

Non-Traditional Security: Implications for Public Governance of Food Security as an Issue

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Abstract: Food security is increasingly recognized as a non-traditional security issue with far reaching implications for social stability, state legitimacy, and global governance. Unlike traditional militaristic security threats, food insecurity emerges through interconnected economic, environmental, political, and institutional dynamics. This article aims to analyze how food security is constructed as a non-traditional security issue within the framework of global governance, and how these dynamics are reflected through empirical indicators such as malnutrition, global food crises, carbon emissions, fiscal capacity, and democratic quality. This study employs a qualitative approach with secondary data analysis based on large-scale qualitative data sources drawn from FAO, Our World in Data, V-Dem, the World Peace Foundation, and UNU WIDER. The data are analyzed interpretively using securitization theory to examine processes of threat framing and their resulting policy implications. The findings indicate that food security in Indonesia and globally remains fragile and is strongly shaped by structural factors such as climate change, limited fiscal capacity, fluctuations in political stability, and fragmentation in global governance. Food security is demonstrated to be not merely a technical issue of production, but a non-traditional security threat with the potential to heighten risks of social instability and crises of state legitimacy. While the securitization of food has received significant political attention, it has not yet fully ensured sustainable human security protection. This study contributes by integrating non-traditional security perspectives, securitization theory, and global governance within an empirically grounded analysis of food security. The limitations of this research lie in its reliance on nationally aggregated data and the limited exploration of local actor dynamics. Future research is recommended to develop micro-level analyses and cross-national comparative studies to deepen understanding of food security securitization and its implications for human security.

Keywords: Food security, Non-traditional security, Securitization, Global governance, Human security

Introduction

Contemporary security issues are no longer confined to conventional military threats between states, but have shifted toward a spectrum of non-traditional, multidimensional, and cross-sectoral threats that directly affect civilian lives. The concept of non-traditional security encompasses issues such as climate change, health crises, poverty, energy security, and food security. Food security constitutes a critical issue because it is directly linked to the sustainability of human life, social stability, and state legitimacy. A state's inability to ensure the availability, accessibility, and affordability of food may trigger political instability and social conflict, while simultaneously weakening the state's capacity to maintain comprehensive national security. Accordingly, food security should be understood not merely as a development issue, but as an integral component of the non-traditional security regime (Adelisca Pramesti et al., 2025).

Several previous studies in Indonesia demonstrate that food security issues are closely intertwined with corruption and the political networks surrounding them. Research on political corruption reveals patronage relationships among political actors, bureaucrats, and business elites in strategic sectors, including food and agriculture (Neilson & Wright, 2017). Other studies show that food policies are frequently instrumentalized for economic and political gain, ranging from import procurement and the distribution of social food assistance to the management of national food reserves. Corruption cases involving political elites and state institutions in food governance indicate that corruption networks are not incidental, but rather structured and sustained. This situation results in distorted food policies, inefficient distribution systems, and increased vulnerability of social groups to food crises (Dalimunthe et al., 2024).

Despite the growing body of research on food security and corruption, significant research gaps remain. Most existing studies tend to isolate food security as a technocratic development issue, while political corruption is examined primarily within the domains of governance and democracy. Approaches that integrate food security within a non-traditional security framework and analyze it through the lens of political corruption networks remain relatively limited, particularly in the Indonesian context. Moreover, many studies focus on economic or policy outcomes without comprehensively examining how networks of corrupt actors systematically shape food security vulnerabilities as a non-traditional security threat (Prasetyo et al., 2025).

Addressing these gaps, this study proposes a novel approach by examining food security as a non-traditional security issue through the lens of political corruption networks. This research conceptualizes food not only as an economic commodity or public policy domain, but also as an arena of power contestation involving both state and non-state actors embedded in corruption networks. By integrating non-traditional security perspectives with the analysis of political corruption networks, this study offers new insights into how corrupt practices can structurally undermine food security and, in turn, pose broader threats to national

security. This approach is expected to enrich the security studies and corruption literature in the context of developing countries (Makhanova et al., 2024).

This study focuses on analyzing the relationship between political corruption networks and food security in Indonesia. The objectives of this research are to: (1) explain how food security is positioned as a non-traditional security issue; (2) identify patterns of political corruption networks in the food sector; and (3) analyze their impacts on national food security vulnerability. The central research question guiding this study is: how do political corruption networks influence food security as a non-traditional security issue in Indonesia? This research adopts a qualitative case study approach, utilizing policy document analysis, reports from oversight institutions, court decisions, and in-depth interviews with key informants. This approach enables a comprehensive understanding of actor dynamics, network structures, and their implications for food security (Shelvia Arnie Putri et al., 2024).

Literature Review

Food insecurity refers to a condition in which individuals, households, or communities lack the ability to consistently obtain sufficient, safe, and nutritious food necessary for a healthy and active life. This concept extends beyond mere production shortages to encompass dimensions of economic access, distributional stability, and social acceptability, reflecting the socio-economic complexities that characterize contemporary global food transactions (Wittman, 2023). In international security studies, food insecurity has increasingly been positioned as a component of non-traditional security namely, threats that do not originate from military conflict but nonetheless exert profound impacts on social and political stability as well as human well being. Food insecurity can trigger social conflict, exacerbate poverty, weaken societal resilience to economic shocks, and even threaten state stability when food systems are structurally disrupted. Security studies literature emphasizes that climate change, disruptions to global supply chains, and unequal food distribution render food insecurity a cross-border and multidimensional problem (Fiandrino et al., 2023).

Within the field of global food security studies, a growing body of research over the past five years has explicitly linked food vulnerability to non-traditional security dynamics. For instance, analyses published in Political Science Quarterly demonstrate how major national security strategies such as those of the United States have increasingly incorporated food security into strategic policy documents, highlighting food security as a relevant factor in national stability and international relations (Clementi, 2025). This approach underscores that food security is not merely an agricultural issue, but a component of strategic security policy within an increasingly interdependent global order. These studies further illustrate how shifts in international political priorities reshape the ways in which states integrate food into national security frameworks and formulate political responses to global shocks (Clementi, 2025).

Other bibliometric analyses reveal increasingly complex research trends, emphasizing the interconnections among governance, conflict, and food insecurity worldwide. These studies demonstrate how food politics intersect with weak governance, armed conflict, and disruptions in food distribution, all of which contribute to systemic food system vulnerability and position food insecurity as a threat to societal stability. This body of literature reinforces the view of food insecurity as a complex and multidimensional issue, closely linked to other non-traditional security factors such as economic inequality and climate change (Hasan et al., 2025).

International empirical evidence further indicates that food insecurity is frequently exacerbated by conflict, economic shocks, and climate change, thereby constituting a core component of non-traditional security studies. For example, research based on the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) indicators reveals acute food insecurity in conflict zones such as Ethiopia and Sudan, where war and civil unrest have destroyed food production, disrupted distribution channels, and severely constrained food access for millions of people. These conditions illustrate that conflict not only precipitates food insecurity but also embeds it within a broader structural threat to social stability and public health. Similarly, the 2024 Haiti Hunger Report demonstrates how conflict and political instability can generate widespread food crises with severe humanitarian consequences (Richards et al., 2024).

Global studies also reveal a reciprocal relationship between hunger and state fragility indices, indicating that countries with weak governance systems are more vulnerable to food insecurity due to the interaction between political instability and fragile food systems. Recent literature on Indonesia highlights that food security remains a significant challenge despite the country's substantial agricultural potential. Contemporary studies indicate that Indonesia continues to struggle to ensure equitable food availability, access, and quality for all citizens, with persistent challenges such as land-use change, rapid urbanization, and the lingering impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbating food vulnerability. Moreover, the prevalence of undernutrition has shown an upward trend in recent years, with data indicating increasing proportions of the population experiencing undernourishment, stunting, and child mortality associated with food insecurity (Tono et al., 2023).

Additional local studies identify significant regional disparities in food security across Indonesia, where uneven food distribution and limited access to nutritious food remain critical concerns, particularly in vulnerable and underdeveloped regions. Socio economic determinants such as education, income, and household structure are also identified as key factors shaping food security outcomes in both urban and rural communities. Policy oriented literature in Indonesia underscores persistent structural challenges in achieving inclusive and sustainable food security (Muliadi et al., 2024).

National policy analyses suggest that traditional approaches prioritizing food availability alone often fail to ensure stable household level food security, thereby

rendering rights-based food paradigms more appropriate for achieving holistic food security. Other perspectives emphasize the need for more comprehensive strategic interventions, including food diversification and improvements in distribution systems, such that food security is measured not solely by production levels but also by equitable socio-economic access. These policy approaches align with the broader view that food security is inseparable from effective governance and institutional capacity to manage external shocks such as climate change and global economic volatility (Adzkiyah, 2025).

Despite the expanding body of research addressing food insecurity and its implications for public welfare, significant gaps remain in the literature particularly regarding the integration of food insecurity and non-traditional security within the framework of securitization theory. Most studies in Indonesia continue to conceptualize food security primarily as a technical development or public health issue, rather than as a potential threat to national stability. Research examining how food insecurity is constructed as a security threat through political dynamics, public narratives, and policy decisions remains limited. The literature combining securitization theory with empirical analysis of how political elites, media actors, and policymakers frame food insecurity as a security threat remains underdeveloped in the Indonesian context. This gap is particularly salient given Indonesia's complex political and social environment, where food-related issues are often deeply intertwined with macroeconomic policy and conflicts over resource distribution (Akbar & Wiswayana, 2024).

This study offers an important and original contribution by integrating securitization theory to analyze food security as a non-traditional security threat in Indonesia. This approach not only maps food insecurity as an empirical phenomenon but also examines the political-discursive processes and policy narratives through which food insecurity is constructed as a strategic threat. In doing so, the study addresses existing gaps by providing insights into how political and institutional actors frame food insecurity as a systemic risk to national stability an analytical perspective that remains insufficiently developed in Indonesian food security studies. The research further examines how securitization narratives influence public policy and institutional responses, including resource allocation, mitigation strategies, and political priorities, all of which shape the effectiveness of national food security. This approach is considered innovative in that it bridges international security theory with policymaking analysis and institutional dynamics in the context of a developing country such as Indonesia (Agastia, 2023).

Following core components: Conceptualizing Food Insecurity within a Securitization Framework defining food insecurity across the dimensions of availability, access, stability, and utilization as a systemic threat grounded in Copenhagen School securitization theory; Analysis of Discursive and Political Dynamicsexamining how government actors, media, and political elites frame food insecurity as a

threat to national stability, including the strategic use of security narratives in food policy (Rivai, 2021)

Policy Implications assessing whether securitization strengthens effective food security responses or instead expands opportunities for rent-seeking and policy distortion; and Evaluation of Mitigation Effectiveness and Food System Resilience analyzing how securitization frameworks enhance or undermine food system resilience in the face of external shocks such as global economic volatility, climate change, and pandemics. Based on the foregoing literature review, the analytical framework of this study is constructed around the This framework integrates securitization theory with empirical references to national and global food insecurity, generating a comprehensive policy analysis that is theoretically grounded, internationally relevant, and contextually attuned to contemporary Indonesian realities (Agastia, 2023).

Method

Urgency Research on food security as a non-traditional security issue requires a comprehensive understanding of diverse forms of data that reveal the broader contextual dynamics shaping food security. When food insecurity is positioned as a securitized threat, relevant data are not limited to interviews or institutional documents, but also encompass patterns of public communication, media narratives, and the circulation of information across digital platforms that influence how political actors frame the issue (Ba et al., 2022).

In this context, qualitative big data analysis becomes essential for capturing the breadth and heterogeneity of narrative construction and societal responses to food insecurity, including patterns of public discourse, policy articulation, and actor networks This big data approach draws not only on large data volumes but also on qualitative interpretation of emerging patterns, narratives, and practices, aligning with the study's objective of explaining how food insecurity is interpreted and constructed as a non-traditional security threat (Ba et al., 2022)

This study adopts a Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) approach, expanded through the utilization of large scale qualitative data sources particularly narrative and discursive content derived from multiple information platforms. As empirical references for global food insecurity trends, data from *Our World in Data* (OWID) and other global statistical sources are employed as contextual background to map food security patterns from the global to the national level, while preserving their socio-political context. OWID data provide longitudinal statistical insights into food related indicators, which are integrated with qualitative interpretations of policy narratives and media discourse. The integration of large-scale data with a QDA framework strengthens the analysis of food securitization within public and policy domains, enabling the study to move beyond descriptive accounts toward an explanation of social meaning and political implications (Carneiro et al., 2025).

This approach is consistent with the interpretive qualitative research tradition, in which social meaning is understood through actor interactions within specific contexts. By incorporating big data elements derived from digital sources such as social media content, online news reports, and digital policy documents this study is able to explore richer and more multidimensional narrative patterns and framing processes, responding to the analytical demands of complex and non-traditional security studies. The research is conducted in four main stages. The initial stage involves the identification of research questions, the determination of the phenomenon under investigation (food insecurity as a securitized threat), and the selection of relevant theoretical and methodological approaches. All conceptual variables are explicitly defined to ensure coherence among data, theory, and research objectives (Natalia Umansky, 2022).

Subsequently, qualitative data are collected from multiple sources, including policy documents, media reports, OWID statistical datasets, and online platforms. Large-scale data are extracted using digital tools such as web scraping and application programming interfaces (APIs) from news outlets and social media platforms, and are subsequently processed for narrative analysis. The data are analyzed using QDA techniques, including coding, thematic analysis, and framing analysis. This process involves interpreting food related narratives in media coverage, political speeches, and policy documents to identify patterns of securitization. Big data analysis is integrated with qualitative methods to examine the relationship between public discourse and policy action. Key informants in the interviews include policymakers, technical officials in the food sector, and academic experts. FGD participants consist of actors within the food system, including farmers, food traders, and food advocacy NGOs (Hillen, 2019).

Data credibility is enhanced through source triangulation (primary and secondary data) and cross-validation between interview findings, document analysis, and big data narratives. Inter coder reliability checks are also conducted to ensure consistency in thematic interpretation. This study employs a combination of primary and secondary data sources. Primary data consist of in-depth interviews with political actors, government officials responsible for food policy, public policy experts, and civil society stakeholders, as well as Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) involving farmers, food-related NGOs, and academics. Secondary data include public policies and official government documents (such as presidential regulations, ministerial decrees, and national strategic documents on food security), as well as reports from international organizations (e.g., FAO, OECD, and Our World in Data) on global and national food security indicators (Ammar et al., 2022).

This multi-layered approach enables analysis across micro-level dynamics (actors' practices and perceptions) and macro-level structures (policy frameworks, national and global statistics), thereby providing a holistic understanding of the securitization of food security. Semi-structured interviews are conducted to elicit in-depth insights into actors' perspectives on food insecurity and how they interpret

it as a security threat. Interview guides are developed based on key research themes, such as perceptions of food vulnerability, experiences with policy implementation, and the political dynamics underlying decision-making processes. This technique is particularly suited to qualitative research aimed at exploring social meanings and values embedded in complex phenomena.

Focus Group Discussions are conducted to capture collective perspectives among food-sector actors, NGOs, and local communities. These discussions help reveal shared values, beliefs, and experiences that enrich interpretations of food insecurity on the ground and assess the relevance of securitization narratives for non elite actors. In addition, the study examines policy documents, institutional reports, news articles, and social media materials related to food issues over a defined period. This process involves systematic data collection from digital sources, including the use of web scraping to gather narrative content from mainstream online media, which is subsequently analyzed thematically to identify patterns of discourse and political framing (Faus, 2016).

Results

This section presents the empirical findings of the study, highlighting the dynamics of food security and its intersection with non-traditional security dimensions within the framework of global governance. The results are derived from

the qualitative interpretation of large-scale secondary data, including indicators of undernutrition, carbon emissions, global food crises, fiscal stability, and democratic governance. Rather than treating these indicators as isolated variables, the analysis demonstrates their interconnectedness in shaping food security vulnerability and human security outcomes. The findings provide an empirical foundation for understanding how food security is constructed as a non-traditional security issue influenced by environmental, political, economic, and institutional factors at both national and global levels

Food Insecurity

This subsection examines the empirical dynamics of food insecurity in Indonesia as reflected in trends of undernutrition over time. Undernutrition is used as a key indicator to capture the structural vulnerability of food access and utilization at the population level. By analyzing longitudinal data, this section highlights how food insecurity persists despite economic growth and increased food availability. The findings underscore that food insecurity in Indonesia is not merely a short-term nutritional problem, but a chronic condition shaped by socio-economic inequalities and governance challenges, reinforcing its relevance as a non-traditional security concern.

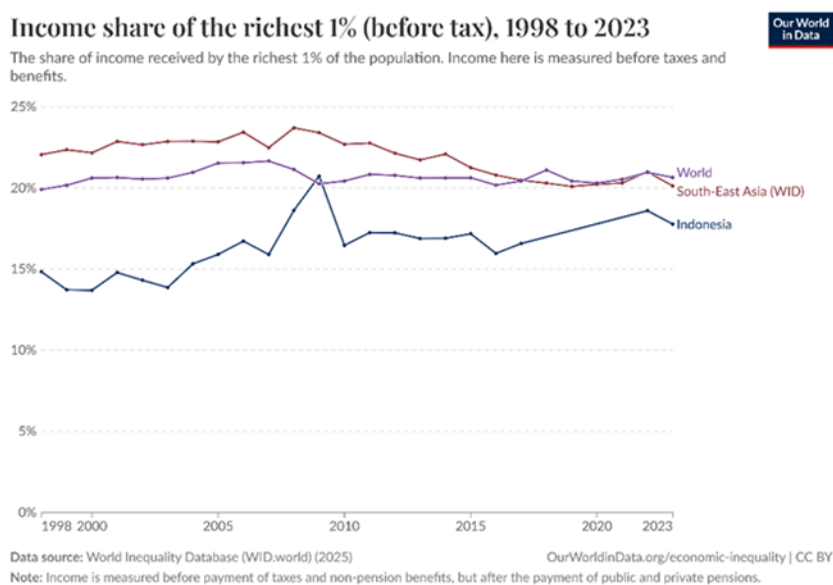


Figure 1. Data income share of the richest 1% (before tax), 1998-2023

The findings indicate that Indonesia's per capita carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions have experienced a substantial long-term increase, particularly since the early twenty-first century. Based on data from Our World in Data (Global Carbon Budget), Indonesia's per capita CO₂ emissions during the early period from the late nineteenth century to the 1950s remained at very low levels, reflecting limited industrial activity and minimal fossil fuel consumption. A gradual upward trend began to emerge in the 1960s alongside industrialization and infrastructure development.

The most pronounced changes occurred from the early 1990s through 2024, during which per capita CO₂ emissions rose sharply from approximately 0.7 metric tons to nearly 3 metric tons. This trend reflects an acceleration in fossil fuel based energy consumption closely associated with economic growth, urbanization, industrial expansion, and increased transportation activity. Despite fluctuations in certain periods, the overall trajectory of the data indicates a consistent upward trend.

From a non-traditional security perspective, rising per capita CO₂ emissions constitute an indirect, long-term, and multidimensional security threat. Carbon emissions function as a threat multiplier by heightening the risks of climate change, environmental degradation, food security disruptions, and adverse impacts on human health and well-being. Accordingly, this study argues that the dynamics of carbon emissions in Indonesia should be understood not merely as environmental or developmental challenges, but as an integral component of non-traditional security threats with the potential to undermine social stability and national sustainability.

Non-Traditional Security

This subsection analyzes environmental dynamics particularly carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions as a non-traditional security factor influencing food security. Environmental degradation and climate-related pressures are increasingly recognized as indirect but powerful threat multipliers that affect agricultural productivity, food system stability, and human livelihoods. By examining long-term trends in per capita CO₂ emissions, this section situates environmental change within the broader non-traditional security framework, emphasizing how ecological stressors contribute to food insecurity and heighten risks to social stability and national sustainability.

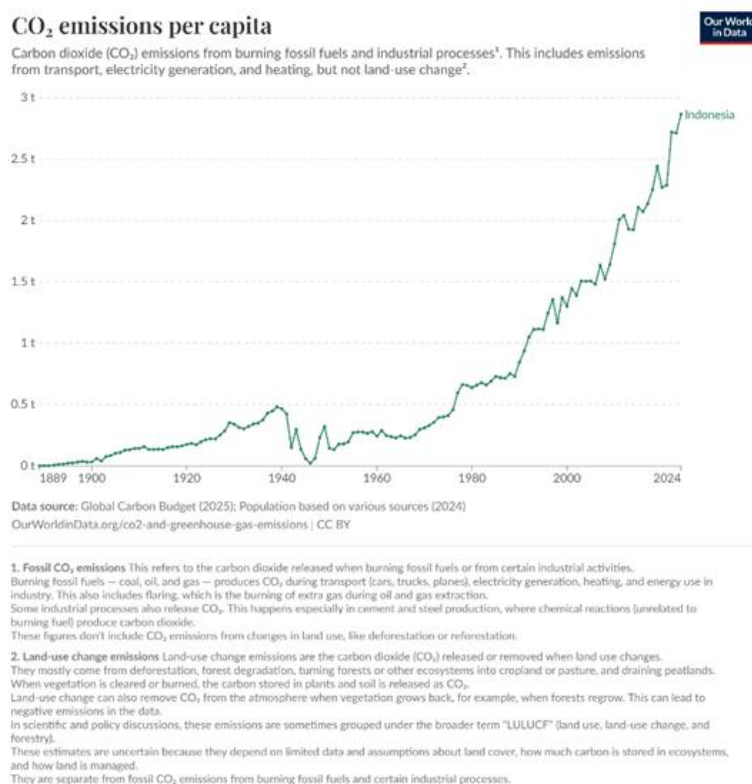


Figure 2. CO₂ emissions per capita 1889-2024

The findings indicate that Indonesia's per capita carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions have experienced a significant long-term increase, particularly since the early twenty first century. Based on data from Our World in Data (Global Carbon Budget), Indonesia's per capita CO₂ emissions during the early period from the late nineteenth century to the 1950s remained at very low levels, reflecting minimal industrial activity and limited fossil fuel consumption. A gradual increase began to emerge in the 1960s, coinciding with processes of industrialization and infrastructure development.

The most pronounced change occurred from the early 1990s to 2024, during which per capita CO₂ emissions rose sharply from approximately 0.7 metric tons to nearly 3 metric tons per capita. This trend indicates an acceleration in fossil fuel-based energy consumption, closely associated with economic growth, urbanization, industrial expansion, and

increased transportation activity. Despite fluctuations during certain periods, the overall data reveal a consistently upward trajectory in per capita emissions.

From a non-traditional security perspective, the rise in per capita CO₂ emissions constitutes an indirect, long-term, and multidimensional security threat. Carbon emissions function as a threat multiplier by exacerbating the risks of climate change, environmental degradation, food security disruptions, and threats to human health and well-being. Accordingly, this study underscores that the dynamics of carbon emissions in Indonesia should be understood not merely as environmental or developmental concerns, but as an integral component of broader non-traditional security challenges with the potential to undermine social stability and national sustainability.

Global Food Crisis

This subsection explores the historical and contemporary patterns of global food crises as a critical dimension of food security within global governance. Using data on famine-related mortality, the analysis highlights how large-scale food crises have been shaped by structural factors such as war, political instability, colonial legacies, and failures

in food distribution systems. Rather than viewing food crises solely as production failures, the findings emphasize their deep political and institutional roots. This perspective reinforces the argument that global food crises constitute enduring threats to human security and remain highly relevant to non-traditional security discourse.

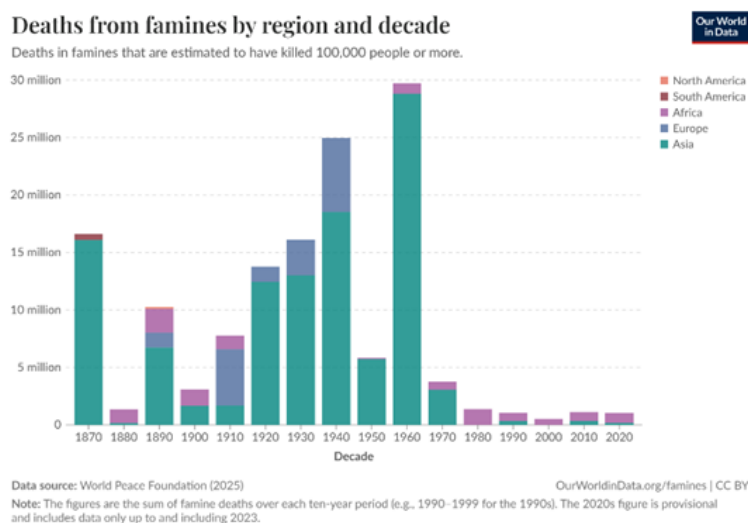


Figure 3. Deaths from famines by region and decade 1870-2020

The study demonstrates that global food crises constitute a historical phenomenon with profound humanitarian impacts, particularly during the late nineteenth century through the mid twentieth century. According to data from Our World in Data, sourced from the World Peace Foundation, the largest numbers of famine-related deaths worldwide occurred in the 1870s, the 1920s–1930s, and peaked in the 1960s, with an estimated 30 million deaths. Asia accounted for the highest share of famine fatalities during these periods, followed by Europe and Africa in smaller proportions. These findings indicate that historical global food crises were strongly correlated with structural factors such as large-scale wars, colonial domination, failures in food distribution policies, and political instability. The exceptionally high famine-related mortality in Asia during the 1940s and 1960s underscores that food crises are not merely problems of agricultural production, but are deeply embedded in issues of governance, access, and armed conflict.

From the 1970s to the 2020s, the data reveal a dramatic decline in deaths caused by major famines, although such crises have not been entirely eradicated. In the contemporary period, Africa has been relatively more affected, reflecting a

geographical shift in the epicenter of global food crises. This decline in mortality does not signify the end of global food crises; rather, it indicates a transformation in their nature from large scale mass starvation to more chronic and latent forms of food insecurity. Accordingly, the findings affirm that global food crises remain a serious threat to human security and require sustained, multidimensional policy responses.

Political Stability and Fiscal Capacity

This subsection examines political stability through the lens of fiscal capacity, as reflected in tax revenue as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Fiscal stability is a critical institutional foundation for ensuring food security, as it determines the state's ability to finance social protection, food assistance, and crisis mitigation policies. By analyzing long-term fluctuations in tax revenue performance, this section demonstrates how political stability and governance quality directly influence the state's capacity to respond to food-related vulnerabilities. The findings highlight that weak fiscal capacity can exacerbate food insecurity and undermine broader human security objectives.

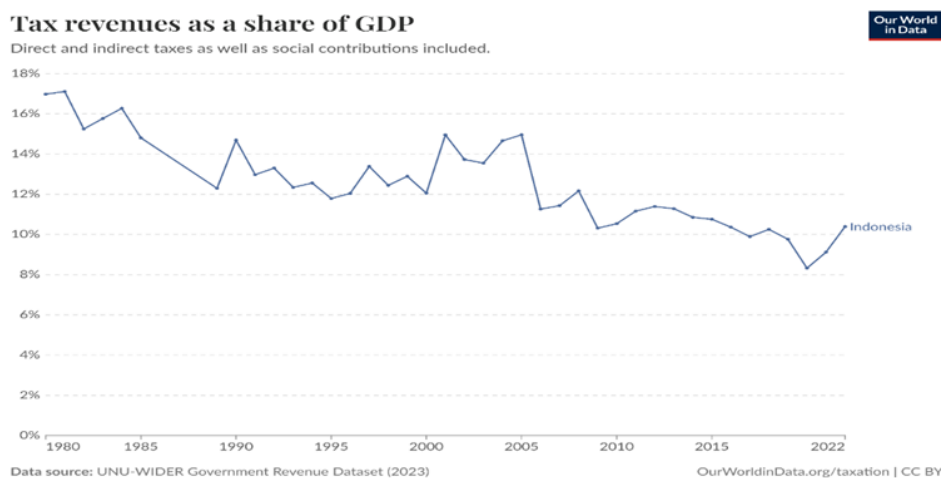


Figure 4. Tax revenues as a share of GDP Indonesia 1980-2022

The findings indicate that Indonesia's tax revenue as a share of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) fluctuated considerably between 1980 and 2022, reflecting variations in political stability and state governance capacity. In the early 1980s, the tax-to-GDP ratio was relatively high, at approximately 16–17 percent. This level reflects strong political stability during that period, characterized by centralized state control over fiscal policy and tax administration. From the late 1980s to the mid-1990s, the tax to GDP ratio exhibited a declining and volatile trend, fluctuating between approximately 12 and 14 percent. This decline indicates structural pressures within the tax system, exacerbated by shifts in economic policy and increasing socio-political complexity. The economic and political crises of the late 1990s significantly affected fiscal stability, although the data show a partial recovery in the early 2000s, marked by a temporary increase in the tax ratio.

From the mid-2000s to 2020, tax revenue as a share of GDP tended to decline and stagnate at around 9–11 percent. This pattern reflects persistent challenges in sustaining effective political stability to support tax compliance, public

trust, and state institutional capacity. The sharp decline around 2020 highlights the vulnerability of fiscal stability to external shocks. Overall, these findings underscore the critical role of political stability in strengthening tax revenue performance as a foundation of national sustainability.

Global Governance and Democratic Quality

This subsection analyzes the role of global governance through patterns of electoral democracy across countries. Democratic quality is examined as an institutional indicator reflecting the effectiveness of governance mechanisms in managing non-traditional security challenges, including food insecurity. By comparing variations in the Electoral Democracy Index, this section illustrates how global governance norms interact with domestic political institutions to produce uneven outcomes in food security and human security protection. The findings suggest that while democratic governance can enhance accountability and policy responsiveness, its effectiveness remains contingent upon national political commitment and institutional capacity.

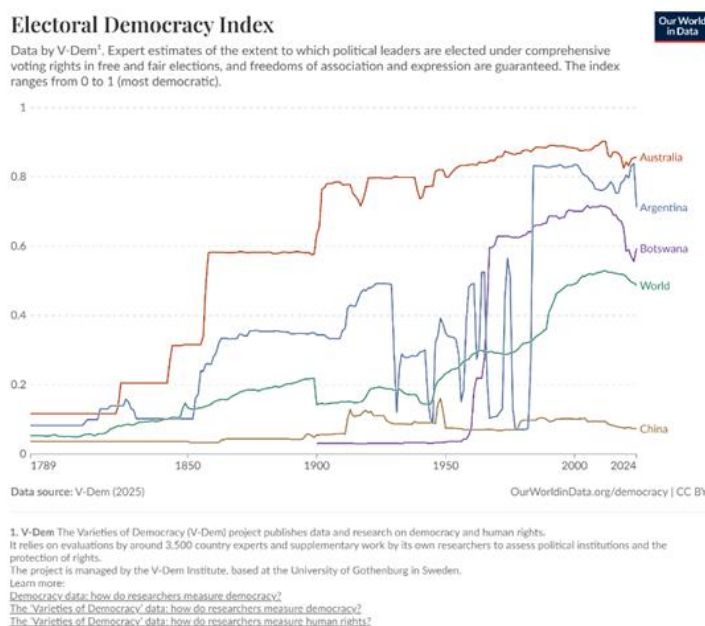


Figure 5. Electoral democracy index 1789-2024

The findings indicate that the evolution of electoral democracy across countries reflects the dynamics and quality of global governance in promoting democratic political governance. Based on V Dem data presented by Our World in Data, the global Electoral Democracy Index has exhibited a long-term upward trend since the nineteenth century, despite notable fluctuations and cross-national variation. In aggregate, the global average increased substantially after World War II and strengthened further following the global wave of democratization in the late twentieth century. Countries such as Australia and Argentina display relatively high and stable levels of electoral democracy, with index scores ranging between approximately 0.7 and 0.8 in the contemporary period. This pattern reflects the consolidation of democratic institutions, competitive elections, and relatively strong protection of political rights, serving as indicators of the effectiveness of global governance in promoting liberal democratic standards.

In contrast, China exhibits consistently low and stagnant electoral democracy scores, indicating a model of political governance that is largely incompatible with the principles of global electoral democracy. Botswana has demonstrated a significant improvement in its electoral democracy index since the second half of the twentieth century, although a degree of decline is observable in subsequent periods. These findings suggest that global governance does not produce uniform democratic convergence; rather, it generates differentiated outcomes shaped by national contexts. Overall, the study underscores that while the quality of global governance influences the diffusion of democratic norms, their implementation remains highly contingent upon domestic institutional capacity and political commitment within individual states.

Discussion

The findings of this study underscore that food security, political stability, fiscal capacity, democratic quality, and environmental degradation are deeply interconnected within a complex global governance ecosystem. The empirical evidence demonstrates that threats to food security and human security cannot be understood in sectoral isolation, but rather as components of multidimensional, cross-border, and non-traditional security challenges. These findings are consistent with contemporary scholarship that conceptualizes food, climate, and political governance as interlinked global risks (Grebmer et al., 2023).

First, the historical trajectory of global food crises reflected in high famine-related mortality rates from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century reinforces the argument that food crises are not solely the result of production shortages, but fundamentally of governance failures. This finding aligns with Sen's seminal argument that mass famines occur more frequently in contexts of conflict, colonialism, and distributive failure than under conditions of absolute food scarcity. Similarly demonstrates that armed conflict and political instability remain primary drivers of contemporary global food vulnerability (Quak, 2021).

Second, the observed increase in per capita CO₂ emissions in Indonesia strengthens the literature that conceptualizes climate change as a threat multiplier for food security and non-traditional security more broadly. The IPCC and FAO emphasize that rising carbon emissions contribute to food production uncertainty through the increasing frequency and intensity of climate-related extreme events. Nevertheless, some studies contend that carbon intensive economic growth is still perceived as a short-term prerequisite for political stability in developing countries (Meckling & Allan, 2020), thereby generating a persistent

tension between development imperatives and sustainability objectives.

Third, the persistence and limited improvement of Indonesia's tax revenue to GDP ratio corroborate existing research on the constrained fiscal capacity of developing states in addressing global challenges. argue that effective tax collection constitutes the foundational capacity of the state to provide public goods, including social protection and food security. In this regard, the findings are consistent with Cobham and Jan critique of structural inequities in the global tax system and cross-border tax avoidance practices that disproportionately disadvantage developing economies. At the same time, other studies highlight that domestic tax reform efforts are frequently impeded by political resistance and low levels of public trust in government institutions (Nur et al., 2025), a dynamic that is also evident in Indonesia's fiscal trajectory.

Fourth, the analysis of the Electoral Democracy Index reveals substantial cross national variation in the quality of electoral democracy, indicating uneven implementation of global governance norms. This finding aligns with the report, which documents a global trend of democratic backsliding despite the formal entrenchment of democratic standards at the international level. Countries with higher levels of electoral democracy tend to exhibit greater capacity to manage non-traditional crises, including food and public health emergencies. Conversely, alternative perspectives suggest that certain non-democratic regimes may achieve short-term stability through centralized control, albeit at the cost of heightened long-term legitimacy risks (Meyerrose, 2020).

Conceptually, these findings support the relevance of securitization theory for understanding how food, climate, and fiscal issues are framed as security concerns within global governance discourses. However, departing from state-centric securitization approaches, this study demonstrates that non-traditional security threats often emerge from the interaction between global structural dynamics and domestic vulnerabilities. This perspective is consistent with critical securitization scholarship that advocates a more human-centered and everyday security approach (Floyd et al., 2022).

The discussion highlights that existing global governance arrangements have yet to ensure equitable food security and protection against non-traditional threats. Cross-national disparities in capacity, fragmentation within the global system, and enduring tensions between economic growth and sustainability emerge as key factors explaining the observed variations. The principal contribution of this study lies in integrating historical and contemporary data to demonstrate that global food crises are not isolated phenomena, but rather manifestations of interconnected governance failures at both global and national levels (Galanakis et al., 2025).

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that food security in Indonesia can be understood from both empirical and conceptual

perspectives, positioning it as a non-traditional security issue with significant implications for social stability, state legitimacy, and the quality of governance. Through an integrated analysis of undernourishment trends, carbon emissions, fiscal stability, global food crises, and levels of democracy, the study reveals that threats to food security are embedded in a set of interrelated dimensions within the global governance framework. Fluctuations in undernourishment, increasing environmental pressures, and limited state institutional capacity indicate that food insecurity is not merely a technical development challenge, but a substantive threat to human security and national stability. Accordingly, the research question concerning how food security is constructed as a non-traditional security issue is addressed by demonstrating that food vulnerability emerges from the interaction between local conditions and global governance structures.

The principal contribution of this study lies in its integrative approach, combining security studies, securitization theory, and global governance perspectives to analyze food security in the Indonesian context. In contrast to prior research that often treats food issues as analytically separate from security and politics, this study shows that food-related, democratic, and fiscal data constitute empirical foundations that support securitization processes. By integrating historical and contemporary data, the study advances the field of security studies by emphasizing that food security is inherently political and embedded in governance dynamics, rather than being confined to agricultural policy alone. These findings offer both theoretical and practical insights for the study of non-traditional security in developing countries, particularly in the Indonesian context.

This study is not without limitations. First, the analysis relies primarily on aggregated national-level data, which limits its ability to capture regional disparities and the lived experiences of vulnerable populations. Second, the qualitative approach largely based on secondary sources and narrative big data does not fully explore the dynamics of local actors and everyday practices. Future research is therefore encouraged to incorporate micro-level quantitative data, ethnographic methods, and actor-network analysis to more comprehensively examine how the securitization of food security operates at the local level and how it concretely affects human security outcomes.

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