

Paradiplomacy Analysis of the East Java Provincial Government in Ensuring Health Security: A Case Study of Collaboration with UNICEF in the Food Fortification Program

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the use of sub-national paradiplomacy to tackle human security challenges, namely health security, by studying the cooperation between the East Java Provincial Government and UNICEF in food fortification. Even though there has been an improvement in the prevalence rate of stunting among children in the region, structural problems in regard to health security still prevail because of disparities in nutritional access and institutional inefficiency at the provincial level. In order to investigate how administrative factors can assist in implementing international collaboration and overcoming the existing challenges, this paper uses the framework of qualitative case study research based on the analysis of documentation provided by relevant reports, statistical information, and policies related to the subject matter. Thematic analysis was applied to evaluate patterns associated with program coordination, legal processes, and policy adoption. According to the results, the success of international cooperation programs in regard to overcoming the challenges of health security in Indonesia does not depend only on technical actions but also on administrative capacity ensuring the compliance with laws and regulations, coordination among sectors, and national interests of the state. Thus, this study demonstrates that the concept of paradiplomacy at the sub-national level is effective in promoting health security through the adoption of international standards into local policies, however, dependence on international actors remains a limitation, emphasizing the need to enhance local institutional capacity for long-term sustainability.

Keywords : Health Security; Human Security; Multi-level Governance; Paradiplomacy

Submitted:

Article Info :

Reviewed:

Accepted :

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1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of stunting still becomes a critical problem for human development in Indonesia, especially in relation to improving the quality of human resources at the regional level. According to the result of 2024 Indonesian Nutrition Status Survey (SSGI), the national stunting rate is currently 19.8%, while the number in East Java Province is 17.7% (BPS East Java, 2024). Even though it represents relative improvement compared to the national average rate, however, the number is still above the benchmark set by WHO which is 15%. Consequently, the issue of stunting is considered one of the important matters in public health problems in this country.

Regarding the trend of decreasing rate of stunting, despite considerable improvement observed in the last few years, the phenomenon is still quite far from being addressed effectively. Indeed, there was some improvement in terms of decreasing the prevalence of stunting in Indonesia; nevertheless, the process is relatively slow, uneven, and requires further steps in addressing structural barriers in implementing health policies. Specifically, limited access to nutritious food, differences in quality of health services, and inadequate capacity in the regions were stated as the main obstacles to speeding up the decrease of stunting rate. Hence, the national strategy cannot always be considered efficient enough in dealing with the problem.

In the context of international relations, the issue of stunting can be regarded as non-traditional security issue related to human welfare. According to the Human Development Report produced by UNDP (1994), the concept of human security suggests that security should be understood not only in the context of military protection from threats to life but also the absence of threats to fundamental interests of a person including safety, health, and adequate standard of living. Accordingly, stunting is perceived as a threat to human capacity and capability to participate in development.

Moreover, the issue of stunting has negative effects on the quality of human resource in several respects: cognitive function, productivity, and competitiveness. As mentioned previously, high prevalence of the phenomenon adversely influences human development and limits its possibilities for economic development in the future. Thus, stunting can be associated with the goals set by the global community within the framework of Sustainable Development Goals (Goal 2 – Zero hunger and Goal 3 – Good health and well-being).

Along with the growing complexity of these issues, the significance of sub-national actors' participation in international relations is rising. According to Duchacek (1990), paradiplomacy means foreign relations conducted by local governments in response to global forces. This notion implies that local governments are not limited to their roles as policy implementers but act as active participants in developing international cooperation for regional development. The latter is then supported by Kuznetsov (2015), whose focus on institutional capacity emphasizes its importance in assessing the effectiveness of paradiplomacy.

In particular, the policies of decentralization implemented in Indonesia allow local governments to engage in international cooperation and use available resources from global actors, including financial resources, technology, and knowledge, in order to solve local problems. However, international cooperation at the regional level cannot be carried out arbitrarily but needs to go through the administrative procedures provided for by the central government. As a result, the role of the regional bureaucracy becomes crucial because it guarantees that the processes of international cooperation comply with the existing laws and interests of the state.

The practical example of paradiplomacy practiced by local governments can be considered to be the collaboration of the East Java Provincial Government and UNICEF within the food fortification program aimed at solving the problem of stunting. It highlights the presence of connections between the global and local levels in policy-making (global-local nexus). Within this framework, international standards created by global organizations are incorporated into local practices. Such international collaboration provides local governments with an opportunity to receive support in terms of financing, technical assistance, and best practices. At the same time, the majority of studies on the issue do not focus on the administrative aspect of the problem and are mainly engaged in assessing the effectiveness of nutrition interventions and the role of health services in policy implementation. Nonetheless, the success of a program depends not only on its technical aspects but also on administrative capacity.

In this regard, the POD Bureau (Biro Administrasi Pemerintahan dan Otonomi Daerah) in the Regional Secretariat is a strategic administrative actor that acts as a facilitator and supervisor of international cooperation at the regional level. As mentioned above, the POD Bureau is responsible for the legalization of the process of cooperation, which includes the creation of legal documentation such as MoU and MoA, among others, and ensuring the whole process is carried out according to the regulations. Hence, the POD Bureau can be seen as a mechanism of state control over paradiplomacy.

The analysis provided leads us to identify a gap in the literature on the topic, specifically, insufficient attention to the role of administrative actors in the process of international cooperation at the regional level. In this regard, the purpose of this research is to analyze the role of the POD Bureau as the key administrative actor in paradiplomacy, focusing on the cooperation between the Provincial

Government of East Java and UNICEF in the program of food fortification. The emphasis of the research will be placed on the administrative procedures of cooperation, such as legalization, facilitation, and cross-sector coordination, aimed at implementing the program as a part of achieving health security.

Therefore, this research does not only explore the results of the implemented programs, but also reveals the institutional mechanisms allowing the programs to function efficiently and effectively. The novelty of the research is its attempt to change the focus from technical to administrative actors and to link the concepts of paradiplomacy and human security in the subnational level of Indonesia. At the same time, the research seeks to contribute to the field of international relations, which primarily studies cooperation between states and pays little attention to administrative actors in the sub-national context.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The current study incorporates three major theoretical concepts including paradiplomacy, human security, and multi-level governance. In particular, the theory of paradiplomacy is used to describe the role of sub-national actors in building up international cooperation, while the concept of human security serves as the normative basis to view stunting as an infringement of people's well-being. Multi-level governance becomes an important tool to study interaction between global and local actors in practice.

Combining these three theories, the proposed research treats the Bureau of Government and Regional Autonomy as an administrative actor that not only becomes a facilitator of international cooperation but also represents a control mechanism of the state to make sure that international cooperation will benefit its interests. Accordingly, in the framework of paradiplomacy and human security, the administrative bureaucracy works as a gatekeeping institution to mediate between global and local actors.

A. Paradiplomacy

1) Definition

Paradiplomacy refers to the diplomatic relations conducted by sub-national actors, namely provincial or regional governments to fulfill some interests on the international stage. As mentioned above, this concept has been initially developed by Ivo Duchacek, who describes paradiplomacy as a form of "perforated sovereignty" implying that sovereign states do not possess the same degree of sovereignty since there is room left for cross-border activities of non-state actors (Duchacek, 1990).

According to this approach, the role of local governments is no longer limited to the implementation of policies from the central government and, instead, local governments become active agents responding to global trends. The concept of paradiplomacy has further developed as a result of the contribution of Alexander Kuznetsov, who highlighted that paradiplomacy was highly dependent on the institutional/administrative capacity of local governments (Kuznetsov, 2015).

Hence, paradiplomacy implies not only international cooperation but also a set of bureaucratic actions aimed at supporting and maintaining it. Accordingly, institution-building became an important part of modern paradiplomacy. As for the developing world, paradiplomacy becomes more common in Indonesia in accordance with decentralization strategies.

2) Function

Paradiplomacy as a form of international relations has the following main functions:

- a) Global Resources Access
Paradiplomacy provides local governments with the possibility to get funding, technology and knowledge from international actors that are not always fully provided by domestic resources (Kuznetsov, 2015).
- b) Global Policies Localization
Through paradiplomacy, international norms and standards may be adapted to local policies by the process of policy translation, therefore making them more appropriate to the social and economic conditions of the region (Lecours, 2002).
- c) Institutional capacity building
Paradiplomacy promotes the strengthening of local bureaucratic capacities, especially in terms of cross-sectoral coordination and the management of international cooperation (Kuznetsov, 2015).
- d) Mechanisms of Control and Sovereignty
Paradiplomacy also serves as an instrument of state control, where local governments ensure that interactions with international actors remain within the framework of national law and do not violate the principle of sovereignty (Duchacek, 1990).

B. Human Security

1) Definition

The concept of human security was introduced by the United Nations Development Programme in the Human Development Report in 1994 as an alternative approach to security which focuses on individuals (UNDP, 1994). This concept stresses that besides protecting the state, individuals should be protected from any threat that might endanger their basic welfare.

Human security encompasses seven major dimensions, namely economic, food, health, environment, personal, community, and political (UNDP, 1994). In regard to the research being conducted, emphasis will be placed on the dimension of health security, involving issues such as health services access, adequate nutrition, and protection against diseases or any other health conditions that are hazardous.

2) Function

a) Protection Against Non-Traditional Threats

This approach widens the sphere of threats, incorporating not only military challenges but also diseases, poverty, and malnutrition having an adverse effect on people's well-being (UNDP, 1994).

b) Multi-Dimensional Approach to Development

This theory emphasizes interdependence of health, education, and economic development in shaping the quality of individual lives (World Bank, 2022).

c) Foundation for Global Policy

The concept of human security underlies numerous global development agendas, including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), focusing on ending hunger and improving health (World Bank, 2022).

C. Multi-Level Governance

1) Definition

Multi-level governance is a theory which asserts that the process of policy making includes multiple levels of governments ranging from global to local, alongside other non-state actors. As

a result of globalization, there is no longer a hierarchy when it comes to public policy and the process is instead made via complex relations among many actors with diverse interests (Lecours, 2019).

As can be seen in this research, multi-level governance takes place within the coordination among UNICEF (an international organization), regulator (central government) and policy implementer (local government).

2) Function

a) Coordinating Policies Between Different Levels of Government

Multi-level governance enables the coordination of policies across global, national, and local levels of governance, thus enhancing the efficiency of implementation of policies (Lecours, 2019).

b) Norm Diffusion and Policy Translation

Dissemination and Policy Translation Norm diffusion and policy translation refer to the spreading of global norms into local context by means of bureaucracy (Lecours, 2019).

c) Strengthening the Global–Local Nexus

Multi-level governance strengthens the relationship between global and local actors, enabling more adaptive handling of cross-border issues such as health and nutrition.

3. METHOD

The research utilizes a qualitative design, involving a case study methodology, to examine the paradiplomatic activities of the East Java Provincial Government with regard to health security improvements through collaboration with UNICEF in the period of 2021-2023. Tambahkan definisi penedektan kualitatif ini bertjuan apa (menurut ahli). Specifically, the paper will examine the implementation of the food fortification project, which forms a part of the plan to address the problem of stunting. Data were gathered through the use of secondary sources, namely, government documents, statistical reports like SSGI, reports produced by international organizations (UNDP, UNICEF), journal articles and press releases published by reputable news agencies. The process of gathering data involved conducting the analysis of the documentation via exploring government websites, academic publications and archived news stories.

Analysis of data is carried out through the use of thematic analysis approach introduced by Braun and Clarke (2006). The method is considered appropriate for use in the research because of its flexibility when working with secondary data gathered from policy papers and institution reports. Thematic analysis is also able to produce structured findings while allowing for interpretability within specific administrative and political context (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Nowell et al., 2017). There are six phases that the process of analyzing data through thematic analysis involves: data familiarization, generation of initial codes, searching for themes, theme review, defining and naming of themes and producing of the final report. Familiarization with data began with reading the selected documents such as the East Java Governor Decree No. 188/330/KPTS/013/2022, UNICEF reports related to the implementation of food fortification projects and POD Bureau reports.

On the second stage of analysis, codes were generated in an inductive manner with consideration of existing theories and literature. Codes were then mapped to themes, analyzed for cohesiveness and significance to the dataset, and properly defined and named according to the role they play. The outcome of the thematic analysis included four major themes: non-traditional human security threat embodied in the issue of stunting; administrative aspects of regional-international cooperation; POD Bureau, the

instrument of state control in paradiplomacy; multi-level governance in implementation. The results were represented following the pattern of Data → Pattern → Interpretation → Theory, and involved referring to the theory of paradiplomacy, human security and multi-level governance. Sources used in gathering data for the research include official documents, international organization reports, academic publications and press releases; credibility of information was achieved through source triangulation. However, a limitation of this study lies in its reliance on secondary data, which excludes direct interviews with key actors and therefore emphasizes documented policy processes rather than lived implementation experiences.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Stunting as a Non-Traditional Threat

First of all, the fact that stunting in East Java makes up to 17.7 percent of children (East Java BPS, 2024) proves that chronic malnutrition in this area is one of the pressing issues. Even though this statistic is lower than the national average and is equal to 19.8 percent (SSGI, 2024), it is still higher than the critical threshold set on a global scale. The trend of the gradual reduction of stunting prevalence does exist. Nevertheless, it is not enough for putting East Java into the category of being safe concerning public health. In other words, it is evident that there was some quantitative development but not the substantive one.

Further analysis of this slow movement proves that in addition to health-related reasons, there are certain structural factors such as inequity in the access to nutritious food, health care distribution, and institutional capacity building. In other words, the technical and sectoral measures implemented could not manage to cope with this complex problem because of their inability to create favorable conditions. Such an example proves the limitations of a program-driven approach to dealing with stunting since the support systems have to be developed first.

From the point of view of international relations, the current situation is a sign of the existence of the phenomenon of stunting in East Java as a non-traditional human security threat. Stunting influences human capital by hindering cognitive development and future productivity, making regions unable to compete successfully in the global economic system. Therefore, it should be considered as inseparable from the idea of human security in general with particular attention to its health security aspect.

To illustrate, UNDP (in Human Development Report, 1994) stated explicitly that the threat to health and nutrition is an integral part of the threat to human security. Under this perspective, stunting can be regarded both as the failure in health development and a barrier to achieve SDGs such as Zero Hunger (SDG 2) and Good Health and Well-being (SDG 3). Recent scholarship has further elaborated on the intersection between nutrition security and broader human development outcomes. Beal et al. (2017) demonstrated that chronic undernutrition during early childhood produces irreversible cognitive deficits that translate into reduced earning potential across the lifespan, thereby perpetuating cycles of poverty at regional scales.

B. East Java Provincial Government–UNICEF Collaboration

As a solution to the above problems, the provincial government of East Java Province cooperates with UNICEF under the food fortification initiative during 2021-2023. The intervention under consideration will target hundreds of thousands of educational institutions as well as community health posts in order to improve the nutrition of school-age children. Statistics prove that such an initiative

should be considered as direct action aimed at addressing the problems of vulnerability through established local mechanisms.

One of the patterns observed in the program's implementation is associated with the integration of international standards of food safety with local nutrition policies. On the one hand, international organizations such as UNICEF offer some global standards related to food fortification and nutritional quality while local governments adapt them to local contexts. Such an integration occurs through the process of adaptation of international standards to local realities.

The interpretation of the pattern mentioned above may be considered as evidence of the importance of bridging global and local spheres in terms of health security. Without the relevant process of adaptation, international standards could become irrelevant to the current reality. In other words, the role of international collaboration becomes a mechanism for building up local capacity rather than substituting it.

The problem in question might be addressed from the point of view of paradiplomacy. Subnational entities may become important agents of international relations that promote their development interests. Following the arguments offered by Kuznetsov (2015), paradiplomacy allows subnational actors to gain access to global resources and develop them into national policies. Therefore, the initiative of the East Java Provincial Government and UNICEF might be viewed as a particular type of paradiplomacy aimed at promoting health security. This finding aligns with Setzer's (2017) observation that subnational climate diplomacy has expanded the repertoire of governance tools available to address transboundary challenges, a dynamic equally applicable to health security cooperation.

C. The Bureau of Government and Regional Autonomy (Biro POD) as a State Control Mechanism

Indeed, in the process of realization, the Bureau of Government and Regional Autonomy (POD) is one of the organizations that will ensure that the process itself goes according to the laws of the country. Data suggests that every kind of international cooperation involves the preparation of official documents, such as Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), Memorandum of Agreement (MoA). In addition, the very process of developing such documents makes up part of the administrative process.

It seems like a new pattern that any kind of interaction with local government takes place not directly but via bureaucratic processes that act as filters. In other words, the POD Bureau coordinates the efforts of different departments in the government – the Health Department, the Education Department, and the Trade Department. It means that, once again, the administrative bureaucracy plays a key role in establishing connections between different actors in the process.

This interpretation of the pattern under discussion proves that the POD Bureau acts as a state control mechanism. Such an aspect becomes especially important in the context of this kind of work because international activities of sub-national states need to be regulated to guarantee that all activities are done according to Ministry of Foreign Affairs Regulation No. 3 of 2019. Consequently, the bureaucracy becomes not only the executor but also the controller of the process.

At the same time, the role of bureaucratic processes in this case is fully in line with the theory of paradiplomacy put forward by Kuznetsov (2015). In particular, the bureaucracy is a kind of intermediary that allows establishing relationships between global and local actors. As a result, the diffusion of norms can take place in an organized way. Without adequate administrative capacity, international cooperation loses its direction.

a) Regulatory Framework: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Regulation No. 3 of 2019

It becomes more apparent that the POBD is an administrative gatekeeper if one looks at the regulatory framework of Indonesia governing regional international cooperation from the

perspective of paradiplomacy. Regulation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs No. 3 of 2019 on Guidelines for Regional Cooperation with Foreign Parties (*Pedoman Kerja Sama Daerah dengan Pihak Luar Negeri*) sets the legal basis for paradiplomacy performed by Indonesian local governments. According to this regulation, all activities of international cooperation conducted by provincial and district/city governments must conform to national foreign policy principles, uphold the concept of state sovereignty, and make contributions to national development goals.

There are three important roles of the POD Bureau performed in accordance with the aforementioned regulatory framework that facilitate the compliance with national law while ensuring successful international cooperation. Specifically, the Bureau carries out preliminary checks aimed at proving legitimacy of the potential international partner and absence of any contradiction between proposed activities and national interests or foreign policy objectives. In other words, the gatekeeper function of the Bureau prevents local governments from initiating processes that may negatively affect bilateral relations of Indonesia or create inconsistencies in the country's foreign policy agenda. Second, the Bureau conducts consultations with different line ministries according to the inter-ministerial process stipulated by the regulation. Finally, documentation and reporting procedures of the Bureau provide the central government with information on implementation and results of regional international cooperation.

Application of the above-described regulatory framework to the case of East Java–UNICEF collaboration proves that administrative measures can serve as both an instrument of state control and facilitator of efficient paradiplomacy at once. Instead of hindering the collaboration, the regulatory procedures ensured compliance with stunting reduction targets set in the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) by incorporating technical inputs of UNICEF into the program. Thus, this case study corroborates Crikemans's (2010) statement about the need for "constitutional loyalty" in the context of successful paradiplomacy.

b) Strategic Functions of the POD Bureau

First, legalization ensures that international cooperation is conducted via legal means. Operationally, this involves drafting and processing MoU/MoA documents, ensuring compliance with *Permenlu* No. 3/2019, and obtaining necessary approvals from line ministries and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the case of cooperation between East Java and UNICEF, it was important not just to process the documents but also to ensure that all the programs that were developed would conform with the priorities of the East Java area and would avoid any undesired obligations. Theoretically, this function maintains state sovereignty by ensuring subnational international activities remain within national legal frameworks (Duchacek, 1990), thereby acting as a "constitutional loyalty" mechanism (Crikemans, 2010).

Second, facilitation goes beyond administrative processing and involves actively supporting the implementation of the programs. The operational manifestation of this role includes connecting international partners with relevant provincial agencies, as well as managing documentation and reporting. For example, this includes convening consultations and ensuring that technical assistance from international actors is accessible to the right stakeholders. From a theoretical standpoint, this function enhances the institutional capacity for paradiplomacy (Kuznetsov, 2015) and enables efficient resource transfer from global to local levels.

Third, coordination is especially important due to the multi-sectoral character of nutrition interventions. Operationally, the POD Bureau convenes cross-sectoral meetings among the Health Office, Education Office, Food Security Agency, and other stakeholders to harmonize program activities with existing provincial initiatives. Theoretically, this role operationalizes multi-level governance by linking vertical (global-national-local) and horizontal (inter-agency) coordination (Lecours, 2019), which ultimately prevents policy fragmentation.

D. Global-to-Local Alignment: Multi-level Governance

The partnership between the East Java Provincial Government and UNICEF exemplifies the mechanisms of multi-level governance, which implies that the decision-making is not done in a vacuum by a certain stakeholder but through interaction among different levels of government. In this case, UNICEF acts as the provider of global norms and international resources, while the local government takes responsibility to implement these policies considering local peculiarities.

Thus, the current process suggests that there is a dual implementation of policies. On one hand, there is the top-down transfer of ideas and strategies from the international actors towards the local governments. On the other hand, the bottom-up strategy is used, meaning that the decisions are made on the basis of feedback from local bureaucrats to technical implementation units. The implementation of such approach leads to the complicated process of adjustment.

Accordingly, an analysis of the dynamics reveals that local bureaucracy plays the role of policy translators or norm diffusers and policymakers. Namely, this refers to the fact that the process under consideration entails the translation of global policies into local norms, which can be called policy translation or norm diffusion.

Nevertheless, the dependency on international actors such as UNICEF might result in the lack of sustainability because the support provided in the form of financing and technical standards will become a weakness. That is why, in terms of global governance, it is crucial that local governments act not only as recipients of policies but also as managers of certain programs.

E. Challenges and Sustainability of Regional-International Cooperation

Despite the positive results of the East Java-UNICEF collaboration, closer examination identifies several important factors that pose threats to long-term sustainability. In particular, the issues relate to the potential for creating unsustainable dependencies, insufficient institutional capacity at the local level, and the need for well-thought-out exit strategies.

First of all, it should be mentioned that one of the major problems related to paradiplomacy applied to development initiatives is that the international organization in question always possesses greater resources and technical capacity than a local government entity. Thus, the East Java Provincial Government relies on not only financing but also technical solutions, such as standards, monitoring mechanisms, and other inputs, that it would be unable to develop without the help of international partners (Nganje, 2014). Such an approach facilitates quicker implementation but may lead to problematic dependencies that emerge when international organizations alter their focus areas or end their activities.

Analyzing the strategic framework for programming implemented by UNICEF, one can note that resource allocation within this organization depends on its constantly changing strategic priorities defined by the need to address different global emergencies and shifting development paradigms (UNICEF, 2023). As a result, the East Java Provincial Government cannot hope for continuous assistance and may face a situation where it does not have the necessary skills for implementing certain measures.

Solving sustainability challenges in this context involves moving from viewing international collaboration as a process involving resource transfers to a perspective that emphasizes institutional capacity building as a way to ensure the success of interventions. All existing research proves the validity of the assumption that effective development partnership produces sustainable changes that occur when local systems are strengthened, not when services are delivered through external actors (Andrews et al., 2017; Booth, 2012).

In the current situation, this means that the activities carried out by UNICEF in East Java should focus on transferring certain capabilities to the POD Bureau, Provincial Health Office, and other bodies involved. For example, training provincial employees how to monitor the processes associated with food fortification, establishing certain quality assurance procedures that can be implemented without additional resources, and forming inter-agency communication channels.

A well-designed development partnership takes into consideration exit strategies that outline the criteria for moving towards self-sustainability, measures for maintaining progress achieved, and plans for handling any problems that might arise during the process of implementation after the transition period (Gardner et al., 2005). No documentary proof about an explicitly designed exit plan exists in the East Java example. Such a gap represents a substantial weakness in the current partnership between the province and UNICEF that should be addressed.

One way to design an exit strategy for the food fortification cooperation is through gradual reduction of funding by UNICEF followed by additional budget allocation by the province for nutrition-related activities; transferring the responsibility of evaluation and monitoring of activities from UNICEF's technical team to trained provincial employees; setting up channels for continuous technical consultations where UNICEF experts can be consulted by subnational institutions without always having to travel to Indonesia; and capturing knowledge gained throughout the process and putting them in a format that can be used by other regions in Indonesia.

These sustainability issues have wider implications in terms of how one conceptualizes paradiplomacy as a governance mechanism. The existing theories, such as Kuznetsov's (2015) theory, recognize that for paradiplomacy to work effectively, it is important to have capable local administration. However, they overlook some key points related to the temporality of international cooperation and how the transition process happens.

It seems important that paradiplomacy theories draw upon relevant information available in the development effectiveness field. The existing knowledge on partnership modality and exit strategies can be helpful in formulating theories that will guide policymakers in ensuring that international cooperation efforts are sustainable. In addition to having the capability to administer the partnership, the subnational actors must be visionary enough to develop an exit strategy and ensure that the transition process is smooth.

5. CONCLUSION

This research has analyzed the paradiplomacy of the East Java Provincial Government in ensuring health security through collaboration with UNICEF on food fortification. Several conclusions emerge from this analysis:

- 1) The paradiplomacy performed by the East Java Provincial Government through the food fortification program in cooperation with UNICEF has been shown to be a useful tool for facilitating health security at the local level, especially in preventing stunting through the incorporation of global norms and local policies.

- 2) While the effectiveness of the program does not depend solely on the technical component of the intervention, it greatly depends on the role of the Bureau of Government and Regional Autonomy (POD Bureau) as an administrative player that acts as both an intermediary institution and state control institution ensuring legitimacy and coherence of cooperation with national interests.
- 3) The main advantage of the model proposed is that it promotes synergies between international and local players (international-local nexus) through multi-level governance tools; therefore, international policies are applied in practice considering the specificities of the locality.
- 4) One of the disadvantages is the dependence of the project on international actors in terms of financing and international norms; such a dependency can become a barrier to the sustainability of the program implementation in the long-term perspective.
- 5) Further elaboration of the model should include building the capacity of the POD Bureau in international cooperation, improving monitoring and evaluation systems based on data, and allocating more budget for health security at the local level from internal sources rather than relying on international assistance.

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