

FROM MOBILIZATION TO POLITICIZATION: UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF COMMUNITY-BASED URBAN FOOD SECURITY POLICY IN CITY OF MAKASSAR

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ABSTRACT. Since decentralization was reinforced in 1999, local politicians have exploited local policies to enhance their popularity and electability. In this study, I describe the implementation of a food security policy to demonstrate how the local arena had undergone massive political dynamics through unintegrated food governance demonstrated by local governments in Makassar City. This article aims to analyze the dynamic of urban food policy implemented by the municipality from 2013 to 2023. A qualitative approach had been employed through a case study of the implementation of food security policy. Data were collected by snowball method to eminent informants. Also, focus group discussions were employed in certain community groups. This study found that food policy in Makassar City during the study period had shown a political mobilization rather than a pure food security policy to help the community. In the policy planning, the failure was found in the limited technical analysis. The people who dwell in this city were not prepared for agricultural activities, including planting, maintaining the plants, and soil treatment. Also, the typical vegetables that were planted were not suitable for the climatic characteristics of this city. This study also found that media framing was massively exploited to escalate the positive framing of the 'inclusivity' of the leadership and attract the people to engage beyond food diversification. On the other side, as this policy was funded through a discretionary approach, massive negative sentiment had emerged, particularly from the legislative. They felt like an abandoned partner. Consequently, the government should create an alternative mechanism through shadow bureaucrats, designed by the mayor.

Keyword: Community empowerment; local politics; food security; urban community; urban governance.

ABSTRAK. Sejak desentralisasi diterapkan pada tahun 1999, politisi-politisi daerah telah memanfaatkan kebijakan-kebijakan daerah untuk meningkatkan popularitas dan elektabilitas mereka. Pada studi ini, saya menggambarkan implementasi kebijakan ketahanan pangan untuk menunjukkan bagaimana arena politik lokal telah mengalami dinamika politik yang begitu massif melalui tata Kelola pangan yang tidak terintegrasi oleh pemerintah daerah di Kota Makassar. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis dinamika kebijakan ketahanan pangan perkotaan yang diimplementasikan oleh pemerintah kota mulai tahun 2013 sampai dengan 2023. Sebuah pendekatan kualitatif telah dijalankan melalui sebuah studi kasus implementasi kebijakan ketahanan pangan. Data dikumpulkan melalui metode snowball kepada informan-informan yang dianggap memiliki peran yang menonjol dalam implementasi kebijakan tersebut. Diskusi kelompok terpusat juga dijalankan pada kelompok-kelompok masyarakat tertentu. Studi ini mendapati kebijakan pangan di Kota Makassar selama periode penelitian menunjukkan sebuah mobilisasi politik berbanding kebijakan ketahanan pangan yang murni bertujuan menolong masyarakat. Pada tahap perencanaan, kegagalan ditemukan pada analisis teknis yang sangat terbatas. Masyarakat yang menghuni kawasan perkotaan tidak menyiapkan dirinya untuk aktivitas pertanian, termasuk bercocok tanam. Merawat tanaman dan perawatan tanah. Dan juga, jenis sayuran yang ditanam tidak sesuai dengan karakteristik iklim kota ini. Studi ini juga menemukan bahwa pemberitaan media secara massif telah dimanfaatkan untuk menaikkan citra positif mengenai 'inklusi' kepemimpinan pemerintahan dan menarik warga untuk terlibat jauh melampaui untuk keperluan diversifikasi pangan. Pada sisi yang lain, oleh karena kebijakan ini didanai melalui pendekatan diskresi, sentimen negatif yang sangat massif telah bermunculan, khususnya dari kelompok legislatif. Mereka merasa sebagai mitra yang ditinggalkan. Akibatnya, pemerintah harus menciptakan mekanisme alternatif melalui birokrat bayangan, didesain oleh walikota.

Kata Kunci: Pemberdayaan masyarakat; politik lokal; ketahanan pangan perkotaan; masyarakat pesisir perkotaan; tata kelola kota

INTRODUCTION

How does the local government articulate the policy to respond to climate events and provide sufficient food for people? This article discusses the articulation of empowerment policy to escalate the political agenda behind empowerment programs. Since 2014, the government of Makassar City has implemented a food policy, both to anticipate global food dynamics as the result of global and regional economic contagion and also to extend the political

influence of local actors. Certain policies had been implemented, but they seemed to fail to reach the goal of the policy. Baddianaah & Baaweh (2021) and Bempah et al., (2019) explained the failure of the Community Resource Management Area (CREMA). Politically, CREMAs are perceived as failing to empower communities to manage and control their resources. This is due to the inability of local authorities to engage communities through strengthening political rights to position communities more decisively. In addition, financial resources and

the weak impact of training on capacity building have contributed to the failure of the empowerment program (Mawutor & Hajjar, 2024).

The internal adaptation capacity of local government is not necessarily sufficient to undertake effective adaptation in practice (Birchall et al., 2023). The climate events have challenged the local community as well as the local government in anticipating the worst impact on the local community. Floods, long-term drought, and uncertain and unpredictable weather circumstances have reshaped community adaptability and social resilience. Many agendas had been implemented as community-based policies, but some failures remained.

The local government of Makassar city strived to prepare many community-based movements. On a larger scale, mobilization arguably promoted popularization for the incumbent and eliminated the rise of opponents. A larger allocation of funds should be reinforced to ensure the political agenda is effectively implemented. This mobilization, however, reflected the tendency of local government to mobilize the resources, including huge public expenditure to fund the program (Yazar et al., 2023).

In this study context, local government agencies were organized to succeed in the implementation of the food security policy, known as '*lorong garden*' program. Even though the aspiration of the community was high (Munir et al., 2017), but the precise economic impact was never revealed.

Despite the media propaganda and publicity glorifying the program, Thus, program tends to allocate the local budgeting based on the direction from the mayor rather than by the planning document. At the same time, incumbents used to establish a shadow bureaucrat to provide alternative opinions regarding the policy implementation. The concept of shadow bureaucrat in this context refers to Caferro's study in Florence. In his study, Caferro (2023) traced the activities of public officials as well as informal structures whose occupations suggest that they had little to do with the administration, but who nonetheless played important roles that reveal surprising and hitherto unknown institutional continuities.

Consequently, this program would face challenges in terms of policy alignment between local and central government. The implementation of food policy at the local level has been supervised by the central government to synchronize the food security policy at a national level with local action. Effective and arguably successful policy alignment would involve alignment of allocated authority and budgeting; redistribution among regions so that regions do not rely on their tax revenues during major crises; and strong government-to-government

coordination to facilitate coordination among regions and reduce central or regional unilateralism and self-centeredness (Greer et al., 2023).

According to Yazar et al. (2023) there is a clear risk that in response to the difficulty of good governance in a period of politicization, the governance of food affairs will also become complicated and technocratic. The politicization of local policy is inevitable in the local political arena. The electability of the candidate would be contested and reflected in the political choices of the candidate and the incumbent.

This article aims to discuss food security policies that have been implemented in the city of Makassar, particularly in identifying the politicization phenomenon behind the program. In this study, the urban food policy implemented in Makassar City is contested to reflect how local policy was utilized to escalate the popularity, beyond the agenda to secure the food of the community.

This study was established from the concept of politicization. Ståhlberg (1987) underlined the level of politicization based on the width coverage. Ståhlberg (1987) categorizes five forms of politicization. The first type, states that politicization occurs when the public sector grows along with increased regulation of private matters. Koch's functionalistic definition implies that politicization occurs when the public sector reacts positively to political signals. The second form emphasizes the interplay between political and administrative power. From this conception, politicization is seen as the degree of autonomy of the public sector from political power. politicization is defined as inappropriate political interference in the bureaucracy. The third form of politicization indicates the relationship between the bureaucracy and the environment outside the government. In this case, politicization refers to the extent to which civil servants represent the population they are expected to serve. The last form of politicization in context is related to recruitment and is considered patronage. In this case, politicization places party preferences in the appointment of civil servants (Fuenzalida, 2019).

The government of Indonesia tends to eliminate the dependence on imports before a political event, such as a general election (Patunru & Iman, 2020). It indicates that food policy is not only closely related to economics and development, but it also intersects with the political aspect that has grown a high potential power. The strategic bargaining of food policy expands beyond daily basic needs. The food issue is also articulated as a community mobilization movement directed by the government. This issue involves many community entities, showing how 'attractive' the issue is. The more attractive its performance, the more political action would be

articulated. Extensively, these also will impact the allocation of local budgeting (Patunru & Ilman, 2020).

Patunru & Ilman (2020) extensively explained how political turbulence can also affect political communication between executive and legislative. The inability to establish excellent communication with the legislative members indicates how important political bargaining is to bring more significant allocation for food policy implementation. Urban policymakers who have failed to establish excellent communication with local political leaders will contribute to the lower budget allocation for food security policy. In certain conditions, allocation from public budgeting to succeed the program depends on political support by local politicians.

As a rapidly growing coastal city, Makassar is also undergoing a socio-ecological dynamic. People along the coastal area are being affected by the sea-level rise that has brought the severe impact of climate change for the coastal community. Furthermore, climate change can significantly impact the supply of food to cities. A metropolitan area often produces a small portion of food. Consequently, food distribution depends on the significant role of sea transportation. As a result, if an extreme weather event such as a flood or hurricane severely damages the transport infrastructure, it can interrupt the food supply to a city and lead to sudden food shortages. These and other climatic events can cause a rise in food prices (UN-Habitat, 2014)

Climate change adaptation in cities requires collaborative problem-solving and coordination across sectors. Cities are well-positioned to act as conveners of a wide range of partners. Climate change will impact many sectors: land use, housing, transportation, public health, water supply and sanitation, solid waste, food security, and energy. Adaptation efforts in any of these sectors will often involve multiple government agencies, and broad partnerships that include other governments, local communities, non-profit organizations, academic institutions, and the private sector (World Bank 2011).

Overall, climate change will lead to insecurity in food supplies for many cities (Mbow et al., 2019). The future may bring more extensive and more frequent shocks to food supplies and rises in actual global food prices. These impacts would be potentially dangerous for the most vulnerable populations: poor urban residents struggling to afford food will be the first to be affected when prices rise. Also, individuals who do not hold formal title to their land may not be able to plant supplementary gardens or own livestock, reducing their capacity to cope with price shocks. Public discontent over food price rises can also lead to social and political instability.

Women, children, and minority groups may disproportionately bear the burden of food crises. Women of childbearing age and young children have more complex nutritional needs and suffer the most significant health impacts during food shortages. In some places, women face cultural, legal, or security obstacles that make them dependent on others for food procurement (Chattopadhyay et al., 2022). Minority groups or displaced populations may also lack the social frameworks or market organization to secure consistent food stocks. Areas of a city with limited transportation accessibility, such as informal settlements, risk being cut off from food supplies during heavy storms, inland flooding, or coastal storm surges. Similarly, areas with limited connections to a city's primary electrical grid may see widespread spoiling of food supplies when the electrical supply is interrupted.

Urban decision-makers now need to analyze the repercussions of climate change on the urban food system to find solutions to increase resilience. The food system needs to be placed as a core consideration in urban climate change planning and policy through individual action and collective and mutual work. However, the most significant barrier is weak linkages between the various strata of government, from national to local, regarding adaptation policy, plans, and requirements. As a consequence, regional and local responses have been limited and inconsistent (Phuong et al., 2018)

The complexity has ranged mostly in each aspect concerning the policy-making process. Approaches to collecting information on climate change impacts in a city can range from highly technical and resource-intensive to simple and inexpensive (Abbas et al., 2022). Technically complex assessments will likely require collaboration with external experts if a city is not large or well-resourced with sufficient in-house capacity. If needed, cities can look to local universities or regional collaborations, supplemented by international expertise. Community-based participatory approaches can integrate community perspectives and priorities, improving understanding of the social and locally specific consequences of climate change.

United Nations (2022) also reported that adaptive and collective action should involve particular places for vulnerable groups to ensure no one is left behind. Climate change will place unique burdens on the urban poor, residents of informal settlements, and other vulnerable groups, such as women, children, the elderly and disabled, and minority populations. In an attempt to build resilience among these vulnerable groups, a city can do the following: 1) raise awareness about specific climate change impacts on the most

vulnerable; 2) include vulnerable groups in the adaptation planning and policy-making process; 3) incorporate community-based adaptation into city plans when appropriate; 4) support organizations that already work with vulnerable groups; and 5) strengthen land administration and regulation, including considering the benefits of improving the security of tenure and service provision in informal settlements. In pursuing such efforts, fully recognizing the resourcefulness of the informal sector in cities is crucial. City governments have options for meaningful action on food security, even though food production depends so heavily on regional, national, and even global conditions. Those agricultural policies tend to be set at the national level. Cities may already see the need to build food security, with climate change merely serving as a new entry point or an additional reason for action (UN Desa, 2022)

Cities can develop local food governance structures (such as a food policy council), raise awareness, and build partnerships on food security. Through partnerships with regional farmers and universities, cities can position themselves as centre of innovation and leaders in food awareness. Cities do not necessarily have to create these partnerships from scratch but can leverage existing regional networks of institutions focused on agricultural innovation (Siegener, A. et al., 2018). Activities can include 1) establishing an educational exchange with regional farmers to raise awareness about food supply among the general public and exploring social reliance on certain foods that may become scarce or expensive in the future, and 2) tapping into local and regional expertise around new technologies and cultivation methods that support the diversification of agriculture (Javaid et al., 2022)

Some examples of urban agriculture illustrate its benefits as a win-win strategy to develop food security while generating co-benefits in other areas. The city of Quito, Ecuador, created a program called AGRUPAR within the municipal economic development corporation to aid urban farmers. The program provided the farmers with seeds and training to help improve their agricultural production and commercialization and strengthen their management skills (Siegener, A. et al., 2018).

Faced with a food crisis in the 1990s, Cuba embarked upon a massive effort to promote urban farming, for which day-to-day implementation primarily fell to Havana city officials (Sulistiyowati, C. A., & Nurhasana, R. (2022). In Havana, city laws were changed so that gardeners could have legal priority for any unused space; citizens could approach the local government to request specific plots (Sulistiyowati, C. A., & Nurhasana, R. (2022).

Regarding food planning in urban government, Durban also showed a good example. To ensure food security for low-income populations, the city of Durban, South Africa, has initiated field trials of different crops in various locations to simulate future climate projections (Dube et al., 2013). The program intends to measure not only the yields of the crops but also the crops' social acceptability, palatability, and substitutability for traditional crops. Cities can choose to set aside public land for urban agriculture through zoning and regulation, ensuring through these land use policies that urban food production will have a place as the city grows. By locating city-owned plots near poor areas and giving priority over the plots to those most in need, city governments can help build vulnerable populations' resilience (Henriques, 2009).

Adaptive climate change policy can be developed by integrating environmental-based planning, strong linkage among government agencies, and political support for budgeting. Although Makassar city (one of the biggest coastal cities in Indonesia, within 1.7 million of the population) has experienced the impact of climate change (flood, abrasion, and other environmental degradations), they could ensure the availability and accessibility of food and also the stability of food price (UN-Habitat, 2014).

The failure to identify vulnerable urban groups also emerges as a debate. Should they provide sufficient and nutritious food? Or remains await intervention from external parties? The challenge of persuading the vulnerable group to be involved in a food security program is undefined. These groups dwell in the slump area, contributing to urban poverty and the fluctuation of criminal rates. Many misconceptions about food security also exist among the vulnerable community. Most of them still perceive that food security is about food sufficiency without considering the nutritious contents.

The objectives of this research are (1) to identify the challenges of the urban food security policy-making process and (2) to identify the political approaches to succeed the policy through community mobilization.

The urban coastal city is typically found throughout Southeast Asia, the Caribbean, Africa, and other long-coastline developing countries. Debate is inevitable about the potentiality of economic growth, the severe impact of the coastline, and the allocation of resources to empower the most vulnerable communities living in coastal areas.

METHOD

Case study

According to Cresswell (2017), the case study is a research strategy to analyze a particular case

through extensive data collection of a social entity. It can refer to an individual, group, or situation. Hunziker et al (2024) stated that a case study research design is intended to depict a complete description of a research object. In this study, I provoke the case of the food security policy implemented by the government of Makassar, from 2013 to 2023. This study was conducted from January 2023 to July 2023.

Data was collected by conducting several data collecting methods. The main source of primary data was collected from in-depth interviews. The informants were selected purposively based on their experience during the implementation of the food security policy. I selected the informants purposively. To build trust in the data collected technique, this study also employed the snowball sampling method, particularly during field observation.

The informants in this study were 20 informants, including the local government officials who served at the Board of Food Security. They ranged from the third echelon to the clerical official (*tenaga kontrak*). Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with agronomists, neighborhood leaders, and female group representatives. They were interviewed purposively to discover the social dynamic in the implementation of food policy in the city of Makassar. However, some informants refused to share their information for personal reasons. They didn't want to be involved as they assumed that these policies should be understood clearly and should be viewed as a holistic activity (not partially commented).

Besides, 4 agriculturists (*penyuluh pertanian*) also shared their experience dealing with the female group (*kelompok Wanita tani*). Mostly, they could share their opinion and speak without any hesitation as they were assumed the busiest officials during the implementation of the policy.

During the field observation (February 2023), I conducted two focus group discussions, attended by female groups as well as neighborhood leaders (*ketua RT*) where lorong garden was implemented. Focus groups are often used to gain a more realistic perspective of the research field, generate hypotheses based on informant insights, and aid in the development of the survey (Islam, 2024). To clarify the findings from primary data, some secondary data were obtained, such as official documents, government reports, and auditing reports.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section is divided into two subsections. The author firstly discussed the narrative discussion of mobilization to exploit the people as the findings of this research, beyond the community empowerment

for politicization purposes. Secondly, the findings are articulated to show how community empowerment tends to be harnessed as an effective instrument for political mobilization.

Challenges in the Urban Food Security Policy-Making Process

Lack of technical analysis in implementing the urban food policy

The idea behind urban food security policies arguably has brought social impact in increasing community awareness in utilizing the front yard. Since these programs launched in 2014, people have been attracted to pay more attention to the community-based program implemented by the local government of Makassar City. The government of Makassar launched a program named 'Program Lorong Garden' an urban farming program to introduce urban gardening by utilizing a home yard to plant some short-term vegetables.

However, this program has failed to identify the characteristics of the community, as well as the characteristics of the physical/ soil of the city. As a metropolitan city, Makassar is well-known for its position center of economic growth in the eastern part of Indonesia. This city is dwelled by a heterogeneous background of people, particularly related to economic activities. The thing that should be considered is that it is probably difficult to encourage those with a non-agricultural background to be involved in farming activities. This phenomenon had emerged as a challenge to be overcome. The community's social characteristics also determine the extension of a food security program. As a coastal city, the government required technical analysis from agronomists, agricultural scientists, and urban anthropologists. Social characteristics also need to get more attention, given the characteristics of urban communities dominated by the non-agricultural sector.

This study also found that the failure was identified from the lack of analysis of soil. According to interviews with agriculturists (interview 15 and 16), it is found that in 2015, the implementation of a community farming policy utilized the backyard and front yard to plant short-term vegetables, such as chili pepper (*capsicum annum*), and water spinach (*ipomoea reptans*). It was intended to support the program of food diversification at the household level. People were encouraged to diversify their diet so that healthy lifestyles could be fulfilled at the household level. However, only a few numbers of farming grounds successfully utilized the yard for farming, while others failed (interview with the representative of the female group, interview 19 and 20). The failure was dominated by the inability to consistently cultivate the soil. Most of them converted

the activities to non-agricultural activities, such as selling daily needs in small stalls in their front yard. Some others applied vertical farming (interview 17).

Community engagement: mobilization vis a vis Politicization

Based on information obtained from local government officials who are responsible for supervising the *lorong garden* program, it was found that food security policy was constituted by community engagement. The stronger people involve, the more impactful the effect obtained (interview 1). However, a contradiction was stated by the representatives of female groups (interview 19). She assumed that this program was likely a politicization of the community rather than purely for community empowerment. In some cases, people were mobilized. They provided some financial resources for free to support the program. At the grassroots level, they allocated limitless time to ensure these programs successfully are implemented.

From a political lens, the government utilized political jargon to amplify the program. Community institutions (*RT*, *RW*) became the real actors in mobilizing the people, on behalf of government policy. Those who were unable to show their support were not excluded. However, they became a minority group and were slightly excluded from the mainstream (interview 13 and 14). The pattern became unclear, but the political ambiance strongly emerged through community involvement.

An agronomist (interview 11) stated that as an empowerment action, this policy was expected to increase household income. With increased production, it is expected that low-income families will be able to sell their products. However, the conception of subsistence economics, including subsistence production and subsistence consumption, is not considered the same as the conventional economic concept of production.

Time allocation for household farming has also emerged as an unpredictable issue. Informants from female group representatives (interview 19 and 20) stated that housewives (female groups) were considered the backbone of this policy of resilience. However, the analysis of working time allocators was not taken seriously to be considered in policy formulation. The female groups had to share time in managing the household, cleaning the house, taking care of the children's school, and so on.

The Political Approaches to Succeed the Policy Through Community Mobilization *Government-led Media framing*

Due to the massive penetration to the community, it is urgent to amplify the program throughout the

city. To do so, the government harnessed the media to circulate the propaganda. According to a semi-structured interview with the social media specialist who is responsible for circulating the press release in the Board of Food Security (interview 9), it is found that the media framing carried out by the Makassar City Government was very effective in constructing positive framing from the community. Press releases from media partners, both printed as well as online media run effectively.

To support the publicity of the program, the government allocated a larger budget allocation to support the publication of the mass media, and it finally developed a symbiosis of mutualism between the government and the media. Some media were given specific additional incentives to ensure the continuity of good news broadcasting and to report on the successes of municipal government obtained during the timeframe for implementing the food security policy (interview 10). The mass media massively broadcast the successes generated by this program. The newspaper reported day by day and filled the headlines. It was seen that the contractual agreement between the media and the municipal government was running so effectively that this good impression covered up any weaknesses in the food security program.

According to the social media specialist (interview 9 and 10), the use of social media has also emerged as a new way of channeling propaganda. The mayor assigned the head of agencies to disseminate programs. The mayor used to harness the widespread media propaganda as one of the key performance indexes that would be evaluated. They should collaborate with the community leaders (such as heads of *RT* and *RW*), *lurah* and sub-district heads, and other support groups. Politically, they have to maintain the popularity of the mayor. Thus, the mayor would eliminate the head of agency from his regime. Consequently, the government bodies will work extra hard: to succeed in the program of government; and to enhance the political popularity of the Mayor. So, it is assumed that one effective channel is to control the media.

Irregularities were also found in the interrelations among local government institutions. Fluidity and flexibility in terms of budget spending were commonly found and it was rarely spent according to the accountability code of conduct. In the formulation phase, the budgeting arrangement used to be arranged according to the sudden request of the group of the community, such as when the mayor visited the alley and many community members were at the visit site. Then, the media would broadcast while the aids were given by the mayor. This kind of budget spending wouldn't be complained about

by any parties as the events were framed as the 'kindness' of the government (interview 5, 6, 9, and 10).

It can be concluded that media framing played a significant role in establishing a good opinion, depending on who provided the facilities. In terms of community mobilization, the media also harnessed the power of local leaders to organize the events. [A3]

Friction between Executive vs Legislative

This study found that due to the determinant power of the executive, the local parliament seemed to be abandoned from the arena. According to local administration regulations, the executive can issue a regulation without any intervention from the local parliament. Local government (mayor) has a chance to reallocate the budgeting, without conducting any consultation with the legislative. To provide a legal basis for local expenditure, the mayor can issue a Mayor Regulation (*peraturan walikota* or *perwali*) and this legal product would become the basis of local expenditure (interview 2, 3, 4).

Based on a semi-structured interview with a government official who is responsible for budgeting and programming (interview 3), this discretionary legal framework, however, had attracted the negative sentiment of the legislative. The parliament has the right to call and ask for clarification from the government in the corridor of the budgeting function of the legislative. However since the political power of the mayor, as well as the determination of the mayor toward the community, the legislative tended to be weakened and had inadequate political power to force the executive (mayor). The political bargaining position of the legislature was declining. The local house of Representatives (*DPRD*) felt unappreciated. The budgeting and controlling functions became very blunt. As a result, the mayor's regime became very authoritarian and did not compromise the relationship between the executive and the legislature. By abandoning the *DPRD*, local governance conditions were moving towards the formation of local authoritarianism.

In the context of relations with the central government, the food security policy in Makassar City also did not receive a good response for several reasons. According to an interview with an agriculturist (interview 16), the main reason was that the policies implemented by the mayor have neglected the technical aspects of agriculture. It is reasonable to suspect that the central government does not want to hastily approve matters that do not fulfill the requirement of the Good Agriculture Procedures (GAP) technical corridor, where if a failure occurs, the central government does not need to feel responsible. On the other hand, the mayor also

appeared very confident in the support of several teams who were considered experts in agriculture (although they have non-agricultural backgrounds, such as law and training practitioners). Secondly, in substance, the food security policy in the city of Makassar is inspired by the policies of the central government. However, the program was modified and it was assumed that the idea purely came from the innovators in Makassar. Thus, problems would arise when harmonization of central-regional policies is carried out, which remain the same in substance, but no match is found in terms of nomenclature (interview 2).

Politicization in the field of urban agriculture (Mugumbate et al., 2024) and marine resources management (McAteer & Flannery, 2022) will bring challenges and may not result in actionable knowledge. This statement convinced the findings of the study, as well as the theoretical perspective explained above.

Authoritarianism at the local government level is very likely to be realized by the government. With all the power it has, it can control the situation, including by ignoring authorities that are considered to have the potential to hinder the implementation of its policies. In the case of food security policy in Makassar city, the mayor ignored the need to build persuasive and constructive communication with the legislature. According to Ståhlberg, K.'s statement (1987), this type of politicization refers to third, fourth and fifth form.

Also, the significant role of media appears during the process. There was a dyadic mutualism and arguably identified as patronage form (Ståhlberg fifth form) (Ståhlberg, 1987). Journalistic ethics are ignored, to remain part of a sustainable business, and also to be part of the ongoing government.

Another form of authoritarianism that can be carried out is by forming a shadow bureaucracy that serves as a counterweight to the bureaucracy run in the formal context of government. Shadow bureaucracy functions as an advisor to the mayor, and as an executor of strategic activities that should be the duties and functions of official government work units.

The phenomenon as Caferro (2023) stated is seen in the existence of shadow bureaucrat. This study found that the existence of shadow bureaucracy is considered to be very disruptive to the running of the government played by regional apparatus organizations. The shadow bureaucracy may provide considerations that may contradict what has been stated in the planning documents.

The composition of the shadow bureaucracy is people who have emotional closeness to the mayor. They can come from family relatives, high school

friends, supporting political actors, academics, or spiritual advisors. It is often found that people come from different disciplines but handle highly technical matters. We found that members of the shadow bureaucracy involved in food security were law graduates and had no background in agriculture.

CONCLUSION

The challenge faced by the bureaucracy in the local area, in general, is the presence of parties from outside the government system who used to intervene in the formal system. On the other hand, the lack of technical analysis is always seen as a weakness that can be covered by people in groups outside the official government system (shadow bureaucracy), from the decision-making process in the top management to the technical and clerical aspects. Mass mobilization is partly controlled by this component. The political choices of residents are already organized into a menu of options prepared by this shadow bureaucracy. The political approach taken by the government is to shape positive opinions provided by the media. The legislature is not always seen as a partner. The legislature is only an institution that symbolizes the relationship between the executive and the legislature, which does not always go hand in hand. Thus, mobilization carried out within the framework of community empowerment policies is a form of political authoritarianism that complements the chaotic government in the regions. Regional heads can utilize their authority to control the situation.

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