



Actors and Actor Relations in Governance of Subsidized Fertilizer Policy in Indonesia

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Article History	Abstract
Received: 06 June 2023 Revised: 05 Sept 2023 Accepted: 01 Nov 2023	<p>The study investigates actor relationships in subsidized fertilizer programs within Indonesian rice production hubs. It aims to comprehend roles and interactions among actors in budget allocation, fertilizer distribution, policy oversight, and farmer involvement. The research employs a descriptive qualitative approach, analyzing how institutional practices and hierarchies impact the subsidized fertilizer market. The study focuses on Indramayu and Karawang Regencies in West Java and Sidenreng Rappang (Sidrap) and Wajo Regencies in South Sulawesi, all significant rice production centers. Data was gathered through in-depth interviews involving central, regional, distributor, store actors, and farmers. Results reveal collaboration and competition as primary relationship modes in the subsidized fertilizer program. Cooperation exists among institutional players at the central level during budget deliberations, while relationships emerge when actors unite to advocate for budget adjustments or specific fertilizer types. Factors like discourse, institutional practices, and capitalist interests shape these interactions. Discourse might favor chemical or organic fertilizers. Farmers occupy a relatively marginalized position in actor conflicts, warranting increased policymaker attention. Although the government seeks improvements, farmers still face challenges such as inadequate doses, delays in distribution, and financial constraints.</p>
CC License CC-BY-NC-SA 4.0	Keywords: Actors, Actor relation, Governance, Subsidized fertilizer

1. Introduction

Food security is the goal of agricultural development, and subsidized fertilizer policy is one tool for achieving this goal (Smale et al., 2020). Subsidy policies in the agricultural sector, such as fertilizer subsidy programs, are used by various nations worldwide to encourage sustainable agriculture (Garnett et al., 2013). Aside from the benefits and drawbacks of the subsidized fertilizer program, it is rife with the interests and power of the actors involved in its implementation and control (Rashid et al., 2013). Schusser et al. (2015) emphasized that each stakeholder or actor has formal and informal aims in fulfilling their interests through the power, incentives, and information they have. According to Muller (2015), each actor's power and interests might lead to conflict.

Fertilizer is one of the most significant inputs in enhancing food crop output; hence its presence and utilization are strategic. To make fertilizer affordable for farmers, the government implements a fertilizer subsidy policy and other policies such as procurement, distribution, and supervisory rules. In order to adopt optimal policy, it is vital to investigate the governance of existing subsidized fertilizer policy. Several academic research has found that subsidized fertilizer efficacy is directly related to the behavior of subsidized fertilizer actors. In particular, there is a link between subsidized fertilizer actors in agriculture sector laws (Asmara and Handoyo, 2015). Other examples are Gobie and Yildiz (2019) and Nur et al. (2020), which adds meaning to actors' social acts and irregularities in fertilizer distribution. Another study by Praveen et al. (2021) examines which parties profit the most from fertilizer subsidies and the actors' viewpoints involved in the Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT) scheme. However, little attention has been paid to structured inventories, power mapping, and the interests of

the actors involved in managing subsidized fertilizers in Indonesia. Similarly, Mockshell and Birner (2020) identified the stakeholders engaged in delivering subsidized fertilizers and conducted a stakeholder analysis with extensive identification and linkages between stakeholders. Cordel et al. (2021) explore the capacity of agricultural players such as farmers, policymakers, and other food system stakeholders.

Subsidized fertilizer governance highly related to the interest of various parties or actors. The parties will try to maximize their interest through the power they have. The greater the interest, the greater the power needed to fulfill that interest. In the process, power and interest are at stake through the relationships built by these actors. The process can be cooperation, competition, and conflict (Kawuwung et al., 2021; Sahroni et al., 2022). Study regarding the role of subsidies in supporting economic growth, distribution effectiveness, farmer welfare, and other political economy have done in several Asian and Sub-Saharan countries (Ali et al., 2019; Bista et al., 2016; Tsiboe et al., 2021; Thapa et al., 2023; etc). In general, the research mentioned above examines the effectiveness and problem in implementing subsidized fertilizer policy but does not examine actor relations, specifically concern on the power and interests of the actors involved in subsidized fertilizer management.

Therefore, this study aims to answer the research questions: Who are the actors involved, and how are their relations in the governance of subsidized fertilizer policy? Specifically, this study intends to understand actors and actor relations in budgeting and allocation of subsidized fertilizer, analyze actor relations in the distribution of subsidized fertilizer, analyze actor relations in controlling and supervising the implementation of subsidized fertilizer policy, and understand the position of farmers in the contestation between subsidized fertilizer actors.

2. Materials And Methods

This descriptive qualitative research refers to data gathered in the field through respondents, documentation, and observations in social settings connected to the item under investigation. The information gathered includes both primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained directly from respondents in the field or at research locations through interviews with several stakeholders, while secondary data were obtained from various literature and other sources from related institutions/agencies as supporting data to supplement primary data (Creswell and Poth, 2021).

The study was conducted in West Java and South Sulawesi rice production centers from January to June 2023. Indramayu and Karawang represent West Java Province, while Wajo, Sidrap, and Enrekang represent South Sulawesi Province. The research was carried out through observation, interviews, and document analysis. The research informants were chosen randomly from those involved in the management of subsidized fertilizers. Interviews (in-depth interviews) with stakeholders involved in the management of subsidized fertilizers were used to acquire primary data.

The acquired data were examined using Bryant and Bailey's actor-oriented technique to determine the actors' positions and roles, impact, interests, and behaviors. The actions of the actors are then described in greater detail using Ribot and Peluso's access theory, which investigates and investigates the mechanisms and forms of power relations, namely: technology, capital, markets, labor and employment opportunities, knowledge, authority, social identity, and social relations. The perspective of habitus theory (Bourdieu, 2017) strengthens the analytical process. This analysis employs Hermans and Thissen's overview of actor research, which states that it comprises four characteristics: the network of actors engaged and how interconnected they are, perceptions inherent in actors who impact, values that determine the direction in which the actor wants to move in order to influence the actor's motivation, and the actor's resources or control become the actor's practical instrument for achieving his goals.

3. Results and Discussion

Subsidized fertilizer management actors

In Indonesia, several actors are involved in managing subsidized fertilizers. These actors can be either institutional or individual. The institutional actors are the House of Representatives (HR), Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Trade, Pupuk Indonesia Holding Company (PIHC), Ministry of State-owned Enterprises (SoE), Fertilizer and Pesticide Monitoring Commission (FPMC), Banks/Finances, Local Government, Distributors, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Retailers, Extension staffs and Farmer Groups. In the meantime, individual actors include farmers who receive subsidized fertilizer and fertilizer sellers locally.

These actors interact in various arenas covering three main areas of subsidized fertilizer. The first is the budgeting arena, where actors interact to formulate and set the subsidized fertilizer budget. The second is the subsidized fertilizer procurement and distribution arena. In this context, actors work together to

ensure that subsidized fertilizers are distributed on target. The last arena involves control and supervision, where actors collaborate in formulating, setting, and implementing concepts that regulate the allocation of subsidized fertilizers. In this case, they provide the right technology and an effective monitoring system to prevent fraud. The interaction of the actors in the various arenas will be explained in the following sub-topics.

Actor relations in subsidized fertilizer budgeting and allocation

The agriculture sector contributes significantly to the food supply for Indonesia's 276 million people. The agriculture sector also employs at least 38.70 million people, with 26.14 million farming families. There are 6.73 million of these farming households with land averaging between 0.2 and 0.49 hectares and up to 11.51 million with land larger than 0.5 hectares (BPS-Statistics Indonesia, 2023). Based on these pictures, the prominent participants in Indonesia's agricultural sector are small-scale farmers with limited land tenure.

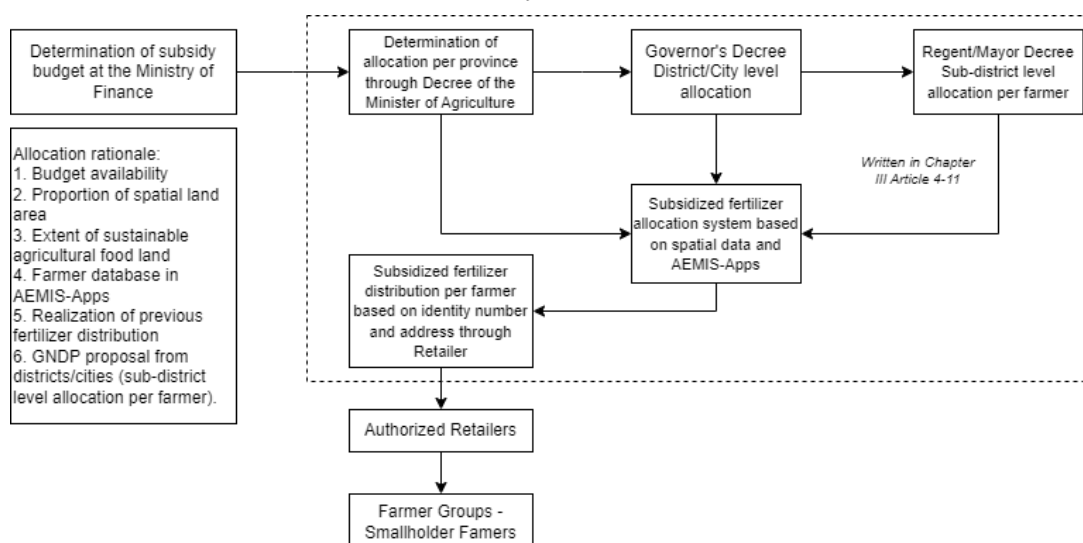
When negotiating the subsidized fertilizer budget, the government listened to numerous inputs from various subsidized fertilizer stakeholders or players, including related ministries and agencies and agriculture sector organizations. During the budgeting stage, the actors debated whether a budget allocation for subsidized fertilizer was necessary for farmers. Farmers have a relatively weak negotiating position when it comes to budget allocations. During this time, the budget has been determined primarily by the state's financial status, priority scale, and the wishes of the government and the HR. The current financial situation is complicated; the government cannot cover all needs, according to the Group Needs Definitive Plan (GNDP), which is an indicator of farmers' actual needs. The recent IDR 25 trillion per year allocated needs to be increased to meet farmers' demands (Directorate General of Agricultural Infrastructures and Facilities, 2023). The matrix represents the classification of groups based on power and interest in subsidized fertilizers (Table 1).

Tables and Figures

Table 1. Power and interest matrix, adapted from stakeholder analysis model

Power	Interest	
	Major	Minor
High	HR, Ministry of SoE, Banks/Finances	Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Trade, Local Government, FPMC
Low	Farmer Groups, Smallholder Farmers, Distributor, Authorized Retailers	Extension Staffs, NGO

Figure 1. Mechanism for determining the allocation of subsidized fertilizers through the e-allocation system



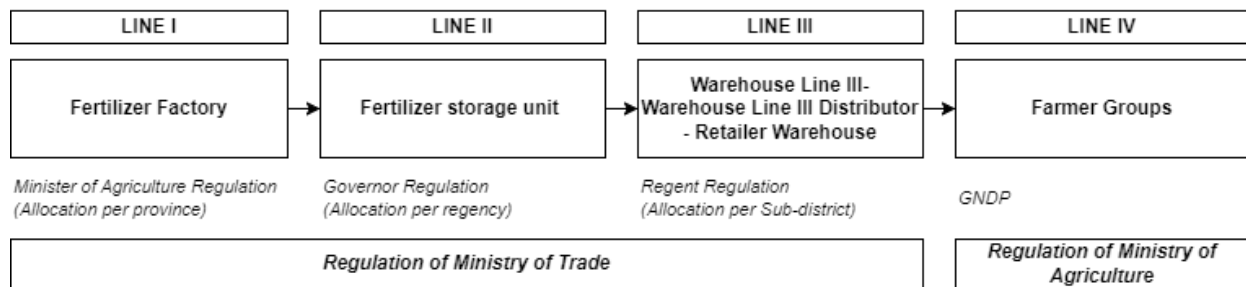


Figure 2. Mechanism of distribution subsidized fertilizers through Line I to Line IV

The entire value of the subsidy is highly dependent on the negotiation process between the parties involved in budget preparation and implementation. Meanwhile, the players' attitudes are mostly controlled by their preferred views and values (Kukrety et al., 2013). If market players believe that fertilizer subsidies are an absolute necessity for farmers' success and production, they will always want to maximize the quantity of fertilizer subsidies. Conversely, players who believe that subsidized fertilizers are ineffective and a waste of money will seek to eliminate fertilizer subsidies. Based on GNDP, the budget allocation is still far from meeting the needs, or about 32 percent can be met annually. This means that the government needs to meet about 68 percent of the needs of farmers who are not received fertilizer subsidies. This has consequences, such as the lack of fertilizer doses that match crop needs.

The state budget is the source of subsidized fertilizer money. The Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Finance, and HR are the primary players in the budget provision. The Ministry of Agriculture submits a budget proposal to the Ministry of Finance, which is then processed into the Draft State Budget. Following that, it is addressed with the HR in order to be ratified as the state budget. The HR, which approves the budget, is the principal actor in budget preparation; the Ministry of Finance is the Budget User (BU); and the Directorate General of Agricultural Infrastructure and Facility of the Ministry of Agriculture is the Budget User Authority (BUA).

The budget setting forum is a very important arena in the subsidized fertilizer program. The government has an interest in continuing to maintain this subsidized fertilizer program despite the large budget. The sectors in government involved in this program are the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of State-owned Enterprise (SoE), Ministry of Trade, local governments, law enforcement agencies, and others. There are a number of actor tendencies in setting subsidized fertilizer budgets, including actors who want to continue to increase the subsidized fertilizer budget; actors who want a reduction in subsidized fertilizer budgets; actors who tend to defend chemical fertilizers and continue to increase the budget for chemical fertilizers; and actors who want to increase the budget for organic fertilizers and reduce the use of chemical fertilizers.

The habitus and interests of these players influence their conduct (Ndu, 2022). Habitus is a social framework, a hierarchy, that serves as motive for actors to take action (Kluttz and Fligstein, 2016). At the same time, actors' interests can be economic, social, cultural, or symbolic. Various players in the subsidized fertilizer arena can collaborate but can also compete to protect their interests in establishing the subsidized fertilizer budget. Actors who desire an increase in subsidized fertilizer expenditures, in general, may be swayed by their experience as farmers or those who are emotionally related to farmers. Actors advocating for an increase in the budget for chemical fertilizers are swayed by habit and business interests to boost margins or profits for individuals or businesses. Producers, distributors, merchants, and parties involved in acquiring subsidized chemical fertilizers are the actors most likely to benefit from the growth in subsidized chemical fertilizers.

The Ministry of Finance serves as the state treasurer, attempting to spend the money as sparingly and efficiently as possible. Their thinking is motivated by the believe that subsidy monies are saved from people's taxes and that numerous sectors need these funds; thus, they must be given properly and fairly. Meanwhile, as the person in charge of the agricultural sector, the Ministry of Agriculture understands that all of the farmers' demands must be satisfied if the state wishes to enhance domestic food production. This ministry always strives to keep the budget from decreasing (sustaining), even when utilized to increase. In the subsidized fertilizer budgeting sector, these two trends frequently clash.

After budgeting, the following process is allocating and determining the allocation and the highest retail price (HRP). The Ministry of Agriculture and its staff are the leading actors in this mechanism. Allocations and HRP are regulated in Minister of Agriculture Regulation 10 of 2022 concerning

Procedures for Determining Allocations and HRP of subsidized fertilizer in the Agricultural Sector and related Minister of Agriculture Decrees. The allocation is prepared based on proposals from the district and provincial governments. After that, allocations are determined per province through a Decree of the Minister of Agriculture. The primary considerations for allocation include the availability of budget, proportion of spatial land area for nine priority commodities, area of sustainable food agriculture, potential database in Agricultural Extension Management Information System Application (AEMIS-App), realization of distribution of fertilizer previously, and proposal for sub-district level subsidized fertilizer.

Following the national determination, the next step is for each governor to issue a decree for district-level allocations. Afterward, each Regent/Mayor publishes a sub-district allocation decree per farmer. All these allocation data are summarized in the subsidized fertilizer allocation system or AEMIS-App data if geographical data is unavailable. The allocation data is forwarded to the subsidized fertilizer Executing Bank, which will be used as a reference for farmers to purchase fertilizer. In addition, the Bank will install transaction technology, known as Electronic Device Control (EDC) machines, at each merchant. With this digital method, all transactions must be based on data previously entered into the allocation system by the extension worker.

Other actors, such as NGOs or local NGOs, as well as several national scale organizations that care about and fight for the fate of farmers, such as the Indonesian Farmers Association, Mainstay Farmers and Fishermen Community, can contribute to the dynamics of subsidized fertilizers. This group can advise or transmit aspirations to influence the government or parliamentary choices.

Actor relations in subsidized fertilizer distribution

After determining the budget and allocation of subsidized fertilizers, the next duty is to identify how to offer fertilizer stockpiles distributed and well accepted by farmers. The fertilizer must adhere to the six appropriate principles (appropriate type, amount/dose, price, time, place, and approach). In terms of distribution, PIHC is in responsibility. PIHC is a state-owned corporation that owns various state-owned fertilizer companies, including PT. Pupuk Kaltim, PT. Pupuk Kujang, and PT. Iskandar Muda. The Minister of Trade Regulation No. 15 of 2013, later revised to become Minister of Trade Regulation No. 17 of 2023, governs the corporation's appointment and its working procedure. According to the regulations, PHIC and its employees are the primary actors in the acquisition and distribution of subsidized fertilizers.

The fertilizer distribution system is so complex that the government establishes the rules of the game through various provisions for the distribution of subsidized fertilizers, including the fact that the mechanism for distributing subsidized fertilizers is carried out under the Regulation of the Minister of Trade No. 4 of 2023 concerning Procurement and Distribution of Subsidized Fertilizers for the Agricultural Sector, through producers. The mechanism for determining the allocation (Figure 1) and distribution of subsidized fertilizers (Figure 2) from the government to farmers is regulated in Minister of Trade Regulation No. 15 of 2013 and Minister of Agriculture Regulation No. 10 of 2022. This process consists of four stages, denoted as Line I to Line IV. Line I correspond to the distribution of fertilizer from the factory to regional warehouses under the supervision of PIHC. Line II entails the distribution from regional warehouses to district/city warehouses, while Line III focuses on distributing to fertilizer kiosks at the sub-district or village level. Lastly, Line IV involves the direct distribution of fertilizer from kiosks to farmers. The Indonesian government offers fertilizer subsidies through Lines I and II, whereas Lines III and IV are subject to market prices. Nevertheless, the distribution of subsidized fertilizers faces several challenges, including monitoring difficulties, deviations from the intended process, and uneven access across Indonesia. In response, the Ministry of Agriculture has taken various measures, such as implementing a subsidized fertilizer distribution information system and enhancing supervision of distributors of subsidized fertilizer.

Authorized merchants appointed in their working regions based on the allocation of subsidized fertilizers in their areas are the principal actors in the distribution of fertilizers to farmers. If the specified distribution needs to be adjusted to meet field needs due to changes in the planting season, regional development, the existence of a particular program from the Ministry of Agriculture, or other pressing issues, re allocations between regions and time can be made under the provisions in the Minister of Agriculture concerning allocation and HRP. Kiosks that approved by distributor (official retailer) must sell subsidized fertilizer to farmers enrolled in the e-Allocation system. The HRP is specified in the Minister of Agriculture's Regulation and applies to purchases made by farmers in official retailer (Line IV).

The distributor delivers subsidized fertilizer from lines II to III through Sale Purchase Agreement (SPA) transactions. The steps are: a) Distributors redeem fertilizer manufacturers in line II warehouses; b) the fertilizer is subsequently sent to the retailer's warehouse (kiosks). The most crucial stage occurs when the retailer transacts with the distributor. This operation frequently encounters issues due to various circumstances, including restricted personnel availability and warehouse capacity that cannot accommodate multiple trucks simultaneously, resulting in long lines. As a result, stores frequently have to wait several days, if not weeks, for fertilizer. As a result, fertilizer arrives late in the retailer's warehouse, causing farmers to get fertilizer late.

The transaction process precedes the subsidized fertilizer distribution process, beginning with interactions between providers and the government, distributors and suppliers, retailers and distributors, and farmers and retailers. The transaction method depends entirely on digital platforms, including the website. As a result, everything is transportable. While transactions between farmers and retailers are conducted using the farmer card system, the following protocol is followed: a) The farmer card is swiped; if successful, the farmer pays the fixed subsidized price, and the fertilizer is taken straight. Meanwhile, if the farmer card has yet to be registered, the iPuber app, an application used at retailer kiosks to input data on the distribution of subsidized fertilizers each month that is integrated with the verification and validation system, can still be used. iPuber solely uses personal identity card to redeem subsidized fertilizer.

As farmers in Indramayu Regency, West Java, have discovered, the main problem encountered by Retailers when redeeming fertilizers is EDC or Farmer Card constraints and incomplete data caused by a variety of factors such as frequent cultivators, changes in land ownership, the person has died, and so on. Farmers must have proper data and use farmer cards after implementing farmer cards and the e-allocation system. There are no issues in the Java region. Fertilizer is physically available at retail kiosks prior to the start of the planting season. The farmer shows the Farmer's Card to redeem his portion's subsidized fertilizer. Many farmers could not display their Farmer's Card in various circumstances because it was lost, they forgot their password, and so on. When farmers' cards are lost or their password are forgotten, the Kiosk directs the leaders of farmer groups to contact partner banks. At the same time, data-related issues are referred to Agricultural Extension Officers in their area.

Actor relations in control and supervision activities

The subsidized fertilizer program involves around 11 million farmers and has an annual budget of around IDR 25 trillion. Based on experience, the management of subsidized fertilizers has encountered numerous issues, including non-targeting, fraud, and violations of the highest retail price. The government establishes a system of control and oversight to ensure effective governance.

The implemented control system concerns data control, distribution, transaction control, organizational control, etc. The control system is implemented through technology applications, namely e-allocation applications based on AEMIS-app data linked to Population and Civil Registration Service data. Meanwhile, staff at the Agricultural Extension Agency ensure system control and transaction accuracy in each sub-district through the Verification and Validation of transaction data.

The Government establishes the criteria for subsidized fertilizer recipients by referring to the Minister of Agriculture Regulation No. 10 of 2022 on procedure for determining the allocation and HRP of subsidized fertilizers in the agricultural sector. According to the rule, subsidized fertilizer is meant for farmers working in the following farming sub-sectors: a) food crops, which include rice, corn, and soybeans; b) horticulture with products such as chili, shallots, garlic; and c) plantation with products such as coffee, sugar cane, and cocoa. Farmers can cultivate a maximum of two hectares of land per planting season, with priority given to small farmers with a maximum land area of 0.5 hectares. The government has created a control system with integrated data and technology applications to ensure the subsidized fertilizer is on target. All subsidized fertilizer recipients have registered with the AEMIS-App. The data is generated by the Agricultural Extension Agency, situated in the sub-district and is the primary entity in charge of the village's agricultural extension personnel. Extension employees compile AEMIS-App data, which is constantly updated based on current conditions. AEMIS-App data provides farmer identities and land area data linked to population data and can alter in response to new data developments. Meanwhile, AEMIS-App data is referred to as land area data. The Ministry of Agriculture and its workers are in charge of collecting data on farmers. The data-gathering method is critical in managing subsidized fertilizers because only farmers enrolled in the AEMIS-App and on the GNDP list are eligible for subsidized fertilizers.

The obligation to utilize Farmer Cards in subsidized fertilizer transactions is the next tier of control systems. Actually, the card policy has been in place for quite some time, but the new farmer card will

become necessary in 2023. Farmers use this farmer card to make purchases at stores or fertilizer kiosks in their communities. Swiping the Farmer's Card on the EDC mechanism provided by banks at retail kiosks completes transactions. The Farmer's Card is linked to data on fertilizer recipients entered based on definitive allocation data. As a result, only farmers who have registered for e-allocation can complete deals. The goal of this software is to prevent misdirection and HRP violations.

Many farmers have been unable to purchase at stores since the launch of the e-allocation application system and farmer card. There are several causes, including a) data error problems, such as double farmers and land; b) illiteracy among many farmers, who do not understand the application and technology used; c) low farmer awareness, where many farmers' cards are lost, password are forgotten, bank books are lost, and so on; d) the banking system's slow response in overcoming technological problems in the field; e) problems with changing farmer data and Population and Civil Registration Service data, such as death and moving tenants and pawnbrokers. The appointed bank, namely the Association of State Banks, notably Bank Mandiri, Bank BRI, Bank BNI, and so on, obtains the farmer's card. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Agriculture is in charge of data. A farmer card system has been developed in West Java, which can be used for transactions by swiping the card on the EDC tool offered at the Kiosk. While outside of Java, such as South Sulawesi, they have obtained farmer cards, and they cannot be utilized fully since EDC equipment is still being installed.

Because this system and the farmers' lack of education and expertise are still in its early stages, it presents numerous challenges. There are numerous data and technical issues in Indramayu, which has fully adopted the use of the Farmer Card. Farmers could not trade due to data collecting constraints such as changes in cultivator and demographic data. Meanwhile, technological issues include forgotten password, lost cards, lost books, and EDC damage. In this district, the adoption of Farmer Card has reached 80 percent (as of January 2023), whereas only 20 percent still use the iPuber app. The government has made using a farmer card mandatory for registered farmers since January 1, 2023. Those who need integration can use identity card to obtain subsidized kiosk fertilizers. However, some registered 80 percent still need help to pick up fertilizer at the kiosk.

If the control system is implemented through the system, the control model is required to address numerous issues that arise outside of the system and application. Aside from official transactions, frequent transactions are not under established regulations and mechanisms, such as the misappropriation of the highest retail price and incorrect targets or recipients, the sale of subsidized fertilizer to unauthorized parties, and black-market trading. Outside this framework, the intermediaries or loan sharks play an essential role in the fertilizer trade.

Despite the Government's stringent and technologically advanced control system, violations or diversion of subsidized fertilizers still occur. Trading on the black market, for example, involves trading fertilizers. The origin of the fertilizer they sell is unknown, although it bears the label "subsidized fertilizer." They are usually apprehended by law enforcement. This sort of fertilizer is known as wandering fertilizer in Sidrap and Wajo. The actors in this scene are retailers and traders, although they are not visible. The fertilizer they trade might be in cash or purchased on credit by moneylenders and sold to farmers. Actors in the illegal fertilizer trade are typically only able to identify if they are already in difficulty with the law or have been apprehended by law authorities. The Fertilizer and Pesticide Supervisory Commission is the actor whose responsibility it is to prevent fraud in the distribution and transaction of subsidized fertilizers. The Ministry of Agriculture accelerates the hierarchy of powers for Fertilizer and Pesticide Supervisory Commissions (FPSC), FPSCs in provinces are appointed by the Governor, and FPSCs in districts are appointed by the Regent. The FPSC includes parts of the police, prosecutors, and municipal government.

Farmers' roles in actor relationships

The significance of linking player roles since not all actors have the same power to affect decisions or the same active involvement in problems (Ahmadi et al., 2019). Because not all actors have the same amount of power and interests, they do not necessarily have the same regard and priority. As a result, actors' preferences, level of interest, and decision-making capacity must all be considered. The government and farmers are both interested in supported programs, namely how to improve agricultural productivity. The government aims to meet food needs, while farmers hope to boost agricultural production to meet their family's needs.

As a result, the government has no choice except to assist farmers in increasing their output because farmers constitute the vast majority of agricultural workers and landowners. If farmer welfare is interrupted and farmer output falls, it is possible that national demands will not be met, forcing the government to buy food from other countries. This indicates that the country will lose status and dignity

in the eyes of the rest of the globe. In this scenario, the government and farmers are two players partnering or working together to boost production. However, the nature of government-farmer relationship only sometimes matches farmers' expectations. The government routinely enacts anti-farmer policies, such as insufficient fertilizer allotment policy, which cause farmers' output to plummet. Subsidized fertilizer types, such as ZA (*Zwavelzure Ammoniak*) and Sp-36 (Sulfur 5% -P₂O₅ 36%), were reduced even though they were still required, causing some farmers to scream. Farmers no longer receive subsidies due to the reduced number of subsidized commodities from 69 to 9. Farmers who cultivate commodities not included in the lists are in a relationship pattern known as a zero-sum game pattern, in which government agents eliminate certain farmers' income-generating potential.

Farmers' relationships with the government might also generate a pattern of dependency. Instead of these farmers becoming more substantial and self-sufficient, what transpired reduced their inventiveness and invention. This dependency can be demonstrated in chemical fertilizers, where the intake increases over time. The more fertilizer used, the higher the costs that farmers must bear. Farmers are also unable to wean themselves off chemical fertilizers. When the government reduces subsidies due to a shortage of funds, these farmers cannot purchase fertilizer, although the fertilizer has been subsidized. Farmers can make further advances to reduce fertilizer consumption by using organic agricultural methods with raw materials sourced from nature. Farmers can also innovate by using natural fertilizers that are generated independently and at a minimal cost.

Another relation is the rise of restricted access and dissemination. Although farmers are the primary users of subsidized fertilizers, they may encounter access and distribution issues. Farmers' access is also minimal; farmers are resigned to waiting for the subsidy to decrease without certainty; in this scenario, fertilizer is frequently late, or the amount needs to be corrected, but farmers cannot make a fuss. Even though farmers receive subsidized fertilizer rations, many cannot redeem the help fertilizer because they need more funds to purchase it. This is due the need for a reserve fund. Their yields are insufficient to cover the costs of the following season. Various phrases are used to establish a partnership among farmers and investors. Some refer to it as the adoptive father system, while others refer to it as the loan shark system. A hybridization pattern occurs here, in which two groups of players attempt to collaborate to address problems, even in an exploitative relationship pattern.

4. Conclusion

The roles and patterns of actor relations in the subsidized fertilizer program consist of cooperation and competition in the subsidized fertilizer program arena. The role in proposing, discussing, and determining the budget is built on a pattern of cooperation and competition between several ministries. The relationship pattern that is created between actors can be in the form of cooperation in fighting for a budget increase or decrease, as well as specifically fighting for chemical fertilizers or organic fertilizers. There are several things that affect the actions of actors in influencing the pattern of relations, namely discourse, institutional habitus, the interests of capital. The influence of the discourse can be in the form of a desire to perpetuate chemical fertilizers or an understanding that wants an organic-based sustainable agricultural system. Meanwhile, the influence of institutional habitus is heavily influenced by differences in the character of each institution and their respective authorities. Meanwhile, the interests of capital are driven by the desire to gain economic, political and so on. The position of farmers in the contestation between actors is relatively weak, their voices are often not heard by policy-makers. Although this continues to be improved by the government. Many farmers complain that their fertilizer doses are insufficient, distribution delays, lack of capital to buy fertilizer, and so on.

Conflict of interest

The authors state no conflict of interest.

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