



Can Indonesia Achieve Sustainable Rice Self-Sufficiency? A Comparative Analysis of Rice Production Strategies in Southeast Asia

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ABSTRACT

Rice self-sufficiency remains a critical challenge for Indonesia despite multiple government initiatives spanning decades. This study examines Indonesia's rice production strategies through a comparative lens with neighboring Southeast Asian countries, particularly Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Utilizing a qualitative descriptive approach combined with secondary data analysis from FAO, World Bank, and national agricultural ministries, this research investigates the feasibility and sustainability of Indonesia's rice self-sufficiency goals. The findings reveal that while Indonesia has achieved temporary self-sufficiency periods (notably in 1984 and 2008-2010), sustained success remains elusive due to structural challenges including land conversion, climate variability, inadequate irrigation infrastructure, and post-harvest losses averaging 15-20%. Comparative analysis demonstrates that Vietnam and Thailand have maintained consistent export capabilities through superior agricultural technology adoption, efficient supply chain management, and supportive government policies. The study identifies critical gaps in Indonesia's approach: fragmented land ownership averaging 0.3 hectares per farmer, low mechanization rates (35% compared to Thailand's 78%), and insufficient investment in agricultural research and development. Policy recommendations include accelerating land consolidation programs, enhancing precision agriculture adoption, strengthening farmer cooperatives, and implementing comprehensive climate-adaptive strategies. This research contributes to understanding the complex dynamics of rice self-sufficiency in tropical archipelagic nations and provides evidence-based policy directions for sustainable food security.

Keywords: Rice self-sufficiency; Agricultural policy; Food security; Southeast Asia; Comparative agriculture; Sustainable farming



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INTRODUCTION

"Indonesia's rice imports surged to 2.8 million tons in 2023, marking the highest level in five years despite government claims of achieving self-sufficiency" (Reuters, 2024). This paradoxical situation encapsulates the persistent challenge facing Indonesia's agricultural sector: the gap between policy rhetoric and ground reality. As the world's fourth most populous nation with approximately 275 million people, Indonesia's ability to feed its population remains one of the most critical development issues facing the archipelago. Rice, which accounts for more than 50% of total caloric intake for the average Indonesian, is not merely a commodity but a politically sensitive staple that has toppled governments and shaped national development strategies for decades (Timmer, 2014).

The question of whether Indonesia can achieve sustainable rice self-sufficiency is not new, yet it remains unanswered despite successive government administrations declaring it a national priority. President Suharto's New Order regime achieved brief self-sufficiency in 1984, earning recognition from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), but this achievement proved temporary (Dawe, 2015). More recently, the administration of President Joko Widodo launched ambitious programs including the "Food Estate" mega-project, aiming to convert vast tracts of land in Central Kalimantan

and Papua into rice-producing regions. However, these initiatives have faced significant criticism regarding their environmental impact, economic viability, and social consequences for indigenous communities (Colchester et al., 2011).

The urgency of addressing Indonesia's rice security has intensified amid global uncertainties. Climate change has introduced unprecedented variability in rainfall patterns, with prolonged droughts and unexpected floods disrupting planting seasons across Java, the rice bowl of Indonesia (Naylor et al., 2007). The COVID-19 pandemic exposed vulnerabilities in global supply chains, prompting renewed calls for domestic food security (Sulser et al., 2021). Furthermore, rapid urbanization continues to convert prime agricultural land into residential and industrial zones at an alarming rate of approximately 96,500 hectares annually (Pribadi & Pauleit, 2015).

Previous research has extensively documented the technical, economic, and social dimensions of rice production in Indonesia. Studies by Fuglie (2010) highlighted the role of technological innovation in agricultural productivity, while Natawidjaja et al. (2007) examined market integration and price volatility. However, a comprehensive comparative analysis situating Indonesia's challenges within the broader Southeast Asian context remains limited. Vietnam, once a rice-importing nation like Indonesia, transformed itself into the world's third-largest rice exporter within two decades following the Doi Moi reforms (Minot & Goletti, 2000). Thailand has maintained its position as a leading rice exporter for over three decades despite facing similar climate challenges. The Philippines, sharing Indonesia's archipelagic geography and colonial history, presents another instructive comparison (Dawe et al., 2008).

The research gap lies in understanding why Indonesia, with abundant land resources, tropical climate, and substantial investment in agricultural development, continues to struggle with rice self-sufficiency while its neighbors have achieved stability or export capacity. This study addresses this gap by conducting a systematic comparative analysis examining policy frameworks, technological adoption, institutional arrangements, and socioeconomic factors across Southeast Asian rice-producing nations. The novelty of this research lies in its integrated analytical framework that combines agricultural economics, policy analysis, and sustainability science to provide a holistic assessment of Indonesia's rice self-sufficiency prospects.

This research is guided by three primary objectives: first, to analyze the historical trajectory and current status of Indonesia's rice production and consumption patterns; second, to compare Indonesia's agricultural policies, technologies, and outcomes with those of Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines; third, to identify critical barriers and enablers for achieving sustainable rice self-sufficiency in Indonesia. The findings aim to inform evidence-based policymaking that moves beyond short-term political considerations toward long-term food security strategies.

The theoretical framework draws upon Sen's (1981) entitlement approach to food security, which emphasizes not merely production volume but also access, distribution, and vulnerability reduction. Additionally, the study employs the agricultural transformation framework proposed by Timmer (1988), which posits that sustainable food security requires simultaneous progress in productivity enhancement, market development, and institutional strengthening. By examining Indonesia's rice challenge through these theoretical lenses while grounding the analysis in empirical comparative data, this study contributes to both academic understanding and practical policy development in tropical agricultural systems.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach combined with quantitative secondary data analysis to examine Indonesia's rice self-sufficiency prospects in comparative perspective. The research design integrates multiple methodological strategies to provide a comprehensive

understanding of the complex agricultural, economic, and policy dynamics shaping rice production across Southeast Asia (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

The primary data sources include statistical databases from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), World Bank Development Indicators, national agricultural ministries of Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines, and peer-reviewed academic literature. Time-series data covering the period 2000-2023 were collected for key indicators including rice production volumes, yield per hectare, harvested area, import and export quantities, domestic consumption patterns, and agricultural input usage. These quantitative data provide the empirical foundation for comparative analysis across countries (Babbie, 2020).

Qualitative data were gathered through systematic review of policy documents, government white papers, agricultural development plans, and media reports from credible sources. News articles from Reuters, The Jakarta Post, Bangkok Post, and Vietnam News were analyzed to capture recent developments and policy announcements that may not yet appear in official statistics. This triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data sources enhances the validity and comprehensiveness of the research findings (Denzin, 1978).

The analytical framework employs comparative case study methodology, treating each country (Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Philippines) as a distinct case while identifying common patterns and divergent trajectories (Yin, 2017). The comparison focuses on five dimensions: agricultural productivity metrics, policy and institutional frameworks, technology adoption patterns, market structures and value chains, and sustainability considerations including environmental and social factors. This multi-dimensional approach allows for nuanced understanding of why certain countries succeed where others struggle despite similar initial conditions.

Data analysis proceeded through several stages. First, descriptive statistics were calculated for all key indicators to establish baseline profiles for each country. Second, trend analysis identified patterns of change over the 23-year study period, with particular attention to inflection points where trajectories shifted significantly. Third, comparative ratios were calculated to standardize metrics across countries of different sizes, enabling meaningful comparison. For example, rice production per capita and yield per hectare provide more useful comparative insights than absolute production volumes. Fourth, gap analysis identified specific areas where Indonesia lags behind comparative countries, quantifying the magnitude of differences (Miles et al., 2014).

Policy analysis employed document review and content analysis techniques to systematically examine agricultural policies, programs, and institutional arrangements in each country. Key policy documents were coded according to themes including subsidy programs, research and development investment, land reform initiatives, irrigation infrastructure, price support mechanisms, and trade policies. This systematic coding enabled identification of policy instruments that correlate with successful rice production outcomes (Bowen, 2009).

The study acknowledges several limitations. First, reliance on official government statistics may introduce reporting biases, particularly in countries where agricultural census methods differ or political incentives exist to overstate production. To mitigate this, multiple data sources were cross-referenced where possible. Second, the comparative approach necessarily simplifies complex national contexts; country-specific historical, cultural, and political factors that resist standardization may play important roles not fully captured in quantitative metrics. Third, the rapidly changing nature of agricultural technology and climate conditions means that historical patterns may not perfectly predict future trajectories.

Ethical considerations were addressed by ensuring all data sources are publicly available and properly attributed. No primary data collection involving human subjects was conducted, eliminating concerns about informed consent or privacy. However, the research maintains sensitivity to the political

implications of findings, recognizing that food security is not merely a technical issue but involves livelihoods, cultural practices, and national sovereignty concerns for millions of people.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Historical Trajectory of Indonesia's Rice Self-Sufficiency Efforts

Indonesia's pursuit of rice self-sufficiency has been characterized by oscillating periods of optimism and disappointment spanning more than five decades. The Green Revolution of the 1970s, championed by President Suharto's New Order regime, initially delivered impressive results through the introduction of high-yielding varieties (HYV), expansion of irrigation infrastructure, and substantial fertilizer subsidies (Dawe, 2015). Rice production increased from 19.3 million tons in 1970 to 39.0 million tons in 1984, when Indonesia momentarily achieved self-sufficiency and ceased rice imports. This achievement earned international recognition, with FAO Director-General Edouard Saouma presenting a special award to President Suharto.

However, this triumph proved ephemeral. By 1987, Indonesia had resumed rice imports, and self-sufficiency became an elusive goal despite continued government intervention. The Asian financial crisis of 1997-1998 severely disrupted agricultural production and distribution systems, causing rice prices to spike and creating food security emergencies in several regions (Timmer, 2014). The post-Suharto era witnessed decentralization of agricultural governance to district governments, creating coordination challenges and reducing the effectiveness of national rice policies.

A second brief period of self-sufficiency occurred during 2008-2010, driven by the National Rice Production Enhancement Program (P2BN) under President Yudhoyono. This program emphasized intensification through improved seeds, balanced fertilization, and integrated pest management. Rice production reached 66.4 million tons in 2008, temporarily exceeding domestic consumption (Ministry of Agriculture, 2020). Yet again, this achievement was not sustained; by 2011, imports had resumed and have continued with fluctuating volumes ever since.

Data analysis reveals that Indonesia's rice production increased from 51.9 million tons in 2000 to approximately 54.6 million tons in 2023, representing average annual growth of only 0.23% (FAO, 2024). During the same period, population grew by approximately 1.1% annually, significantly outpacing production growth. This divergence explains the structural rice deficit that persists despite favorable climatic conditions and abundant land resources. Consumption patterns have also shifted, with per capita rice consumption declining slightly from 139 kg/year in 2000 to approximately 114 kg/year in 2023, yet total consumption continues rising due to population growth.

Comparative Analysis with Southeast Asian Neighbors

The contrast between Indonesia and its Southeast Asian neighbors is particularly instructive when examining Vietnam's rice trajectory. In 1986, Vietnam was a rice-importing nation struggling with food shortages and centralized agricultural planning that stifled productivity (Minot & Goletti, 2000). The Doi Moi economic reforms initiated that year liberalized rice markets, dismantled collective farming, allocated land use rights to individual households, and allowed private trade. The results were dramatic: rice production surged from 15.6 million tons in 1986 to 43.4 million tons in 2023, with Vietnam becoming the world's third-largest rice exporter despite having a smaller land area than Indonesia.

Vietnam's success stems from several factors that Indonesia has struggled to replicate. First, Vietnam achieved rapid yield improvements through aggressive adoption of hybrid rice varieties developed through collaboration with the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) and Chinese agricultural institutions. Average yields increased from 3.2 tons/hectare in 1990 to 6.0 tons/hectare in 2023, while Indonesia's yields stagnated around 5.1 tons/hectare (World Bank, 2024). Second, Vietnam invested

heavily in irrigation infrastructure, with 75% of rice land under effective irrigation compared to Indonesia's 62%. Third, Vietnam's Mekong Delta benefits from concentrated production in a geographically compact area, enabling economies of scale and efficient supply chain management that Indonesia's dispersed archipelagic geography makes difficult to achieve.

Thailand presents a different model but equally instructive lessons. As the world's second-largest rice exporter, Thailand has maintained competitive advantage through quality differentiation, particularly in aromatic rice varieties like Jasmine rice that command premium prices in international markets (Chandrasekaran et al., 2011). Thailand's rice yields (2.9 tons/hectare) are actually lower than Indonesia's, demonstrating that export competitiveness depends on quality, consistency, and market positioning rather than yield alone. Thailand's rice sector benefits from well-organized cooperatives, sophisticated milling infrastructure, and strong government support for research and development. The Thai Rice Department operates 50 research stations nationwide, dwarfing Indonesia's agricultural research infrastructure.

The Philippines offers perhaps the most relevant comparison given its archipelagic geography, colonial history, and similar demographic pressures. Like Indonesia, the Philippines has struggled with rice self-sufficiency despite favorable climate and resources. The country remains the world's largest rice importer, purchasing approximately 3.0 million tons annually (USDA, 2023). However, recent policy reforms show promising results. The 2019 Rice Tarification Law liberalized rice imports while directing tariff revenues to farmer support programs, modernization initiatives, and research. Early results indicate increased farm mechanization and improved access to high-quality seeds, though the full impact requires longer-term assessment (Mina et al., 2022).

Table 1. Comparative Rice Production Indicators in Southeast Asia (2023)

Indicator	Indonesia	Thailand	Vietnam	Philippines
Total Production (million tons)	54.6	25.4	43.4	20.1
Harvested Area (million hectares)	10.7	10.5	7.3	4.9
Yield (tons/hectare)	5.1	2.9	6.0	4.1
Per Capita Production (kg/year)	198	363	440	182
Exports (million tons)	0.1	7.5	7.8	0.0
Imports (million tons)	2.8	0.0	0.2	3.0
Irrigation Coverage (%)	62	48	75	54
Mechanization Rate (%)	35	78	68	42
Average Farm Size (hectares)	0.3	3.2	0.5	1.4
R&D Investment (% of Ag GDP)	0.3	1.2	0.8	0.4

Source: Compiled from FAO (2024), World Bank (2024), and National Agricultural Ministries

Structural Barriers to Indonesia's Rice Self-Sufficiency

Several structural factors fundamentally constrain Indonesia's ability to achieve sustainable rice self-sufficiency. Land fragmentation represents perhaps the most intractable challenge. The average farm size in Indonesia is only 0.3 hectares, significantly below the 2.0-hectare threshold generally considered necessary for commercially viable rice farming (Sudaryanto & Rusastra, 2006). This extreme fragmentation results from inheritance practices that continually subdivide holdings among children, creating farms too small to benefit from mechanization or achieve economies of scale. Attempts at land consolidation have faced resistance due to cultural attachments to inherited land and fears of dispossession.

Irrigation infrastructure, while extensive, suffers from chronic underinvestment in maintenance and modernization. Approximately 4.8 million hectares of Indonesia's 10.7 million hectares of rice land rely on rainfed agriculture, making production highly vulnerable to climate variability (Naylor et al., 2007). Even in irrigated areas, many systems constructed during the 1970s-1980s have deteriorated due to inadequate funding for repairs and rehabilitation. Water delivery efficiency in many systems falls below 40%, meaning that more than half of water diverted for irrigation never reaches crops. This inefficiency becomes particularly critical during dry seasons when water scarcity intensifies competition between agricultural and urban/industrial users.

Post-harvest losses constitute a hidden but substantial drain on Indonesia's rice supply. Studies estimate that 15-20% of harvested rice is lost during drying, milling, storage, and transportation (Sudaryanto & Russtra, 2006). These losses occur due to inadequate drying facilities (forcing farmers to dry rice on roadsides where contamination occurs), outdated milling technology that breaks grains, poor storage infrastructure vulnerable to pests and moisture, and inefficient transportation over long distances in the archipelago. In aggregate, post-harvest losses amount to approximately 10 million tons annually – equivalent to nearly one-fifth of total production. Reducing these losses by even half would significantly improve food security without requiring additional land or water resources.

Climate change introduces growing uncertainty into rice production planning. Research by Naylor et al. (2007) demonstrates that El Niño events, which occur irregularly every 2-7 years, can reduce Indonesian rice harvests by 5-10% through drought stress. Conversely, La Niña conditions can trigger flooding that destroys crops and delays planting. Climate modeling suggests that temperature increases of 1-2°C projected for Indonesia by 2050 could reduce rice yields by 4-8% even with adaptation measures, while changes in rainfall patterns may shift suitable rice-growing areas and disrupt traditional planting calendars. Indonesian farmers, predominantly smallholders with limited resources, have minimal capacity to adapt through investments in irrigation, crop insurance, or alternative livelihoods.

Policy and Institutional Analysis

Indonesia's agricultural policy framework reveals fundamental tensions between market liberalization and government intervention, creating uncertainty that discourages private investment while failing to adequately protect farmers. The government maintains significant involvement through the state logistics agency (Bulog), which conducts price stabilization operations, manages strategic reserves, and occasionally imports rice when domestic prices spike. However, Bulog's market power has diminished since the 1998 reforms that ended its import monopoly and reduced its procurement mandate (Timmer, 2014).

Input subsidy programs, particularly for fertilizers, consume substantial fiscal resources (approximately IDR 30 trillion or USD 2 billion annually) but deliver questionable value. Subsidies are often poorly targeted, with leakage to non-rice crops and even non-agricultural uses. Distribution systems suffer from chronic delays, with subsidized fertilizers frequently arriving after optimal application periods have passed. Moreover, blanket subsidies discourage efficient fertilizer use and contribute to environmental problems including water pollution from nutrient runoff (Fuglie, 2010).

Research and development investment in Indonesia's rice sector falls far short of regional competitors. Indonesia allocates approximately 0.3% of agricultural GDP to agricultural R&D, compared to 1.2% in Thailand and 0.8% in Vietnam (Table 1). The Indonesian Agency for Agricultural Research and Development (IAARD) operates with limited funding, aging infrastructure, and difficulty retaining top scientists who can earn higher salaries in private sector or overseas positions. Consequently, Indonesia has developed few new rice varieties in recent decades, instead relying primarily on IRRI varieties with local adaptation. This contrasts sharply with Vietnam and China, which have developed numerous high-yielding hybrid varieties through sustained research investment.

Extension services, critical for disseminating improved practices to millions of smallholder farmers, have deteriorated following decentralization. District governments, responsible for agricultural extension since 2001, often lack technical capacity and prioritize extension funding below infrastructure and administrative expenses. The extension worker-to-farmer ratio in Indonesia averages approximately 1:2,000, far below the 1:500 ratio recommended for effective technology transfer (Sudaryanto & Rusastra, 2006). Many extension workers lack updated training in modern techniques such as integrated crop management, precision agriculture, or climate-adaptive practices.

Technological Gaps and Opportunities

Mechanization represents a critical frontier for improving Indonesian rice productivity and reducing labor constraints. Currently, only 35% of rice farming operations utilize mechanical equipment, compared to 78% in Thailand and 68% in Vietnam (Table 1). Most Indonesian farmers continue to rely on manual transplanting, hand weeding, and simple harvesting tools that limit scale and efficiency. The primary barriers to mechanization adoption include small farm sizes that make equipment purchase uneconomical, limited access to credit for equipment investment, inadequate rural infrastructure (particularly roads) that makes transporting machinery difficult, and insufficient equipment maintenance services in rural areas.

However, innovative service models are emerging that could accelerate mechanization. Custom service providers, operating mechanical transplanters and combine harvesters on a fee-for-service basis, enable small farmers to access machinery benefits without ownership costs (Takeshima et al., 2013). Government programs supporting machinery rental pools and farmer cooperatives show promise in several districts. Expanding these models requires enhanced credit facilities, training programs for equipment operators and mechanics, and infrastructure improvements to support machinery movement.

Precision agriculture technologies offer substantial potential for increasing yields while reducing environmental impacts. Remote sensing, GPS-guided equipment, variable-rate fertilizer application, and data analytics can optimize input use and respond to field variability (Gebbers & Adamchuk, 2010). Vietnam has begun implementing precision agriculture in the Mekong Delta with impressive results: pilot farms achieved yield increases of 8-12% while reducing fertilizer use by 15-20%. However, these technologies remain virtually absent from Indonesian rice farming due to high initial costs, limited digital literacy among farmers, insufficient extension support for technology adoption, and weak rural internet connectivity.

Hybrid rice varieties represent another technological opportunity that Indonesia has been slow to embrace. Hybrid rice, which exploits heterosis (hybrid vigor) to achieve yields 15-20% higher than conventional varieties, has been widely adopted in China (covering 50% of rice area) and increasingly in Vietnam (30% of rice area). Indonesia's hybrid rice adoption remains below 5%, primarily due to higher seed costs, requirement for annual seed purchase rather than farmer seed-saving, insufficient availability of quality hybrid seeds, and limited farmer knowledge about hybrid management requirements. Expanding hybrid rice adoption requires government support for seed production and distribution, farmer training programs, and possibly seed subsidies during initial adoption phases to offset higher costs.

Sustainability Considerations

The environmental sustainability of rice intensification poses critical long-term questions that often receive inadequate attention in policy discussions focused on short-term production targets. Intensive rice cultivation contributes significantly to greenhouse gas emissions through methane production in flooded fields, accounting for approximately 10% of Indonesia's total agricultural emissions (Agus et al., 2010). Continuous flooding, heavy fertilizer application, and pesticide use also degrade soil health, pollute water resources, and reduce biodiversity in rice ecosystems.

Alternative wetting and drying (AWD) irrigation management offers potential for reducing methane emissions by 30-50% while maintaining yields and reducing water consumption (Lampayan et al., 2015). AWD involves periodically draining rice fields rather than maintaining continuous flooding, disrupting anaerobic conditions that produce methane. Several pilot programs in Indonesia have demonstrated AWD viability, but scaling up requires farmer training, modification of irrigation infrastructure to enable drainage control, and cultural changes in rice farming practices that have maintained continuous flooding for generations.

Integrated crop management (ICM) approaches emphasize balanced nutrient management, integrated pest management, and crop diversification to enhance sustainability (Tripp, 2006). ICM principles include soil testing to guide fertilizer application rates, biological pest control to reduce pesticide dependence, crop rotation to break pest and disease cycles, and organic matter incorporation to improve soil health. Indonesian farmers who adopt ICM practices typically achieve yields comparable to conventional methods while reducing input costs by 15-25% and environmental impacts. However, ICM adoption remains limited due to lack of technical knowledge, insufficient extension support, and pressure to maximize short-term yields even at long-term environmental cost.

Table 2. Policy Interventions and Outcomes: Southeast Asia Rice Sector Comparison

Policy Area	Indonesia	Thailand	Vietnam	Philippines
Price Support	Floor price guarantees through Bulog purchases; inconsistent implementation	Price guarantee scheme for premium jasmine rice; well-funded	Minimum price announcements; limited enforcement	Price support ended 2019; replaced with direct subsidies
Input Subsidies	Fertilizer subsidies (USD 2B annually); poor targeting	Minimal subsidies; emphasis on market mechanisms	Seed and fertilizer subsidies for poor farmers; targeted approach	Credit subsidies; conditional cash transfers
Land Reform	Limited progress; average 0.3 ha/farm	Successful consolidation programs; average 3.2 ha/farm	Land use rights allocated to households post-1986; average 0.5 ha	Agrarian reform program ongoing; slow progress
Irrigation Investment	USD 500M annually; maintenance inadequate	USD 800M annually; strong maintenance culture	USD 1.2B annually; focus on Mekong Delta	USD 300M annually; limited coverage
R&D Spending	0.3% of Ag GDP; declining real terms	1.2% of Ag GDP; increasing	0.8% of Ag GDP; emphasis on hybrids	0.4% of Ag GDP; recent increases
Extension Services	1:2,000 agent-farmer ratio; decentralized, weak	1:800 ratio; centralized, professional	1:1,200 ratio; strong technical training	1:1,500 ratio; improving capacity
Trade Policy	Variable import barriers; temporary bans	Open trade; export promotion	Export quotas during domestic shortages	Liberalized imports 2019; tariff revenues to farmers
Mechanization Support	Limited equipment subsidies; rental pools	Tax exemptions for equipment; strong private sector	Subsidized credit for equipment; service providers	Equipment subsidies; custom service programs

Source: Compiled from National Agricultural Policy Documents and World Bank (2024)

CONCLUSION

The question posed in this study's title – "Can Indonesia achieve sustainable rice self-sufficiency?" – admits no simple affirmative or negative answer. The analysis reveals that Indonesia possesses the fundamental natural resources, technological options, and human capital necessary for rice self-sufficiency. However, current trajectories suggest that achieving truly sustainable self-sufficiency remains unlikely without fundamental reforms addressing structural constraints that have persisted for decades despite successive government interventions.

Comparative analysis with Southeast Asian neighbors demonstrates that rice security success correlates strongly with specific policy and institutional factors: sustained investment in agricultural research and development, efficient irrigation infrastructure with strong maintenance systems, facilitation of land consolidation to enable mechanization and scale economies, well-targeted support programs that reach smallholder farmers effectively, and market-oriented policies that encourage private sector participation while protecting farmer incomes. Vietnam's transformation from rice importer to major exporter within three decades provides compelling evidence that rapid agricultural development is achievable even in challenging conditions, while Thailand's focus on quality differentiation and value addition offers an alternative model emphasizing competitiveness over volume.

Indonesia's rice challenge differs from its neighbors in important respects that complicate straightforward policy transfer. The archipelagic geography creates inherent logistical complexities for input distribution and output marketing that continental neighbors do not face. Extreme land fragmentation, rooted in cultural inheritance practices and land tenure systems, resists policy solutions that work in societies with different agricultural traditions. Decentralization of governance has created coordination challenges for agricultural policy implementation that centralized systems avoid. Climate vulnerability, while affecting all regional countries, may pose particular risks for Indonesia given its dispersed production across numerous islands with varying microclimates.

Nevertheless, several policy directions emerge from this analysis as critical priorities for Indonesia. First, addressing post-harvest losses through investment in drying facilities, modern milling equipment, improved storage infrastructure, and efficient transportation systems could increase effective supply by 10-15% without requiring additional land or water. This represents perhaps the highest-return investment opportunity in the rice sector. Second, accelerating mechanization through expanded custom service models, equipment rental pools, and targeted subsidies would enhance productivity while reducing labor constraints in a tightening rural labor market. Third, revitalizing agricultural extension services with adequate funding, modern training, and digital tools would improve technology dissemination and farmer decision-making.

Fourth, climate adaptation must become central to agricultural planning rather than a peripheral concern. This includes developing and disseminating stress-tolerant rice varieties, improving irrigation systems for drought resilience, implementing alternative wetting and drying practices to reduce water consumption and emissions, and establishing crop insurance programs to protect farmer livelihoods against climate shocks. Fifth, land consolidation should be pursued through voluntary mechanisms including farmer cooperatives, land rental markets, and incentives for scale farming, while respecting smallholder rights and avoiding coercive approaches that have failed in the past.

The sustainability dimension deserves greater emphasis in Indonesia's rice policies. Pursuing short-term production targets through intensive chemical inputs, continuous flooding, and monoculture cultivation creates long-term environmental costs that undermine future productivity. Integrated crop management, precision agriculture, and agroecological approaches offer pathways to maintain or enhance yields while reducing environmental footprints. However, these require investment horizons and evaluation metrics that extend beyond annual production targets and electoral cycles.

This study's limitations suggest directions for future research. More granular analysis at provincial and district levels could identify geographic variations in constraints and opportunities that national-level analysis obscures. Detailed case studies of successful farmer cooperatives, mechanization service providers, and innovative programs could provide actionable models for scaling. Assessment of specific policy interventions through rigorous impact evaluation would strengthen evidence basis for resource allocation. Investigation of consumer behavior changes, including dietary diversification away from rice, could inform demand-side strategies for food security.

Ultimately, Indonesia's rice self-sufficiency question transcends technical agricultural issues to engage fundamental development choices about resource allocation, environmental sustainability, rural livelihoods, and national identity. Rice self-sufficiency may prove less important than rice security – ensuring all Indonesians have reliable access to affordable, safe, nutritious food through a combination of domestic production and strategic imports. As Vietnam's experience demonstrates, export capability can coexist with food security when productivity and efficiency create surpluses. Perhaps the goal should shift from absolute self-sufficiency to competitive productivity that provides farmers decent livelihoods while ensuring consumers access to affordable rice, whether domestically produced or imported. This reframing could liberate policy from nationalist rhetoric toward pragmatic strategies serving both producers and consumers in Indonesia's complex agricultural landscape.

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