

# INDONESIA SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT DURING RESTRICTION: A Case Study of Solidaritas Pangan Jogja

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*This paper is part of the series "Lessons learned from Covid-19: Transforming a global crisis to global solidarity?"*

The solidarity movement arose in response to among other things, massive layoffs, a lack of access to food, and a lack of access to health and education resources. Solidarity became the most visible phenomenon during the pandemic, presenting a turning point for global practices during this global crisis.

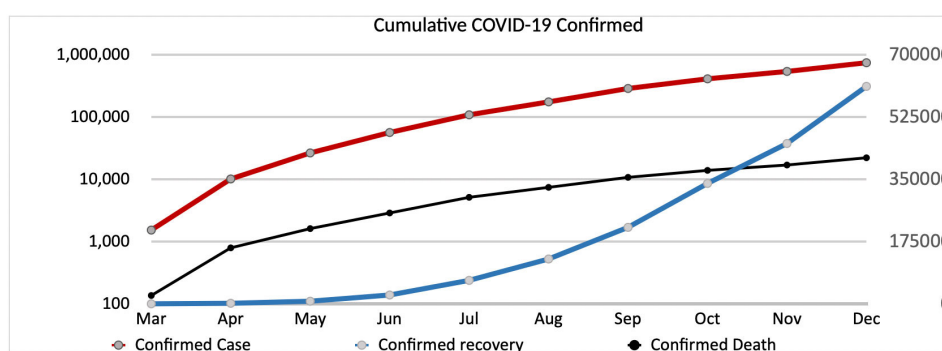


*The Indonesian government enacted a restriction policy in response to the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic. The restrictions significantly impacted almost all sectors, particularly the food and logistics sectors, creating food insecurity and a chaotic situation at the grassroots level. On the other hand, community initiatives such as the food and logistic solidarity movement have emerged that attempt to overcome vulnerabilities at the grassroots level. This paper explores the Indonesian government's models and solutions for dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic and the people lead initiatives of the solidarity movement. This study uses qualitative methods to analyze power relations across different classes present during the pandemic, concluding that community efforts to build food solidarity and logistics can be a solution to crisis on a global scale.*

## Introduction

Since the discovery of COVID-19, up until it was declared a global pandemic, countries with increasing COVID-19 cases have sought to contain the virus by restricting human activities in public spaces.<sup>1</sup> Countries imposed regional quarantines, lockdowns, and regional restrictions on schools, offices, public facilities, workplaces, places of worship, markets, transportation, and travel bans.<sup>2</sup> Indonesia also implemented restrictions, with its policy of Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB). The restrictions relate to prohibiting specific residents' activities in areas suspected to be infected with COVID-19, to prevent the further spread of the virus. The PSBB took effect on 31 March 2020, when the number of confirmed cases had reached 1,528, with the highest index of 80.09 on 24 April 2020.<sup>3</sup>[1]

**Figure 1.** The situation of COVID-19 Cases in Indonesia, 2020



Source: Ministry of Health, 2020<sup>4</sup>

A local government requesting to implement PSBB must report epidemiological curves, distribution maps, or local transmission data to the Ministry of Health. The local government must also give information about the fulfillment of people's basic needs, health facilities and infrastructure, budget and operationalization of social safety nets, and security. The Ministry of Health can decide whether to accept or reject the PSBB application based on the report.

Thousands of companies and SMEs had to reduce their workforce drastically, as many companies were affected by a decrease in revenue.<sup>5</sup> The closing or reduction of companies has impacted millions of workers who lost their jobs or experienced wage delays.<sup>6</sup> Informal workers and migrant workers, especially in urban areas, also

<sup>1</sup> World Health Organization, "Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) Situation Report No. 51", WHO, 11 March 2020, available at: [https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/situation-reports/20200311-sitrep-51-covid-19.pdf?sfvrsn=1ba62e57\\_10](https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/situation-reports/20200311-sitrep-51-covid-19.pdf?sfvrsn=1ba62e57_10)

<sup>2</sup> D. Dunford, B. Dale, N. Stylianou, E. Lowther, M. Ahmed, I. Arenas, "Asia, Australia and New Zealand in lockdown. Coronavirus: The world in lockdown in maps and charts.", BBC News, 7 April 2020, available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-52103747>

<sup>3</sup> M. Roser, H. Ritchie, E. Ortiz-Ospina, J. Hasell, D. Beltekian, E. Mathieu, B. Macdonald, & C. Giattino, "Policy responses to the coronavirus pandemic - statistics and research", Our World in Data, 2020 available at: <https://ourworldindata.org/policy-responses-covid?country=%7EIDN>.

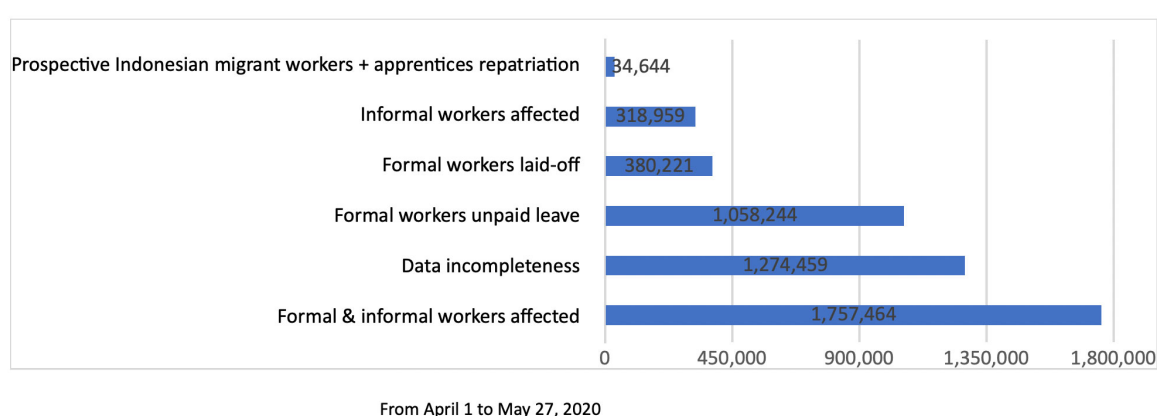
<sup>4</sup> Ministry of Health, "Indonesia COVID-19 Data Analysis, Update As of 27 December 2020", 2020,, available at <https://covid19.go.id/p/berita/analisis-data-covid-19-indonesia-update-27-desember-2020>.

<sup>5</sup> M.A. Rahman, A. Z. Kusuma, & H. Arfianto, "Employment situations of economic sectors impacted by the COVID-19 Pandemic (No. 1)", SMERU Research Institute and Knowledge Sector Initiative, June 2020, available at: [http://smeru.or.id/sites/default/files/publication/ib01\\_naker\\_en.pdf](http://smeru.or.id/sites/default/files/publication/ib01_naker_en.pdf) and Y. Pusparisa & S. Fitra, "Pandemi timbulkan sederet persoalan ketenagakerjaan", Databoks-Katadata, 9 July 2020, available at: <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2020/07/09/pandemi-timbulkan-sederet-persoalan-ketenagakerjaan>

<sup>6</sup> Statistics Indonesia, "Hasil Survei Sosial Demografi Dampak Covid-19 2020", Badan Pusat Statistik, June 2020, available at: [www.bps.go.id/publication/2020/06/01/669cb2e8646787e52dd171c4/hasil-survei-sosial-demografi-dampak-covid-19-2020.html](http://www.bps.go.id/publication/2020/06/01/669cb2e8646787e52dd171c4/hasil-survei-sosial-demografi-dampak-covid-19-2020.html).

had difficulty earning an income. They faced multiple risks because most of them do not have social protection and security, so they were not included in any support beneficiaries list.<sup>7</sup> Restrictions have caused a significant reduction in economic activity and contributed to various pre-existing social inequalities based on gender, and class.<sup>8</sup>

**Figure 2.** *The Number of Workers Affected by Restriction [2]*



Source: Databox-Katadata (Pusparisa & Fitra, 2020)

Disruption to food supply chains from production to consumption arose after the government implemented the PSBB.<sup>9</sup> Food shortages mainly occurred in urban areas. In some areas, farmers continued to harvest crops but found it difficult to distribute their agricultural produce due to restrictions and decreased purchasing power. Layoffs and wage reduction contributed to this risk. People also had difficulty getting foodstuffs or primary necessity packages due to restrictions on markets and grocery stores.<sup>10</sup>

Farmers lost a significant portion of their income and had difficulties in their access to food sources. Fishermen continued to catch fish but the number of buyers was severely reduced.<sup>11</sup> Vegetables and fish piled up and rotted. The export of foodstuffs has been temporarily suspended due to restrictions between countries aimed at maintaining domestic food stability and security.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, the limited distribution of domestic food, including between food-producing rural areas and food-consuming urban areas, affected the income instability and household consumption of farming families. The Ministry of Transportation has issued transportation and travel

<sup>7</sup> Migrant Care, "Covid-19 and Indonesian Migrant Workers.", Migrant CARE, 12 June 2020, pp.12–5, available at: [migrantcare.net/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/20200612\\_Graphic-Slide-MC-COVID-19-english-minimum.pdf](https://migrantcare.net/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/20200612_Graphic-Slide-MC-COVID-19-english-minimum.pdf) and H. Retnaningsih, "Bantuan Sosial bagi Pekerja di Tengah Pandemi Covid-19: Sebuah Analisis terhadap Kebijakan Sosial Pemerintah", *Aspirasi*, 2020, pp. 215–27, December 2020, available at: <http://jurnal.dpr.go.id/index.php/aspirasi/article/view/1756>

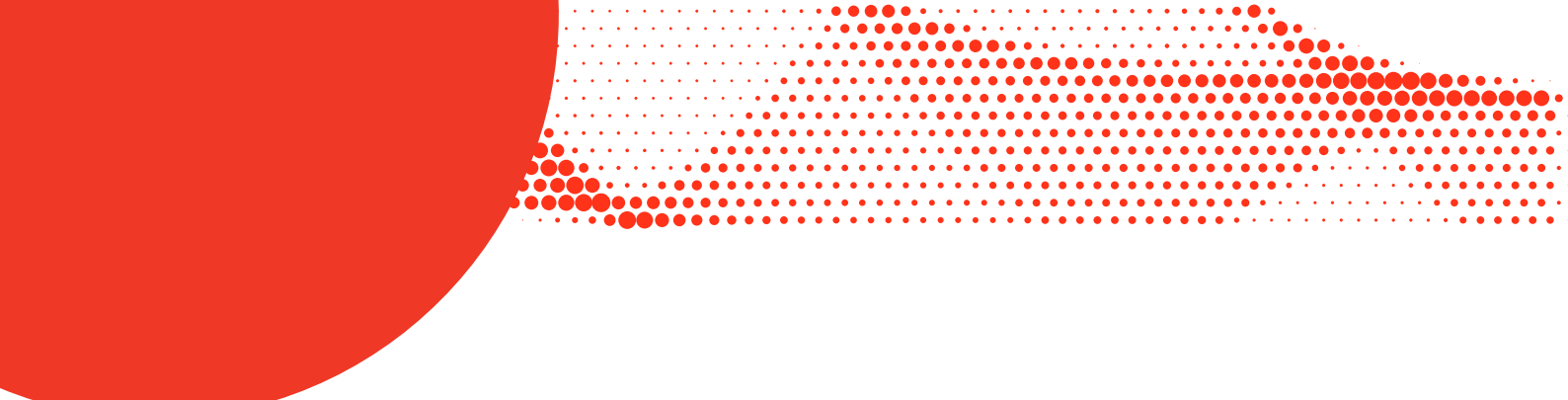
<sup>8</sup> National Commission on Violence against Women, "Siaran Pers Komnas Perempuan tentang Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan", Komnas Perempuan, 6 May 2020, available at <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/siaran-pers-detail/siaran-pers-komnas-perempuan-tentang-kekerasan-terhadap-transpuan-jakarta-6-mei-2020> and D.M. Purnamasari, "Banyak Masyarakat Terancam Diusir Dari Hunian Karena Tak Mampu Bayar Sewa", *KOMPAS*, 6 May 2020, available at <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/05/06/15352821/banyak-masyarakat-terancam-diusir-dari-hunian-karena-tak-mampu-bayar-sewa>

<sup>9</sup> B. Dekker, "The impact of COVID-19 measures on Indonesian value chains", Clingendael Institute, June 2020, available at: [https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/2020-06/Policy\\_Brief\\_COVID-19\\_Impact\\_on\\_the\\_Value\\_Chain\\_Asia\\_June\\_2020.pdf](https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/2020-06/Policy_Brief_COVID-19_Impact_on_the_Value_Chain_Asia_June_2020.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> Gugus Tugas Covid-19, "Pedoman umum menghadapi pandemi Covid-19 bagi pemerintah daerah", Covid19.go.id, March 2020, pp. 78 and 138-43, available at <https://covid19.go.id/p/panduan/kemendagri-pedoman-umum-menghadapi-pandemi-covid-19-bagi-pemerintah-daerah>

<sup>11</sup> F. Mubarak & M. Ambari, "Sinking feeling for Indonesian fishers as Covid-19 hits seafood sales", *Mongabay*, 7 April 2020, April, available at: <https://news.mongabay.com/2020/04/sinking-feeling-for-indonesian-fishers-as-covid-19-hits-seafood-sales/>

<sup>12</sup> A. Patunru, G. Oktania, & P. Audrine, "Mitigating food supply chain disruption amid Covid-19 (Policy Brief No. 3", Jakarta:



activity restrictions.<sup>13</sup> However, most people still chose to return to their hometowns because of the uncertainty of food supply in the cities where they worked.<sup>14</sup>

How can people meet their food needs and survive during restrictions when they have no income? This situation has motivated some people to form solidarity movements. Individuals began to join or form groups in various areas to address food insecurity at the grassroots level. There are various solidarity activities such as planting and harvesting, setting up public kitchens and cheap markets, distribution of foodstuffs, distribution of primary necessities packages, and distribution of masks and hand sanitizer.

Solidaritas Pangan Jogja (SPJ) is a solidarity movement formed at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. SPJ emerged due to restrictions that caused increased poverty and hunger in Yogyakarta, becoming one of the pioneers of the widespread food solidarity movement which emerged in various regions.

This paper will answer two key questions: first, how did the restriction policy significantly contribute to food and logistics insecurity? And second, how did the SPJ overcome food and logistics insecurity at the grassroots level? This paper explores both the government's paradigm of 'solving' the pandemic by implementing a restriction policy that gave rise to food and logistics insecurity and the SPJ's paradigm and solution to the problem of food insecurity by implementing food solidarity practices during the restriction in Yogyakarta.

Firstly, this paper begins by discussing the restriction policy as a means of overcoming the pandemic and its impact on the food and logistics sector. The paper then describes and analyzes the background and characteristics of SPJ activities: how they formed the solidarity movement; the procedures for obtaining basic foodstuff; the means of processing and distributing food and foodstuffs or primary necessity packages to the community in a collective, organized, and coordinated manner; and challenges in carrying out solidarity activities including how to enable public participation, organize production flows and food distribution, and overcome shortages and deal with movement disturbances. Secondly, this paper describes the food and logistics solidarity movement as a political movement, and thirdly, the final portion of the paper discusses the idea of a solidarity movement as a global movement.

This study finds that the SPJ pattern of organizing allowed food and logistics solidarity to expand and escalate into a structured and systematic movement. This study also shows how a situation that arose during a crisis—the unprecedented event of the COVID-19 pandemic—became an opportunity to create global solidarity.

## **Food and Logistics Definition**

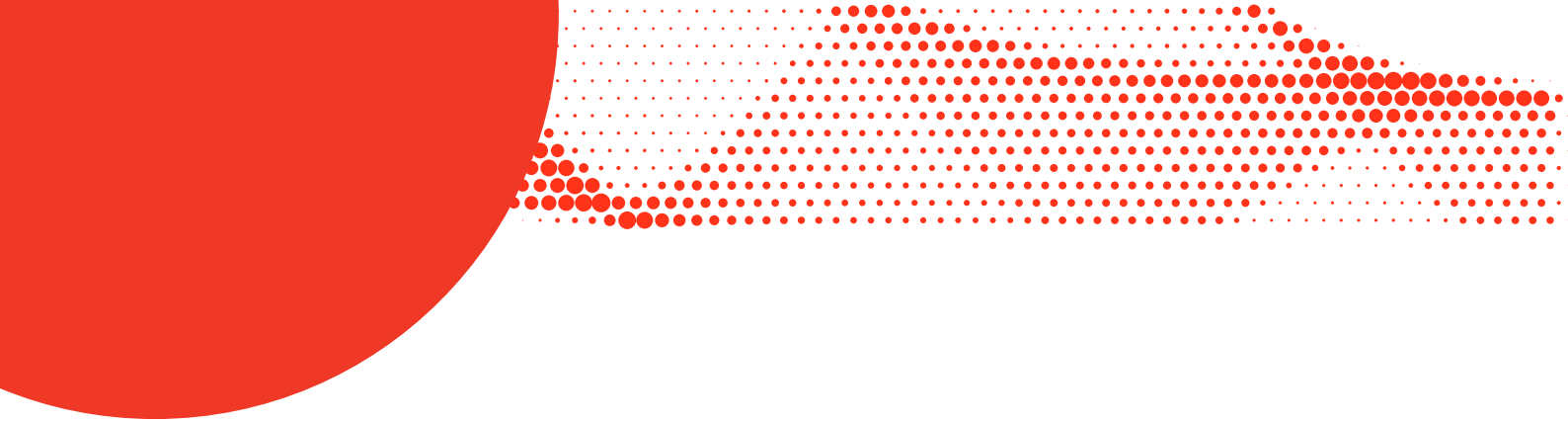
Under the Indonesian Law of Food, the definition of the term 'food' includes all the biological products of agriculture, plantation, forestry, fisheries, animal husbandry, and waters, which may be processed or unprocessed, which are designated for human consumption. This includes food additives, raw materials, and other materials used to prepare, process, and manufacture food or drinks.<sup>15</sup>

Center for Indonesian Policy Studies, May 2020, available at: [https://62db8dc7-7d03-4efc-98b1-70ff88ee4d70.usrfiles.com/ugd/62db8d\\_3e61e4478abf4417851f58fa1428a1b5.pdf](https://62db8dc7-7d03-4efc-98b1-70ff88ee4d70.usrfiles.com/ugd/62db8d_3e61e4478abf4417851f58fa1428a1b5.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> Gugus Tugas COVID-19, "Surat Edaran Nomor 4 Tahun 2020 Tentang Kriteria Pembatasan Perjalanan Orang Dalam Rangka Percepatan Penanganan Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19)" Covid19.go.id, 6 May 2020, available at <https://covid19.go.id/p/regulasi/surat-edaran-nomor-4-tahun-2020> and Ministry of Transportation, "Peraturan Menteri Perhubungan Republik Indonesia Nomor 18 Tahun 2020 Tentang Pengendalian Transportasi Dalam Rangka Pencegahan Penyebaran Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)", Ministry of Transportation, 9 April 2020, available at [https://jdih.dephub.go.id/assets/uudocs/permen/2020/PM\\_18\\_TAHUN\\_2020.pdf](https://jdih.dephub.go.id/assets/uudocs/permen/2020/PM_18_TAHUN_2020.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> <https://ejurnal.kependudukan.lipi.go.id/index.php/jki/article/download/584/pd>





Meanwhile, Trisilawaty et al. defined logistics in the context of food production and consumption as:

The management of production, supply, storage, and distribution of food between regions, including domestic rice grain procurement and RASKIN (Rice for Poor Households) distribution, price stabilization, and national rice stock fertilization.<sup>16</sup>

### **The Restriction**

The definition of restriction in this paper refers to the Large-Scale Social Restriction (PSBB) set out in the Indonesian Law of Health Quarantine, which limits people's activities in an area of concern to prevent the possibility of spreading COVID-19.<sup>17</sup> Unlike other quarantine types present in the Health Quarantine Act, the PSBB does not oblige the government to provide and distribute food to affected communities. In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, the government issued Government Regulation No. 21 in 2020, allowing the implementation of the PSBB under the Indonesian Health Quarantine Act.

### **Crisis: A Contextual Situation**

Crisis refers to something that disturbs the balance of capital movements, or the blockage of capital. Marx argued that "crises are never more than momentary, violent solutions for the existing contradictions, violent eruptions that re-establish the disturbed balance for the time being".<sup>18</sup> Michael Lebowitz added that the significance of the crisis is the manifestation of the examination of growth, where capital has faced obstacles that thwart its experiment and negate its essence.<sup>19</sup> Meaning that capitalism has played a role in creating a crisis and is at the same time trying to remedy it.

Emile Durkheim argued that social solidarity is characterized by cohesion between individuals in modern society that ensures social order and stability.<sup>20</sup> The interdependence in society that arises from work specialization is complementary, mutual, and connected, and not a result of some sense of innate togetherness or a moral bond. According to Durkheim, social solidarity in a time of crisis emphasizes the importance of collectivism and collective awareness based on social integration.

### **Solidarity: Theory and Practice**

Avery Kolers stated that the principles of solidarity theory are not for the oppressed people but the others who join when there is a call for solidarity because the action is needed and not because they agree on an objective.<sup>21</sup> Kolers emphasized the individuality and autonomy of agents who are in solidarity.

Conversely, James Petras situated solidarity as part of a movement that aims to raise awareness of a society's

<sup>15</sup> Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 18 of 2012 Regarding Food, November 2012, Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, available at: <https://www.dpr.go.id/dokjdi/document/uu/278.pdf>

<sup>16</sup> C. Trisilawaty, Marimin, & N.A. Achsani, "Analisis Optimasi Rantai pasok beras dan penggunaan gudang di perum BULOG divre DKI Jakarta", Jurnal Pangan, 2011, p. 182 <https://jurnalpangan.com/index.php/pangan/article/view/38/33>

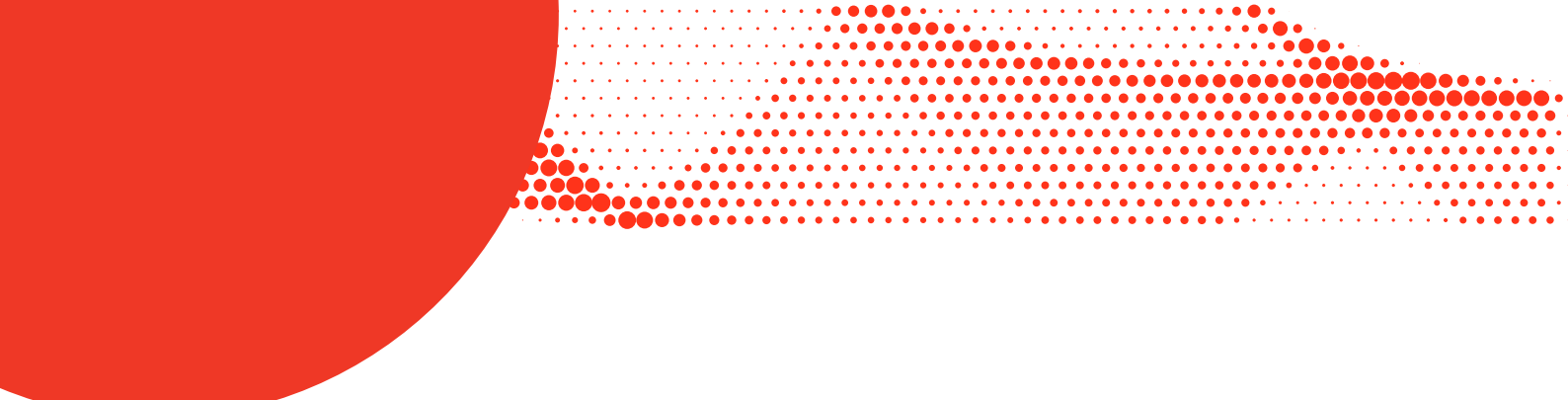
<sup>17</sup> Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2018 Regarding Health Quarantine, August 2018, Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, available at <https://www.dpr.go.id/dokjdi/document/uu/1713.pdf>

<sup>18</sup> Marx, K., Capital, Penguin Books in association with New Left Review, 1978–81, p.5916

<sup>19</sup> M.A. Lebowitz, Following Marx: Method, Critique and Crisis, Haymarket Books, 1 September 2009, p.132

<sup>20</sup> E. Durkheim, The Division of Labour in Society, Macmillan, 1984

<sup>21</sup> A. Kolers, A Moral Theory of Solidarity, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2016.



challenges and to building political power to change the general condition of the majority.<sup>22</sup> Solidarity in this sense refers to the solidarity of oppressed groups, which focuses on the collective action of members in the same class who share the same economic hardships, striving for collective improvement. Solidarity movements enable analysis and education in the context of the class struggle and take political risks through direct action. Sally Scholz even constructed a taxonomy of solidarity which consists of social solidarity, civil solidarity, and political solidarity.<sup>23</sup> Political solidarity, in this sense, requires a radical form of action and participation in the collective as a response to certain situations of injustice, oppression, social vulnerability, or tyranny.<sup>24</sup>

In a recent study on political solidarity, Simon Dougherty presented a spiral model prototype covering four aspects of multimodal solidarity, including: (1) best practices, (2) new theory, (3) adaptive organizational formation, and (4) networked political coalitions. Dougherty's spiral model can be used to build political relationships between different solidarity groups that develop simultaneously.<sup>25</sup>

Solidarity practices in times of crisis take various forms in different countries, involving individuals, organizations, and a combination of both. Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen describe how China, India, and Africa managed to overcome hunger through public involvement in various forms and actions.<sup>26</sup> Malnutrition and milk imports led to the creation of the Operation Flood (OF) movement in India, designed as a structural reorganization of the national milk market. The OF involved thousands of farmers who built cooperatives which made India an independent country with regard to both milk production and marketing.<sup>27</sup> During the COVID-19 pandemic, solidarity movements were started in various countries throughout the Greater Middle East, South and East Asia, Southern Africa, Europe, and South America.<sup>28</sup>

Haris Malamidis observed the development of social movement communities since the 2008 crisis through Solidarity 4 All (S4A), a platform which connects and supports solidarity organizations and initiatives in Greece.<sup>29</sup> Malamidis tabulated three broad categories of services in the food social movement: market organizations without intermediaries, collective and social kitchen organizations, food package collection and distribution involving the Social Movement Organization (SMO), and neighborhood assemblies.<sup>30</sup>

In a broader context, James Petras stated that solidarity involves sharing the risks of a movement, as both a process of political and educational struggle and to secure the social transformation agenda. Solidarity as a form of collective struggle contains the seeds of a future democratic collectivist society.<sup>31</sup> Petras's statement implies that solidarity can extend to the international level. Gleb J. Albert argued that internationalism should be seen as

<sup>22</sup> J. Petras, "NGOs: In the service of imperialism", *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 14 May 2007, pp. 429–40, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472339980000221>

<sup>23</sup> S.J., Scholz, *Political Solidarity*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21–52

<sup>25</sup> S.A. Dougherty, "The art of political solidarity", Australian Catholic University Research Bank, 2017, pp. 21–52, available at: [https://acuresearchbank.acu.edu.au/download/09a82c6c29337531ad9609aee910aaa300e5ce975af6dd8e8ea11540764f46d6/1830246/Dougherty\\_2017\\_The\\_art\\_of\\_political\\_solidarity.pdf](https://acuresearchbank.acu.edu.au/download/09a82c6c29337531ad9609aee910aaa300e5ce975af6dd8e8ea11540764f46d6/1830246/Dougherty_2017_The_art_of_political_solidarity.pdf)

<sup>26</sup> J. Drèze & A. Sen, *Hunger and Public Action*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1989, pp. 21–52

<sup>27</sup> B.A. Scholten, *India's White Revolution: Operation Flood, Food Aid and Development*, I.B. Tauris, Bloomsbury Publishing, 30 July 2010, pp. 2–4, 11, 18, 232

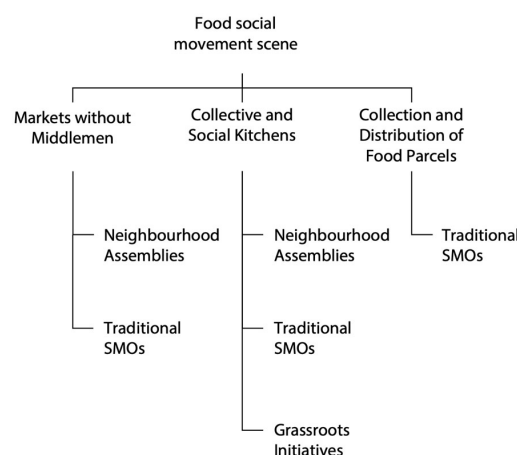
<sup>28</sup> M. Sitrin & Colectiva Sembrar, "Pandemic Solidarity: Mutual Aid During the Covid-19 Crisis", Pluto Press, available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv12sdx5v>

<sup>29</sup> H. Malamidis, "Social movements and solidarity structures in crisis-ridden Greece", Amsterdam University Press, 2021, available at: <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/id/d995019b-b5e9-4632-8158-35938fdcf1fc/9789048551460.pdf>

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 80–3

<sup>31</sup> J. Petras, "NGOs: In the service of imperialism", *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 14 May 2007, p. 438, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472339980000221>

**Figure 3. Repertoires and actors in the social movement scene of Food<sup>32</sup>**



a revolutionary ideological and political concept.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, the class struggle must be international and thus, there is a need for international class solidarity. According to Albert, this is a vital principle of both the ideology of solidarity and within limits, the political practice. Petras and Albert, then, both suggest that the future of global solidarity is in internationalism.

## Field Research and Methodology

This study uses a qualitative descriptive method with a case study approach to analyze findings comprehensively. This research explores several key problems, dissecting power relations and the actions taken to create ideas for future global movements.

The data collection was done using both purposive sampling and snowball sampling. The primary data sources consisted of in-depth interviews with sources and a collection of internal documents from SPJ. Specific criteria were used to identify SPJ members who work in food solidarity, particularly in terms of pioneering the solidarity movement, organizational background, regional characteristics, and accessibility. This study also uses secondary data from official electronic data belonging to the government, national electronic media sources, social media, infographics, and brochures. The primary data was collected from September to December 2020 while the secondary data was obtained from January 2020 to February 2021.

Initial interviews were conducted with twelve sources from whom four key sources were re-selected. The interview guide contains open-ended and semi-structured questions that cover a variety of local contexts and disparities. Interviews were conducted directly by visiting sources in Yogyakarta. The interviews focused on the sources' profile, mode of work, challenges, and collective views on the solidarity movement. Interviews were terminated when there was repetition or when sources were unsuccessful at adding new relevant information to this study. Because this research took place during a pandemic, when most of Indonesia was under government imposed restrictions, this research is limited to those sources within reach.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>G.J. Albert, "International Solidarity With(out) World Revolution: The Transformation of "Internationalism" in Early Soviet Society.", *Monde(s)*, 2016, p.38–50, available at: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-mondes-2016-2-page-33.htm>

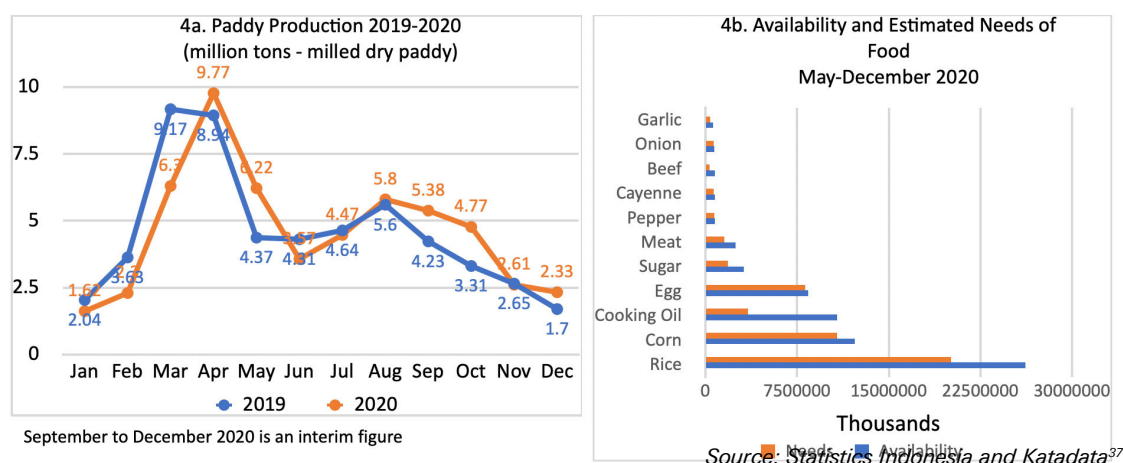
## Restriction in Indonesia

From the beginning, the Indonesian government did not take the threat of the COVID-19 pandemic seriously. Health Minister Terawan Agus Putranto said that the coronavirus is a mild virus but a heavy hoax.<sup>34</sup> Epidemiology and virus expert Syahrizal Syarif stated that coronavirus is contagious but it is just like a common cold or cough and does not cause death.<sup>35</sup>

Jokowi stated that the PSBB was not a lockdown nor quarantine but a limitation of community activities aimed at avoiding the pandemic's impact on small businesses, informal workers, and those who get a daily income.<sup>36</sup>

Food shortages occurred mainly in urban areas, even amidst the panen raya (big harvest)[3] . The highest rice production in 2020 occurred in April, amounting to 5.60 million tons (Figure 4a). However, rice availability from May until December 2020 met the needs of the populace. Interestingly, the disruption of production and distribution occurred regardless of the sufficient supply of warehouses and distribution centers. In contrast, staple goods such as chilies, eggs, and chicken meat had deficits due to a decline in agricultural production capacity.

**Figure 4.** The Situation of Food in Indonesia April-December 2020



Layoffs or wage reductions caused a drastic decrease in purchasing power making it difficult for farmers to distribute their agricultural products. This situation has an impact on lowering prices at the farming level. The Farmer Exchange Rate (NTP) decreased from 102.09 in March 2020 to 99.47 in May of the same year. Meanwhile, the Agricultural Business Exchange Rates (NTUP) also decreased from 102.90 to 100.16 between March and May.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Najwa Shihab, "Menangkal corona - Menkes terawan: Virus corona ringan, hoaksnya berat (part 4)", YouTube, 5 February 2020, available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=694TzfHzfc&ab\\_channel=NajwaShihab](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=694TzfHzfc&ab_channel=NajwaShihab).

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Kompas T.V, "Jokowi: Kita beruntung pilih PSBB bukan lockdown", Youtube, 7 May 2020, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GGvbOQ6klmA&-feature=youtu.be>

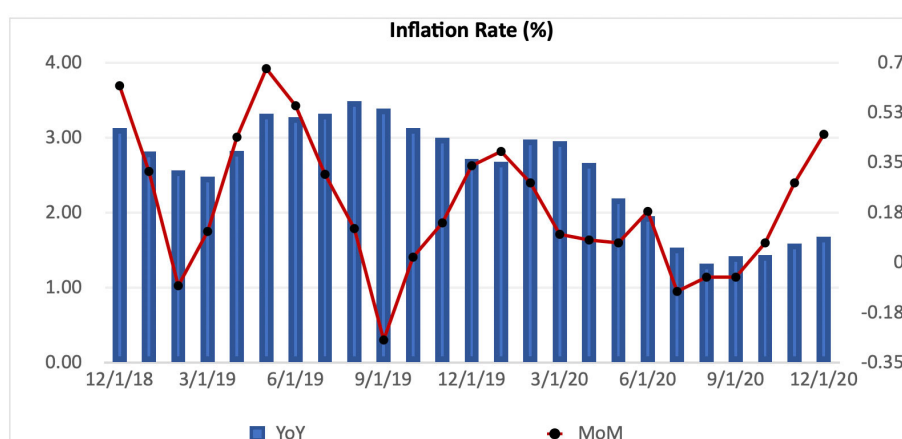
<sup>37</sup> Statistics Indonesia, "Rice Harvest and Production Area in Indonesia 2020", Badan Pusat Statistik, 15 October 2020, available at: <https://www.bps.go.id/pressrelease/2020/10/15/1757/luas-panen-dan-produksi-padi-pada-tahun-2020-mengalami-kenaikan-dibandingkan-tahun-2019-masing-masing-sebesar-1-02-dan-1-02-persen-.html> and D.H. Jayani, "Perkiraan Kebutuhan dan Ketersediaan Pangan hingga Akhir 2020", Katadata, 22 June 2020, available at: <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2020/06/22/perkiraan-kebutuhan-dan-ketersediaan-pangan-hingga-akhir-2020>

<sup>38</sup> Statistics Indonesia, "Inflation, Farmer Exchange Rates, Producer Prices of Paddy and Rice, Wholesale Price Index, Tourism and Transportation", Badan Pusat Statistik, 1 September 2020, available at: [https://www.bps.go.id/website/materi\\_eng/](https://www.bps.go.id/website/materi_eng/)



The pandemic affected supply and demand, reflecting supply disruptions caused by restrictions. Inflation in 2020 increased by 1.68 percent, while the lowest monthly inflation was recorded in July at minus 0.1 percent.<sup>39</sup> In the last two years, the lowest inflation peak occurred during the pandemic with only a 1.32 percent rise in Q2 of 2020. In the second quarter of 2020, gross domestic product (GDP) fell to minus 5.32 percent. Community household consumption also fell drastically to minus 5.52 percent.<sup>40</sup>

**Figure 5. Inflation Rate in Indonesia**



Source Statistics Indonesia (2021a)

The primary sources of food and agricultural products are traditional markets or supermarkets, including online SMEs. In urban areas, the scarcity of foodstuff and primary necessity packages was very pronounced and stocks often ran out. Supermarkets limited the number of items that could be purchased, such as meat, sugar, flour, rice, and milk. Supermarkets also limited the maximum number of visitors at a time. The Ministry of Agriculture claimed that food logistics were secure. However, many people were constantly looking for food and forced to ignore the restrictions because they had to eat. Nevertheless, there was a shortage of access to these goods, not because of the reduced supply from farmers across the region but because the government decided not to secure the food supply chain for the population.

The Indonesian government issued policy strategies to deal with the impact of a pandemic. The main points of these strategies include accelerating economic recovery, providing health services, food security, and ensuring affected sectors receive compensation through an economic stimulus package. The government released economic stimulus packages in the form of fiscal and monetary stimuli to maintain people's purchasing power and maintain economic and financial stability. Several forms of social assistance were distributed through the social safety net program, including assistance from the Family Hope Program (PKH), primary necessity packages, Pre-Employment Cards, and electricity rate discounts. The stimulus package also targeted individuals, SMEs, Large Businesses, and Industry.<sup>41</sup>

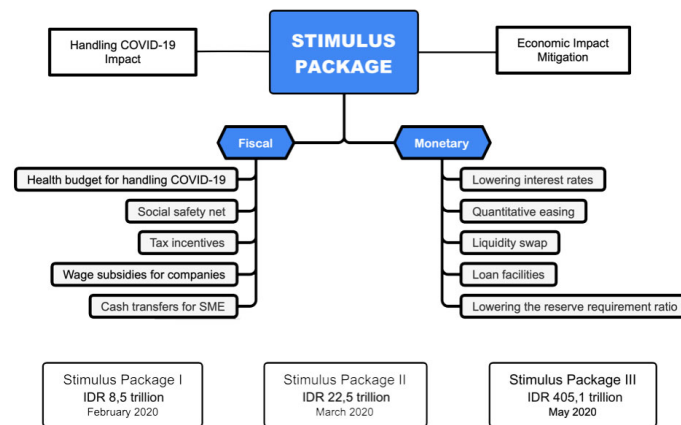
materiBrsEng-20200901113232.pdf.

<sup>39</sup> <https://www.bps.go.id/publication/2021/01/22/5e00fb7747dd5a7e0818fa40/laporan-bulanan-data-sosial-ekonomi-januari-2021.html>

<sup>40</sup> Statistics Indonesia, "Indonesian Economic Growth Quarter III-2020", Badan Pusat Statistik, 5 November 2020, p.10, available at: <https://www.bps.go.id/pressrelease/2020/11/05/1738/ekonomi-indonesia-triwulan-iii-2020-tumbuh-5-05-persen--q-to-q-.html>.

<sup>41</sup> Ministry of Finance, "Kerangka ekonomi makro dan pokok-pokok kebijakan fiskal tahun 2021: Percepatan pemulihan ekonomi dan penguatan reformasi", available at: <https://fiskal.kemenkeu.go.id/informasi-publik/apbn?tahun=2021>

**Figure 6. Several Forms of Stimulus for Handling COVID-19 Impact**

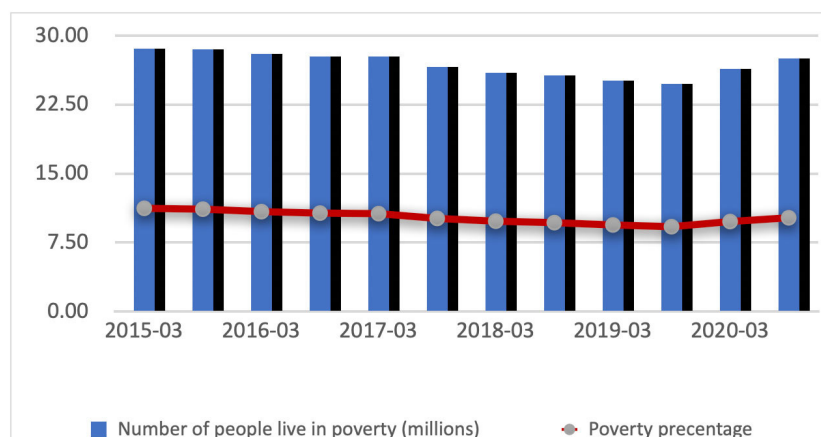


Source: Ministry of Finance (2021, p. 14)

Unfortunately, corruption is still a big problem in Indonesia's bureaucracy. At the time of this research, the Minister of Social Affairs and member of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), Juliari Peter Batubara, is being investigated for corruption in relation to the Ministry of Social Affairs' COVID-19 social assistance funds project. The fund should be used to provide basic necessities worth IDR 300,000 per package, with a total value of around IDR 5.9 trillion. The total amount of corruption was around IDR 20.8 billion, wherein Batubara received IDR 17 billion from the project.<sup>42</sup>

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the poverty rate has also increased to 10.19 percent or 27.54 million people

**Figure 7. Number and %age of People Live in Poverty, 2015–September 2020**



Source: Statistics Indonesia<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Kompas TV, Mensos Juliari Batubara Tersangka Korupsi, KPK Temukan 7 Koper Isi Uang, YouTube, 6 December 2020, available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hqr1lcAJGtQ&ab\\_channel=KompascomReporteronLocation](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hqr1lcAJGtQ&ab_channel=KompascomReporteronLocation).

<sup>43</sup> V.F. Thomas, "Sri Mulyani Akui Bansos Pemerintah Tumpang Tindih Saat Corona", *tirto.id*, 9 May 2020, available at: <https://tirto.id/sri-mulyani-akui-bansos-pemerintah-tumpang-tindih-saat-corona-foic>

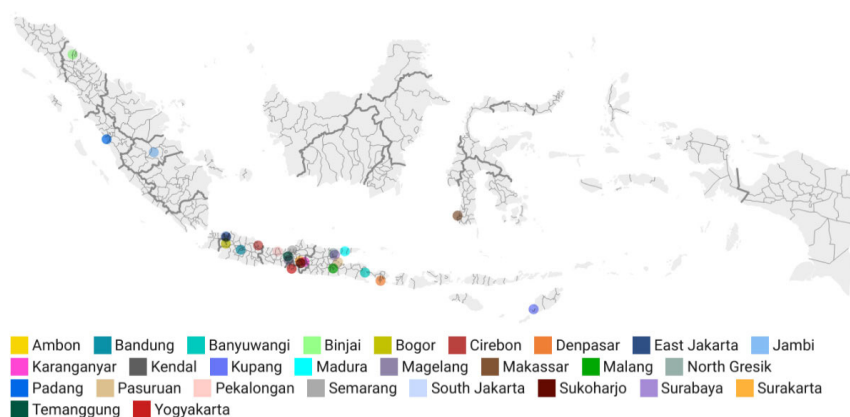
<sup>44</sup> Statistics Indonesia, "Profil kemiskinan di Indonesia", Badan Pusat Statistik, September 2020, available at: <https://www.bps.go.id/pressrelease/2021/02/15/1851/persentase-penduduk-miskin-september-2020-naik-menjadi-10-19-persen.html>.

following a downward trend in previous years. The reason is that economic activity cannot continue as usual because income has decreased at almost all levels of society, and especially at the lower levels. The government emphasized that social assistance has been distributed and that people do not have to fear the threat of hunger. However, concerns arose over the economic stimulus package due to the inaccuracy of beneficiaries' data. The data used by the government for recipients of social assistance was largely unverified and not updated, for instance, there were still dead people included in the list. Moreover, the social assistance provided by the government was deemed insufficient to meet the needs of all the poor and those affected by the COVID-19 pandemic.<sup>43</sup> Apart from layoffs and chaos in the distribution of assistance, the poverty rate increase was due to handling the pandemic since the implementation of the restriction.

### The Emergence of the Solidarity Movement

It is essential to look at the emergence of the food solidarity movement and logistics as a whole, which appeared as small supply chains and extended to various regions in Indonesia [Appendix 1]. The solidarity movement initiators in both civil solidarity and social solidarity are diverse including activists, progressive organizations, communities, and NGOs. The SPJ is one of the organically developed solidarity movements that has become a political solidarity movement.

**Figure 8. Mapping Indonesian Solidarity Movements**



Visual <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/BPyUX/3/>

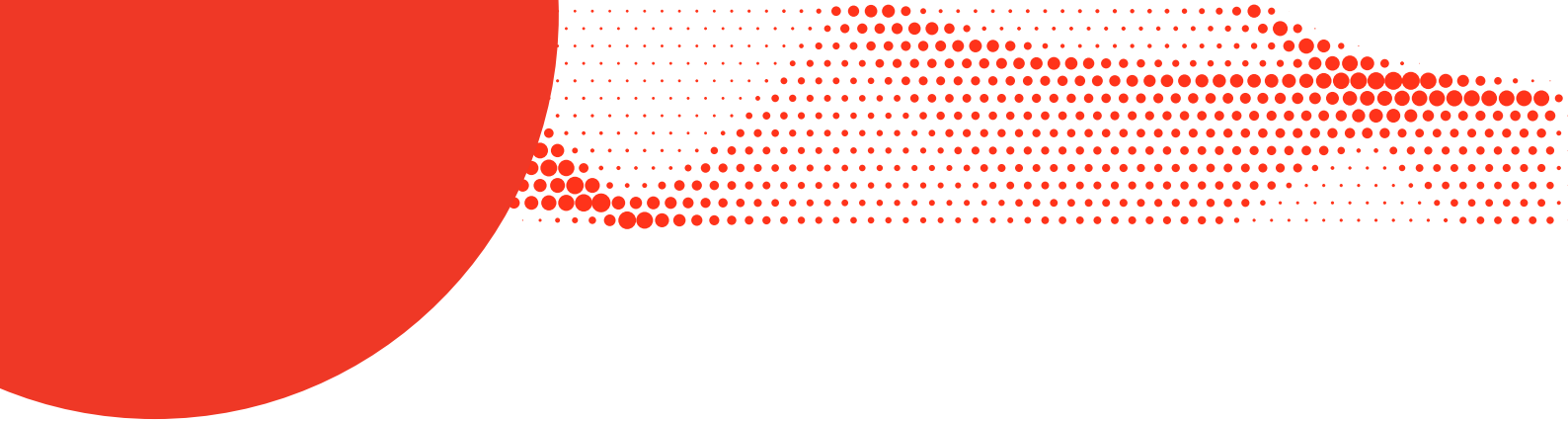
The Special Region of Yogyakarta (DI Yogyakarta) is a province that relies on Original Local Government Revenue from the tourism sector. Yogyakarta has produced the highest Regency Minimum Wage (UMK), while the Provincial Minimum Wage (UMP) in 2020 amounted to IDR 1,704,000, an increase of 1.085 percent from 2019.<sup>45</sup> In 2020, the UMP of DI Yogyakarta was the lowest UMP when compared with other provinces.<sup>46</sup>

Instead of PSBB, the DI Yogyakarta government determined the emergency response status in regard to the

<sup>45</sup> Statistics Indonesia - Yogyakarta, "Upah minimum Kabupaten/ Upah minimum provinsi di DI yogyakarta (rupiah)", Badan Pusat Statistik, 2020-22, available at <https://yogyakarta.bps.go.id/indicator/6/272/1/upah-minimum-kabupaten-upah-minimum-provinsi-di-di-yogyakarta.html>

<sup>46</sup> Statistics Indonesia, "Upah Minimum Regional/Propinsi (Rupiah)", Badan Pusat Statistik, 2018-20, available at <https://www.bps.go.id/indicator/19/220/1/upah-minimum-regional-propinsi.html>

<sup>47</sup> Governor of Special Region of Yogyakarta, "Keputusan gubernur DIY No. 65-KEP-2020 tentang penetapan status tanggap darurat bencana COVID-19 di DIY", 20 March 2020, available at: <https://corona.jogjaprov.go.id/files/33/Covid19/8/KepGub-DIY-No-65-KEP-2020-ttg-Penetapan-Status-Tanggap-Darurat-Bencana-COVID-19-di-DIY.pdf>



COVID-19 disaster.<sup>47</sup> Since March 2020, there has been a decline in tourism. Tourism activities were mainly closed during the pandemic. Provisions for food, drink, and accommodation, which is one of the indicators of achievement in the tourism sector, decreased by 1.12 percent in the first quarter of 2020, 39.21 percent in the second quarter, and 18.82 percent in the third quarter. The highest contraction occurred in the accommodation, food and drink, transportation, and construction sectors. Dozens of hotels were closed, and some were even sold because of low occupancy rates. WFH and travel bans had slowed down the transportation and accommodation sector. The number of tourists visiting DI Yogyakarta also decreased.<sup>48</sup>

The determination of the disaster emergency response status also had an impact on unemployment rate in Yogyakarta. Unemployment has increased by 32.37 thousand people (31.78 percent) from February to August 2020, bringing the total number of unemployed people to 101.85 thousand. Meanwhile, a total of 448.35 thousand people of working age experienced a reduction of working hours in August 2020.<sup>49</sup>

### **Solidaritas Pangan Jogja (SPJ)**

SPJ is a food solidarity movement based in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. SPJ was established through a joint initiative involving various individuals and community groups after managing its first four kitchens on 24 March 2020. SPJ emerged to combat the dire situation in Yogyakarta, where informal workers and other vulnerable economic groups faced a decrease in income due to restrictions on public space activities in response to COVID-19. SPJ inspired some people to distribute ready-to-eat food to informal workers. Some individuals were also willing to raise donations and distribute aid money.

The individuals who joined the SPJ early were not strangers to one another. They had already met in movements such as the Kulon Progo peasants' solidarity action, the Mobile People's Alliance (ARB), discussion forums, and other activities, both on a local and national scale. SPJ is not only a meeting place for people with a desire for solidarity and who are committed to managing donations for a kitchen network. It also organizes volunteers to cook, wrap, and distribute food, and provide reports to the public to ensure transparency and accountability.

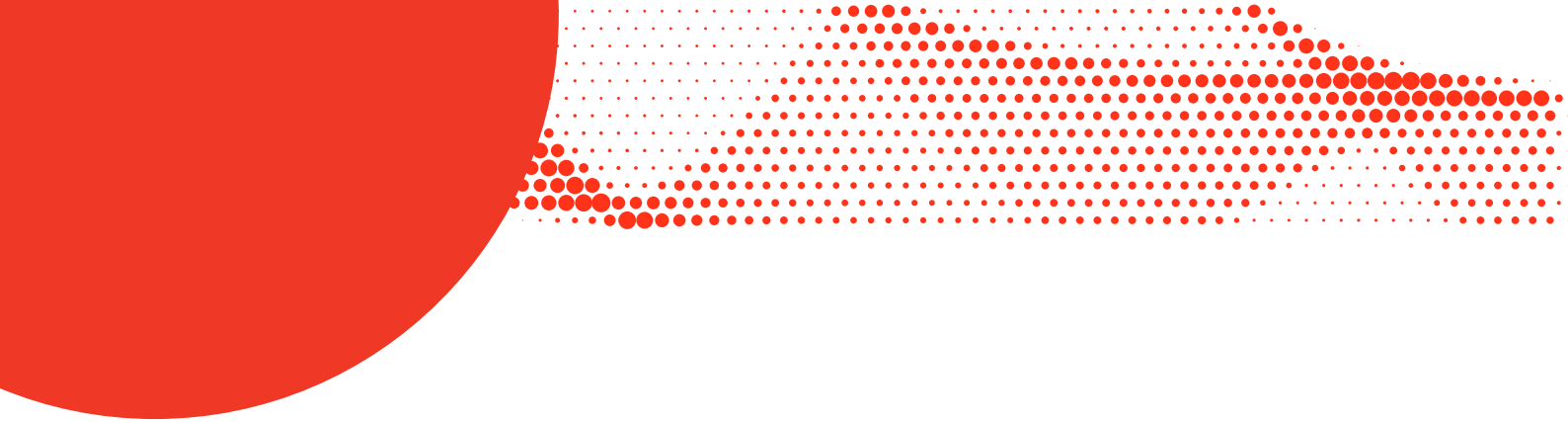
### **The Founding of SPJ**

The restrictions have made it difficult for most people to access food. This inspired grassroots level organizing, as the group most affected by the pandemic sought to find a way out of the crisis by forming a social movement through bonds of solidarity. When the restrictions came into effect, followed by the establishment of a disaster response protocol, economic activity in Yogyakarta declined drastically, as it did other cities.

Syafiatudina, Dina for short, is an activist, writer, curator, and member of the Kunci Study Forum and Collective who lives in Yogyakarta. Dina observed that informal workers—including daily laborers, such as pedicab drivers or market porters—were experiencing a drastic decline in income. When Dina saw a neighbor facing an order cancellation from catering customers after the ingredients had been purchased and prepared for cooking, causing both capital and foodstuff to be wasted, the idea to create a soup kitchen emerged. Dina and her mother Ita then contacted their respective colleagues to raise donations so they could open a community kitchen.

<sup>48</sup> Regional Tourism Office of DI Yogyakarta, "Laporan kinerja instansi pemerintah (LKjIP) dinas pariwisata DIY tahun 2020", February 2021, pp. 31-33, available at: <https://visitingjogja.jogjapro.go.id/webdinas/en/download/laporan-kinerja-instansi-pemerintah-lkjip-dinas-pariwisata-diy-tahun-2020/>

<sup>49</sup> Statistics Indonesia - Yogyakarta, (2020b, November 5). Keadaan Ketenagakerjaan D.I. Yogyakarta Agustus 2020, 5 November 2020, available at: <https://yogyakarta.bps.go.id/pressrelease/2020/11/05/1068/keadaan-ketenagakerjaan-d-i--yogyakarta-agustus-2020.html>



Dina started to organize the villagers to establish a community kitchen. During the first three days of raising funds, Dina collected donations of around IDR 4 million. Several activists heard about Dina's activities. They then joined to help distribute packed rice to informal workers along at the roadside. After meeting and discussing the situation of food and logistics insecurity, they agreed to build a kitchen network which was later called SPJ.<sup>50</sup> Dina said:

I discussed with activists who also wanted to build the kitchen network. From the coordination through WhatsApp, I suggested that we manage this donation together. We also agreed to build a public kitchen network. Finally, SPJ stood up. The SPJ collective entrusted me to be the cross-kitchen coordinator and financial administrator. If I am not mistaken, on 22 March 2020, the collected donations were around IDR 7 million (Dina, personal communication, 25 September 2020).

Yatno, an independent activist and SPJ volunteer who lives in Yogyakarta, also produced masks and hand sanitizers at the beginning of the pandemic, two of the public's primary needs during this pandemic. Yatno said:

In Jogja, in the early days of the pandemic, we took the initiative to produce masks and hand sanitizer, then distributed them to the public. We get cloth donations and those who sew masks are also our friends (Yatno, personal communication, 3 December 2020).

Feri T.R., or Feri for short, is an SPJ volunteer who lives in Yogyakarta. He is also an activist and member of ARB research team Yogyakarta. Feri sees contradictions occurring in the grassroots community. Informal workers were severely affected but the local government has not taken any action. Feri said:

At the beginning of the PSBB, the local government focused on the arrival flow of travelers and health infrastructure. Although the government provided social assistance, many informal workers did not receive the assistance because the recipient list was based on existing government data and many informal workers were not registered in the assistance scheme.

Generally, informal workers are migrants from nearby areas in Yogyakarta. There are pedicab drivers, cart drivers, laborers carrying market goods, or scavengers looking for income. Meanwhile, other vulnerable groups include households on the poverty line, scavengers, and transgender groups (Feri, personal communication, 24 September 2020).

Another activist and SPJ volunteer from Kebunku Collective Gardening, Dodok Putra Bangsa or Dodok, described the situation in this manner:

At the beginning of the pandemic, the public themselves started the initiative. People started cooking and hanging food on the fence so hungry people could take the food, and it happened every day. However, it was not organized because it took the form of initiative. The most noticeable thing is that purchasing power has fallen. The situation is a crisis, America collapses, the European Union too. There is an SPJ kitchen nearby and I ended up there many times (Dodok, personal communication, 26 September 2020).

<sup>50</sup> Solidaritas Pangan Jogja, [@solidaritas.yogyakarta], Profile, 26 March 2020, Instagram, available at: <https://www.instagram.com/solidaritas.yogyakarta/>





## Structure and Workflow of SPJ

The donations coming in to SPJ were not only cash transfers but also a supply of foodstuff such as rice, tofu, tempeh, fruit, and vegetables. Most of the vegetables came from the Kulon Progo Coast Farmers Land Association (PPLP-KP).<sup>51</sup> The vegetable donations also came from Kebunku Collective Gardening.<sup>52</sup> There were also donation from residents outside Yogyakarta, such as Suko hamlet in Sewukan village, Magelang district.<sup>53</sup> According to Yatno:

The supply of vegetables mostly came from Kulon Progo farmers, whom we have advocated for together before because of the case of eviction for the construction of NYIA, the New Yogyakarta International Airport. We collected vegetables every Thursday. There were sixteen times we collected vegetables and each collection was a full pick-up truck. The trucks were from our network and had cheap rental prices, a discount as a form of solidarity. Before we collected the vegetables, the farmer groups had already prepared their crops and then we came and transported the vegetables. Sometimes we discussed with the farmers there before we returned to Yogyakarta (Yatno, personal communication, 3 December 2020).

Problems arise when there are restrictions in the supply and distribution of food. Dodok said:

Currently, what is needed is not money but food. Moreover, this problem can be solved by planting, I also started planting using empty land. When harvest came, we donated the vegetables to SPJ. It is a part of my activities in SPJ (Dodok, personal communication, 26 September 2020).

SPJ established a structure to manage donations and coordination between kitchens. The structure consists of a cross-kitchen coordinator, a financial administrator, and a person in charge of independently managing each kitchen. After several weeks of running the kitchens, the ARB decided to support SPJ by conducting open recruitment of volunteers and then directing the volunteers to the nearest kitchen in their locale. Each kitchen has between 10–15 volunteers. SPJ manages two types of kitchens, namely public kitchens and community kitchens. Dina said:

Public kitchens are kitchens that produce and distribute packaged rice or primary necessity packages to informal workers on the streets and in other public spaces. Community kitchens are kitchens managed by residents to meet the needs of residents with vulnerable economic conditions in their area. The kitchens at SPJ also collaborate with several other kitchen initiatives in Jogja (Dina, personal communication, 25 September 2020).

There are eleven kitchens in the SPJ network, which consist of five public kitchens and six community kitchens. The kitchens at SPJ are handled by a person in charge (PIC) of the kitchen. Each PIC coordinates a work team

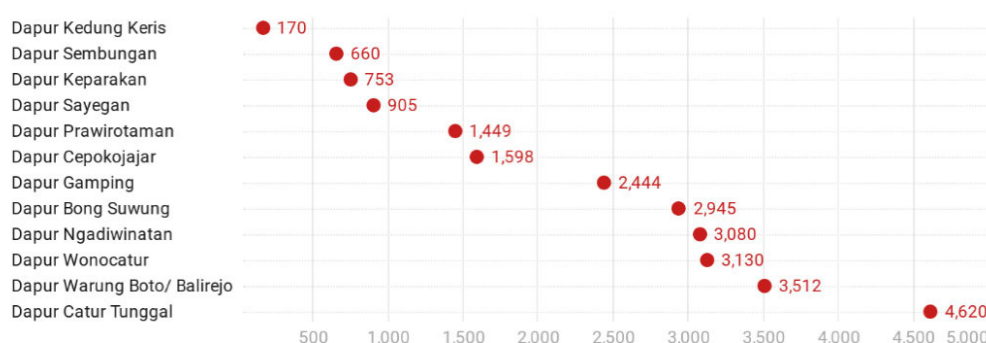
<sup>51</sup> Solidaritas Pangan Jogja [@solidaritas.yogyakarta], "Fresh vegetables from PPLP- KP" [Post], Instagram, available at <https://www.instagram.com/p/CANzabqg5DD/?igshid=1w82gzbiogtkp>

<sup>52</sup> Kebunku collective gardening Jogja [@kebunku\_jogja], "Panen di Kebunku #5" [post], 4 July 2020, available at <https://www.instagram.com/p/CCNGkawI5Bz/>

<sup>53</sup> Solidaritas Pangan Jogja [@solidaritas.yogyakarta], "Donasi dari warga Dusun Suko Desa Sewukan, Magelang" [post], 1 May 2020, available at [https://www.instagram.com/p/B\\_pDKhaD2t-](https://www.instagram.com/p/B_pDKhaD2t-)

in the kitchen that consists of at least a cooking team and a distribution team. The cooking team is in charge of processing food. The distribution team distributes the food to residents in the community or to informal workers on the streets. The food package distribution is based on the regional context and the decisions of each kitchen. Kitchens also subsidize each other's logistics. As of 28 April 2020, SPJ has distributed 25,266 packets of food.

**Figure 9.** The Kitchen Food Packaged Distribution



From March 26, to April 28, 2020

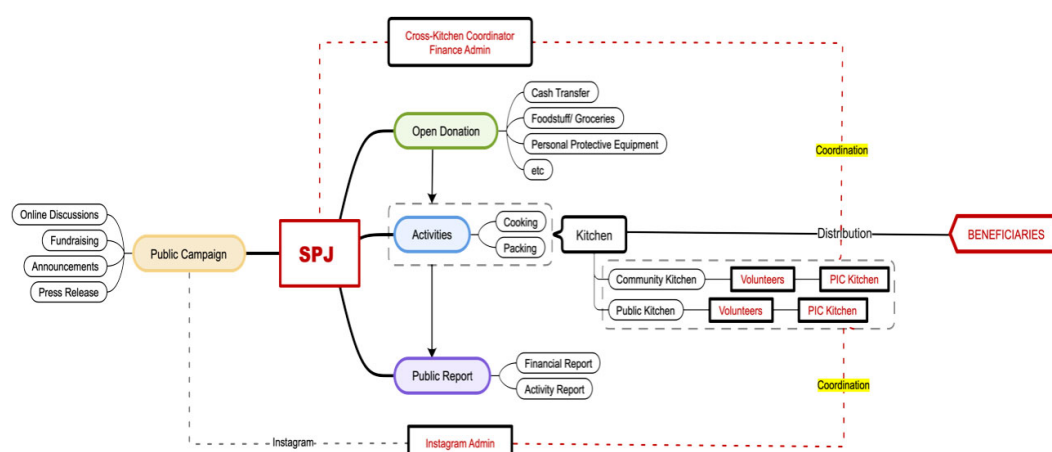
Chart: Pelupessy, PS • Source: SPJ Internal Database • Created with Datawrapper

Source: SPJ Internal Document [4]

The PIC reports on the use of the funds and the logistics of food distribution in coordination groups so each kitchen knows their condition and forwards this report to the team's volunteers. The cross-kitchen coordinator manages donation and logistics distribution. The social media admin reports the activities on production and distribution through social media. Yatno said:

Kitchens get funding from the donations. We converted to IDR 7,500 per pack to distribute the fund according to the kitchen report of how many packs will distribute. For example, a kitchen wants to distribute 100 packs, and then the kitchen will get IDR 750,000. These kitchens also subsidize each other's logistics. For example, if one kitchen does not have rice but there is a rice donation in the other kitchen, the kitchen with rice stock gives it to the kitchen that is short of rice (Yatno, personal communication, 3 December 2020)

**Figure 10.** SPJ System and Workflow

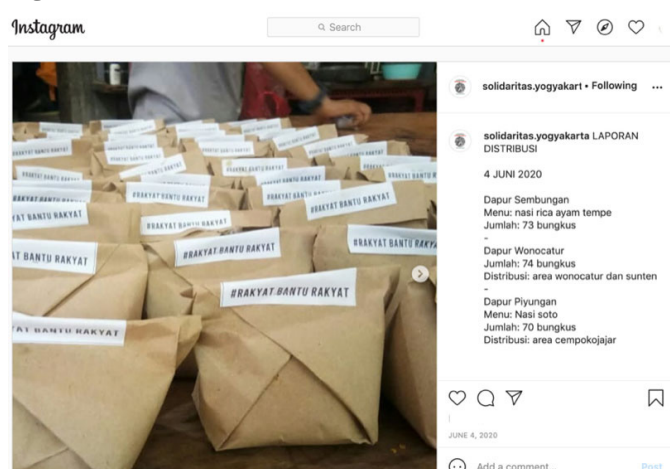


Because the SPJ depends on the trust of the public to manage incoming donations, it reports its activities and finances through the SPJ Instagram account. This report is a form of accountability for the work of SPJ to donors and the public. Moreover, SPJ uses Instagram for public activity such as online discussions and fundraising. As Dodok said:

I help to collect funds through Instagram Live. Sometimes we invite public figures to join fundraising efforts. They present music, perform, host discussions, anything. They were sympathetic and they want to help (Dodok, personal communication, 26 September 2020).

Several kitchens distributed packaged rice and inserting campaign messages in each package. One such message was “Rakyat Bantu Rakyat” meaning “people help people”, used as a solidarity tagline. Since SPJ kitchens had become autonomous cells, each kitchen could decide on their own campaign activities as long as these did not oppose the principles of solidarity. It was a form of political education aimed at informing the public about the strength of solidarity among people during the pandemic.

**Figure 11. SPJ Distribution Report**



Source: SPJ Instagram Post June 4, 2020<sup>54</sup>

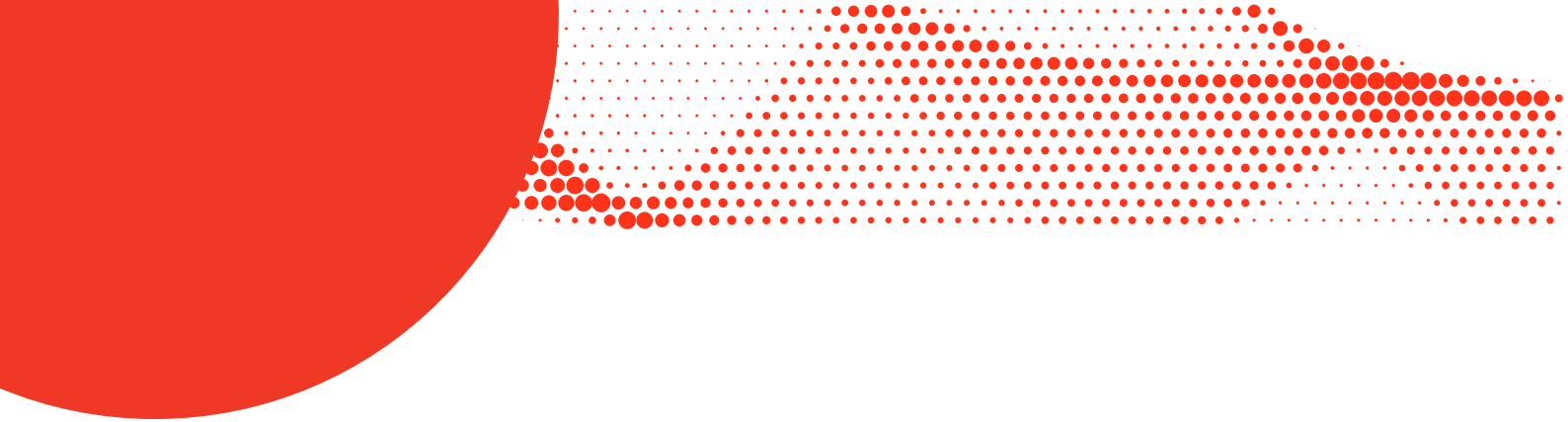
## Challenges

To extend the collective’s work, SPJ created security guidelines to prevent or overcome the threat of violence, to be carried out by all volunteers. The SPJ security guidelines were a collective act of mutual protection and mutual trust. SPJ realized that the possibility of threats from inside or outside the SPJ may occur at any time. The guidelines also serve to build a political attitude that is fair and equal for anyone, including the beneficiaries.

Police officers visited the SPJ kitchens and recorded the volunteers to observe the situation. Feri said:

During the pandemic, the ban on gathering was the reason authorities stopped kitchen activities. We are aware of the situation, so we follow health protocols, keep our distance, wash our hands,

<sup>54</sup> Solidaritas Pangan Jogja, [@solidaritas.yogyakarta], “Distribution report” [Post], Instagram, 4 June 2020, available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/CBBPJtCh0CH/?igshid=1kjibihz8xyu0>



use masks. Kitchen volunteers also have rotating assignments according to their agreements and ability. However, the authorities came to interfere with our activities several times because of the prohibition of gathering. We were asked about the donors. We told police officers to open SPJ's social media account because the donor's information was there. Even though in the kitchen, not all volunteers 'get together' because they have their duties (Feri, personal communication, 1 December 2020).

On 18 April, SPJ held an evaluation meeting at the Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (WALHI) Yogyakarta office.<sup>55</sup> At that time, nine participants were present. During the meeting, the head of the local neighborhood and several villagers came to the WALHI office and insisted on ending the meeting. After negotiating, the participants continued the meeting. Soon, dozens of people came to the WALHI office, intimidating and provoking the people there. The participants decided to leave the WALHI office to prevent violence. [5] Feri stated:

The local head, some villagers, and army came and asked to stop the meeting. However, they [continued] after the participants negotiat[ed]. Soon, dozens of people came. We coordinated about what step we [could] take. The participants [were] outnumbered, [so they] decided to leave the WALHI office. (personal communication, 3 December 2020)

When the disaster response situation in Yogyakarta began to ease, economic activities restarted. The community returned to their activities even though the situation was still limited. Though the pandemic was ongoing, several activities such as markets and public transportation resumed operations. SPJ decided to stop kitchen activities after experiencing a decrease in donations and volunteers. Whether networked directly with SPJ or not, several other food solidarity movements are still running in other parts of Yogyakarta. As Dina explained:

We temporarily stopped kitchen activities because we saw that economic activity had started to improve. We also think about the condition of the donors, which will be even more complicated. The impact of the prolonged pandemic also has an impact on donors. Every day the donations are decreasing, so it is difficult for us to manage the kitchen (Dina, personal communication, 23 September 2020).

The decision to stop SPJ activities is also based on community considerations as they are already starting to recover from the trauma of the COVID-19 pandemic. Feri said:

Community activities have started to run even though they are still limited, and indeed everyone has not yet found a job. Nevertheless, like it or not, they have to leave because they have to find food because they are workers. We read this phenomenon as a form of decreasing public trauma to the pandemic. Apart from that, some volunteers have also started to wrestle with their respective activities so that resources are decreasing (Feri, personal communication, 3 December 2020).

As of 20 July 2020, SPJ officially closed all kitchens except for the Sembungan kitchen which is still running today. SPJ continues its activities, starting to design a sustainable economic model, especially for each kitchen.

<sup>55</sup> Walhi Yogyakarta Profile - Updated, 15 October 2021, available at [walhi-jogja.or.id/index.php/2021/10/15/profil-walhi-yogyakarta](http://walhi-jogja.or.id/index.php/2021/10/15/profil-walhi-yogyakarta).

<sup>56</sup> Putra, A. P., "Kementerian PANRB Umumkan Top 21 Inovasi Pelayanan Publik Penanganan COVID-19", Ministry of Administrative and



## Official Stance

On 26 August 2020, through its official website, the Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform (PANRB) announced the top 21 public service innovations for covid-19 handling. The announcement included SPJ's name as an award recipient for the category of civil society.<sup>56</sup> On 3 December, SPJ received an invitation from the Regional Secretary of the Yogyakarta City Government to attend the work visit of the Ministry of PANRB, related to the awarding.

On 4 December 2020, SPJ held a press conference titled: "Appreciation from the People, for the People". There, SPJ expressed its statement to refuse to attend the working visit of the PANRB Ministry and refuse the proposed awards.<sup>57</sup>

In the statement, SPJ argued that their network was not a public service but a people's movement that arose because the government could not provide guarantees in any form during a pandemic. SPJ gave out its own awards to all SPJ kitchens, various local groups involved in the SPJ, and solidarity movements in various regions. SPJ demanded that the state ensure a quick and fair allocation of funds for handling COVID-19, so that aid reaches the people who need it most.

## How the Indonesian Government Deals with the Impact of COVID-19

In low and middle-income countries like Indonesia, income tends to influence patterns of food consumption. When restrictions occur, income decreased or was lost, and the ability to obtain and consume food also decreased. People find it challenging to provide food for themselves and their families because they have lost jobs and income sources. Big cities are the nodes of the spread of COVID-19. The restriction is a subjective decision because it does not consider the primary needs of the affected community.

The pandemic already halted the movement of capital. Countries under capitalist control will always be motivated to protect the interests of their capitalist class, especially in times of crisis. The state will take whatever steps possible to protect those interests. A powerful way to detect the state's partisanship during the COVID-19 pandemic is through the regulations it issues [Appendix 2].

When restrictions occur, food needs increase as people become increasingly dependent on dwindling food supplies caused by logistical problems. Restrictions to contain the spread of the virus simultaneously cause food shortages among the people. Social assistance is only a temporary relief and is not a solution to a pandemic. The government already guaranteed food sufficiency. However, owners of capital did not want to reduce prices or distribute food free of charge. They would not spend significant capital without making big profits. It meant that food shortages were not due to deficiency or empty food stocks. Then, where was the food?

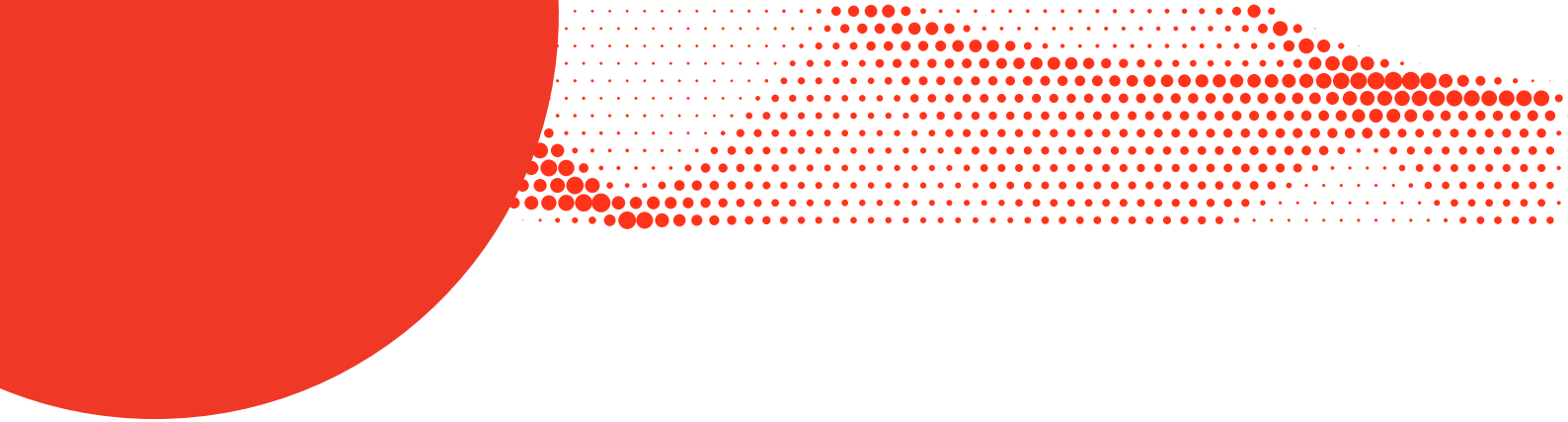
Many farmers ended up throwing away their crops because the price of produce was meager due to lack of distribution. The people who live in poverty and register as social assistance recipients struggled to eat because

Bureaucratic Reform, 26 August 2020, available at: <https://menpan.go.id/site/berita-terkini/kementerian-panrb-umumkan-top-21-inovasi-pelayanan-publik-penanganan-covid-19>

<sup>57</sup> Solidaritas Pangan Jogja [@solidaritas.yogyakarta], "Pernyataan Sikap SPJ: Kita Semua Berhak untuk Hidup dengan Layak dan Bermartabat!" [Post], Instagram, 4 December 2020, available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/CIXYNLUgdjH/?igshid=19wpsqqwslkg4>

<sup>58</sup> Coordinating Ministry of Economic Affairs, "Infographics - Job Creation Bill Infografis - RUU Cipta Kerja", 7 May 2020, available at: <https://ekon.go.id/info-sektoral/15/7/infografis-seputar-ruu-cipta-kerja>





they received limited temporary social assistance. Amid the people's difficulties, the government issued a campaign to eat nutritious food to increase immunity from virus attacks. But who could enjoy nutritious food amid a pandemic? Nutritious food has become a luxury for people who live in poverty and vulnerability.

There should have been no food supply crisis amid sufficient food availability. However, what happened during the pandemic was a centralization of food, causing the stagnation of the food supply. Big food companies focused on profit-dominated sectors such as the nursery industry, fertilizer industry, plantation industry, food processing, and large food outlets. They tried to hold back their production capital so as not to acquire losses and at the same time, withhold food production from being distributed free of charge. As a result, foodstuff and primary necessities in markets and grocery stores were very limited or even scarce.

Meanwhile, there were many restrictions implemented during the pandemic, including functional reduction of food and logistics transportation, travel bans, or business closures. These disrupted supply chains and hindered capital movement further. However, disruption due to restrictions will not lead to layoffs, poverty, and hunger in the long term.

The government presented a way to control the situation via the provision of assistance programs. However, the program was just a short-term way to overcome indicators of poverty and hunger. The government sought to keep the economy running but in the process, put at risk the health and safety of individuals who stood a greater chance of contracting COVID-19. In an Indonesian context, restrictions were a way to contain the spread of COVID-19. However, restrictions have forced many people to choose to leave their homes to find work or food. The government and the financial institutions encourage investment in agriculture, food production, and trade in food commodities. To increase food production, the government issued soft loans to farmers and fishermen. The government also provided capital assistance to the SME sector to revive its business. However, the loan and capital assistance is a form of financial centralization from the state or private financial institution under the guise of assistance from the state. On the contrary, the government has increasingly opened up investment sources through the Omnibus Law on Job Creation<sup>58</sup> and the Food Estate<sup>59</sup> project on the pretext of strengthening food security.

The government continues to convince people that they are in a position to serve their interests. Indeed, the President's statement regarding the advantages to civil society of choosing PSBB rather than quarantine or lockdown has been criticized as mere lip service intended to reduce the political turmoil created by protests. The claims made by the President were merely intended to create an illusion that would help maintain the stability of the country. However, restrictions without guaranteeing sufficient food provision is an objective condition that triggers a public response against the Indonesian government, regardless of any whitewashing or denial by government officials. Since the state clearly failed to carry out its mandate of fulfilling food needs despite the restrictions they imposed during the pandemic, the public provided solutions and people organized themselves into a solidarity movement.

<sup>58</sup> Sutrisno, E., "Food estate project: A solution for food security and connectivity", Indonesia.Go.Id, 16 June 2020, available at: <https://indonesia.go.id/narasi/indonesia-dalam-angka/ekonomi/food-estate-untuk-hasil-pertanian-melimpah-dan-konektivitas>



## Solidarity as a Pathway to a Political Movement

In times of restriction, people live amid turmoil and uncertainty. During the pandemic, people relied on the government to provide food and other supplies from logistics warehouses. However, there was no follow-up other than relying on temporary social assistance. Thus, the solidarity movement cannot be separated from state ineptitude amid the pandemic restrictions. The solidarity movement is a public response to the government's inadequate response to COVID-19, aimed at alleviating the impact of the pandemic on the community. In this case, the solidarity movement arose in response to among other things, massive layoffs, lack of access to food, and lack of access to health and education resources. Solidarity became the most visible phenomenon during the pandemic. Solidarity has presented a turning point for global practices during this global crisis.

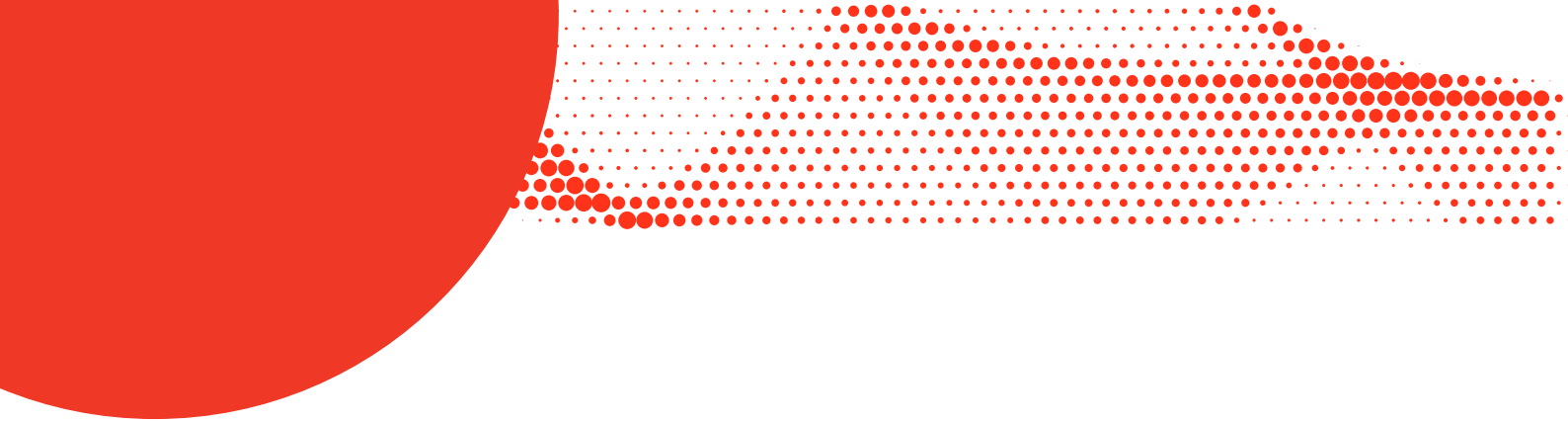
SPJ ensured that marginalized and vulnerable groups were the beneficiaries of efforts to meet food and logistical needs during the pandemic restrictions. People made donations to SPJ as a humanitarian act and SPJ passed on these resources to those who needed them most. SPJ also strengthened networks among workers. For example, the PPLP-KP farmer network donated their harvest to SPJ kitchens. In this way, SPJ succeeded in strengthening solidarity among workers through supply chains and distribution networks.

SPJ also became a political literacy space that continues to maintain the principles of equality and humanity. These principles are also a form of political education to create a just and equal society, with an emphasis on gender relations and the prevention of sexual violence. For SPJ, caring for the welfare and safety of everyone involved in the network is absolutely essential. As a collective, SPJ strives to build healthy and equal relationships within and outside the network by compiling security guidelines and collectively preventing violence.

The government's failure to handle the pandemic ultimately led to the formation of grassroots solidarity movements. When solidarity appeared to the public as a practice during food shortages, the government sought to get involved but made things worse. Officials issued sympathetic statements and even tried to reward the solidarity movement for services that have helped the country maintain stability amid the political and economic turmoil caused by the pandemic. However, SPJ firmly rejected this award and the empty platitudes of the government. SPJ does not have solidarity with the state. Instead, it stands in solidarity with the people, who survived the crisis not because of state intervention but despite the failures of the state. The attitude taken by the SPJ in this regard is a political statement that also serves as political education for the people.

SPJ has provided evidence that the solidarity movement remains a robust short-term solution in times of crisis. The experience of the SPJ shows that local actions can echo those of broader solidarity movements. In the Indonesian context, SPJ inspired other cities to build local networks with other solidarity movements despite the limitations imposed during this period. SPJ, through collective action, forged strong connections with other groups, which is a factor that allows those in the solidarity movement to organize and act together.

The solidarity movement has also brought the context of social collectivism to a broader stage by showing the contradiction in the relationship between the state and the people. In this relationship, the state controls the livelihoods of citizens, even deciding whether to provide protection or engage in repression. The intimidation experienced by SPJ shows that the government is coping with the impact of a pandemic with repressive methods, which is in opposition to how civil society actors handled the pandemic through humanist methods. These divergent ways of coping show the accommodation of both parties to their own class interests.



The SPJ and the presence of other solidarity movements is not intended to fill in the gaps left by the government's inadequate pandemic response but instead, to help the public realize that the current system is outdated and must be replaced. The solidarity movement exists to strengthen the sustainable work of grassroots networks and movements that experience commodification, injustice, and poverty at the national, regional, and global levels. SPJ's efforts to distribute food could lead to meaningful changes both locally and nationally.

The crisis continues to this day. The COVID-19 pandemic shows that the world needs to undergo massive transformation. For this reason, the solidarity movement also needs to be transformed, not only as a social movement but as a class solidarity movement that simultaneously collides with capitalism.

In the SPJ, there is awareness about changing the structure of a sustainable economic system. It is crucial to think about sustainable economic development in the long run and be in line with building a sustainable food system because food is a basic human need. The sustainable food system can occur by changing the market structure through shortening of the supply chain. Renewal of the market structure must begin by building collective strength to control local food chains, switching them from upstream to downstream, such as buying directly from farmers at a reasonable price. There must be a change in the function of infrastructure such as markets, transforming them into social-ecological infrastructure that provides healthy food. Thus, a truly sustainable food system will aim to build universal and viable food ecosystems, from producers to consumers.

The transition to a universal sustainable food ecosystem requires changing people's consumption behavior and building a collective institution to renew the supply chain from production to distribution. The collective institution must have a decentralized and democratic food supply chain system, which strengthens social movements simultaneously. Communities—collectively, actively, and equally as providers and custodians of the supply chain, together with collective institutions—must break the industrial-model food supply chain. Turning local food systems into a universal food ecosystem that is radically and holistically sustainable is a significant challenge for the global movement. Therefore, it is time to encourage the social solidarity movement to build itself into a broader systemic movement. This means that social solidarity must transform into class solidarity and the local network must become connected to various global networks.

Class solidarity can be a driving force behind the creation of a universal sustainable food ecosystem as a step towards systemic and structural transformation. First, it is necessary to continue to increase solidarity by building genuine relationships with the public based on collective work and struggle. Working together in the broadest movement to build communities is the best way to ensure the education and build the political awareness of the people. The political lessons of the solidarity movement highlight the importance of raising awareness, especially with regard to how the state neglected its mandate to serve the people. Solidarity also proves that unity—as always—has the power to break down barriers and fears. Second, it is necessary to see the pandemic in a global context and likewise to see solidarity in a global context. It is time to breach the country's territorial borders and join international movements while simultaneously preparing food defense mechanisms for crises.

Third, while a deepening crisis will continue to generate social movements, they will become stale and repetitive if the movements do not unite to increase class solidarity and translate into an international political movement. As can be seen in the solidarity movements in many countries such as Italy, Poland, India, and Indonesia, these movements stand side by side with oppressed people. The solidarity movement also delegitimizes government policies that neglect the rights of citizens. The movements in various countries prove that the state can no longer



hide behind flawed and failed policies.

What if the solidarity movement breaks national boundaries and unites into an international movement that is politically opposed to a common enemy: capitalism as a system of oppression? The class solidarity will weaken capitalism and the international political movement will break the global capitalist system's chains.

Solidarity has occupied a position in the global political movement. It is necessary to continue pushing this solidarity in a revolutionary manner in preparation for structural and systemic transformations. It begins, as seen in the case of Indonesia, by creating and organizing as many community groups as possible at the grassroots level, through the formation of new communities or the utilization of the existing communities such as neighborhood associations, R.T., R.W. or youth groups, family welfare empowerment groups, and PKK. Communities can be directly involved in collective food fulfillment, i.e., in building collective agriculture, building processing industries, and creating an inter-regional supply chain system. Political movements in this regard can be two things, the building of an international political block and the raising of the political consciousness of the masses to urge the state to end the outdated system.

Food and logistics can become available through the supply and distribution chain, moving from raw materials, treatment, processing, and distribution, until reaching consumers. The involvement of farmers, transport workers, market traders, chefs, food traders, packers, delivery couriers, and domestic workers must also be taken into consideration. These groups also need to be realized and brought together so that the class solidarity movement can reach more people in future. In the end, structural and systemic transformation rests on the development of a viable alternative to capitalism. This new system must be equal and enlightened, free from capital's centralization and the toxic relationship between state and society. As the pandemic has demonstrated, people need a new system where food production and distribution are not based on the whims of capitalists. In many countries, the food and logistics solidarity movement aimed at breaking dependence on the state is radical. It proves that there is a global movement founded on people's sovereignty and class solidarity, ready to materialize.

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## Endnotes

1. The raw dataset is downloaded from [https://raw.githubusercontent.com/OxCGRT/covid-policy-tracker/master/data/OxCGRT\\_latest.csv](https://raw.githubusercontent.com/OxCGRT/covid-policy-tracker/master/data/OxCGRT_latest.csv), which is available in Microsoft Excel format in Our World in Data under CC-BY license (as cited). The data also links to The Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker (OxCGRT) Hale, T; Webster, S; Petherick, A; Phillips, T; & Kira, B (2020); Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker, Blavatnik School of Government. <https://www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/research/research-projects/covid-19-government-response-tracker> See the codebook data here <https://github.com/OxCGRT/covid-policy-tracker/blob/master/documentation/codebook.md>
2. Data incompleteness means the workers still have uniformity or duplication of their Population Identification

Numbers.

3. Panen Raya is a term used for harvesting done on a large scale and is usually used in reference to rice harvesting. Farmers get rice yields many times higher than usual.
4. Dapur Warung Boto is a kitchen network of Dapur Wonocatur coordinated by SPJ. The fund submitted to the Dapur Wonocatur PIC and the PIC distributed some of the funds they have received to Dapur Warung Boto. SPJ also reported Dapur Warung Boto's activities even though SPJ did not directly coordinate Dapur Warung Boto. Visual <https://datawrapper.dwcdn.net/qTs42/2/>
5. At the same time, the authors attended an online consolidation meeting with ARB. The meeting was suspended temporarily due to information about the dismissal of the SPJ evaluation meeting at the Walhi office

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## List of Abbreviation

BULOG	Logistics Agency	Badan urusan Logistik
DI	Special Region	Daerah Istimewa
GDP	Gross Domestic Product	Produk Domestik Bruto
Komnas Perempuan	National Commission on Violence Against Women	Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan
NYIA	New Yogyakarta International Airport	Bandara Internasional Yogyakarta Baru
NGO	Non-Government Organization	Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat
PDI-P	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia - Perjuangan
PIC	Person in Charge	Penanggung jawab
PPE	Personal Protective Equipment	Alat Pelindung Diri
PPLP – KP	Coastal Land Farmers Association - Kulon Progo	Paguyuban Petani Lahan pantai – Kulon Progo
PSBB	Large Scale Social Restriction	Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar
SME	Small and Medium-sized Enterprises	Usaha Menengah-Kecil dan Mikro (UMKM)
SPJ	Jogja Food Solidarity	Solidaritas Pangan Jogja
WALHI		Wahana Lingkungan Hidup
WFH	Work From Home	Bekerja Dari Rumah
WHO	World Health Organization	
Pasuruan	Solidaritas Pangan Pasuruan	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution
Pekalongan	Solidaritas Pangan Pekalongan	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Charity/Cheap Market; Mask and hand sanitizer production and distribution
Semarang	Dapur Umum Semarang Peduli	Food cooking and distribution
	Koalisi Rakyat Bantu Rakyat (KOBAR)	Crop/roots or vegetable Gardening
South Jakarta	Gerakan Solidaritas Lumbung Agraria (GeSLa)	Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Food barn

## Appendices

### Appendix 1. Food and Logistics Solidarity Movement in Indonesia March-November 2020

City/ District	Name	Activity	Source
Ambon	Mari Bakabong	Crop/roots or vegetable Gardening	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solidaritas1">bit/ly/solidaritas1</a>
Bandung	Solidaritas Sosial Bandung	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Crop/roots or vegetable Gardening; Catfish farming	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solidaritasosialbandung/">https://www.instagram.com/solidaritasosialbandung/</a>
Banyuwangi	Solidaritas Pangan Banyuwangi	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution.	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solidaritaspangan_bwi/">https://www.instagram.com/solidaritaspangan_bwi/</a>
Binjai	Pasar Gratis Binjai	Charity/Cheap Market	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/pasargratis.binjai/">https://www.instagram.com/pasargratis.binjai/</a>
Bogor	Solidaritas Pangan Bogor	Food cooking and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solider.bogor/">https://www.instagram.com/solider.bogor/</a>
Cirebon	Solidaritas Pangan Cirebon	Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution.	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/bebrayanpangan/">https://www.instagram.com/bebrayanpangan/</a>
Denpasar	Solidaritas Pangan Bali	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Seed distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solidaritaspangan_bali/">https://www.instagram.com/solidaritaspangan_bali/</a>
East Jakarta	Rumah Solidaritas Kemanusiaan Warga Jakarta (RSKWJ)	Food cooking and distribution; Food Banking	<a href="https://jaring.id/yang-bersemi-kala-pandemi/">https://jaring.id/yang-bersemi-kala-pandemi/</a>
North Gresik	Solidaritas Pangan Gresik Utara	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Mask and hand sanitizer production and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solidarita.id/">https://www.instagram.com/solidarita.id/</a>

City/ District	Name	Activity	Source
Jambi	Perpus Rakyat	Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/perpusrakyat/">https://www.instagram.com/perpusrakyat/</a>
Karanganyar	Solidaritas Pangan Karanganyar	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solidaritaspangankaranganyar/">https://www.instagram.com/solidaritaspangankaranganyar/</a>
Kendal	Solidaritas Pangan Kendal	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solidaritaspangan.kendal/">https://www.instagram.com/solidaritaspangan.kendal/</a>
Kupang	Posko Berbagi Masker	Mask and hand sanitizer production and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/bit/ly/solidaritas1">bit/ly/solidaritas1</a>
Madura	Solidaritas Pangan Rakyat	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Mask and hand sanitizer production and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solidaritaspanganmadura/">https://www.instagram.com/solidaritaspanganmadura/</a>
Magelang	Solidaritas Pangan Magelang	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Mask and hand sanitizer production and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solidaritas.pangan.magelang/">https://www.instagram.com/solidaritas.pangan.magelang/</a>
Makassar	Solidaritas Pangan Makassar	Food cooking and distribution; n; Mask and hand sanitizer production and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/panganmakassar/">https://www.instagram.com/panganmakassar/</a>
Malang	Solidaritas Pangan Malang	Crop/roots or vegetable Gardening	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/tanganmalang/">https://www.instagram.com/tanganmalang/</a>
Padang	Koperasi Mandiri dan Merdeka	Charity/Cheap Market	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/bit/ly/solidaritas1">bit/ly/solidaritas1</a>
Pasuruan	Solidaritas Pangan Pasuruan	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solidaritaspangan_pasuruan/">https://www.instagram.com/solidaritaspangan_pasuruan/</a>
Pekalongan	Solidaritas Pangan Pekalongan	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Charity/Cheap Market; Mask and hand sanitizer production and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solidaritas.pangan.pekalongan/">https://www.instagram.com/solidaritas.pangan.pekalongan/</a>
Semarang	Dapur Umum Semarang Peduli	Food cooking and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/dapurumumsemarangpeduli/">https://www.instagram.com/dapurumumsemarangpeduli/</a>
	Koalisi Rakyat Bantu Rakyat (KOBAR)	Crop/roots or vegetable Gardening	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/bit/ly/solidaritas1">bit/ly/solidaritas1</a>
South jakarta	Gerakan Solidaritas Lumbung Agraria (GeSLa)	Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Food barn	<a href="http://kpa.or.id/media/baca/liputan%20khusus/524/GeSLA_Atasi_Covid-">http://kpa.or.id/media/baca/liputan%20khusus/524/GeSLA_Atasi_Covid-</a>
Yogyakarta	Solidaritas Pangan Jogja (SPJ)	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Mask and hand sanitizer production and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/solidaritas.yogyakarta/">https://www.instagram.com/solidaritas.yogyakarta/</a>
	Kebunku collective farming	Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Crop/roots or vegetable Gardening	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/kebunku_jogja/">https://www.instagram.com/kebunku_jogja/</a>
	Komunitas Majelis Mau Jahitin (Mamajahit)	PPE distribution	<a href="https://mamajahit.id/">https://mamajahit.id/</a>
Sukoharjo	Solidaritas Pangan Sukoharjo	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Mask and hand sanitizer production and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/sedoyodhahar_/">https://www.instagram.com/sedoyodhahar_/</a>
Surabaya	Solidaritas Pangan Surabaya	Food cooking and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/pawone_arek2/">https://www.instagram.com/pawone_arek2/</a>
	Solidaritas Pangan Rakyat	Food cooking and distribution; Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Mask and hand sanitizer production and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/spc_crew19/">https://www.instagram.com/spc_crew19/</a>
Surakarta	Lumbung Solidaritas Rumah Banjarsari	Mask and hand sanitizer production and distribution; Food barn	<a href="https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2020/04/13/160300565/wabah-virus-corona-cerita-lumbung-solidaritas-dari-banjarsari-?page=all">https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2020/04/13/160300565/wabah-virus-corona-cerita-lumbung-solidaritas-dari-banjarsari-?page=all</a>
Temanggung	Solidaritas Pangan Temanggung	Foodstuff or primary necessities packages distribution; Mask and hand sanitizer production and distribution	<a href="https://www.instagram.com/tmg.solidaritas/">https://www.instagram.com/tmg.solidaritas/</a>

## Appendix 2. List of Regulation Released by the President of Indonesia in the Context of Handling the Pandemic

No	Regulation	Date	Title	Documentation Number
1	Presidential Regulation No. 108	November 10, 2020	Amendments of Presidential Regulation Number 82 of 2020 on Committee for handling the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) and National Economic Recovery	LN.2020/NO.256: 11 HLM.
2	Presidential Regulation No. 99	October 5, 2020	Vaccines Procurement and the Implementation of Vaccinations in handling the Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) Pandemic	LN.2020/No.227: 13 HLM.
3	Presidential Decree No. 18	September 3, 2020	National Team for the Acceleration of Vaccine Development for Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)	SK NO.044314 A: 10 HLM.
4	Presidential Instruction No. 6	August 4, 2020	Discipline Enhancement and Law Enforcement of Health Protocols in the Prevention and Control of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)	
5	Presidential Regulation No. 76	July 7, 2020	Amendments to Presidential Regulation Number 36 of 2020 concerning Work Competency Development through the Pre-Employment Card Program	LN.2020/NO.170: 12 HLM.
6	Government Regulation No. 29	June 1, 2020	Income Tax Facilities for Handling the Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)	LN.2020/NO.148, TLN NO.6526: 18 HLM.
7	Government Regulation No. 23	May 9, 2020	Implementation of the National Economic Recovery Program to Support the State Financial Policy for Handling the Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) Pandemic or Facing Threats that Endanger the National Economy or Financial System Stability and for the National Economy Rescue	LN.2020/NO.131, TLN NO.6514: 17 HLM.
8	Presidential Decree No. 12	April 13, 2020	Determination of the Non-Natural Disaster for the spread of the Corona Virus 2019 (COVID -19) as a National Disaster	SK NO. 01A740 A: 3 HLM.
9	Presidential Regulation No. 54	April 3, 2020	Posture Changes And Details Of State Revenue And Expenditure Budget Year For 2020	LN.2020/NO.94: 11 HLM.
10	Government Regulation No.21	March 31, 2020	Large Scale Social Restriction for Accelerating Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) Eradication	LN.2020/NO.91, TLN NO.6487: 5 HLM.
11	Presidential Regulation No. 52	March 31, 2020	Construction of Observation and Shelter Facilities for Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) or Emerging Infectious Diseases on Galang Island, Batam City, Riau Islands Province	LN.2020/NO.92: 7 HLM
12	Government Regulation in place of Act No. 1	March 31, 2020	State Budgeting Policy and the Stability of Budgeting System for Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) Pandemic Disaster or Managing Threats for National Economy and Stability Budgeting System	TURNED INTO ACT NO.2 OF 2020
13	Presidential Decree No. 11	March 31, 2020	Declaration of Public Health Emergency Situation for Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)	LN.2020/NO.134, TLN NO.6516: 53 HLM.
14	Presidential Instruction No. 4	March 2, 2020	The Refocussing on activities, fiscal allocation, and procurement of goods and services to accelerate Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) response.	SK NO.031003 A: 2 HLM.
15	Presidential Decree No. 9	March 20 2020	Revision of President Decree 7/2020 on Task Force for Rapid Response to Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)	SK No 022698 A: 4 HLM.

Source: Legal Documentation and Information Network - The State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia <https://jdih.setneg.go.id/Produk>