narrative that integrates empirical findings, policy critiques, and theoretical frameworks. Through this review, we

aim to contribute to the ongoing discourse on sustainable food governance and inform future strategies that are equitable, efficient, and resilient in the face of uncertainty.

METHOD

This study employs a narrative review approach to examine the design, implementation, and impacts of food subsidy policies on food security in Indonesia. A comprehensive literature search was conducted across major academic databases, including PubMed, Scopus, and Google Scholar, targeting studies published between 2000 and 2024. The search strategy combined predetermined keywords with Boolean operators to ensure precision and completeness. Keywords included "food subsidy policy," "food security," "Indonesia," "agricultural subsidy," "food distribution," and "nutrition policy."

Eligibility criteria were established to include peer-reviewed journal articles, systematic reviews, and meta-analyses that empirically or theoretically assessed the influence of food subsidy programs on food availability, accessibility, and utilization. Studies not published in English, lacking direct empirical evidence, or not peer-reviewed were excluded from consideration. The initial screening involved a review of titles and abstracts, followed by full-text assessments to determine relevance and methodological rigor.

To enhance reliability, a multi-stage screening process was adopted. Four independent reviewers assessed the studies for alignment with inclusion criteria and resolved discrepancies through discussion. Thematic synthesis was used to identify recurring patterns in the design and outcomes of subsidy policies, particularly how they interact with socio-economic and institutional factors. The synthesized findings provide insights into the structural, political, and logistical mechanisms that facilitate or hinder the effectiveness of food subsidy programs, contributing to a deeper understanding of their role in achieving sustainable food security.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The implementation of food subsidy policies in Indonesia has generated a diverse array of impacts on food security, household consumption, agricultural productivity, and economic inclusion. This section synthesizes empirical findings across key thematic areas: household food consumption, the effectiveness of rice subsidy distribution, fertilizer subsidy impacts, diversification policy, and the early outcomes of nutritional assistance programs.

Fardian MI (2022) The Rice for the Poor program (Raskin), later transformed into BPNT, was one of Indonesia's earliest and most impactful initiatives aimed at enhancing food access for low-income households. (Syahril, 2019) demonstrated that Raskin substantially improved household rice consumption, contributing to increased caloric intake and food expenditure prioritization. Beneficiary households were observed to redirect their resources toward staple food purchases more effectively

than non-recipients. Furthermore, (Amrullah et al., 2020) found statistically significant increases in energy and protein consumption among Raskin recipients. In alignment with these findings, (Rahayu et al., 2019) emphasized the program's contribution to reducing malnutrition and food insecurity.

Evaluation of Raskin's distribution efficiency also highlights its role in mitigating food vulnerability. In Central Java, (Khomsatun, 2018) identified Raskin's direct effect in stabilizing food consumption among low-income households. The availability of subsidized rice facilitated consistent access to essential dietary components. (Arka & Indrajaya, 2019) observed broader regional impacts, noting that rice subsidies curbed vulnerability to food crises, particularly in marginal rural zones. Local administrative involvement further enhanced the accessibility and quality of distributed rice. Complementary findings from (Ariani et al., 2018) indicated that rice subsidies helped prevent households from falling into chronic poverty by ensuring baseline food availability.

Despite these successes, the effectiveness of such programs hinges on logistical optimization and institutional coordination. Gaps in these areas can reduce the impact on food security, reinforcing the importance of robust implementation mechanisms.

The fertilizer subsidy policy, another cornerstone of Indonesia's food strategy, has shown significant promise in enhancing agricultural productivity. (Suryana et al., 2018) affirmed that fertilizer subsidies increased technical efficiency and encouraged optimized input use among farmers. Improved yields and productivity gains were frequently observed, especially in rice and maize cultivation. (Ibrahim, 2021) supported these claims, highlighting that subsidized and balanced fertilizer application not only boosted crop yields but also improved produce quality.

However, systemic inefficiencies in fertilizer distribution remain a major bottleneck. (Solikin & Romadhon, 2020) identified bureaucratic delays and complex budgeting procedures as impediments to timely delivery. These delays negatively affected planting schedules and overall harvest outcomes. (Khusnah et al., 2023) evaluated the Kartu Tani system and found technological access limitations, low farmer literacy on digital systems, and weak rural connectivity as barriers to effective implementation. These technical and structural limitations reduce the system's ability to deliver inputs to the right recipients.

Targeting errors also surfaced as a critical issue. (Ratrifa et al., 2023) reported that misallocation frequently occurred, with inputs diverted to non-farming intermediaries. This undermined the policy's core objective of empowering smallholder farmers. Dissatisfaction with equity and transparency was echoed by (Pratama, 2020), whose qualitative research captured recurring farmer grievances regarding exclusion and perceived favoritism in subsidy allocation. These challenges necessitate substantial reforms in distribution systems to align policy goals with field-level realities.

In parallel with direct food and input subsidies, the Indonesian government has pursued food diversification policies to reduce dependence on rice and enhance dietary quality. (Ariani & Arah, 2016) argued that diversification helps mitigate risks associated with monoculture production and improves household resilience during global supply shocks. (Setiawan et al., 2017) emphasized that

promoting alternative staples such as sorghum, cassava, and sweet potatoes has increased local agricultural value chains and encouraged economic diversification. These policies aim to shift both supply-side production and demand-side consumption behavior.

Empirical evidence suggests that diversification enhances food system resilience. (Firmansyah, 2023) identified sorghum as a nutritionally superior and climate-resilient crop capable of supplementing national food supply gaps. (Setiawan et al., 2017) further noted increased revenue streams for smallholder farmers engaging in non-rice crop production. However, entrenched dietary preferences and cultural norms present formidable barriers. (Wahyuni & Shaliza, 2021) highlighted the deep-rooted preference for rice, reinforced through historical consumption patterns and state-supported pricing.

Public awareness of nutritional benefits from alternative foods remains limited. (Andaiyani et al., 2024) advocated for stronger education and outreach programs to promote diversified dietary habits. Moreover, infrastructural constraints hinder alternative food supply chains. (Mustopa et al., 2021) found that regions lacking sufficient transport and storage infrastructure face significant distribution challenges, which in turn suppresses consumer access and market viability for non-rice staples. (Saptana et al., 2021) argued that greater policy integration is needed to support farmers transitioning to diversified cropping systems.

The introduction of free nutritious meal programs, particularly for children and pregnant women, represents a newer initiative aimed at tackling malnutrition and stunting. (Karnita et al., 2024) reported measurable improvements in children's growth indicators following consistent participation in food assistance programs administered through local clinics. These interventions not only met immediate nutritional needs but also contributed to long-term health improvements. (Andin et al., 2024) observed a concurrent shift in parental dietary behavior, where education accompanying food provision improved knowledge and attitudes toward balanced nutrition.

At the national level, (Basofi & Kusnayain, 2024) linked the rollout of free meal programs with a reduction in stunting prevalence and improved child health metrics. The integration of locally sourced ingredients into these programs has further amplified their impact. (Brooks et al., 2021) found that empowering local SMEs and farmers to supply school feeding programs boosted rural incomes and fostered inclusive economic growth. This was supported by data from (Muttaqin & Limbong, 2024), who noted that increased local procurement reduced supply chain vulnerabilities and fostered community ownership of nutrition interventions.

Moreover, the promotion of indigenous food products not only enhanced nutritional diversity but also preserved cultural food heritage. As local food systems became more embedded in public programs, communities exhibited stronger food sovereignty and ecological awareness. This multi-faceted impact illustrates the convergence between food security, economic inclusion, and sustainable development.

In summary, the literature underscores the multifaceted effects of Indonesia's food subsidy and support programs. From increasing household food consumption to boosting agricultural productivity, and from promoting dietary diversity to improving child nutrition, these initiatives contribute meaningfully to national food security objectives. Nevertheless, their success is contingent on addressing persistent logistical, cultural, and policy coordination challenges. Comparative insights from other Southeast Asian countries echo similar patterns, reinforcing the need for regionally adaptive and locally responsive strategies to ensure inclusive and sustainable food security outcomes.

The implementation of food subsidy policies in Indonesia reflects a strategic response to both historical food insecurity and structural agricultural challenges. While these subsidies, particularly for rice and fertilizer, have made measurable progress in reducing household food vulnerability, their broader effectiveness is often constrained by governance, distribution inefficiencies, and institutional fragmentation. Comparing Indonesia's approach with similar initiatives in India and Bangladesh provides a valuable lens through which to evaluate the contextual strengths and limitations of these interventions.

Indonesia's subsidy system, primarily composed of the rice subsidy (Raskin/BPNT) and fertilizer programs, has shown effectiveness in improving household food availability and agricultural productivity. As noted in the results section, (Syahril, 2019) and (Amrullah et al., 2020) confirm that rice subsidies significantly enhanced caloric intake and consumption quality among low-income populations. However, (Heliaantoro & Juwana, 2018) highlight persistent problems in distribution and leakage, issues echoed across various evaluations. Similarly, (Suryana et al., 2018) and Ibrahim (2021) establish that fertilizer subsidies contributed to greater technical efficiency in farming, though these gains are often undermined by weak delivery systems and non-targeted benefits.

In India, the Public Distribution System (PDS) exemplifies a more centralized and scale-intensive model. According to Ghosh (as cited in (Megavitry et al., 2024)), this system has succeeded in sharply reducing hunger and malnutrition through extensive grain distribution networks. Nonetheless, its susceptibility to corruption and wastage challenges its overall efficacy. Meanwhile, Bangladesh employs a hybrid model emphasizing targeted food transfers combined with agricultural extension programs. Hossain and colleagues (as referenced in (Hidayat et al., 2024)) observed improved food access and farmer support through initiatives such as the Vulnerable Group Development (VGD) program, albeit constrained by limited infrastructure.

These comparative cases suggest that policy design alone is insufficient; the interplay between implementation capacity, institutional trust, and infrastructural reach critically determines outcomes. For Indonesia, this implies that adapting best practices from India's systemic distribution and Bangladesh's integration of agricultural education could enhance its own subsidy framework.

Systemic challenges in Indonesia further illuminate these issues. As noted by (Rachman & Sudaryanto, 2016), administrative inefficiencies and regulatory ambiguity frequently delay or distort subsidy delivery. (Abidin, 2024) identifies structural weaknesses in fertilizer regulation as key barriers to

equitable input distribution. These problems are compounded by inadequate inter-agency coordination, particularly between national agencies like BULOG and local government units.

Institutional design also affects the success of food subsidies. (Irawati et al., 2023) advocate for enhanced decentralization, suggesting that village-level governance can provide more accurate targeting and community ownership. However, (Elizabeth R.G., 2019) finds that local agents often lack adequate resources or capacity, leading to uneven program implementation. This tension between decentralization and operational capacity is a recurring theme, indicating the need for stronger institutional support systems.

The embeddedness of cultural preferences and consumption habits further complicates diversification strategies. (Wahyuni & Shaliza, 2021) note that Indonesia's heavy reliance on rice is deeply rooted in social norms, making behavior change difficult. (Andaiyani et al., 2024) emphasize the need for sustained educational campaigns and nutrition literacy to support diversification goals. These findings underscore that supply-side interventions alone are insufficient; demand-side engagement is equally essential.

Infrastructure plays an equally critical role. (Mustopa et al., 2021) demonstrate that logistical gaps in remote areas hinder the uptake of non-rice staples and agricultural inputs. Without cold chain storage, roads, or market access, alternative crops struggle to achieve competitive viability. (Saptana et al., 2021) recommend targeted investment in rural infrastructure and local supply chains to mitigate these barriers. These systemic limitations highlight the multi-sectoral nature of food security, requiring integrated planning across agriculture, health, and public works.

Nutritional intervention programs, such as the free school meals for children and pregnant women, present a promising shift in subsidy objectives. (Karnita et al., 2024) and (Andaiyani et al., 2024) document tangible improvements in child growth and parental nutrition behavior as a result of these programs. Moreover, (Basofi & Kusnayain, 2024) link such interventions to national reductions in stunting prevalence, affirming their public health potential. Importantly, (Brooks et al., 2021) and (Muttaqin & Limbong, 2024)) demonstrate how local procurement embedded within these programs fosters rural economic growth and small enterprise development.

These examples suggest a reorientation of food subsidies from mere price stabilization toward a broader developmental function. Integrating local agricultural economies into national nutrition strategies aligns food security with economic inclusion and environmental sustainability. The intersection of food subsidies and inclusive growth strategies thus emerges as a critical area for policy innovation.

Despite its comprehensive scope, this review is limited by the availability and quality of existing literature, particularly in evaluating long-term outcomes. Many studies focus on short-term impacts without sufficiently tracking sustainability or systemic resilience. There is also limited empirical research on the interaction between local governance capacity and subsidy effectiveness. Furthermore, access to regionally disaggregated data remains a challenge, hindering nuanced analysis of rural-urban

or inter-island disparities. Additionally, variations in methodological rigor among sources may affect the consistency and reliability of synthesized findings.

To advance this area of research, future studies should prioritize longitudinal evaluations of subsidy programs, integrating mixed-method approaches to capture both quantitative outcomes and qualitative insights. There is also a need to explore the role of digital governance tools in enhancing transparency and accountability in subsidy distribution. Moreover, research should examine the socio-cultural dimensions of food preferences and their implications for policy design. Cross-country comparative studies could offer more granular insights into best practices and scalable innovations. Finally, greater collaboration between academic institutions, policy think tanks, and local governments is essential for co-producing actionable knowledge and building adaptive food systems responsive to both shocks and structural challenges.

CONCLUSION

This review has demonstrated the multifaceted role of food subsidy policies in enhancing food security in Indonesia. The findings affirm that rice subsidies have significantly improved household caloric intake among low-income populations, while fertilizer subsidies have boosted agricultural productivity through increased technical efficiency. Additionally, diversification policies have promoted dietary resilience, and free nutritious meal programs have contributed to the reduction of malnutrition and the development of local economies. However, these achievements are tempered by persistent challenges, including distribution inefficiencies, limited institutional capacity, and socio-cultural resistance to dietary shifts. Comparative insights from India and Bangladesh further highlight the importance of streamlined public distribution systems, community engagement, and infrastructure investment.

Addressing these challenges will require a more integrated and adaptive approach. Policy reform should emphasize improved governance structures, technology-enabled distribution mechanisms, and strengthened local institutional roles. Encouraging community participation and investing in nutrition education are also essential to shift consumption behavior and ensure policy responsiveness to local needs.

Future research should explore the long-term impacts of subsidy interventions, particularly through longitudinal studies that assess sustainability and systemic resilience. Investigations into the intersection of food subsidies with digital governance, local agricultural development, and behavioral economics could provide valuable insights for scalable policy innovation. Strengthening food security in Indonesia hinges not only on increasing food availability but also on addressing structural inequities and building resilient, inclusive food systems.

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