

Strengthening Food Supply and Price Stability in Surabaya City Through the Program Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM)

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ABSTRACT

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The Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program is an initiative introduced by the National Food Agency to maintain food supply and price stabilization nationally. This program has been widely implemented across Indonesia, including Surabaya City, which still relies on surrounding regions for food supply and continues to face fluctuating food inflation. This research aims to describe the implementation of the GPM Program in strengthening food supply and price stabilization in Surabaya City. The study employed a qualitative approach with a descriptive design, conducted in March–June 2026. Informants consisted of 20 individuals, including DKPP Surabaya officials, food suppliers, village officials, and participating community members. Data were collected through interviews, observations, and documentation, and analyzed using the interactive model of Miles et al. (2014), based on the policy implementation model of Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), which consists of six variables: policy standards and objectives, policy resources, interorganizational communication and enforcement activities, characteristics of implementing agencies, economic, social, and political conditions, and the dispositions of implementors. The results indicate that of the six variables, three were categorized as good, namely characteristics of the implementing agencies, economic, social, and political conditions, and the disposition of implementors. The remaining three were categorized as fairly good, namely policy standards and objectives, policy resources, and interorganizational communication and enforcement activities. These findings imply that the effectiveness of food price stabilization programs depends not only on the availability of commodities and stakeholder collaboration, but also on clear operational guidelines, adequate resources, and effective coordination among implementing actors.

INTRODUCTION

Food security is one of the objectives of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goal 2: Zero Hunger, which aims to end hunger, achieve food security, improve nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture (Localise SDGs, 2018–2026). Food security in Indonesia faces various challenges, including the potential for an economic recession characterized by declining household incomes due to weakened productive economic activities, which may lead to rising unemployment and poverty rates among the population (Afifah & Prasetyaningtyas, 2023). In response to these challenges, the Indonesian government established the National Food Agency (Badan Pangan Nasional/BAPANAS) to carry out governmental functions and responsibilities in the food sector.

Food security challenges in Indonesia have also contributed to inflation, particularly through rising food prices driven by supply constraints, distribution issues, and coordination challenges among stakeholders, as outlined in Bank Indonesia's inflation control framework (Bank Indonesia, 2024). This condition highlights the importance of food price stabilization in Indonesia, considering that food inflation has remained fluctuating from 2021 to 2025, as illustrated in the following figure:

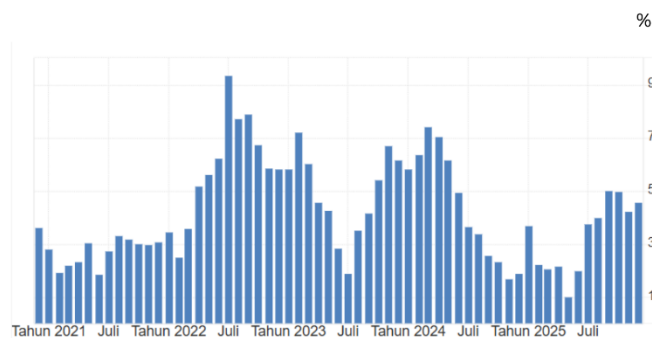


Figure 1. Indonesian Food Inflation

Based on Figure 1, Indonesia's food inflation has remained fluctuating from 2021 to July 2025. This condition indicates that food-related issues require immediate and comprehensive attention at the national level. In an effort to maintain food price stability and strengthen food security, the National Food Agency (Badan Pangan Nasional/BAPANAS), in collaboration with several stakeholders, including the State Logistics Agency (Perum BULOG) and the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), has implemented a nationwide program known as the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program.

The Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program is mandated under Presidential Regulation Number 66 of 2021 concerning the National Food Agency, which grants the Agency the authority to implement food supply and price stabilization measures. It is also supported by National Food Agency Regulation Number 15 of 2022 concerning the Stabilization of Rice, Corn, and Soybean Supply and Prices at the Consumer Level, which aims to ensure the availability, affordability, and price stability of essential food commodities in order to protect consumers. Furthermore, the program is grounded in Law Number 18 of 2012 on Food, which stipulates that both central and local governments are responsible for food governance, including the regulation of food prices and distribution for the public.

The implementation of the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program is guided by food supply and price stabilization guidelines and technical instructions issued by the National Food Agency. These are outlined in National Food Agency Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 32 of 2023 concerning the Nomenclature Guidelines for Regional Government Agencies and Work Units Responsible for Food Affairs. The regulation provides guidance for local governments in implementing food security programs, including coordination mechanisms with state-owned food enterprises and distribution monitoring authorities.

The Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program has been implemented in various regions across Indonesia, including East Java Province, which recorded the highest rice production on Java Island, reaching 9.27 million tons in 2024 (BPS, 2025). This achievement indicates the province's substantial food production capacity to meet regional food demands. However, despite its high rice production, East Java also has a large and densely populated population. Population density is closely related to the urgency of food provision, as a larger population increases pressure on basic needs, including food consumption (Wardani & Rahma, 2019).

Among all regions in East Java, Surabaya City recorded the highest population density, reaching 8,727 people per square kilometer in 2025 (Badan Pusat Statistik Jawa Timur, 2025). This condition reflects significant urban food demand pressures that require policy interventions to maintain food supply and price stability while controlling regional inflation. Therefore, the Surabaya City Government has implemented the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program through the Department of Food Security and Agriculture (DKPP) of Surabaya City, following the technical guidelines issued by the National Food Agency (BAPANAS) and supported by the existing local regulation, namely the Mayor of Surabaya Regulation on the Regional Food and Nutrition Action Plan for 2023–2024.

According to data from the National Food Agency (BAPANAS), the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program was implemented 30 times in Surabaya between 2024 and July 2025, while records from the Department of Food Security and Agriculture (DKPP) of Surabaya City indicate only 15 implementation events during the same period. This discrepancy suggests not only that the program has not been implemented with a particularly high frequency, but also that differences exist in the recording and reporting systems between the local government and BAPANAS, particularly because DKPP Surabaya only records GPM activities, whereas BAPANAS records GPM alongside other food assistance programs within the same reporting category. This discrepancy itself constitutes one of the empirical concerns addressed in this research, alongside the broader question of how the program has been implemented on the ground. In addition, Surabaya City continues to face regional food inflation challenges, as illustrated in the following figure:

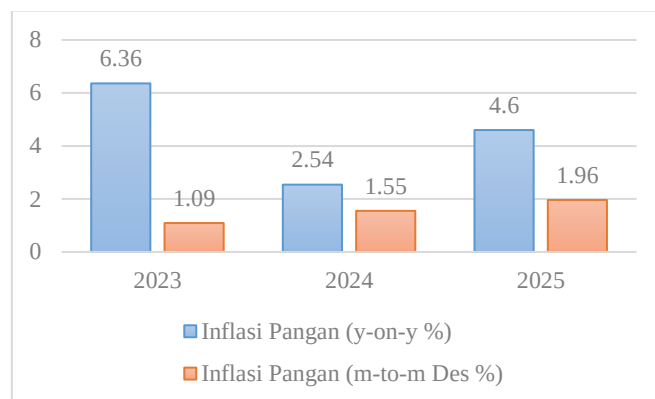


Figure 2. Food Inflation in Surabaya City

Based on Figure 2, food inflation in Surabaya City remained fluctuating between 2023 and 2025. This condition highlights the importance of implementing the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program in Surabaya. Therefore, the researcher selected Surabaya City as the research location because it is an industrial city that still depends on food supplies from surrounding regions to meet its consumption needs (Dinas Ketahanan Pangan dan Pertanian Kota Surabaya, 2024). Furthermore, although the GPM Program has been implemented in Surabaya since 2023, official records of its implementation have only been systematically documented from 2024 onwards.

Therefore, the urgency of examining the implementation of the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program in Surabaya lies in the city's fluctuating food inflation and its continued dependence on surrounding regions for food supplies (Dinas Ketahanan Pangan dan Pertanian Kota Surabaya, 2024). These conditions highlight the importance of government intervention in food governance to ensure food availability, affordability, and price stability. Previous studies have shown that the effectiveness of food-related policies is strongly influenced by institutional capacity, policy implementation mechanisms, and coordination among stakeholders (Putri & Wibisono, 2022). Consequently, the GPM Program becomes a relevant subject for policy implementation analysis. Furthermore, the absence of previous studies specifically examining the implementation of the GPM Program in Surabaya City constitutes the novelty of this research, distinguishing it from earlier studies that focused on the implementation of the program in other regions.

Understanding how such a program is implemented in practice requires a theoretical lens capable of capturing both its procedural and organizational dimensions. Program implementation refers to the application of a public policy through programs, activities, actions, or interventions carried out within a specific institutional and administrative framework (Ramdhani et al., 2017). The Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program represents the implementation of a policy by the Department of Food Security and Agriculture (DKPP) of Surabaya City based on policies established by the National Food Agency (BAPANAS). Therefore, this research examines the strengthening of food supply and price stabilization in Surabaya through the implementation of the GPM Program using the implementation model developed by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), which focuses on six variables: policy standards and objectives, resources, interorganizational relationships, characteristics of implementing agencies, economic, social, and political conditions, and implementors' dispositions. This model provides a comprehensive framework for analyzing the implementation of the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program in Surabaya as an effort to strengthen food supply and price stabilization.

Based on this background, the research question addressed in this study is: how has the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program been implemented in Surabaya City in strengthening food supply and price stabilization, when examined through the six variables of Van Meter and Van Horn's (1975) policy implementation model? This research is limited to the implementation of the GPM Program in Surabaya City during March–June 2026, covering three sub-districts observed as program locations, namely Kedungbaruk, Benowo, and Karah.

METHODS

This research employed a qualitative approach with a descriptive research design and was conducted in Surabaya City during March–June 2026. The study focused on the implementation model developed by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), which consists of six variables: policy standards and objectives, policy resources, interorganizational communication and enforcement activities, characteristics of the implementing agencies, economic, social, and political conditions, and the disposition of implementors.

The research was conducted through several stages, namely problem identification, determination of research informants, data collection, data analysis, and conclusion drawing/verification. The study utilized both primary and secondary data sources. A total of 20 informants were selected using a purposive sampling technique based on their involvement and relevance to the implementation of the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program. The key informant was the staff member responsible for the GPM Program in Surabaya City. The main informants included the Head of the Food Division of the Department of Food Security and Agriculture (DKPP) of Surabaya City, the Head of the Food Safety Working Team within the Food Division of DKPP Surabaya, participating food suppliers, and residents of Surabaya who took part in the GPM Program. Supporting informants were drawn from local village administrations. Three GPM implementation locations such as Kedungbaruk, Benowo, and Karah were purposively selected out of 15 locations where the program was implemented during the research period, based on direct field observation of ongoing GPM activities at the time the research was conducted. This research is limited to these three locations and the March–June 2026 period, and therefore the findings may not fully represent the implementation of the GPM Program across all districts in Surabaya City.

The researcher served as the primary research instrument, supported by interview guides, observation sheets, documentation records, and field notes. Each of the six variables in the Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) model was operationalized into specific interview themes: policy standards and objectives were explored through questions on stakeholders' understanding of program goals and pricing criteria; policy resources through questions on human resources, facilities, and budget availability; interorganizational communication and enforcement through questions on coordination mechanisms and information dissemination; characteristics of implementing agencies through questions on organizational structure and division of roles; economic, social, and political conditions through questions on community purchasing power and stakeholder support; and disposition of implementors through questions on officials' attitudes and commitment. Data were collected through interviews, observations, documentation, and literature review. Data were analyzed using the interactive model of Miles et al. (2014), which includes data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. To ensure the credibility and dependability of the data, source triangulation and method triangulation were employed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Strengthening food supply and price stability in Surabaya City through implementation of the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program was analyzed using the six variables of Van Meter and Van Horn's policy implementation model. A summary of the research finding is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Summary of Findings on The Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program in Surabaya City

No	Variable	Main Findings	Assessment
1	Standards and Objectives	Program objectives were understood by implementors; however, target-group bias and the absence of specific local guidelines remain challenges.	Fairly Good
2	Policy Resources	Human resources, facilities, and infrastructure were generally adequate, although commodity shortages occasionally occurred during periods of high demand.	Fairly Good
3	Interorganizational Communication and Enforcement Activities	Coordination among stakeholders functioned well, but broader outreach and stronger coordination regarding commodity price adjustments are still needed.	Fairly Good
4	Characteristics of The Implementing Agencies	Clear organizational structure, division of responsibilities, and accountability mechanisms supported program implementation.	Good
5	Economic, Social, and Political Conditions	Supportive environmental conditions, stakeholder participation, and community support contributed positively to implementation.	Good
6	The Disposition of Implementors	Implementors demonstrated commitment, responsiveness, and adaptability in addressing operational challenges.	Good

Source: Processed by the Author, 2026

Based on table 1, it can be described that the findings of this research indicate GPM program has been implemented for fully strengthening food and price stability in Surabaya City using Van Meter & Van Horn (1975) is fairly good with 3 variables fairly good and 3 variables good. The assessment of each variable was based on the extent to which its sub-focuses, as identified during data collection, were fulfilled without significant obstacles. A variable was categorized as "Good" when all of its sub-focuses were achieved effectively with minimal implementation challenges, whereas a variable was categorized as "Fairly Good" when most sub-focuses were achieved but accompanied by notable challenges that require improvement. To provide a comparative reference, the findings for each variable are also discussed in relation to the implementation of the GPM Program in other regions, particularly Gresik and Bandung, as reported in previous studies. The results can be explained with following descriptions:

Policy Standards and Objectives

Policy standards and objectives constitute a crucial determinant of successful program implementation according to the model developed by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975). The results indicate that the objectives and target outcomes of the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program in Surabaya have been well understood by all stakeholders involved. The Department of Food Security and Agriculture (DKPP) of Surabaya City stated that the program aims to stabilize food prices and supplies while controlling regional inflation. This understanding is shared by participating suppliers, who view the program as a mechanism to maintain public purchasing power, and by community members who benefit from food prices that are lower than those available in the market. Such alignment of understanding supports the results of (Indraswari et al., 2024), who argue that policy effectiveness is closely linked to the clarity of policy objectives among stakeholders.

However, the program's open-access targeting mechanism, which imposes no specific eligibility requirements, has created target-group bias in practice. On one hand, this approach promotes inclusivity by expanding access and helping to reduce market panic (Arif et al., 2024). On the other hand, it has encouraged bulk purchasing behavior and panic buying. A supplier from Prima Freshmart reported instances in which certain individuals purchased up to 20 kilograms of eggs, resulting in shortages for lower-income residents, as experienced by one participant who was unable to obtain essential commodities such as cooking oil. Similar conditions have been observed in the implementation of the GPM Program in Gresik Regency, where unrestricted access increased the risk of stock depletion due to excessive purchasing behavior (Subarkah et al., 2025). Furthermore, the rotational selection of program locations across districts may not adequately address the actual distribution of food-vulnerable areas (Lestari et al., 2025).

Regarding policy standards, the program applies criteria related to food quality and pricing. Commodities must meet established quality standards and be sold at prices below market rates or at a maximum equivalent to the Highest Retail Price (HET), as confirmed by a supplier from PT Surya Kreasi Pangan. Nevertheless, the Surabaya City Government has not yet developed an independent local technical guideline and continues to rely on the National Food Agency's technical guidelines and directives from the Mayor of Surabaya. From a theoretical perspective, the implementation of the GPM Program reflects the role of public policy as a strategic

government instrument for addressing societal problems, consistent with Nugroho's (2017) concept of public policy. The clarity of pricing standards has also provided direction for DKPP Surabaya in implementing the program consistently (Arif et al., 2024).

Based on the Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) implementation model, the policy standards and objectives of the GPM Program in Surabaya have generally achieved their goals. However, when viewed through the perspective of Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980), which emphasizes the capacity of policy design to regulate implementation, the program still requires clearer operational guidelines, particularly regarding purchase limits. Such measures are necessary to prevent allocation bias and to ensure that the benefits of the program are distributed more equitably to the communities most in need.

Policy Resources

Resources constitute a fundamental supporting factor that facilitates administrative processes and enables effective policy implementation, as emphasized in the Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) implementation model. Based on the results, the first sub-focus concerns the availability of human resources. The Department of Food Security and Agriculture (DKPP) of Surabaya City has deployed 19 personnel from its Food Division, who are actively involved in program planning, supplier supervision, and assisting community members during program implementation. This staffing level is considerably more adequate than that of the GPM Program in Gresik Regency, which was supported by only five field personnel (Subarkah et al., 2025). The responsiveness and close supervision exercised by DKPP Surabaya, which have been embedded within the agency since the urban farming initiatives implemented during the COVID-19 pandemic, have contributed significantly to the success of this intervention program (Amelia & Rining Nawangsari, 2021). This situation contrasts with the experience of Bandung City, where GPM implementation was often hindered by slow operational coordination (Lestari et al., 2025).

The second sub-focus concerns the availability of supporting facilities and infrastructure. The results indicate that essential facilities, including tables, chairs, electricity, sound systems, and tents, have been adequately provided through collaboration among DKPP, local village administrations, and the General Affairs Division of the Surabaya City Government. To mitigate weather related risks, the city government carefully selects locations with pavilions or covered areas, which are assessed in advance using Google Maps, as explained by the GPM Program Coordinator and the Head of the Food Safety Working Team. This approach represents an improvement over the implementation in Gresik Regency, where outdoor venues were vulnerable to weather disruptions. Nevertheless, several community members noted that the available space became insufficient during periods of high demand and long queues, reflecting the public's strong sensitivity to food related issues (Subarkah et al., 2025). This differs from Bandung City's "GPM on the Road" model, which was specifically designed to reduce crowd concentration (Lestari et al., 2025).

The third sub-focus relates to the availability of food commodities. The results reveal that essential commodities such as SPHP rice, Minyakita cooking oil, sugar, meat, chili peppers, onions, and other staple foods were generally available and supplied through networks directly connected to

major producers and the State Logistics Agency (BULOG). This shortened supply chain demonstrates the effectiveness of DKPP Surabaya's strategy to reduce distribution costs and suppress inflation. However, the high level of public enthusiasm frequently resulted in stock shortages, leading residents to request larger quantities of commodities at future events. Similar logistical challenges have been observed in Gresik Regency (Subarkah et al., 2025), whereas Bandung City has implemented periodic market absorption monitoring to maintain supplier stability and anticipate demand fluctuations (Lestari et al., 2025).

The fourth sub-focus concerns budgetary support. The GPM Program in Surabaya does not rely on any specific regional budget allocation for purchasing food commodities; instead, the local government provides facilities and logistical support, while suppliers independently finance and manage sales activities using their own business capital. This self-financing model resembles the implementation strategy adopted in Gresik Regency, where the program operated effectively without direct regional budget support (Subarkah et al., 2025). The collaborative approach has proven effective in maintaining program continuity and contrasts with the experience of Bandung City, where implementation sustainability was constrained by inadequate regional funding (Lestari et al., 2025). This finding is consistent with Nugroho's (2017) concept of public policy implementation, which emphasizes that the availability and readiness of resources particularly those generated through intersectoral collaboration are critical determinants of policy effectiveness and program success.

Overall, the resource variable in the GPM program has been implemented fairly well. The program benefits from strong human resource capacity and adequate budget support, while the availability of commodities and supporting facilities and infrastructure is generally sufficient to meet operational needs. These results support the implementation model developed by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), which highlights the importance of adequate resources as a fundamental prerequisite for successful policy implementation. In addition, the availability and readiness of these resources reflect the collaborative efforts of stakeholders in supporting the program. This also aligns with the perspective of Riant Nugroho, who emphasizes that effective government management of resources plays a crucial role in achieving policy objectives and ensuring the overall success of public programs. Although human resources and facilities were generally adequate, several resource constraints were still identified, particularly regarding commodity availability during periods of high public demand. These findings indicate that resource adequacy remains a crucial determinant of policy implementation effectiveness, particularly in ensuring that public needs can be met optimally (Razwal Malik & Sjafari, 2025).

Interorganizational Communication and Enforcement Activities

The interorganizational communication and enforcement activities is a crucial factor in determining successful program implementation, as it requires clear procedures, communication mechanisms, and consistent coordination among organizations, as emphasized by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975). Based on the results, the first sub-focus concerns interagency coordination in the implementation of the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program in Surabaya. Coordination is carried out through active communication, collaboration, and

cross sectoral engagement, beginning with planning activities and site surveys conducted jointly by field teams, district administrations, and village authorities. Confirmation of supplier participation and commodity availability is prioritized through WhatsApp communication to ensure efficiency, while formal letters are issued only after informal agreements have been reached. This flexible and digitally based coordination mechanism has functioned effectively because the GPM Program has been implemented for several years, fostering stronger working relationships and mutual trust among stakeholders. Furthermore, the structural and administrative communication pattern from DKPP leadership to supporting agencies and field personnel has been well organized through written instructions and direct technical briefings at the village level.

Most implementing agencies and commodity suppliers have demonstrated active participation and consistent involvement because they perceive the program as providing tangible educational and social benefits to the community. This integrated institutional involvement is comparable to the role-sharing model observed in Gresik Regency (Subarkah et al., 2025) and serves as an operational instrument supporting DKPP Surabaya's broader strategy to control food price fluctuations (Arif et al., 2024). Nevertheless, technical coordination challenges remain, particularly regarding adjustments to the prices of fluctuating commodities such as chicken and eggs. Retail suppliers occasionally incur losses because predetermined store prices are not always coordinated effectively with DKPP at the early stages of implementation. This issue indicates room for improvement in initial coordination processes. Despite this challenge, the structured distribution of authority and the existence of regular reporting mechanisms to the National Food Agency (BAPANAS) website demonstrate the presence of effective formal and informal relationships between program managers and implementing actors. This situation contrasts with the experience of Bandung City, where prolonged coordination processes have posed implementation challenges (Lestari et al., 2025).

The second sub-focus concerns the dissemination of information to the public. DKPP Surabaya utilizes various multimedia communication channels to ensure rapid information distribution. Digital flyers are widely disseminated through the agency's official Instagram account, communication platforms managed by the Communication and Information Office (Diskominfo), WhatsApp groups for neighborhood associations (RT/RW), women's organizations (PKK), religious study groups, and community associations. The integration of government social media platforms has proven effective in rapidly disseminating information and helping to reduce public concerns related to food market conditions (Arif et al., 2024). However, the effectiveness of outreach at the grassroots level continues to depend on the activeness of local community networks, particularly because elderly residents are generally less exposed to social media platforms. In addition, reliance on WhatsApp group networks creates limitations for migrant residents who do not possess local identification cards, as they often receive information about GPM activities only through informal word of mouth communication. This result suggests that information dissemination has not yet reached all segments of society in a fully inclusive manner.

The third sub-focus concerns the clarity of information regarding program schedules and implementation locations.

Information distributed through digital flyers issued by DKPP Surabaya generally contains clear details regarding the date, time, and venue of program activities, thereby facilitating public access to information and encouraging participation in the GPM Program.



Figure 3. Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Flyer

Based on Figure 3, the information provided is comprehensive, informative, and easy to understand, as it explicitly includes the types of commodities available, price lists, dates, operating hours, and the location map of the event. Local village administrations also consistently emphasize that the prices offered through the GPM Program are significantly lower than prevailing market prices. This clarity of technical information serves as a consistent guide for program implementation in the field (Arif et al., 2024).

From the perspective of the Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) implementation model, the interorganizational communication and enforcement activities within the GPM Program in Surabaya has generally been fulfilled effectively, particularly in terms of clear administrative information standards and the establishment of strong cross-sectoral collaboration networks. This finding is consistent with the stages of network formation and coordinated implementation identified by (Ridhotuloh et al., 2024). This finding is also consistent with Agustian et al. (2023), who emphasize that food policy implementation requires effective network governance and collaboration among multiple actors to overcome resource limitations and policy objectives. However, when viewed through (Edwards III's (1980) framework, particularly regarding communication and bureaucratic structure, the Surabaya City Government still needs to improve the reach and inclusiveness of public outreach efforts, as well as strengthen technical coordination with suppliers regarding the pricing of fluctuating commodities.

Characteristics of The Implementing Agencies

According to Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), the characteristics of implementing organizations encompass formal structural features, organizational competence, staff size, hierarchical control mechanisms, and formal and informal relationships with policymaking institutions that influence implementation effectiveness. Based on the results,

the first sub-focus concerns the involvement of implementing agencies. The Department of Food Security and Agriculture (DKPP) of Surabaya City serves as the primary implementing agency and exercises technical control over field operations, while other institutions provide support according to their respective functions. The Surabaya Communication and Information Office (Diskominfo) contributes through media coverage and information dissemination using government communication networks. Other supporting institutions, including BAPEMKesra, BPSDA, district administrations, and village authorities, facilitate monitoring activities and territorial coordination. This integrated cross sectoral involvement, with DKPP functioning as the central hierarchical authority, reflects the continuation of a coordinated bureaucratic control culture in Surabaya. It is consistent with the success of previous urban farming programs (Amelia & Rining Nawangsari, 2021) and resembles the role integration model observed in Gresik Regency (Subarkah et al., 2025). These interorganizational relationships have proven to be effective operational instruments in supporting DKPP Surabaya's broader strategy for food price stabilization (Arif et al., 2024).

The second sub-focus concerns hierarchy and the division of roles and responsibilities among implementing actors. The organizational structure applied in the GPM Program is clear and functional. DKPP Surabaya is fully responsible for planning activities, determining implementation locations through a district rotation system, confirming commodity quotas, and conducting daily negotiations to ensure that fluctuating commodities such as chicken and eggs remain priced below prevailing market rates. District and village administrations are responsible for providing supporting facilities, including pavilions, tables, chairs, and sound systems, mobilizing community participation, and maintaining site security. Meanwhile, commodity suppliers, including regional-owned enterprises (BUMDs), private companies, and micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs), are responsible for commodity supply and sales activities. This well-defined distribution of authority fulfills the requirements of an effective structural relationship and avoids prolonged coordination problems such as those reported in the implementation of the GPM Program in Bandung City (Lestari et al., 2025). In addition, accountability is reinforced through mandatory reporting of implementation outcomes to the General Affairs Division of the Surabaya City Government and the National Food Agency (BAPANAS) through official digital reporting systems. These disciplined formal and informal relationships between local implementors and central policymakers are similar to the implementation practices observed in Gresik Regency, where adherence to BAPANAS guidelines helps maintain policy consistency (Subarkah et al., 2025).

The third sub-focus concerns cooperation among government institutions, distributors, and food suppliers. The results indicate the existence of an adaptive collaborative model. Since the GPM Program cannot be implemented independently by a single actor, DKPP prioritizes collaborative arrangements in which the government provides public facilities free of charge, while suppliers relocate their sales activities and independently cover all operational costs. This flexible form of cooperation, which is largely free from structural barriers, reflects the characteristics of an ideal bureaucratic environment that supports smooth program implementation (Edwards III, 1980) and (Sabatier &

Mazmanian, 1980). Open communication patterns, both horizontally and vertically, further strengthen the organizational capacity of implementing agencies in the field (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975).

Economic, Social, and Political Conditions

Economic, social, and political conditions constitute important external environmental factors within the Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) implementation model, as they significantly influence the performance and effectiveness of implementing agencies. Based on the results, the first sub-focus concerns the economic, social, and political conditions of the community. The economic characteristics of Surabaya are generally supportive and relatively favorable, as the city comprises diverse socioeconomic groups ranging from lower-middle-income to upper-middle-income households. This is reflected in the high purchasing power and strong public enthusiasm observed during GPM events, where both staple food commodities and non-essential products such as sausages and nuggets are frequently sold out, as reported by the Department of Food Security and Agriculture (DKPP) of Surabaya City. These results are consistent with Subarkah et al. (2025), who found that socioeconomic sensitivity to fluctuations in food prices encourages public participation in GPM activities. Theoretically, adequate consumer purchasing power serves as a macro-level factor that facilitates the absorption of program commodities in the market (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975).

From a social perspective, conditions in Surabaya are generally conducive, with no significant social barriers affecting program implementation. Interactions among community members, implementors, and suppliers are characterized by cooperation, orderliness, and safety. Unlike the case of Bandung City, where unequal social coverage across districts posed implementation challenges (Lestari et al., 2025), social stability in Surabaya has contributed positively to public support for the program. Politically, the GPM Program enjoys strong legitimacy because it is perceived as a strategic government initiative aimed at protecting the public through the provision of affordable food commodities. This political support is comparable to the regulatory and political environment observed in Gresik Regency (Subarkah et al., 2025) and supports Van Meter and Van Horn's (1975) proposition that external political support positively influences policy implementation effectiveness. In addition, external environmental pressures, including shortages of staple commodities such as medium-grade rice in early 2025 and regional inflationary pressures, have reinforced the urgency of government intervention. Theoretically, such crisis conditions function as catalysts that strengthen institutional commitment (Edwards III, 1980) and responsiveness among implementing actors (Indraswari et al., 2024).

The second sub-focus concerns the level of public need for food assistance. The results indicate that community members perceive the GPM Program as highly important in supporting daily household needs and improving family welfare. Although DKPP views the primary objective of the program as controlling inflation and maintaining food price stability rather than fully meeting household food consumption needs, the strong dependence of residents on the program demonstrates the appropriateness of the policy issue addressed by the local government in responding to public concerns (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975).

This high level of public need is closely linked to the third sub-focus, namely the strong support provided by external stakeholders. Collaboration with private-sector actors, regional-owned enterprises (BUMDs), and the State Logistics Agency (BULOG) has been highly active, with suppliers consistently committing to provide food commodities except in cases of unavoidable constraints. This situation differs from the experience of Bandung City, where implementation was constrained by instability in supplier revenues (Lestari et al., 2025), but is similar to the successful partnership model observed in Gresik Regency (Subarkah et al., 2025). The willingness of suppliers to relocate their sales activities to GPM venues and the willingness of community members to avoid excessive purchasing in order to allow others access to commodities demonstrate strong stakeholder support. These behaviors reflect the disposition indicators proposed by Edwards III (1980) as well as the public support indicators emphasized by Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980). The strong public enthusiasm and support for the program are illustrated in the following figure:



Figure 4. Buying and Selling Activities in the GPM Program
Source: Author's Personal Documentation, 2026

Based on Figure 4, it can be observed that public enthusiasm for the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program in Surabaya is remarkably high. This finding reflects strong community support for the implementation of the program.

The fourth sub-focus concerns public responses to the program. All community informants provided positive feedback, stating that the GPM Program has effectively reduced household expenditures amid rising market prices of staple food commodities. This high level of public satisfaction and positive opinion represents a fundamental indicator of successful policy implementation (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975) and is consistent with the implementation framework proposed by Edwards III (1980). The cost-saving benefits experienced by households are similar to those reported in Gresik Regency, where residents viewed the program as an effective means of managing food expenses (Subarkah et al., 2025). However, this contrasts with results from Bandung City, where public dissatisfaction emerged due to less effective location planning by local authorities (Lestari et al., 2025).

The Dispositions of Implementors

According to Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), the disposition of implementors comprises three important elements that influence organizational performance: understanding (cognition) of the policy, the direction of responses toward the policy, and the intensity of those responses. Based on the

results, the first sub-focus concerns the attitudes of implementors toward the program. Officials of the Department of Food Security and Agriculture (DKPP) of Surabaya City demonstrated positive attitudes and strong enthusiasm toward the implementation of the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program. Implementors embraced public service values centered on community welfare, as reflected in their sense of satisfaction and pride when food commodities were sold out and residents benefited from the program. This responsive, caring, and cooperative attitude reflects the continuity of a service-oriented organizational culture within DKPP Surabaya, which had previously contributed to the success of urban farming programs during the COVID-19 pandemic (Amelia & Rining Nawangsari, 2021). Theoretically, this positive disposition fulfills the indicators of implementors' commitment to policy objectives emphasized in the models of Edwards III (1980) and Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980), where the willingness to exert extra effort constitutes a fundamental requirement for maintaining regional food price stability (Subarkah et al., 2025).

The second sub-focus concerns implementors' commitment. DKPP Surabaya has demonstrated a strong commitment through the consistent organization of GPM activities on a nearly monthly basis across different districts and villages on a rotational schedule. This continuity has been acknowledged by commodity suppliers and is considered effective in maintaining market confidence and preventing concerns related to food shortages (Arif et al., 2024). Nevertheless, implementation has occasionally faced logistical challenges due to the sudden withdrawal of suppliers shortly before scheduled events because of stock shortages or production constraints, forcing field teams to secure replacement suppliers within a limited timeframe. This issue resembles the operational challenges encountered in Bandung City, where inconsistent supplier commitment occasionally disrupted program implementation (Lestari et al., 2025), although it differs from the more stable supplier participation observed in Gresik Regency (Subarkah et al., 2025). Despite these challenges, as well as the discretionary decision not to conduct GPM activities during periods of market deflation, DKPP Surabaya has maintained a high level of commitment to ensure the continuity of program implementation (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975).

The third sub-focus relates to service attitudes toward the community. The results indicate that services provided by implementors were responsive, communicative, and community-oriented. In the field, DKPP personnel actively monitored program activities, contacted suppliers one hour before the event to ensure punctuality, and provided guidance regarding available commodities to prevent confusion among residents. This responsiveness was also evident in the active management of queues, where officials directly assisted in maintaining order and ensuring a conducive environment throughout the event. The friendliness, professionalism, and orderly conduct demonstrated by field personnel reflect strong support for the underlying objectives of the policy (Edwards III, 1980) and confirm the effectiveness of cross-sectoral hierarchical integration in mitigating panic-buying behavior among consumers (Arif et al., 2024).

The fourth sub-focus concerns the intensity of implementors' responses to operational challenges. The results reveal a high level of responsiveness among DKPP personnel. Whenever technical problems were encountered by suppliers or members of the public, officials promptly provided solutions and on-site assistance to ensure that program activities proceeded smoothly. This solution-oriented responsiveness is consistent with previous evaluations of food

intervention programs in Surabaya, which identified local government responsiveness as a key determinant of public satisfaction with public services (Indraswari et al., 2024).

CONCLUSION

The implementation of the Gerakan Pangan Murah (GPM) Program in Surabaya City has generally contributed to strengthening food supply and stabilizing food prices. The program has been supported by adequate organizational capacity, positive implementor commitment, effective interagency collaboration, and favorable economic, social, and political conditions. These factors have enabled the program to improve public access to affordable food commodities and support regional inflation control efforts.

However, the implementation has not yet reached an optimal level. Several challenges remain, particularly related to the achievement of policy targets, the adequacy of resources under conditions of high public demand, and the effectiveness of communication and coordination mechanisms among stakeholders. These findings indicate that the effectiveness of food price stabilization programs is influenced not only by the availability of commodities but also by the ability of implementing organizations to ensure equitable access, sufficient resources, and consistent coordination throughout the implementation process.

Several practical recommendations are proposed to strengthen the implementation of the GPM Program in Surabaya. First, DKPP Surabaya should establish a clear purchase-limit policy to prevent bulk buying and ensure more equitable access to commodities. Second, the local government should develop an independent technical guideline tailored to Surabaya's context, rather than relying solely on national-level directives. Third, information dissemination should be expanded beyond WhatsApp-based networks to reach elderly residents and migrant communities who lack access to local digital groups. Fourth, closer coordination between DKPP and suppliers is needed to determine prices for fluctuating commodities such as chicken and eggs prior to program implementation, in order to reduce potential losses for retail suppliers.

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