The Implementation Gap of Food Security Policy: A Structural Analysis of Extractive Dominance and Agrarian Politics

Kesenjangan Implementasi Kebijakan Ketahanan Pangan: Analisis Struktural atas Dominasi Ekstraktif dan Politik Agraria

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ABSTRACT

Food security in Indonesia reveals a difficult paradox: strong regulatory commitments but unequal agrarian politics, especially in extractive regions. This study takes West Kutai Regency, East Kalimantan, as its empirical case, an area with a drastically declining Food Security Index despite its large agricultural land potential. Using a qualitative approach and document analysis of regional regulations as well as spatial and statistical secondary data, this study uncovers three interrelated layers of problems. First, the land tenure structure dominated by Other Use Areas (APL) and the political licensing cycle have narrowed the space for food policy from the outset. Second, policy contradictions arise when food diversification programs must compete with much greater incentives and licensing facilities for the palm oil and coal mining sectors. Third, the adaptive Sustainable Food Gardens (P2L) program emerged as a household-level survival strategy. However, its effectiveness is limited and risks becoming a symbolic gesture in place of the loss of large-scale food barns. This study still has several limitations, particularly in its reliance on secondary data and document analysis, which limits the exploration of community-level experiences and the dynamics of policy implementation in the field. In addition, the study focuses primarily on structural and regulatory dimensions, so the socio-economic impacts on local farmers, household food resilience, and actor interactions at the village level have not been explored comprehensively. Future research is therefore recommended to employ mixed-method or participatory approaches involving interviews, field observations, and longitudinal analysis in order to deepen understanding of the relationship between extractive expansion, agrarian change, and food security sustainability. Further studies may also compare other extractive regions in Indonesia to strengthen the broader relevance and generalization of findings regarding the structural challenges of food policy implementation.

Kata Kunci
Ketahanan Pangan;
Implementasi Kebijakan;
Politik Agraria;
Ekstraktivisme

ABSTRAK

Ketahanan pangan di Indonesia menunjukkan paradoks yang sulit diabaikan: komitmen regulasi yang kuat, namun realitas politik agraria yang timpang, terutama di kawasan ekstraktif. Penelitian ini mengambil Kabupaten Kutai Barat, Kalimantan Timur, sebagai lokus empiris, sebuah daerah dengan Indeks Ketahanan Pangan yang mengalami penurunan drastis meskipun memiliki potensi lahan pertanian yang besar. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan analisis dokumen terhadap regulasi daerah serta data sekunder spasial dan statistik, penelitian ini mengungkap tiga lapisan persoalan yang saling berkaitan. Pertama, struktur penguasaan lahan yang didominasi oleh Area Penggunaan Lain (APL) serta siklus politik perizinan telah mempersempit ruang kebijakan pangan sejak awal. Kedua, muncul kontradiksi kebijakan ketika program diversifikasi pangan harus bersaing dengan insentif dan fasilitas perizinan yang jauh lebih besar bagi sektor

perkebunan kelapa sawit dan pertambangan batu bara. Ketiga, program adaptif Pekarangan Pangan Lestari (P2L) hadir sebagai strategi bertahan pada tingkat rumah tangga. Namun, efektivitasnya masih terbatas dan berisiko menjadi sekadar simbol pengganti hilangnya lumbung pangan berskala besar. Penelitian ini masih memiliki beberapa kelemahan, terutama karena lebih banyak bergantung pada data sekunder dan analisis dokumen sehingga belum mampu menggali secara mendalam pengalaman masyarakat serta dinamika implementasi kebijakan di lapangan. Selain itu, penelitian ini lebih berfokus pada dimensi struktural dan regulatif, sehingga dampak sosial-ekonomi terhadap petani lokal, ketahanan pangan rumah tangga, serta interaksi antaraktor di tingkat desa belum dianalisis secara komprehensif. Oleh karena itu, penelitian selanjutnya disarankan menggunakan pendekatan mixed-method atau partisipatif melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi lapangan, dan analisis longitudinal agar dapat memperluas pemahaman mengenai hubungan antara ekspansi sektor ekstraktif, perubahan agraria, dan keberlanjutan ketahanan pangan. Penelitian lanjutan juga dapat melakukan studi perbandingan pada wilayah ekstraktif lain di Indonesia untuk memperkuat relevansi dan generalisasi temuan mengenai tantangan struktural dalam implementasi kebijakan ketahanan pangan.

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Introduction

The global food system is currently facing unprecedented pressure. Climate change, supply chain disruptions, and geopolitical instability have significantly reduced food production and distribution capacity in many countries, particularly developing ones (Abdullah, 2025; Esquivias et al., 2023; Organization, 2023). The Economist Intelligence Unit (2022) report quantifies significant disparities in the Global Food Security Index (GFSI), reflecting unequal resilience of food systems across countries. In this context, food security can no longer be viewed merely as a technical issue in the agricultural sector; it has become a strategic indicator of national sovereignty and stability (Idris, 2021; Limenta & Chandra, 2017; M. Zamil et al., 2025).

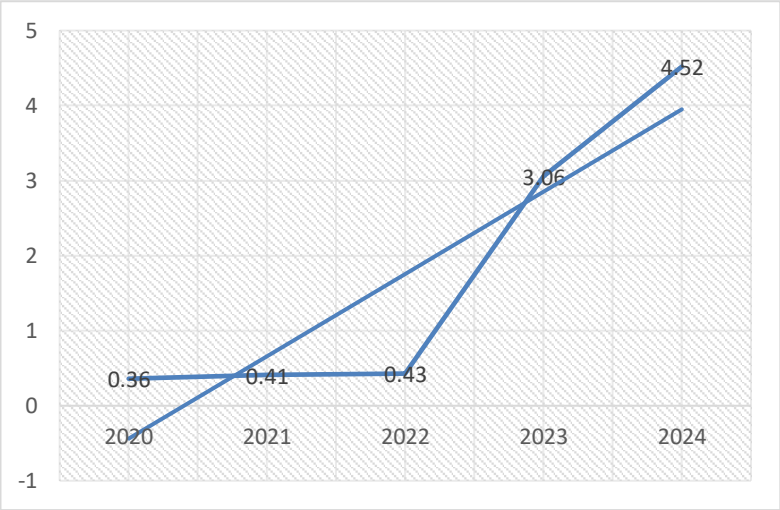

Figure 1.Trend in Indonesian Rice Import Volume 2020–2024,

Source : Good State, 2024

Indonesia itself faces a structural paradox in its food policy. On the one hand, constitutional commitment has been affirmed through Law Number 18 of 2012 concerning Food, which mandates the fulfillment of the right to food for all citizens. However, dependence on rice imports has increased exponentially in recent years. As shown in Figure 1, between 2020 and 2024, rice imports surged more than 12-fold, from 0.36 million tons to 4.52 million tons (BPS, 2024). This surge of more than 4 million tons over the past two years indicates that domestic production capacity cannot meet national demand, making structural dependence on external supplies inevitable (Guntoro, 2024; Rhofita, 2022). This condition also explains why Indonesia's ranking in the 2022 GFSI (Global Food Security Index) is 63rd out of 113 countries, or in the lower-middle class, reflecting its moderate food security capacity and vulnerability to global supply shocks (Abdullah, 2025; Ratnasari & Dani, 2023).

Theoretically, the gap between regulatory and implementation frameworks for food policy has long been a concern in public policy studies Warren (1974), through the concept of the implementation gap, demonstrated that policy failure often occurs when well-designed policies encounter an unfavorable political-economic context Grindle (1980) reinforced this view by clearly distinguishing between the content of policy and the context of implementation. A policy may have highly protective objectives, but if conflicting interests dominate the implementation context, the results will deviate significantly from the initial mandate.

In the context of Indonesian food security, researchers note that national food policy remains heavily oriented toward rice stabilization through state instruments, but has not adequately protected the position of smallholder farmers as primary producers (Arifin, 2018; Rozaki, 2021b). Other studies emphasize the need for a paradigm shift toward food diversification based on local resources (Anantanyu et al., 2025; Siregar & Fitriani, 2020). However, the dominant analytical framework remains technocratic and ignores structural dimensions such as unequal access to resources and power relations in public policy (McCarthy & Obidzinski, 2017b; Vel et al., 2016a).

A similar structural paradox is reflected in East Kalimantan. This province does indeed record a high Food Security Index and ranks second nationally. However, indicators of interregional supply dependency actually show that the food supply structure remains highly dependent on external supplies, particularly from production centers outside Kalimantan (Ahdiat, 2024; Subejo et al., 2017). Recent studies on food security in neighboring regions of East Kalimantan, such as Mahakam Ulu Regency, have also revealed persistent challenges in optimizing dry land policies for rice production (Tening et al., 2025), while the role of agricultural extension agents in promoting sustainable practices, including organic waste management, has been identified as a key yet underexplored factor in strengthening local food systems (Eka Kasmi Fitrian et al., 2025). This conundrum reaches its peak complexity in West Kutai Regency. This region experienced the most dramatic decline in the Food Security Index (IKP) in East Kalimantan, with a food availability score of zero, indicating that local production contributes little to public consumption. All of this occurs amidst enormous agricultural land potential.

Studies of agrarian politics and extractivism in Indonesia over the past decade provide a critical perspective for understanding this phenomenon. Researchers have shown that inequality in land ownership and weak implementation of agrarian reform have led to the massive conversion of agricultural land to coal mining concessions and oil palm plantations

(H. R. Susmiyati & Al-Hidayah, 2020; Wibowo & Shohibuddin, 2023b). A report JATAM (2017) empirically documented that the expansion of coal mining concessions has covered millions of hectares of potential food land in Indonesia, From a legal perspective, Indonesia's regulatory framework favors coal mining activities over other land uses, including small-scale food production. Meanwhile, studies in Kalimantan confirm that the expansion of oil palm plantations has altered farmers' livelihood structures and increased household food insecurity (Fatmasari et al., 2018; Hasudungan, 2021; Hasudungan et al., 2024; Sudirman, 2023). They even suggest that integrating rural economies into the global palm oil economy creates a livelihood dilemma, as farmers lose their local food base and become dependent on wages.

However, these studies remain sectoral, either positioning food security as a technical agricultural issue or viewing extractivism solely as a political economy issue, without examining how these conflicts of interest are mediated or even produced by local government practices (Husen et al., 2023a, 2023b; Wibowo & Shohibuddin, 2023b). Specifically, no study has simultaneously analyzed three interrelated layers of problems in extractive regions like West Kutai: first, the land tenure structure that narrows the scope for food policy; second, the policy contradiction between food diversification programs and incentives for the extractive sector; and third, the role and limitations of adaptive programs such as the Sustainable Food Yard (P2L) within the context of these structural pressures. This is the analytical gap that this article aims to fill.

Therefore, this study aims to uncover the structural roots of the failure of food security policy implementation by analyzing the contradiction between food policy and the realities of agrarian politics in extractive regions. Specifically, three questions are addressed: (1) How does the land tenure structure limit the scope for food policy? (2) Where does the policy contradiction lie between food security programs and the expansion of the extractive sector? (3) What are the roles and limitations of adaptive programs such as the Sustainable Food Yard (P2L) in this context? The argument is that food vulnerability in extractive regions is a direct consequence of the subordination of the food agenda to extractive political-economic logic supported by local patronage networks.

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach with document analysis. This approach was chosen because of its ability to uncover the meaning, context, and nuances of formal policy texts. Beyond simply reading what is written, this approach allows exploration of the gaps

between official narratives and on-the-ground practices, an essential effort to understand the complex and politically charged phenomenon of the implementation gap.

Study Location This research took place in West Kutai Regency, East Kalimantan Province, Indonesia. This location was purposively selected because this regency has shown the most dramatic decline in the province's Food Security Index, despite its substantial agricultural land potential. Therefore, West Kutai is a critical case study for examining structural barriers to implementing food security policy. Data Sources. The research data consists of two layers. The first layer consists of policy documents as primary data: West Kutai Regent Regulation Number 26 of 2012 on the Regional Food Security and Independence Policy, as well as planning documents and implementation reports for the Sustainable Food Yard (P2L) program, obtained from the West Kutai Regency Food Security Office (Husen et al., 2023a). Law Number 18 of 2012 concerning Food was used as the primary normative touchstone. The second layer included secondary data: recent scientific publications, statistical data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), regional planning documents (RKPD, Renstra), technical reports, and relevant media coverage.

Data validity procedures. Data validity was tested through several procedures. First, all primary documents (Regent Regulation 26/2012, the Food Law) were cross-checked with official sources from the West Kutai regional legal database and the national food agency. Second, P2L program documents and reports were verified through official requests to the West Kutai Food Security Agency; only documents bearing an official stamp and registration number were used. Third, secondary data from BPS and other statistical sources were triangulated with at least two independent sources, for example, data from the National Food Agency and academic publications. Fourth, member checking was conducted by presenting the initial findings to two policymakers from the West Kutai Food Security Agency and three local farmers; their feedback was used to refine the interpretation. Fifth, inter-coder reliability was applied: two researchers independently coded 20 percent of the documents (Regent Regulation 26/2012 and the P2L document) and achieved an agreement level of 87 percent, indicating acceptable consistency.

Data analysis. Data analysis was conducted through content analysis, which went beyond description. The process began by identifying and categorizing the contents of Regent Regulation 26/2012 and the P2L document according to the four pillars of food security. This analysis was intentionally directed at identifying three layers of problems: (a) inconsistencies between the status of the area (APL) and food policy objectives, (b) inconsistencies between land allocation for food versus the extractive sector in planning

documents, and (c) gaps between the P2L program design and large-scale land conversion data. Interpretation was conducted by considering the local power and political-economic context, then systematically compared with the mandate of the Food Law, particularly the articles governing agricultural land protection.

The final stage was synthesis and reflection. The findings from the policy analysis are compared with secondary empirical data, including land conversion maps (Figure 2), land allocation disparity data (Figure 3), and national-scale land conversion data (Figure 4). This comparison aims to test consistency: to what extent are claims in regional policies materially grounded in the field? Reflection is then directed to assess not only their formal appropriateness, but especially their political effectiveness in addressing structural pressures from the extractive sector.

Limitations. As is typical for document-based qualitative research, this study has limitations. The absence of interviews with key actors limits the depth of analysis into the perceptions and motivations behind the policy. However, this limitation underscores the research's position: a critical reading of policy texts and contexts, focused on uncovering contradictions embedded in official documents and reflected in macro data. This approach is deemed adequate for addressing the research question regarding the structural patterns and logic underlying implementation failures.

Result and Discusion

Land Tenure Structure

A simple but challenging question needs to be posed at the outset of this section: who actually controls the land in West Kutai, and for what purposes? This question is crucial because, even before the food policy could take effect, the land tenure structure had already limited their freedom of movement. Of the regency's total area of 1.72 million hectares, nearly half is designated as Other Use Areas (APL). Within the spatial planning framework, APL is the category that serves as the primary entry point for granting permits for oil palm plantations and coal mining.

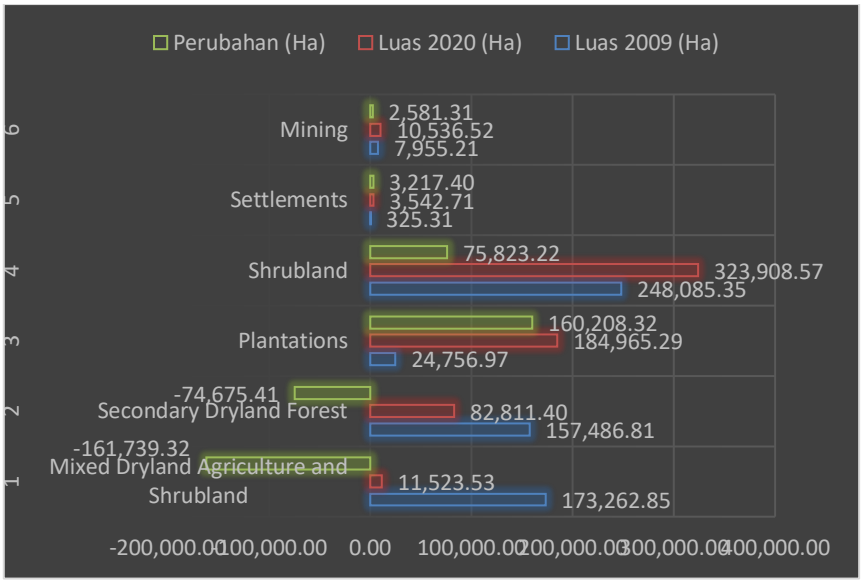

Figure 2. Land Cover Change in West Kutai Regency 2009–2020

Source: BPS West Kutai Regency

This means that land that should have been used for community gardens and rice paddies is, by regulation, open to conversion. Moreover, that is exactly what happened. Data on land cover change between 2009 and 2020 (Figure 2) shows a very worrying shift. Plantation area jumped from 24,756 hectares to 184,965 hectares, an increase of more than 647 percent in eleven years. Meanwhile, dryland and shrubland agriculture, which has long been the mainstay of people's food production, has shrunk drastically from 173,262 hectares to just 11,523 hectares. This represents a 93 percent loss. Behind these figures lie thousands of farmers who have lost their fields, rice paddies converted into concessions, and local knowledge of planting seasons, slowly eroded and replaced by the logic of monoculture.

When this pattern is examined closely, it inevitably recalls the concept of the implementation gap proposed by Warren (1974). Food policies, such as Law Number 18 of 2012 concerning Food, contain highly protective objectives. However, when these policies must be implemented amidst a local political-economic context rife with extractive interests, their objectives become blunted. Grindle (2017) clearly distinguishes between the content of policy and the context of implementation. In West Kutai, pro-farmer content must contend with a context dominated by extractive permits, dependence on non-agricultural sectors for local revenue, and close power relations between the local government and corporations.

Furthermore, the patterns of plantation and mining expansion recorded in spatial data align with what Harvey (2003) calls accumulation by dispossession: the accumulation of capital through the expropriation of public resources with state support. Research Muhdar et

al. (2023) shows that Indonesia's regulatory framework systematically favors coal mining over small-scale food agriculture. A report JATAM (2017) even documented that mining concessions block millions of hectares of potential food-producing land in the country. Similarly, Danugroho (2022) found that in Bojonegoro Regency, agricultural land function changes in food and energy barn areas have posed direct threats to food security, reinforcing the argument that land conversion is a national-scale structural issue, not merely a local phenomenon in East Kalimantan. In East Kalimantan itself, findings Sudirman (2023) and S. Susmiyati & Al-Hidayah (2020) confirm that oil palm expansion has eroded lands that previously served as food sources for the Dayak people. Research findings Hasudungan (2021) and Hasudungan et al. (2024) in Sumatra and Kalimantan also reinforce the point: farmers' involvement in oil palm plantations often increases household food insecurity, as dependence on daily wages replaces food independence from their own fields.

From a critical agrarian perspective, the loss of 93 percent of mixed agricultural land in one decade cannot be interpreted simply as changes in land cover. This is a process of de-peasantization Bernstein (2021) a systematic impoverishment of farmers from their production base. They lose their land, then lose their ability to produce their own food, and are ultimately forced to become laborers or rely on the fragile informal sector. Research Novianty et al. (2025) shows that land conversion creates an income gap between farming and non-farming households, thereby reducing food purchasing power. At the macro level, Abdullah (2025) and Ratnasari & Dani (2023) remind us that spatial disparities and unequal agrarian conditions heavily influence national food security. Regions with high extractive pressure, such as West Kutai, tend to fall into the highest food vulnerability category.

From the above discussion, one important conclusion can be drawn the gap in food policy implementation in West Kutai is not a technical failure that can be remedied with farmer training or seed assistance. It is a structural failure rooted in the configuration of power and political economy. Every hectare of additional plantations, every hectare of expanded mining, represents a shrinking of farmers' living space. Without fundamental changes in land governance and power relations across space, food policy will continue to be a technocratic intervention operating atop structural hardships (Hajad et al., 2025; Wibowo & Shohibuddin, 2023a; M. Zamil et al., 2025).

Policy Contradictions Between the Rhetoric of Food Diversification and Extractive Monoculture

The second question that needs to be answered is: where does the policy contradiction lie between food diversification programs and the expansion of the extractive sector? To answer this, simply reading policy documents is not enough. It is necessary to disclose actual land allocation data and compare it with what is stated in regulations.

One of the most glaring ironies of West Kutai's food policy is that it is presented with ambitious language, but falls short in implementation. Regent Regulation No. 26 of 2012 concerning Regional Food Security and Independence Policy loudly proclaims three pillars: intensification, extensification, and diversification based on local resources. However, when regional planning documents are opened and compared with actual land allocation data, the contradiction is starkly apparent. Agroecologically, West Kutai has 182,687 hectares of potential wetlands for rice paddies and 718,063 hectares of potential dryland for horticulture. These figures are not just data on paper; they represent the potential for producing more rice, for more farmers to prosper, and for this region to move further away from dependence on external food supplies.

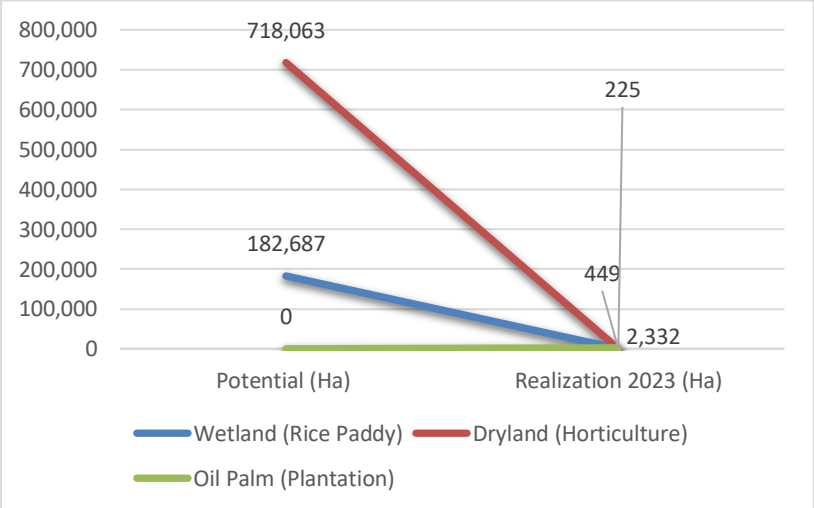

Figure 3. Land Allocation Gap: Potential vs. Reality of Sustainable Agriculture in West Kutai Regency

Source: BPS West Kutai Regency

However, the reality is truly heartbreaking. By 2023, food horticulture development had only reached approximately 2,332 hectares, or just 0.32 percent of the potential dryland area. Wetlands used for rice paddy cultivation were even smaller: only 449 hectares, or 0.25 percent of the potential. Meanwhile, oil palm plantations, never recorded in the food land potential document, were expanding rapidly, reaching an area that, in absolute terms,

exceeded the actual food agriculture area. Figure 3 clearly shows this disparity: two towering bars on the potential graph, side by side with two barely visible bars on the realization. More than 99 percent of West Kutai's potential food cropland capacity has never been used to produce food for its own people.

What is happening here is not simply a matter of differing development priorities. It is a systemic contradiction that plays out at multiple levels. At the national level, Law Number 41 of 2009 concerning the Protection of Sustainable Agricultural Land was enacted with good intentions. However, it clashes with other policies that promote palm oil as a leading export commodity (Hasudungan et al., 2024; Vel et al., 2016b). At the provincial level, East Kalimantan has declared its ambition to become a food barn, yet simultaneously allocates land for post-mining palm oil development (Aipassa et al., 2018). At the district level, food diversification programs become mere rhetoric when land use falls short of 1 percent of the available potential, and there are no mechanisms to stop plantation expansion into areas that should be food barns (Husen et al., 2023a, 2023b).

In public policy literature, this condition is known as policy inconsistency Howlett & Ramesh (1996) a discrepancy between what a policy says and what its implementation instruments actually do. John F. McCarthy & Obidzinski (2017) and Jacqueline A.C. Vel et al. (2016) refer to it as the dominance of the cash-crop regime over the food-crop regime, in which export commodities receive far greater incentives than food production for local needs. Research Wisnaeni & Najib (2025) on food estate policies in Central Kalimantan shows that large-scale food projects often ignore local socio-ecological conditions and actually trigger agrarian conflicts. In contrast, policies that favor smallholder farmers are marginalized. This finding is further corroborated by Hakim & Ilmar (2025), who documented how the Food Estate policy in Gunung Mas Regency, Central Kalimantan, has led to agrarian conflicts and prompted advocacy efforts by civil society organizations such as WALHI to protect affected communities. Their study highlights the critical role of non-state actors in mediating the adverse impacts of top-down food policies. Similar findings were also found by Tulis, Pramusinto, Subarsono, & Kusumasari (2024) In a post-implementation evaluation of food estates, despite increases in GRDP in several districts, the distribution of benefits remained unequal, and indigenous communities lost access to resources.

This contradiction also reflects weak policy integration. Food, plantation, and mining policies operate within separate regimes, even though all three operate in the same ecological space: land (Twinsani, 2026). Each sector claims its own legitimacy, and those with the

greatest economic power, in this case, palm oil plantations and mining, tend to prevail. In an econometric study of 34 provinces in Indonesia, Esquivias et al. found that investment in the agricultural sector is positively correlated with food security. At the same time, the expansion of extractive-based manufacturing tends to threaten it. In other words, the choice of development sector determines the direction of food security.

At this point, an honest question needs to be asked: What exactly is happening to the three pillars of the food policy that were so enthusiastically promoted? Intensification, which should increase productivity on existing land, is hampered by the scarcity of subsidized fertilizer and the low profitability of food farming relative to oil palm plantations (Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia, 2024). Extensification, which was supposed to open up new land for food production, failed because the remaining land was often in areas of high ecological value or in customary territories protected by communities (Niko et al., 2025; Sumarni et al., 2023). Diversification, which was supposed to be a strategy for transforming the food system, ultimately became little more than a survival strategy, simply a way for farmers to stay fed amidst increasing pressure (Scoones, 2015). As a result, food policy in West Kutai has been reduced to mere development rhetoric, while extractive logic continues unimpeded on the ground (Hajad et al., 2025; M. Zamil et al., 2025).

Thus, it can be concluded that the policy contradictions in West Kutai are not accidental or the result of administrative negligence. It is a product of a political-economic structure that systematically prioritizes short-term accumulation from the extractive sector. At the same time, food security only gets leftover policy space that is never truly implemented.

Sustainable Food Gardens (P2L)

The third question to be answered is: What are the roles and limitations of adaptive programs such as Sustainable Food Yards (P2L) in the context of extractive structural pressures? This program is interesting to examine because it emerged just as hopes for saving large-scale agricultural land were fading.

Amidst the bleak picture of large-scale agricultural land loss and unresolved policy contradictions, the West Kutai Regency Government launched the Sustainable Food Yards (P2L) program as an adaptive strategy. Targeting 4,500 farmer groups, this program is designed to optimize the use of home gardens using a local wisdom approach: providing seedling houses, demonstration plots, and post-harvest facilitation (Husen et al., 2023a). Although not specifically regulated by regional regulations, P2L is part of a broader food

security policy outlined in Regulation Number 26 of 2012. In a context where plantations and mining have taken over large tracts of land, P2L presents a pragmatic response if farming on large fields is no longer possible, then use home gardens as a food source.

This shift in scale is important to observe. It indicates that the local government is actually aware of its failure to maintain large-scale agricultural land, thus shifting policy strategies to the micro level. Initial evaluations indicate that this program is not merely ceremonial. At the household level, P2L has been shown to increase the diversity of food consumption and reduce vegetable expenditure. Research Anantanyu et al. (2025) and Siregar & Fitriani (2020) In other regions, it indicates that similar programs positively affect household food security indices, particularly in terms of consumption diversity and micro-level food security. In line with these findings, Tamrin and Sajidin (2026) demonstrated that optimizing local resources at the village level plays a crucial role in strengthening food security implementation, particularly when communities are empowered to utilize their endogenous potentials. However, as the present study reveals, the effectiveness of such local optimization remains constrained when facing overwhelming structural pressures from extractive industries. Within the framework of sustainable livelihoods (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Scoones, 2015). P2L strengthens household assets, particularly natural capital, through the utilization of homesteads and human capital through the transfer of cultivation knowledge.

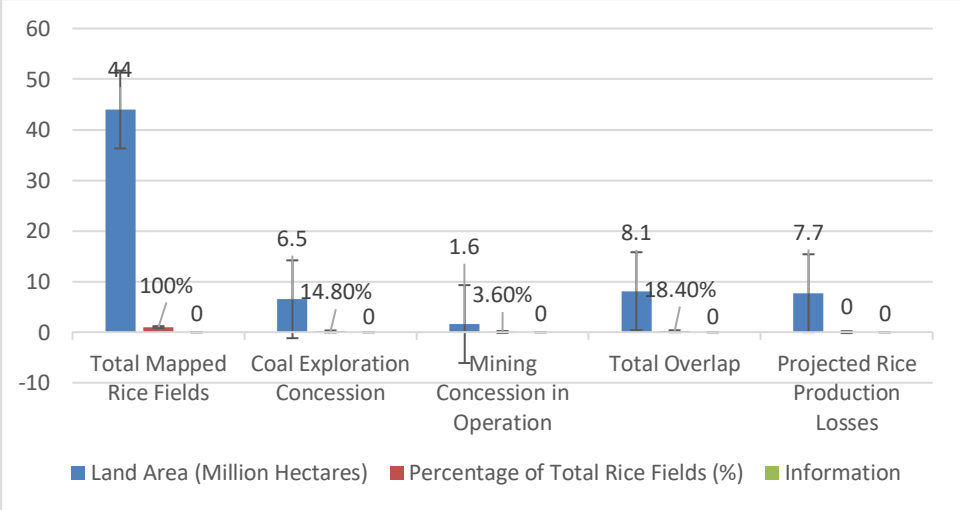

Figure 4. Overlap of National Rice Land with Coal Concessions and Its Implications for Food Security

Source: Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, ATR/BPN, and BPS (processed by the author).

However, when the lens is pulled back, and the national map is viewed in its entirety, a greater contradiction is immediately revealed. Figure 4 shows that of the total 44 million hectares of rice land mapped nationally, approximately 6.5 million hectares (14.8 percent) are within coal exploration concessions, and 1.6 million hectares (3.6 percent) are within operating mining concessions. In other words, 8.1 million hectares, or 18.4 percent of the national rice land, overlap with coal mining concessions. The projected loss of rice production from this overlap is 7.7 million tons per year, a substantial figure equivalent to millions of tons of lost production capacity annually. These data indicate that extractive pressure on food crops is systemic and not limited to West Kutai rather, it is a national phenomenon that directly impacts food production capacity (Jahani Chehrehbargh et al., 2024; Muhdar et al., 2023).

What does this mean for P2L? It means that programs operating at the household level, for all their obvious benefits, are not structurally designed to, and will never be able to, replace the millions of hectares of lost rice fields. This is where P2L's ambivalence becomes clear. On the one hand, it is a testament to community resilience: communities are still able to adapt and find ways to survive amid increasing pressures. Scott (1985) In his classic work on everyday resistance, he reminds us that vulnerable groups often develop quiet strategies to survive in an unjust system. P2L, in this context, can be seen as a form of everyday resistance: communities maintain food self-sufficiency through the limited resources they have left. Research Gibson et al. (2021) In Indonesian fishing communities, adaptive strategies such as utilizing local resources become a key support when access to primary food sources is disrupted.

However, P2L risks becoming a compensatory strategy that normalizes large-scale agricultural land loss. In social policy literature, this is referred to as the residualization of welfare, a shift in structural burdens to the household level (Husen et al., 2023a; Tulis et al., 2024). When programs like P2L are promoted as a solution to food security, while 18.4 percent of the nation's rice paddy fields continue to be eroded by mining concessions, a misleading narrative emerges: that the responsibility for food security rests with individuals, while structural issues are left unaddressed. Research in South Kalimantan Rozaki (2021a) also found that household-based food programs are effective in the short term but are unable to address the structural pressures of land fires and forest conversion. Similarly, Novianty et al. (2025) emphasized that uncontrolled land conversion will continue to erode the food production base, so micro-interventions like yard planting can only serve as a safety valve, not a permanent solution.

From the above description, it can be concluded that P2L is an important, even noble, coping strategy in the context of people's daily struggles. It saves many households from further food insecurity. However, it is not, and should not be positioned as, a solution to the structural food security crisis. The sustainability of this program ultimately depends on far more fundamental policy reforms: protecting sustainable agricultural land, controlling uncontrolled extractive expansion, and strengthening farmers' agrarian rights (Hajad et al., 2025; Wisnaeni & Najib, 2025; Y. S. Zamil et al., 2025). Without structural changes, P2L will continue to be a buffer policy that slows the impact of the crisis, but never resolves it. Household food security may see limited improvement, but as long as millions of hectares of production land remain under extractive concessions, regional food sovereignty will remain systemically vulnerable. This is the most painful paradox of food policy in extractive regions like West Kutai.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, several important conclusions can be drawn. First, food security in extractive regions like West Kutai cannot be understood solely as a technical production issue. It is a structural issue rooted in agrarian politics and resource governance. Land tenure structures dominated by Areas for Other Uses (APL), coupled with the massive expansion of oil palm plantations and coal mining, have narrowed the scope for food production from the outset. Food policy is then forced to operate within unfavorable structural constraints. The resulting implementation gap is not simply a result of weak bureaucratic capacity, but rather a consequence of the inconsistency between the protective objectives of food policy and the regional political-economic configuration that prioritizes short-term capital accumulation.

Second, policy contradictions are multilevel. Integrated spatial planning policies or controls do not accompany the rhetoric of food diversification and strengthening local production on land conversion. The vast potential for food land, covering more than 900,000 hectares, has been realized on less than 0.5 percent of it, while oil palm plantations and mining continue to expand without significant controls. This lack of synchronization between sectors demonstrates weak policy integration. Food, plantation, and mining policies operate within separate regimes competing for the same ecological space. As a result, food policy loses its transformative power and is reduced to an administrative instrument without an adequate material foundation.

Third, in the context of massive extractive pressures, the Sustainable Food Yard (P2L) program presents itself as an ambivalent adaptive strategy. On the one hand, P2L has proven effective in strengthening household food security and increasing community adaptive capacity through the utilization of micro-spaces. However, this program was not designed to, and is unable to, address structural issues such as unequal land tenure and the dominance of the extractive sector. With 8.1 million hectares of national rice fields overlapping with coal mining concessions, yard-based interventions are merely a coping strategy, not a systemic solution. P2L serves as a social buffer against a deeper crisis, but does not change the underlying structures.

Overall, this study concludes that food security in extractive regions like West Kutai is a political-economic issue that demands agrarian governance reform, sustainable agricultural land protection, and cross-sectoral integration in regional development planning. Without these structural reforms, food policy will remain trapped in a cycle of contradictions: adaptive at the micro level but fragile at the macro level. Successful food security is determined not only by increased production, but also by the political courage to restructure power relations over land and prioritize food as a strategic long-term development priority.

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