

## **Change and Continuity in Indonesia's Foreign Policy: Food Security Strategic Agenda from President Jokowi to Prabowo Administration**

**Muhammad Jullyo Bagus Firdaus**

Universitas Negeri Surabaya

E-mail: [muhammadfirdaus@unesa.ac.id](mailto:muhammadfirdaus@unesa.ac.id)

### **Abstract**

Food security has become a part of a non-traditional international security issue. The uncertainty surrounding global crises over the past five years has increased since the COVID-19 pandemic began. Then, it was further compounded by geopolitical conflicts and supply chain disruptions. This paper analyses the dynamics of change and continuity in Indonesian foreign policy, focusing on food security under the President Joko Widodo administration and the President Prabowo Subianto administration. Additionally, this study uses a qualitative approach, drawing on document analysis and policy narratives. This study examines how Indonesia's food security orientation has shifted during the national leadership transition, employing a change-and-continuity analysis. The research findings indicate continuity in positioning food security as a strategic national interest, while changes occur in policy orientation and framing under two different leaderships. On the one hand, in President Joko Widodo's era, food security is constructed inwardly with the food estate program. Then, it is built outwardly through the internationalization of the issue. On the other hand, it is rearticulated inwardly as a foundation for national resilience and strategic independence, as reflected in policy articulations such as the Free Nutritious Meal Program (Makan Bergizi Gratis), which is the main strategic agenda of President Prabowo. This article argues that these dynamics reflect a pattern of change without rupture in Indonesian foreign policy, in which policy shifts occur gradually without diminishing ongoing strategic interests. Jakarta still uses an inward-looking paradigm to advance its national interests amid shifting administrations.

**Keywords:** continuity, foreign policy change, food security, non-traditional security, Indonesia's foreign policy.

### **Abstrak**

*Keamanan pangan telah menjadi bagian dari isu keamanan internasional non-tradisional. Ketidakpastian krisis global lima tahun terakhir, sejak terjadinya pandemi global COVID-19 ditambah munculnya konflik geopolitik dan gangguan rantai pasokan. Makalah ini menganalisis dinamika perubahan dan kontinuitas dalam kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia, khususnya terkait keamanan pangan dari pemerintahan Presiden Joko Widodo hingga Presiden Prabowo Subianto. Selain itu, studi ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif melalui analisis dokumen dan narasi kebijakan. Studi ini menunjukkan bagaimana orientasi ketahanan pangan Indonesia telah bergeser dalam konteks transisi kepemimpinan nasional, dengan menggunakan analisis perubahan dan kontinuitas. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan kontinuitas dalam memposisikan keamanan pangan sebagai kepentingan nasional strategis, sementara perubahan terjadi pada tingkat orientasi dan kerangka kebijakan dari dua kepemimpinan. Di satu sisi, pada masa pemerintahan Presiden Joko Widodo, keamanan pangan dibangun secara domestik dengan program food estate, sedangkan secara eksternal melalui internasionalisasi isu. Sementara itu, ketahanan pangan diartikulasikan kembali secara internal sebagai*

*fondasi ketahanan nasional dan kemandirian strategis, sebagaimana tercermin dalam artikulasi kebijakan seperti Program Makan Gratis Bergizi sebagai agenda strategis utama era Presiden Prabowo. Artikel ini berpendapat bahwa dinamika ini mencerminkan pola perubahan tanpa putus dalam kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia, di mana perubahan kebijakan terjadi secara bertahap tanpa mengurangi kepentingan strategis yang berkelanjutan. Jakarta masih menggunakan paradigma yang berorientasi ke dalam negeri untuk mencapai kepentingan nasionalnya pada perubahan pemerintahan.*

**Kata kunci:** *kontinuitas, perubahan kebijakan luar negeri, keamanan pangan, keamanan non-tradisional, kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia.*

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## **Introduction**

The Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 has placed a constellation of global politics into crisis and uncertainty. The Kremlin deployed the military in response to the massive spread of Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) at the beginning of January 2022. The invasion of Russia into Ukraine is not a new event, and it started in 2014 when the Crimean annexation happened. From the Ukrainian perspective, Russian aggression did not begin with the February 2022 invasion but eight years earlier, with the annexation of Crimea and the war in the Donbas (Filiu, 2023). This conflict hindered the global flow of essential raw materials.

In addition, the prospect of penalties against Russian exports will drive up the price of essential goods. According to the estimation from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Russia's war in Ukraine has the potential to increase the number of undernourished people in 2022 and 2023 by 7.6 to 13.1 million, in addition to the 720 to 811 million people who already experienced chronic hunger in 2020 (FAO, 2022).

Moreover, Russia's political action impacted Indonesia, especially on food security. Furthermore, food security is one of the main domains in non-traditional security studies, and it is categorized as a threat to a State. Food security has begun to shape diplomatic practices, multilateral engagement, and foreign policy strategies in many Global South states, as Indonesia did in the G-7 and G20. It emphasizes that security threats increasingly originate from economic, social, and environmental domains rather than from military confrontation alone (Buzan et al., 1998). Within this framework, food security occupies a hybrid position between human security and state security, linking individual well-being with national stability and international order (Caballero-Anthony, 2016).

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine harms global economic growth and economic recovery. Moscow and Kyiv are vital economic partners for Jakarta. Jakarta is also a significant trade partner with Ukraine, particularly in commodities such as wheat and meslin flour, for which Kyiv supplied a total of 2.76 million tons worth 821 million USD between January and November 2021.

Ukraine primarily exports wheat, semifinished iron, and hot-rolled iron, and it imported \$145 million worth of palm oil from Indonesia in 2020 (Kharisma, 2022).

In addition, wheat prices increased by 9 percent following the West's imposition of stricter sanctions on Russia over its invasion of Ukraine, posing a risk of further food-price inflation. Since 2018, Indonesia has been importing 2.4 million tons of wheat from Ukraine. Kyiv is the biggest supplier of wheat to Indonesia. In other sectors, Russia and Ukraine are among the largest producers of potassium, a key fertilizer ingredient (Zain, 2022).

To address this issue, President Joko Widodo conducted shuttle diplomacy in Kyiv and Moscow on 29 and 30 June 2022, respectively, in a joint press statement with President Volodymyr Zelenskyy of Ukraine. Joko Widodo has openly offered himself to President Zelensky to bring a message of peace during a meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin (Asmara, 2022).

Also, during this event, the narrative had already spread in Indonesia, as part of shuttle diplomacy between Ukraine and Russia. It was written and articulated by President Joko Widodo in the context of global and national food supply chains, with a focus on food security. He arrived in Kyiv on 29 June 2022 to hold talks with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy. He became the first Asian leader to visit the

country since Russia launched its invasion at the end of February 2022.

Before the war, Ukraine was also one of Indonesia's largest wheat suppliers (Ekawati, 2022). Before visiting Ukraine, during the Group of 7 (G7) annual meeting in Hamburg, he urged Western G7 countries to facilitate Ukraine's wheat exports and to refrain from imposing sanctions on Russian food and fertilizer exports (Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 2022). Then, during a diplomatic visit to Kyiv, President Joko Widodo (2022) conveyed that "all parties need to ensure the security of Ukraine's food exports, including via seaports, and I support the UN's efforts in this regard." Nevertheless, since Indonesia gained independence during this period, every president since has articulated Indonesia's Foreign Policy as a peacemaker and has consistently determined a Free and Active foreign policy as the primary national interest in International Politics (Yani, 2009). Yani's research shows that Jakarta's foreign policy changes gradually, and continuity is evident in policy articulation. Indonesia's foreign policy begins within the domestic domain. It has always been subject to domestic political developments and priorities (Yani, 2009: 4)

This paper discusses the changes and continuities in Indonesia's foreign policy under President Joko Widodo and the Prabowo Administration. It examines how Indonesia's food security orientation evolves in the context of a leadership

transition, using two key policy moments: President Jokowi's shuttle diplomacy before and during Indonesia's G20 chairmanship. In the second tenure, he also implemented the food estate policy in the agriculture sector. Next, the articulation of the Free Nutritious Meal Program (*Makan Bergizi Gratis*, or MBG) under President Prabowo as the "mainstay policy" in the 2024 Presidential debate, and the application of the program after he took office.

In the context of food security, the shuttle diplomacy with an outward-looking strategy, while President Prabowo deployed an inward-looking strategy through the Free Nutritious Meal Program. The study opens the puzzle about how far these developments represent policy change, and to what extent they reflect continuity in Indonesia's strategic interests.

There are several main goals of this article: first, it reconceptualizes food security as an element of foreign policy rather than merely a domestic or developmental issue in Indonesia's context. Second, it understands change and continuity analysis in a non-traditional security domain. In addition, this paper analyses an instrument of foreign policy or a strategic narrative that bridges domestic legitimacy with international positioning. It is particularly salient as Indonesia undergoes a political transition from President Jokowi to President Prabowo Subianto.

This research opens the puzzle of how the dimensions of change and continuity in Indonesia's food security foreign policy. It also shows that, even as the framing of food security evolves, the underlying strategic interest in stabilizing societal security remains continuous, or "changes without rupture," as the main finding. Indonesia still uses an inward-looking approach to secure its national interest in food security. Even after the Russian invasion in 2022, President Joko Widodo conducted shuttle diplomacy in Moscow and Kyiv.

Last, this article does not evaluate the efficacy or sustainability of particular food security initiatives. Instead, it focuses on continuity and change in policy orientation and strategic priorities. The actual results of initiatives like Food Estate and *Makan Bergizi Gratis* are still debated. However, their implementation suggests a continued inward-focused strategy in which food security is seen as a fundamental national priority or resilience agenda.

### **Conceptual Framework: Foreign Policy Change and Continuity**

This study employs foreign policy change as a tool of analysis to help answer the puzzle of shifting and evolving food security under President Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto. In any given state, foreign policy tends to be marked more by continuity than by change (Rosati et al., 1994). From a theoretical perspective, the study of change became inevitable

after the end of the Cold War (Mendes, 2023). Since then, numerous studies have been conducted to develop arguments about various aspects of change in the post-bipolar world. In addition, Mendes (2023: 4) categorized changes into 3 types: a) Changes in international structure (material and ideational); b) Changes in political leadership (new ideas and preferences); and c) The occurrence of any crisis (e.g., socio-political shocks). Domestic politics and foreign policy are intertwined, making it essential to acknowledge the domestic drivers of foreign policy (Kaarbo, 2015).

Based on Mendes, the case in this paper uses changes in political leadership. It can be understood through President Joko Widodo's use of the food state strategy in food security, while President Prabowo used the Free Nutrition Programme. The change and continuity are reframing empirical evidence. So, integrating foreign policy change and continuity into domestic-level analysis, this study understands food security as a non-traditional security issue repeatedly rearticulated through shifting policy narratives. It argues that Indonesia's food security foreign policy reflects change without rupture, as movements between outward-looking internationalization and inward-looking national resilience do not alter its core strategic significance. This framework helps explain how foreign policy evolves in response to new leadership and crises while remaining strategically consistent over time.

### **Food Security as Non-Traditional Security**

After the end of the Cold War, the narrative of non-traditional security emerged in International Relations (IR) discourse. Some IR scholars noted that this concept led to a refocusing on threat in security studies. First, Ullman (1983) warned that non-military threats could be as damaging as armed aggression. Second, Mathews (1989) argued that states need to reshape the security agenda to address resource, environmental, and demographic issues. Food security as a Non-Traditional Security issue resonates as a quintessential "cross-cutting" issue. It directly impacts human security by threatening survival, health, and dignity (United Nations Development Programme, 1994).

Food security is a key component of "freedom from want." This perspective emphasizes the availability, usage, and stability of household food supplies. It also affects state security by influencing social stability, economic performance, and political legitimacy. According to the 1996 World Food Summit, food security is defined as the condition in which all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and preferences for an active and healthy life (World Bank Group, n.d.).

In addition, the article by Rusmawati et al. (2023) explains that food security is social capital, including community bonding and bridging links,

and is an essential part of society that helps people become more resilient from the ground up. This works with top-down state initiatives. It suggests that resilience comes not only from state programs but also from societal strength. Then, the food security is securitized as a pillar of sovereignty by the Indonesian Government (Pramesti et al., 2025). Akbar & Wiswasyana (2025) stressed that among the countries affected, developing states such as Indonesia are hit worse due to their dependence on foodstuff imports. Despite being one of the largest agricultural producers in Southeast Asia, Indonesia struggles to achieve food security.

## **METHOD**

This study employs a qualitative research design to examine the dynamics of change and continuity in Indonesia's foreign policy on food security during the leadership transition from President Joko Widodo to President Prabowo Subianto. This study uses a qualitative technique to enable the researcher to comprehend the phenomenon through the description and interpretation of food as a security aspect for Indonesia.

Moreover, this paper analyses how food security is articulated as a foreign policy issue and, conversely, how foreign policy concerns shape domestic food-related policies. In President Prabowo's administration, it reflects a strategic inward turn following earlier exposure to global food crises.

Additionally, data for analysis were collected from official government documents, including presidential speeches, policy statements, press releases, and mass media related to food security in two administrations. These sources include texts, documents, and narratives associated with Jokowi's Food Estate program and Prabowo's *Makan Bergizi Gratis* (MBG) initiative.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Continuity and Change of Food Security as Resilience Agenda: From Food Estate to Free Nutritious Meal**

The Indonesian Government posits food security as a fundamental national strategic interest in development and social stability. Then, it was categorized as the central strategic pillar of national development and sovereignty (Nugroho et al., 2022). Hasan & Daryanto (2024) argued that food security is not only about food availability but also the state's capability to ensure consistent access and utilization under varying conditions of economic and environmental risk. Thus, the Indonesian Government has implemented various public policy strategies to maintain national food security, which include food production, distribution, and access, indicating that food security is an essential and sustainable development agenda (Zahra et al., 2025).

Food security is also reflected in public policies that establish it as a central issue of national development, in food regulations that recognize the state's

obligation to guarantee the right to food, and in the strategic roles of central and regional governments in the formulation and implementation of food policies. Furthermore, Indonesia has also incorporated food security into its economic diplomacy strategy through its participation in international mechanisms such as the WTO Agreement on Agriculture, demonstrating that this issue is not only domestic but also crucial in the context of foreign affairs, in some aspects such as food security governance, policy direction, legal basis, and international engagement (Putra et al., 2024). The official definition from the Indonesian Government defines a food estate as a large-scale agricultural area that integrates the development of food commodities, horticulture, plantations, and livestock (Kantor Staf Presiden, 2021). The definition encompasses not just food supply but also access, use, and stability. This condition shows that simply making more food does not always translate into better nutrition.

In this case, Indonesia's Food Estate program improves food supply by boosting local agricultural output. In practice, this programme is primarily about storing food reserves for emergencies. At the community level, food reserves are stored to face the threat of drought and natural disasters (Lasminingrat & Efriza, 2020). The MBG program, on the other hand, focuses on access and use by making sure that vulnerable populations have frequent access to healthy food. The connection

between these two policies shows a macro- and inward-looking approach to food security, in which domestic production capacity and social protection systems work together to make the state more resilient. The shift from President Joko Widodo's focus on food security based on production to President Prabowo Subianto's focus on nutrition does not signal a break in policy. It shows a gradual change within a solid strategic framework.

Moreover, the author argues that the continuity of food security policy during the transition from President Joko Widodo to President Prabowo Subianto is both structural and actor-centric. Before assuming the presidency, Prabowo Subianto served as Minister of Defense, overseeing the Food Estate program, which explicitly linked food security to national security and national resilience. It was articulated by President Joko Widodo (2020):

"Defense does not only concern 'alutsista' (primary weaponry defense system), but also boosting resilience in the food sector, which is part of the national security agenda. The Minister of Defense has already submitted the cost calculations and the amount of budget required to develop a food estate in Kapuas and Pulang Pisau."

At that time, food estates served as a crucial source of agricultural and strategic logistical reserves, essential for supporting national defense. By placing the Food Estate under the Ministry of Defense, the state strategically securitizes

food, not discursively, and this shapes long-term policy patterns. Hence, the fundamental narrative was that food is a matter of national sovereignty that requires state-centric intervention. This logic persists into the Prabowo era and is classified as continuity, even with a different lens.

### **Inward-Looking of Food Security Orientation under President Joko Widodo**

The initial narrative of the food estate started when COVID-19 attacked Indonesia. President Joko Widodo issued Presidential Regulation Number 82 of 2020 concerning the Committee for Handling Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) and National Economic Recovery. Within its organizational structure, the Coordinator of the Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs serves as Deputy Chair II. Then it demonstrates that the government believes that handling the COVID-19 pandemic cannot be separated from a defense and security perspective. Consequently, a food security strategy during the pandemic certainly requires a role for defense and security as a key pillar of national security. The Ministry of Defense's involvement in managing the Food Estate reinforces the view that this program falls within a state-centered approach, where food is viewed as integral to national security rather than just an economic or agricultural sector.

Thus, Food Estate is posited as part of the state strategy to ensure national

resilience in the face of non-conventional threats, including threats to food supply and stability (Basundoro & Sulaeman, 2022). Food Estates in the President Joko Widodo era were seen as a crucial component in regional logistics supporting national defense, including the provision of food as a vital resource for national stability. Natural resources are viewed as strategic reserves within the national defense system. This approach is consistent with state-centered food security frameworks, in which the state takes a leading role in mobilizing domestic resources to reduce vulnerability to external shocks (Fatahullah & Hilmi, 2024).

The government launched the food estate program because it viewed the threat of a food crisis as an internal problem that requires domestic solutions before relying on international markets or imports during the uncertainty period. Therefore, the priority was to increase domestic production. This is an example of an inward-looking orientation, in which the policy focus is on national security and food self-sufficiency rather than global trade or market integration (Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 2023).

### **Food Security Diplomacy as an Outward-Looking Agenda and the G20 Meeting in Indonesia**

After spreading the narrative on the domestic level, President Joko Widodo has shifted in orientation toward internationalizing food security issues

through multilateral diplomacy at the G20 forum. In the context of Indonesia's G20 Presidency in 2022, He actively encouraged international cooperation to address the global food crisis triggered by the COVID-19 pandemic and supply disruptions due to geopolitical conflicts. President Jokowi emphasized that G7 and G20 member countries have a significant responsibility to address the food crisis immediately, which threatens hundreds of millions of people across various developing states, viewing food as a fundamental human right that requires collective action.

The arrangement of sectoral meetings and international forums concerning agricultural and food systems during the G20 Presidency exemplified Indonesia's endeavour to globalize the conversation on food security. President Joko Widodo briefly discussed the threat of high food prices, which could lead to a food crisis, particularly due to fertilizer shortages. He stated that if this problem hasn't resolved, next year will be even more dire (Metro TV, 2022).

To ensure the success of Indonesia's G20 Presidency, the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs held several supporting activities in the food and agribusiness sectors, with the central theme "Indonesian Food for a Better World." In addition, Minister Airlangga Hartanto (Limasento, 2022) said that:

"The issue of food security is crucial. We must truly focus on domestic food availability. So, the key is just three things: securing the supply

side, diversifying food supplies, and efficiency."

This strategy positioned Indonesia as an active norm entrepreneur in global food governance, aiming to raise food security on the world agenda while encouraging collaboration among major economies. Jokowi's food diplomacy serves as an additional tool for safeguarding internal stability from foreign shocks. Indonesia aimed to address global vulnerabilities to its national food system by elevating food security in international diplomacy. Thus, Jokowi's food diplomacy indicates an adaptive shift in Indonesian foreign policy, combining external engagement with a persistent emphasis on national resilience. So, Indonesia shifted its narrative from "self-sufficiency" to "global responsibility," arguing that the starvation of the Global South would lead to widespread geopolitical instability. Studies by Clapp (2017) and Margulis (2013) argued that crises often prompt states in the Global South to securitize food governance as a means of insulating domestic stability from global market volatility.

### **The Trajectory and Implementation of the Free Nutritious Meals Program from the President Prabowo Administration**

President Prabowo Subianto stated that Indonesia's commitment to food and energy self-sufficiency is a key step in addressing increasingly complex global challenges, as soon as the inauguration as

the Indonesian President (Kementerian Sekretariat Negara, 2024a). He also added with a pessimistic tone that in a global crisis, other countries will prioritize their domestic interests. Therefore, Indonesia must be able to produce and meet national food needs independently.

MBG is a mega project that has been conducted during Prabowo's Administration. According to UNICEF (2025), the Free Nutritious Meals Program also aligns with the Indonesia 2045 vision, which aims to create a golden generation. A generation capable of leading Indonesia to become a developed state in the future (Kementerian Sekretariat Negara, 2024b). Then, the program was directed to 82.9 million Indonesians who can receive free lunches and nutritional assistance for children and pregnant mothers (Sari, 2023).

At the strategic objective level, either the President Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto administration has consistently positioned food security as part of the national interest and the foundation of state resilience. Under President Joko Widodo, food security is understood as a protective mechanism against external shocks such as the COVID-19 pandemic, the Russia-Ukraine conflict, and disruptions in global supply chains. The Food Estate Program reflects this approach by emphasizing increasing domestic production capacity and strengthening state control over strategic food sources. The Ministry of Defense's

involvement in this program reinforces the logic of securitizing food as a national security issue. During the President Prabowo era, a new Board to manage the MBG program, the National Nutrition Agency (Badan Gizi Nasional), was established in accordance with Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 83 of 2024. Additionally, the technical implementation of MBG is carried out through a network of Nutrition Fulfillment Service Units (SPPG) in all provinces to reach students, toddlers, pregnant women, and breastfeeding mothers, who are the main target groups.

Nevertheless, the MBG is large and cross-sectoral, and the government formed a national coordination team led directly by a cabinet official and involving many ministries/institutions. Coordinating Minister for Food, Zulkifli Hasan, leads the MBG Coordination Team, established by presidential decree. This team is tasked with harmonizing policies among ministries/agencies and regional governments and ensuring effective supervision of program implementation (Antara News, 2025).

The defense ministry supports the work of BGN. Its role remains significant in framing food and nutrition security within Indonesia's broader non-traditional security agenda, thereby ensuring policy continuity across administrations. For instance, the Ministry of Defense and the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) not only contributed to the government's

distribution but also actively provided nutrition education to the community. Using a local wisdom-based approach, the soldiers collaborated with traditional leaders and community figures to ensure the program was well-received and had maximum impact (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2025a). In addition, an official statement from that institution said, “The Ministry of Defense is committed to continuing coordination with all relevant parties to ensure the success of the MBG Program and other strategic programs.” This support aligns with the government’s vision of realizing a healthy, prosperous, and food-sovereign Indonesia, particularly by ensuring the nutritional needs of the younger generation (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2025b).

### **Change without Rupture in Indonesia’s Food Security Foreign Policy**

President Prabowo’s experience as Minister of Defense in managing the Food Estate led him to apply this strategic logic of food security to the national-level policy context after becoming President. Then he constructed food security as an integral part of Prabowo’s strategic thinking. It remains central to national policy post-transition. According to

Herman (1990), continuity in leadership experience occurs when policy changes occur without altering fundamental strategic objectives. President Prabowo brought the food security framework into his presidential leadership, although the policy instruments changed (MBG). Despite the change in policy instruments from Food Estates to Free Nutritious Meals, Jakarta’s strategic goal of making food the foundation of national security remains intact. This pattern reflects change without rupture, with policy adjustments that do not shift core interests.

Table 1 illustrates that the transfer from President Jokowi to President Prabowo signifies a distinct change in policy articulation while preserving strategic continuity. While Jokowi’s approach was heavily production-centric (securing the land), Prabowo’s approach is human-centric (securing the people). President Joko Widodo’s strategy was predominantly production-oriented (focusing on land acquisition), but Prabowo’s strategy is focused on human welfare (prioritizing the populace). In addition, both presidents adhere to the same principle of National Resilience, perceiving food security as an indispensable cornerstone of Indonesia’s sovereignty within a global framework.

**Table 1.** Comparison of Food Security Articulations between Joko Widodo and the Prabowo Administration

<b>Aspect</b>	<b>Joko Widodo</b>	<b>Prabowo Subianto</b>	<b>Change / Continuity</b>
<b>Strategic Issue</b>	Food security as a safeguard against global crises (pandemics, wars, supply chain disruptions)	Food security as the foundation of national resilience and long-term human resource development	<b>Continuity</b>
<b>Paradigm of Decision-making Process</b>	Inward-looking with selective outward-looking adjustments (Shuttle Diplomacy at the beginning of the Ukraine Crisis in 2022 and during the G20 Indonesia Presidency)	Inward-looking (Limited but symbolic articulation in the World Economic Forum, Davos, 2026)	<b>Continuity</b>
<b>Main Instrument</b>	Food Estate (production, supply, food reserves)	Free Nutritious Meals (access, nutrition, human capital)	<b>Change (level instrument)</b>
<b>Narrative</b>	Food as an issue of national sovereignty and security	Food as an investment for generations and long-term resilience	<b>Change (level framing)</b>
<b>Main Actor</b>	President, Ministry of Defense, and Ministry of Agriculture	President, National Nutrition Agency, Minister of Defense, and cross-ministerial socio-economic	<b>Change (Operational Actor)</b>
<b>Foreign Policy Orientation</b>	Instrumental multilateralism (G20 for domestic stabilization)	The food security narrative was articulated at the World Economic Forum 2026	<b>Continuity</b>
<b>Level of Change (Theoretical)</b>	Policy adaptation without changing core interests	Policy rearticulation without radical change	<b>Change without rupture</b>

**Source:** Processed by author

Using foreign policy change analysis, it depicts that both President Joko Widodo and President Prabowo maintain an inward-looking paradigm. On the one hand, President Jokowi did implement

outward-looking adjustments through food diplomacy at the G20 during Indonesia's presidency. However, these measures were instrumental in stabilizing external conditions that

directly impacted domestic resilience. On the other hand, President Prabowo, in the early phase of his administration, emphasized domestic consolidation and minimized food diplomacy with international partners. His vision builds on the basic assumption of President Jokowi's administration: that national resilience must be built in the domestic arena.

MBG is predominantly a domestic strategy. However, in his recent speech at the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting in Davos in 2026, he argued that this program aims to improve public welfare and food access for millions of people (Antara News, 2026). Food security under the President Prabowo administration is not entirely excluded from international discourse. Moreover, President Prabowo's articulation at the World Economic Forum 2026 contrasts with Jokowi's diplomatic engagement. MBG is only posited as global messaging rather than as an active foreign policy intervention.

From the table above, we can confirm that Indonesia's food security policy reflects changes at the operational and narrative levels, but maintains continuity at the strategic level and maintains its foreign policy orientation. These findings strengthen the argument that food security serves as a policy anchor, maintaining the consistency of Indonesia's national interests amid leadership changes and global dynamics.

## **CONCLUSION**

Hence, Indonesia's foreign policy orientation on food issues demonstrates paradigm continuity despite changes in its food security policy orientation. In addition, the transition of leadership in Indonesia from President Joko Widodo to President Prabowo Subianto is characterized by change without rupture. It remains a non-negotiable strategic interest for Jakarta. It is consistently framed as a pillar of National Resilience and sovereignty rather than a mere developmental issue in the security sector. Even as policy framing shifts, both the President Jokowi and Prabowo administrations perceive food dependency on external partners as an existential threat to state autonomy.

For further research, the analysis on the continuity and change in food security can be conducted at the end of the President Prabowo administration, especially to evaluate the implementation. MBG is still a new program that may need improvement and evaluation since it began at the start of the President Prabowo regime. Second, comparative research on Global South states could offer an alternative perspective on how different political systems manage change and continuity in food security and in their foreign policy. Then, it will contextualize, "Does the case of the food security issue in Indonesia, with a finding 'change without rupture' model, is unique or part of a common pattern?" Moreover, the initiative on food security can be analysed in depth with

respect to bilateral agricultural agreements and their roles in ASEAN food security frameworks. Third, for the alternative discussion, further research may focus on the role of civil society and NGOs and how their narratives contribute to the government's decision-making process.

Last, still in the context of Non-Traditional Security, an assessment of change and continuity in Indonesia's foreign policy can explore whether

Indonesia's inward-looking paradigm can coexist with deeper international cooperation in the long term, particularly in the context of climate change, global supply chain restructuring, and gender narratives. Since geopolitical shifts are volatile nowadays, there is uncertainty. Then, it gives another threat to international security; Indonesia's foreign policy in the non-traditional sector needs to be raised and adapted to create national resilience.

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