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## Reframing transmigration: A strategic transformation framework for Indonesia's economic resilience and national integration

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### Abstract

This research examines how Indonesia's transmigration program has evolved as a tool for national development, addressing regional issues and enhancing the country's economic resilience. Transmigration is not only a program for relocating people, but also a means of establishing competitive and welcoming economic development hubs. The research utilises the SWOT and Theory of Change (ToC) frameworks to facilitate a more efficient change process. It achieves this by employing a descriptive, qualitative technique. The study shows that incorporating transmigration into important national plans, such as relocating the capital city, ensuring food and energy security, and the Vision of Golden Indonesia 2045, contributes significantly to spatial growth. The preparation of a national grand design, the creation of the Integrated Transmigration Economic Zone (KETZ), cross-sectoral institutional reform, and the adoption of new financing methods, such as Government and Business Entity Cooperation (PPP) and blended finance, are all ways to accelerate progress. The study concludes that accelerating the process of transmigration transformation may be a valuable tool for creating a regional ecosystem that can adapt, be resilient, and endure. Political, regulatory, and institutional backing is crucial for transmigration to strengthen the economy of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and maintain the country's borders. The research finds that institutional change, capacity training, and innovative funding approaches are all crucial for leveraging transmigration as a tool for regional progress and national unity.

**Keywords:** Indonesia 2045, National resilience, Regional development, SWOT, Theory of change, Transmigration.

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## **1. Introduction**

Indonesia faces numerous strategic challenges if it wants to maintain a strong economy and robust national security. These problems include ongoing regional disparity, uncontrolled urbanisation, and limited regional integration. The fact that most people live on the islands of Java and Bali increases the likelihood of demographic pressure and unequal access to basic amenities. The transmigration program has been employed throughout history to disperse people and open up new areas for habitation. Some of its biggest successes include the creation of over 1,500 settlements and the relocation of millions of people who were displaced from their homes. However, problems with execution, such as low land quality, poor infrastructure, social strife, and the inferior skills of transmigrant workers, indicate that a new approach is necessary. The program had not just technical problems, but also a weakening of institutions and a drop in funding support. This support was not recovered until the program was eventually raised to a distinct ministry in 2024. The President's order to create five flagship initiatives and promote transmigration as a national strategic goal strengthens the government's commitment to revitalising transmigration. Transmigration is currently designed to support the long-term planning goals of the 2025–2045 RPJPN and the Golden Indonesia 2045 vision. This is especially true when it comes to fostering regional economic development and enhancing the country's resilience. In this situation, transmigration must become a key component of a regional development plan that encompasses three primary pillars: land and housing capital, enhancing the quality of the workforce, and innovative governance based on investment and technology. This change must occur quickly so that transmigration can establish a new, productive, inclusive, and enduring economic environment. It should also become an essential part of maintaining the country's economic resilience in the future.

## **2. Research Question and Motivation**

The transmigration program in Indonesia has relocated over 9 million people and established hundreds of new communities. However, it has not yet fully realised its promise to boost regional economic growth and national resilience. The transmigration program in Indonesia has not yet fully realised its potential for promoting regional economic growth and national resilience, despite having already helped nearly 9 million people relocate and establish thousands of new towns. There are still a few big problems. First, the present method is still primarily focused on relocating people rather than establishing economically sustainable growth clusters that are interconnected across regions. Transmigration zones typically lack good connections to major economic centres and marketplaces, which makes it harder for them to integrate into national development plans. Second, land availability and legality remain significant issues due to the lack of reliable land data, unresolved land tenure concerns, and potential land disputes. Institutional dispersion between ministries and levels of government makes planning and carrying out much harder. Third, although it may contribute to food and energy security and is strategically located along the border, the transmigration program has not yet been fully integrated into Indonesia's national resilience plan. Fourth, internal problems including poor infrastructure, a lack of skilled workers, insecure land tenure, and a significant reliance on state finances make productivity and regional autonomy less effective. Ultimately, the program still falls short in addressing pressing issues such as climate change, digitalisation, and urbanisation.

Additionally, there is insufficient involvement from many other groups, notably the commercial sector and civil society. This is necessary for long-term regional development. The problem this study aims to address is based on what has already been stated: "What is the acceleration strategy for changing the transmigration program to create regions with inclusive and sustainable economic growth, so that economic resilience can be used as a basis for national resilience?" This central question underscores the importance of reviving the transmigration program as a means to mitigate regional disparities, promote equitable growth, and foster national unity through economic resilience.

The study is guided by three main research topics that help address its primary problem. First, why hasn't the transmigration policy been the most effective way to help the economy grow and the country remain strong? This inquiry aims to examine the reasons why transmigration is not working as effectively as it could, including policy misalignments, institutional limitations, and challenges in implementing it across diverse areas. Second, the research examines the significant challenges that are hindering the transformation of transmigration in the present day. This issue encompasses both external factors, such as climate change, globalisation, and technological advancements, as well as internal challenges, including insufficient funding, difficulties in collaborating with other agencies, and the lack of involvement from local stakeholders. Third, the study aims to identify the policy measures required to accelerate the transition to transmigration. This will help regional economies become stronger, ultimately benefiting the country as a whole. This question will help us develop policy measures that are more flexible, inclusive, and cooperative. This will make sure that the transmigration program becomes a fundamental part of national economic security and a driver of long-term progress in the regions.

## **3. The Proposed Conceptual Framework**

We will utilise a combination of SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) and the Theory of Change (ToC) to develop a framework for studying and evaluating transmigration policy that is both theoretically sound and practical in the real world. Each technique has its benefits, but when used together, they provide a synergistic tool that fills in holes in the transmigration policy literature. For example, there are not enough comprehensive internal/external evaluations, or well-defined causative processes. SWOT analysis adds a strong diagnostic tool that shows how both environmental and organisational factors affect the results of transmigration policy. It allows people to examine both internal and external aspects in an organised way. Internal factors include aspects such as the legal system, the effectiveness of the government, and the ease of accessing resources. External factors include things like geopolitical pressures, public

opinion, and environmental threats. In contrast, ToC takes these ideas and puts them into dynamic, testable causal pathways. This strategy compels academics and politicians to articulate the assumptions, procedures, and contextual dependencies that underpin the relationship between policy inputs and outcomes. This makes policy design more rigorous and open.

These technologies work together to provide a comprehensive and flexible policy framework. The integration enables feedback loops and iterative learning, which are crucial for transmigration governance, as it is constantly evolving and politically sensitive. The integrated approach enables us to identify sources of failure, assess the viability of policies, and adjust our implementation tactics by combining both structural diagnosis (through SWOT) and causal modelling (through ToC). Recent real-world research demonstrates the utility of this integration. For example, Prasetyo, et al. [1] demonstrated that Indonesia's transmigration system performs more effectively with robust regulatory support and digital infrastructure. These are internal characteristics that, when seen through a ToC lens, make policy delivery channels more coherent and robust. These qualities help ensure that the sequence of events leading from legal frameworks to service delivery is less likely to be disrupted.

On the other hand, deficiencies within an organisation, such as a lack of inter-agency collaboration, bureaucratic fragmentation, and insufficient personnel capabilities, may hinder the implementation of policies. Affolter [2] and Natter [3] discuss institutional decoupling, which occurs when policies are adopted in name only but not implemented in practice. These problems make the "Activities" and "Outputs" phases of the ToC model less successful, which is a significant issue since people and institutions need to be aligned for the model to be effective. A SWOT analysis can reveal these hidden weaknesses, and a ToC can help explain how these kinds of problems might disrupt the logic of change.

Threats from outside make implementation significantly more challenging. Changes in public opinion, climate change, or fluctuations in national budgets (such as Indonesia's APBN) can make the policy environment less stable. These external problems, which are often not given enough consideration in static policy models, may render the assumptions underlying a Theory of Change incorrect and necessitate the development of flexible, context-sensitive pathways. For example, Tortú, et al. [4] showed that severe transmigration regulations that do not align with social reality might have unforeseen effects, such as increased crime. This illustrates the importance of having precise and responsive causal mapping.

To put this integrative framework into action, policymakers need to methodically match SWOT results with the right parts of the ToC architecture. It can align its internal strengths, such as having a stable leadership team or digital skills, with the circumstances that drive events in the causal chain. It can also utilise weaknesses and threats to help organisations devise ways to mitigate risk. Prasetyo, et al. [1] used this method in Indonesia's transmigration industry. They used a SWOT analysis to identify implementation issues and then employed ToC models to plan potential paths for change.

In conclusion, combining SWOT analysis and the Theory of Change enhances the assessment of transmigration policy, making it more comprehensive and practical. Recent research has helped us gain a deeper understanding of the factors that influence transmigration and how organisations operate. However, significant gaps remain in our knowledge of how to systematically examine both internal and external components and establish causal pathways. This integrated approach immediately addresses these problems by providing policymakers and researchers with a more comprehensive, reflective, and flexible tool.

According to the research, strategic planning has four significant deficiencies that make it less successful for organisations, as shown in Table 1. A traditional SWOT analysis does not account for internal routines, external influences, feedback loops, or causal pathways. The Theory of Change (ToC) technique, on the other hand, systematically addresses these problems. A SWOT analysis reveals the strengths and weaknesses of a company, whereas a ToC analysis illustrates how these characteristics impact causal chains. SWOT identifies policy pressures and public opinion, but it does not conduct a comprehensive environmental scan.

On the other hand, ToC combines outside information with result logic. SWOT tracks threats over time without providing methods to adapt, whereas ToC includes ways to provide feedback, including scenarios for when implementation fails. The most significant difference between SWOT and ToC is that SWOT identifies components related to the cause without providing detailed explanations for them. In contrast, ToC explains how factors interact and lead to outcomes, transforming static analysis into actionable strategic roadmaps. The research fills in the gaps in strategic planning by using SWOT analysis instead of the Theory of Change (ToC).

**Table 1.**  
Research Gap.

Gap	SWOT Impact	ToC Role
Internal routines ignored	SWOT surfaces staff, structure, tech assets/liabilities	ToC maps how SWOT factors influence causal chains
Missing external factor scanning	SWOT identifies policy pressures, public sentiment, and institutional legitimacy	ToC integrates these externally identified inputs into outcome logic
No feedback loops	SWOT tracks threats/opportunities over time	ToC can include loops (e.g., implementation failure triggering policy revision)
Causal pathways undefined	SWOT lists factors causally relevant	ToC articulates how they interact and produce outcomes

#### **4. Literature Review And Hypotheses Development**

We provide a set of hypotheses to guide future empirical study on transmigration systems, especially in the context of transmigration policy. These hypotheses are grounded in a robust theoretical framework that integrates SWOT analysis with the Theory of Change (ToC) framework. These assumptions are based on how internal capabilities and external situations interact to influence the implementation of policies and the resulting outcomes. Hypothesis 1 (H1) states that having clear rules and institutions that operate effectively together—what we refer to as "internal strengths"—is associated with the better implementation of transmigration policy. This is supported by Indonesia's regulatory framework, particularly the enactment of Perpres 172/2024, which enables various authorities to collaborate [1]. This clear set of rules makes it easier for people from different sectors to collaborate and implement policies.

Hypothesis-2 (H2) says that internal deficiencies, such as limited administrative capability and fragmentation of institutions, are linked to policy inconsistency and failure. Affolter [2] and Vigneswaran and de León [5] demonstrate that when institutional players fail to collaborate, it can lead to inconsistent execution, reduced predictability, and poorer outcomes in complex governance systems. Moving on to the outside world, Hypothesis 3 (H3) states that factors such as climate change, reliance on government funding, or political instability serve as moderating factors that mitigate the direct impact of internal strengths on achieving goals. The SWOT-ToC study of Indonesia's transmigration policy found that disputes over land tenure and a significant reliance on the national budget (APBN) made it more challenging to certify land, which in turn hindered the achievement of policy goals.

On the other hand, Hypothesis 4 (H4) focuses on the possibility of outside opportunities—especially those that support national strategic objectives, such as food security and infrastructure development—to make policies more effective in the long run. However, this depends on addressing internal issues. For example, the suggested causal chain indicates that land allocation leads to agro-industrial clustering, which helps stabilise the country's food supply, provided that problems with data-related administration, including gaps in land inventory systems, are addressed.

Lastly, Hypothesis 5 (H5) examines the additional risk that arises from internal problems interacting with external threats. This double vulnerability significantly increases the likelihood that the Theory of Change route will fail. For instance, when ministries are divided and social friction arises due to migration, it may hinder the effectiveness of policies, even when there are strong legislative requirements [3, 4]. All of these ideas come from a careful combination of SWOT factor classification and the causal logic of the Theory of Change. Together, they provide a solid and testable framework for explaining how policies change in complex, unstable, and institutionally layered transmigration governance settings.

#### **5. Results and Discussion**

##### **5.1. Using Causal Pathway Analysis to Connect SWOT and ToC**

We conducted a SWOT analysis (Table 2) to assess the organisation's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats. Some of its strengths include strong regulatory support [6, 7] a long history of contributing to regional development, a large area and population on the outer islands, and the Ministry of Transmigration's reestablishment, which gives the organisation new legitimacy. Weaknesses include a tight budget, underdeveloped basic infrastructure, limited administrative and technical skills among local personnel, minimal involvement from the commercial sector, and poor coordination across agencies. Opportunities: working with national strategic plans such as the Nusantara Capital City (IKN), food and energy security, the SDGs, and Indonesia Vision 2045. There are further opportunities in utilising digital transformation, blended financing, and cooperation between the public and private sectors. Threats: People do not believe in transmigration because they still consider it a bad idea, are concerned about climate-related hazards, are involved in ongoing societal disputes, and are overly dependent on government financing without a variety of investment options.

**Table 2.**  
Analysis of SWOT.

No	Main Questions	Focus Issues	The Root of the Problem	Strategic Implications
1	Why is the transmigration program not optimal in supporting economic development and national resilience?	The ineffectiveness of transmigration's contribution to economic growth and national resilience	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The approach is still based on population relocation, not economic zone development;</li> <li>2. Weak integration of transmigration in the framework of national development;</li> </ol> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of support for the food security and energy sectors.</li> </ul>	Reorientation of transmigration as an integrated regional development policy & strategic instrument of national resilience.
2	What are the challenges that hinder the acceleration of transmigration transformation in the current era?	Obstacles structural and institutional	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Policy fragmentation and weak coordination across sectors and regions;</li> <li>2. Land legality issues and limitations of basic infrastructure in transmigration areas;</li> <li>3. The quality of transmigrant human resources is still low and not adaptive to modern technology;</li> <li>4. Access to innovative financing (PPP, CSR, cross-sector funds) has not been optimal;</li> <li>5. The capacity of implementing ASN is inadequate in terms of technical competence, digitalization, and spatial planning;</li> <li>6. The Ministry of Transmigration does not yet fully have an institutional structure that supports coordination and transformational functions across sectors.</li> </ol>	Strengthening governance across sectors and levels of government; institutional reform of the Ministry of Transmigration; Increasing the capacity of ASN; land settlement; and accelerating regional infrastructure development.
3	How is the strategy to accelerate transmigration transformation in realizing regional economic development and national resilience	Efforts to accelerate regional-based and collaborative policies	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. There is no <i>National Grand Design</i> for Transmigration Transformation;</li> <li>2. The weak role of local economic institutions (BUMDes, cooperatives, farmer corporations).</li> <li>3. Transmigration areas have not been connected to regional growth centers or national development macro strategies.</li> </ol>	Development of integrated transmigration zones, multi-actor collaboration, digitalization, and innovative financing

**Table 3.**  
Analysis of TOC.

Stages	Description	Duration of Time
Input	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Regulations and national policy directions [7];</li> <li>2. State Budget and alternative sources of financing (Village Fund, PPP, CSR, international funds).;</li> <li>3. Spatial, socio-economic, and land data of transmigration areas;</li> <li>4. technical human resources and field extension workers.</li> <li>5. Political commitment from the central and regional levels.</li> <li>6. The new institutional structure of the Ministry of Transmigration is more flexible and cross-functional. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ASN implementers whose capacity is enhanced in spatial planning, local economic facilitation, and service digitalization.</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	Years 1–2
Main Activities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Preparation of the National Grand Design for Transmigration Transformation.</li> <li>2. Mapping of regional potential, analysis of leading economic clusters.</li> <li>3. Basic infrastructure development and regional digitalization.</li> <li>4. Vocational training and development of transmigrant human resources.</li> <li>5. Certification and legalization of transmigration land.</li> <li>6. Institutional restructuring of the Ministry of Transmigration to strengthen coordination functions across sectors and regions. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improving the competence of central and regional civil servants through thematic training and the establishment of a Transmigration Leadership School.</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	Years 1–2
Output	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The issuance of supporting policies and regulations across sectors.</li> <li>2. The construction of a cluster-based Integrated Transmigration Economic Zone (KETT).</li> <li>3. The formation of a cross-sector development consortium and private partners.</li> <li>4. The increase in the number of competent ASN and field extension workers.</li> <li>5. Digitization of regional information systems and transmigration services. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The establishment of a national dashboard for monitoring regional performance.</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	Years 1–2
Outcome Short-term (1–2 years)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The institution of the Ministry of Transmigration is more solid and coordinating.</li> <li>2. ASN is more responsive to regional and social development approaches.</li> <li>3. Transmigration areas are connected to regional growth centers and infrastructure. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The development of local economic clusters based on the potential of leading sectors.</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	Years 1–2
Outcome Medium Term (3–5 years)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Public-private investment is increasing in transmigration areas.</li> <li>2. Regional ASN has an active role as a facilitator of integrated regional development.</li> <li>3. Local economic institutions (BUMDes, cooperatives) are growing and sustainable. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coordination across sectors and regions is improved through regular synergy forums.</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	Years 3–5
Outcome Long-Term (6–10 years)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Transmigration areas are becoming new economic growth centers in the 3T region.</li> <li>2. The construction of logistics networks and supply chains between regions and cities. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transmigrant human resources and civil servants have high competitiveness in inclusive development.</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	Years 6–10
Final Goal (Impact)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Transmigration transformation is the main strategy for integrated region-based development.</li> <li>2. National economic resilience is strengthened through new growth nodes.</li> <li>3. Transmigration is an instrument of geopolitics and national resilience based on the region.</li> </ol>	Years 10–20

Stages	Description	Duration of Time
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ASN of the Ministry of Transmigration has transformed into a key actor in collaborative, responsive, and data-based regional development.</li> </ul>	

The Theory of Change (ToC) framework maps the transformation process from inputs to long-term impacts. Inputs (Years 1–2): These include rules and regulations, APBN funding, digital land and socioeconomic data, institutional reforms, and building the skills of civil servants and extension workers. Focus on creating a national grand plan, identifying economic clusters, establishing digital infrastructure, educating local workers, making land rights legal, and reorganising institutions. Outputs: Setting up Integrated Transmigration Economic Zones (KETTT), digital governance systems, multi-stakeholder consortia, and personnel that can carry out the plans. Short-term outcomes (1–2 years): better coordination across institutions, more responsive public servants, better connections between regions, and working local economic clusters. Medium-term Outcomes (3–5 years): More investment from both the public and private sectors, stronger local economic organisations (such as cooperatives and BUMDes), and better collaboration across different sectors. Long-term outcomes (6–10 years): Transmigration regions will become new regional growth hubs, local human capital will become more competitive, and supply chains will become more interconnected. Impact (10–20 years): Transmigration becomes a key component of spatially integrated national growth, making the economy more resilient and equitable across all regions while strengthening Indonesia's geopolitical unity.

The combination of SWOT analysis and the Theory of Change (ToC) provides a comprehensive picture of how to analyse and change Indonesia's transmigration policy. SWOT helps identify the internal and external factors that impact policy implementation, whereas ToC provides organisations with an organised way to show how strategic inputs lead to long-term results. Using these methods together helps us better understand how institutional issues affect the effectiveness of policies. This makes it easier to create a strong framework for analysing transmigration policy and changing the public sector.

The main idea behind this paradigm is that policies will only function if institutions can adapt to their strengths and limitations, as well as to opportunities and dangers from outside. SWOT analysis detects these environmental and organisational elements, whereas ToC turns them into a series of actions and results along a causal route. This integrated approach enables policymakers to link broad policy goals with the day-to-day realities of institutions through a logical sequence of inputs, outputs, and effects [8, 9]. For example, one of the program's most important assets is that national rules support it and have a long history of facilitating movement. These internal assets make it easy for policies to stay the same. However, problems include inadequate coordination across sectors and a lack of institutional capacity among civil officials (ASN), which makes it hard to carry out the plan effectively. ToC views these limitations as the primary reasons why long-term objectives, such as national resilience and inclusive regional development, cannot be achieved. There are opportunities to link strategies with external projects, such as the development of Indonesia's new capital city (IKN), the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and national frameworks for food and energy security. At the same time, outside concerns such as social strife, environmental damage, and reliance on government funding reveal weaknesses that ToC may help address through anticipatory policy formulation and ongoing review.

The research demonstrates that the effectiveness of transmigration reform is influenced primarily by improving the internal institutions of the Ministry of Transmigration and enhancing the capacity of ASN, as the primary implementer of the program. Change is not only about structures; it is also about the quality of the people who can connect policies with the actual needs on the ground. With the ToC model, the transmigration program is urged to alter its emphasis from population movement alone to become a driver of regional development based on economic clusters, creative governance, and multi-stakeholder involvement. The research indicates that transmigration should shift from being a means of relocating people to a means of enhancing the economy and local area. 1) Institutional Reform: The Ministry of Transmigration needs to change into a cross-sectoral coordinating agency with adaptive governance that can lead integrated regional planning. 2) Human Capital Development: Civil servants need to learn more about spatial planning, digital services, impact-based policymaking, and how to make local economic systems more inclusive. 3) Infrastructure and Land Tenure Security: Investing in infrastructure and certifying land are both important for attracting investment and reducing social and environmental conflict. Engagement of Multiple Stakeholders:

### 5.2. Answering The Hypothesis

Using a SWOT and Theory of Change (ToC) framework, the essay examines how the program's internal strengths and weaknesses interact with external opportunities and threats to assess its effectiveness. The five assumptions of institutional coherence, internal limits, threat moderation, external alignment, and compounding risks are examined in the real-world setting of Indonesia's transmigration policy. This research highlights the importance of adopting a systems-based, comprehensive approach to reforming transmigration. Regulatory clarity and institutional coherence (H1) are important, but they are insufficient to address internal problems (H2) and mitigate risks (H3). There are chances (H4), but they are not being utilised enough due to administrative issues. The danger of failure increases significantly when weaknesses and threats coincide (H5). Investments in institutional transformation, digital governance, capacity development, and cooperation among many stakeholders must be part of the way ahead. This program can reach its full potential by becoming part of Indonesia's broader national vision and ensuring that all levels of government can adapt to changes. This will make the country more resilient and improve equality in the regions. The research suggests that institutional transformation, adaptive governance, and systemic alignment with national development goals are essential for enabling transmigration to promote inclusive growth and national resilience. Here are the details:

Hypothesis 1: Strong regulatory frameworks and institutional coherence (internal strengths) make implementation easier.

Law of The Republic of Indonesia [6] are examples of powerful legal tools that demonstrate the regulatory clarity required for policies to be effective, as Hypothesis-1 suggests. These rules have enabled different sectors to collaborate and have restored the credibility of institutions by establishing a new Ministry of Transmigration [5]. The SWOT analysis supports these as internal strengths that facilitate efficient implementation. The ToC model demonstrates this strength by listing inputs such as aligning national, having skilled workers, and having regulatory backing as prerequisites for constructing Integrated Transmigration Economic Zones (KETT). This institutional consistency is what led to short-term results, such as government workers being more responsive and better regional connectedness. H1 is quite powerful in the Indonesian context.

Hypothesis 2: Weaknesses inside the organisation make policies less consistent and less effective.

The program has been plagued by ongoing structural and administrative issues, which support Hypothesis 2. Policy implementation is still hindered by fragmented institutions, poor coordination across agencies, and a lack of skills among civil servants (ASN). The SWOT analysis reveals that these internal vulnerabilities are exacerbated by inadequate infrastructure and a lack of engagement from local stakeholders. ToC mapping illustrates how these problems hinder the activities and outputs phases of the causal chain. For example, the absence of qualified workers and digital infrastructure makes it hard to create successful regional clusters. These problems also make it harder to legitimise land ownership, which slows down both economic growth and social cohesion in places where people are moving. So, the idea that internal deficiencies make policies less successful is well substantiated.

Hypothesis 3: Threats lessen the effects of internal strengths.

Even though there are strong rules and institutions, outside challenges including reliance on government funding, climate change, and political instability make these strengths less effective. The SWOT analysis reveals that the national budget (APBN), unresolved land issues, and environmental hazards continue to be significant challenges. In the ToC model, these dangers are not only minor issues; they are also factors that slow down the process of change. For instance, even when institutions are well-organised, financial constraints and land tenure disputes may hinder the flow of inputs and activities, which can slow down outputs and prevent outcomes from occurring. For example, overlapping claims and insufficient legal enforcement make the land certification procedure far less effective. Hypothesis-3 is validated because threats weaken the effectiveness of internal strengths.

Hypothesis 4: Strategic External Opportunities Make Long-Term Impact Stronger

According to Hypothesis 4, opportunities related to national goals, such as food and energy security, digital transformation, and infrastructure development, have significant potential to improve policy outcomes. Transmigration, the IKN capital move, Indonesia Emas 2045, and the SDG frameworks may all work together to drive regional development. However, the ToC results show that these prospects can only be fully realised if the organisation's internal problems, especially its inadequate data systems and administrative gaps, are fixed. For example, the creation of agro-industrial clusters depends on correct land and socioeconomic data, which is not presently available. The possibility of transmigration contributing to food sovereignty and logistics development is genuine, but conditional. This partly supports H4: external possibilities only have a long-term influence when internal systems can handle and act on them.

Hypothesis 5: Risks that become worse because of weaknesses within and threats outside

Hypothesis-5 describes the most dangerous situation, when internal flaws and external dangers come together and make each other worse. There is considerable evidence from the transmigration program that supports this theory. For instance, policy failures have often occurred when both fragmented internal governance systems and external factors, such as societal unrest or natural disasters, are present, even when official mandates are in place. ToC research shows that there are multiple kinds of breaks in the causal chain. For example, institutional bottlenecks such as obsolete procedures and inadequate technical capabilities may hinder the transition from input to output when the political or environmental situation is unstable. Notably, even when funds are available, poor coordination and local opposition have halted execution. These results demonstrate the importance of making institutions more resilient to handle external shocks, which supports H5.

### *5.3. Other Relevance of the Concept*

#### *5.3.1. The Evolution and Transformation of Transmigration Programs*

Law Number 29 of 2009, which defines transmigration as the voluntary transfer of people to promote welfare in transmigration zones, improved the transmigration policy after the reform. There are three main programs: general transmigration (government-supported), aided self-employment (a collaboration between government and private sectors), and self-employment (individual initiative with government assistance). As we enter 2025, the transmigration policy has evolved into a regional development plan centred on economic zones. Transmigration helps achieve two primary national goals: making Indonesia more economically independent (in terms of food, energy, and water) and promoting growth from villages to foster fairness. These goals align with the RPJMN and the vision of a Golden Indonesia 2045. Five main projects make this goal a reality: 1) Trans Tuntas: setting up and enforcing agricultural law in regions where people are moving. Translok, 2) giving power to local communities without moving them, 3) Trans Patriot: getting better human resources and the younger generation involved as development agents, 4) Trans Karya Nusa: building leading commodity-based economic centres, and 5) Trans Gotong Royong: getting the government, the private sector, and the community to work together. This new perspective means that transmigration is no longer merely about moving people from one place to another. It is now a way to help the local economy grow fairly and sustainably, based on the area's potential, and focused



on long-term success. The idea is strengthened by combining regional development techniques with growth pole theory. Transmigration regions are intended to become growth poles, driven by the primary industries that have a significant impact on the surrounding area through the effects of economic diffusion. Integrated rural development and inter-regional connection are also important strategies for achieving balanced national growth. There are numerous examples of excellent practices that demonstrate the effectiveness of an integrated transmigration area strategy. There are many successful examples of transmigration, such as KTM Telang in Banyuasin, which is a rice production centre; Lagita in Bengkulu, which is developing oil palm; and the transmigration area in Central Mamuju, which is connected to ports and industries. These results suggest that transmigration can contribute to substantial GDP growth when accompanied by infrastructure support and a cluster-based approach. Modern transmigration must be planned using a cluster farming strategy, integrated into industrial supply chains, and involve a diverse group of people, drawing on what has worked in other countries, such as Thailand and Malaysia.

### *5.3.2. Strategic Contributions to Economic Resilience, Social Integration, and Territorial Development*

Revamping Indonesia's transmigration program is an innovative approach to enhance the country's food security. The initiative is no longer just about moving people from one island to another. It now aspires to create new centres of economic development, promote social cohesion, and make the country as a whole more resilient. The Ministry of Transmigration has developed a plan for the years 2025 to 2029 that focuses on creating Integrated Transmigration Economic Zones (Kawasan Ekonomi Transmigrasi Terintegrasi or KETT). This plan will be supported by investments in human capital, the development of local commodities, and the alignment of policies across sectors and regions. This change is intended to occur gradually and be easily noticeable, with clear performance metrics that everyone can understand and interpret. In terms of food security, the initiative is anticipated to not only improve the health and development of transmigrants and the area, but also ensure that the country can provide enough, accessible, and sustainable food for everyone.

Transmigration regions are being transformed into new economic centres that utilise the agricultural potential of the area. This immediately leads to more food being grown and a wider variety of food supplies for the country. The initiative reduces regional dependence and distributes food production capacities more evenly throughout the area by shifting the focus of economic activity away from Java. The growth of agro-industrial activity in these areas is likely to result in increased production of food and key raw materials. Additionally, the growth of rural entrepreneurship through village-owned businesses (BUMDes) and cooperatives helps make agricultural value chains more inclusive, creates jobs, and strengthens the local economy. Better infrastructure and logistics networks have made it easier for areas to interact with one another. This is also crucial for enhancing the efficiency of food transportation and distribution. Small and medium-sized businesses (SMEs) are also encouraged to engage in downstream processing, which adds value to local agricultural products and helps people become more self-sufficient in food production.

Transmigration zones are likely future food baskets and centres for developing alternative energy sources. Both of these things are important for long-term food security. Integrated food estates that encompass growing crops, raising animals, and aquaculture are being constructed to ensure a consistent food supply and provide variety. At the same time, utilising renewable energy sources like bioenergy, micro-hydro, and solar electricity benefits the environment-friendly agriculture. Regional food logistical reserves are also being established to protect food supply networks during national emergencies or other crises. This will help strengthen and make the national food system more resilient and adaptable. The social aspect of transmigration is also crucial for achieving food security objectives. Transmigration fosters social stability and cohesion by promoting interaction between individuals from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This is crucial for ensuring fair food distribution and collaborative agricultural development. The program aims to bridge the gap between different groups and prevent confrontations among them, while also demonstrating how people from diverse cultures can collaborate effectively. Investing in people, such as through scholarships, innovation centres, and skills certification for migrants, gives local communities even more authority to participate in and lead sustainable food and agriculture projects.

Transmigration enhances the state's presence in border and underdeveloped areas, thereby protecting national sovereignty and resource management at the territorial level. To ensure that people in rural areas can access food and have opportunities for farming, public services and infrastructure are developed. The policy also helps prevent cities from becoming too large by reducing the number of people living in them, protecting farmland, and encouraging people to relocate to rural areas. This change in population distribution facilitates improved governance, enhanced resource monitoring, and sustainable land-use planning. The reform of existing transmigration regulations, such as the revision of Presidential Regulation No. 50 of 2018, the creation of new legal frameworks for KETT, and the implementation of integrated digital governance systems (SPBE), all of which provide a strong foundation for accountable and sustainable transmigration management that supports national food security objectives.

### *5.3.3. Speeding Up the Changes to Transmigration*

To accelerate the transformation of Indonesia's transmigration program, people must have a comprehensive understanding of its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and risks. A SWOT analysis reveals that the program's key strengths include its solid foundation of national regulatory backing and its past successes in relocating people throughout the country. It still has several structural problems, however, such as poor coordination across sectors and levels, a lack of basic infrastructure in places where people are moving, and a low level of skill among those who are moving. There is significant strategic potential to reposition transmigration on the national development agenda, despite facing challenges.

These include its possible connection to the growth of the new capital city (IKN), the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and national plans to ensure everyone has access to sufficient food and electricity. Still, external dangers such as social unrest and environmental damage require funding from the national budget (APBN) to be addressed in a medical way to minimise delays in implementation.

A Theory of Change (ToC) study supports the need for a systemic, long-term strategy that focuses on making a meaningful difference. This concept transforms transmigration from a policy that merely relocates people from one place to another into a regional development plan that is more inclusive and sustainable. The ToC method provides a logical framework for designing policies, enabling them to be implemented effectively. It also makes it easy to see how inputs and activities lead to long-term developmental effects, especially in food security, regional resilience, and social integration.

However, the effectiveness of this change depends significantly on the strength of the Ministry of Transmigration as an organisation and how effectively its civil service (ASN) workers can implement it. There are now several significant institutional barriers. First, the ministry's bureaucratic structure remains inflexible, unable to meet the needs of integrated area-based development. Many units still operate on separate technological lines, rather than grouping them by space or economy. Second, ASN staff at both the national and regional levels frequently lack the skills necessary to work across sectors, including spatial planning, investment facilitation, local institutional development (such as village-owned businesses or cooperatives), and governance that focuses on sustainability. Third, administrative tasks remain quite demanding, and there is still limited innovation in digital service delivery and data-driven development. Fourth, the lack of performance assessment methods based on effect has meant that transmigration policy works more like a set of short-term initiatives than as part of a long-term development process.

Therefore, the plans to accelerate progress, as outlined in the program's planning frameworks, will not succeed unless tangible changes in institutions and training for federal officials support them. The transformation of transmigration should not be considered as a simple technical exercise in population displacement. Instead, it should be viewed as a significant regional development goal that requires strong institutions, collaborative governance, and experienced, forward-thinking individuals to implement it. The Ministry of Transmigration has to become a catalytic institution. This means that it should not only carry out programs, but also successfully lead cooperation across different sectors and regions.

It will be challenging to implement the previously planned accelerated initiatives if institutional fragmentation and ASN skills are not improved. Therefore, efforts to improve institutions and develop human resources must be viewed as essential steps toward achieving the program's long-term strategic objectives. As part of the Indonesia Emas 2045 vision, these aims include making transmigration a vital tool for economic resilience, national integration, and inclusive development.

#### *5.4.4. A Strategic Way to Solve Problems*

The acceleration of transmigration transformation is crucial for enhancing Indonesia's food security, particularly in addressing regional disparities in food production and access. The strategy for resolving key issues in the program is grounded in the strategic problem-solving approach, which emphasises identifying systemic constraints and designing collaborative, evidence-based interventions that support long-term national goals, including food sovereignty and regional agricultural resilience. The first phase of this method involves identifying the core causes of issues by examining the facts, with a focus on differences in food production capacity, land usage, and productivity across various regions. Policymakers may identify areas where transmigration zones can serve as key locations for enhancing food production and agroindustry growth by examining gaps in agricultural output and food distribution, particularly between Java and the outer islands.

The second half focuses on setting transformative objectives, including transforming transmigration zones into centres of economic development centred on food, especially in eastern Indonesia, where there is a significant amount of underutilised land and rural labour. By establishing productive agricultural zones, this vision fits with national food security objectives. These zones will reduce reliance on imports and increase food availability in a broader range of areas. Next, a strategy for systemic intervention is prepared that includes strategies for enhancing food security, promoting economic resilience, fostering regional development, and improving human capital. This cross-sectoral synergy ensures that transmigration initiatives are not functioning in isolation, but are part of a larger national framework that aims to improve agricultural value chains, educate farmers, and facilitate the adoption of new technologies in food production.

Working together is key to the success of our plan. We employ a pentahelix approach that involves collaboration among the government, the commercial sector, academia, civil society, and local communities to plan and implement initiatives. Together, these groups contribute to agricultural innovation, infrastructure development, and providing transmigrant farmers with market access. This makes food systems in these areas more efficient and open to everyone. Lastly, the plan emphasises the importance of using adaptive performance indicators to monitor outcomes. Instead of just looking at technical results, such as the number of households that moved or the amount of land cultivated, the success of transmigration transformation is measured by broader food security outcomes. These include a larger regional food supply, improved nutrition, higher household income from farming, and the ability to cope with shocks to the food supply. This adaptive assessment enables ongoing development and the ability to respond to new challenges in food systems at both local and national levels.

## **6. Conclusion**

This research confirms that transmigration can be a powerful tool for national development if utilised effectively. Besides helping with demographics, it may also be a spatially integrated economic plan that strengthens food and energy security, social cohesion, and territorial sovereignty. To be successful, transformation must include regulatory change,

creating capacity, engaging multiple stakeholders, and aligning with broader national goals. Strengthening the institutional base and maximising the role of regional players are crucial to integrating transmigration into Indonesia's long-term development plan.

### 6.1. Drivers of Organisations and Policy Results

The SWOT analysis based on the ToC emphasises the significance of institutional quality in shaping policy outcomes. According to organisational theory, the efficiency of complex policy efforts depends on how well they can adapt, how much they can accomplish, and how effectively they can control their performance [10]. Indonesia's transmigration strategy is a good example of this idea. The Kementerian Transmigrasi (Ministry of Transmigration) has the authority to enact laws and administer the government. However, it is nevertheless hindered by outdated institutions, inefficient workflows, and staff lacking sufficient technical expertise. Causal pathway analysis shows that there are four organisational bottlenecks: (1) rigid institutional structures that do not support integrated area-based development, (2) civil servants who are not very good at their jobs or managing people, (3) administrative tasks that are too hard and stop new ideas from coming up, and (4) a lack of performance metrics that are based on impact. These factors disrupt the planned results, resulting in a gap between what policies aim to achieve and what occurs [11]. The ToC model must clearly state that strengthening organisations is a vital step towards achieving long-term success, thereby advancing the transformation agenda.

### 6.2. Contributions to Theoretical Frameworks

This integrated approach contributes to public policy theory by demonstrating that policy design can be both strategic and flexible. It demonstrates the importance of institutional change not only for operational purposes, but also for influencing policies [12]. The approach enables policymakers to move beyond static planning and toward continuous learning and strategic adaptation by combining SWOT analysis with ToC. In the area of organisational analysis, the framework supports ideas that highlight the need for leadership, coordination, and growing capacity inside an organisation to achieve public goals [13]. It indicates that the success of large state-led projects, such as transmigration, depends on how ready and responsive the institutions that carry them out are. This supports the idea that changing how the government works is a complex and multifaceted process that requires a long-term plan. In migration studies, the framework presents a new perspective on transmigration, viewing it not only as a demographic tool but also as a means of statecraft that aims to bring people together, redistribute wealth, and foster social cohesion [14]. The ToC method for redesigning the transmigration strategy illustrates how spatial mobility policies can contribute to achieving various national objectives, including economic, social, and geopolitical ones. This is especially true in Indonesia, which is made up of many islands.

### 6.3. What this Means for Strategy and the Way Forward

This research shows that reformative institutional investment must promote transmigration change in the real world. To make policies effective, it is necessary to strengthen the skills of public servants, reform the way bureaucracies operate to facilitate collaboration across sectors, and cultivate a culture of performance focused on results. The SWOT-informed ToC reasoning suggests that investments in human capital, such as training on digital governance, sustainable development, and spatial planning, should be made before or in conjunction with physical development projects in areas where people are relocating. The strategy also becomes more legitimate and consistent when it aligns with other national goals, such as agricultural sovereignty, renewable energy development, and the Indonesia Emas 2045 vision. We need to change how we monitor and evaluate outcomes so that they reflect results such as regional economic resilience, interethnic harmony, and environmental sustainability, rather than just counting the number of people who have moved or the infrastructure that has been created.

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