

Non-State Actor Resilience in Strengthening Food Security Governance Networks

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Abstract: Food security governance in Indonesia remains predominantly state-centered, leaving limited space for non-state actors such as Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to participate meaningfully in the policy process. This study examines the contribution and resilience of non-state actors in strengthening food security governance networks in a regency characterized by high agricultural potential yet persistent food security challenges. Employing a descriptive qualitative approach within an interpretivist paradigm, informants were selected through purposive sampling based on direct involvement in food security policy implementation. They comprised representatives from the local food security agency, CBOs engaged in community-level food programs, and NGOs focused on food issues and community empowerment. Data were collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and document analysis, then examined using thematic analysis encompassing data reduction, actor categorization, and contribution mapping within a governance network framework. The findings reveal that non-state actors demonstrate high adaptive capacity through local initiatives including home garden utilization, traditional agriculture revitalization, and food diversification. However, their involvement remains sporadic and confined to the implementation stage. Structural barriers, notably inadequate incentives, weak coordination mechanisms, and limited deliberative space, prevent their strategic engagement in policymaking. This study contributes to the governance network literature by foregrounding the resilience of non-state actors and its implications for participatory food security governance. It argues for a transformation from symbolic participation toward substantive involvement across all policy stages, supported by institutional reforms and incentive schemes that strengthen collaborative governance in decentralized settings.

1. Introduction

The implementation of food security policies in Indonesia faces complex challenges that exceed the capacity of state actors alone. As a national strategic issue, food security requires collaborative engagement from diverse stakeholders, including community-based organizations (CBOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) operating across local and regional scales. Recent evidence demonstrates that non-state actors contribute substantively to food resilience, as shown by women farmers in Tasikmalaya Regency whose land management practices significantly strengthen family food needs and local food security (Astuti, 2023). These findings signal the strategic value of optimizing non-state actor participation in building more resilient food security networks.

The urgency of such collaboration intensified during the COVID-19 pandemic, which exposed vulnerabilities in both global and local food systems. Educational and innovation-driven interventions initiated by NGOs, such as introducing Mocaf flour to diversify community consumption, have proven effective in enhancing household-level food security (Asmoro et al., 2021; If'all & Unsunnidhal, 2023). This evidence confirms that food system resilience depends not only on physical resource availability but also on the adaptive and innovative capacities of actors across the governance network.

Empirical studies further document the concrete contributions of non-state actors at the community level. CBOs facilitate the use of home gardens in urban areas, which demonstrably increases household income and food availability (Ashari et al., 2016; N. H. Khatimah et al., 2023). NGOs also support the revitalization of local wisdom in agriculture, as practiced by the Urang Kanekes community, whose traditional farming sustains food availability while preserving cultural and ecological integrity (Fahruqi & Moeis, 2024). Complementary programs, such as Pekarangan Pangan Lestari (P2L) in Sleman Regency, have contributed to reductions in stunting by accelerating community access to nutritious food (Renita et al., 2024). These initiatives collectively position CBOs and NGOs as catalysts in the transformation of local food systems.

Despite these documented contributions, scholarly attention to non-state actors within food security governance networks remains limited. Existing studies predominantly focus on state-led policy implementation or isolated community initiatives, without systematically examining how non-state actor resilience shapes the broader governance network. There is a paucity of research analyzing how CBOs and NGOs transition from sporadic implementers to strategic partners in policy formulation, leaving unexplored the relational dynamics, structural barriers, and adaptive capacities that determine whether their participation remains symbolic or becomes substantive.

The central problem addressed in this study is the persistent gap between the potential contribution of non-state actors and their actual strategic involvement in food security governance networks, particularly in decentralized regional contexts. Accordingly, this study aims to analyze the contribution and resilience of non-state actors in strengthening food security governance networks in Bone Regency. Its novelty lies in foregrounding non-state actor resilience as the analytical entry point for understanding governance network dynamics, rather than treating these actors as peripheral to state-led processes. The scope encompasses identifying non-state actors involved in food security policy, analyzing patterns of participation and contribution, and evaluating the structural barriers and opportunities that shape their strategic roles.

2. Literature Review

Governance Networks as an Analytical Framework

Governance network theory has become a foundational paradigm in contemporary public administration, offering an analytical lens for understanding policy implementation as a relational process

among interdependent actors rather than a linear, state-driven activity (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2025; Rhodes et al., 1997). The theory rests on three interrelated premises: interdependence among actors with heterogeneous resources, ongoing negotiation as the mechanism of policy production, and continuous learning as the source of adaptive capacity (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012; Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). Applied to food security, this framework reframes policy outcomes not as products of state authority alone but as emergent properties of collaborative arrangements linking state agencies, community organizations, and civic networks (Lever et al., 2019; Moragues-Faus, 2017). However, the explanatory power of governance network theory depends on relational quality, particularly trust, which mediates whether interdependence translates into effective collaboration or devolves into fragmentation. Empirical work on food diversification policy in South Sulawesi illustrates this mechanism by showing how trust management operates as the critical variable determining network success (Rukmana, 2022a, 2024). This insight connects abstract network theory to concrete governance practice and grounds the analytical framework in the Indonesian institutional context.

Resilience as a Dynamic Property of Governance Networks

The concept of resilience extends governance network theory by explaining how networks endure and evolve in the face of disruption. Originating in social-ecological systems thinking, resilience denotes not merely the capacity to resist shock but the ability to adapt, learn, and transform in response to changing conditions (Folke, 2006; Tendall et al., 2015). When applied to food security networks, resilience becomes inseparable from the adaptive capacity of the actors constituting the network. This analytical move is significant because it shifts the locus of resilience from the system as an abstract whole to the agency of specific actors who generate, absorb, and translate innovation within the network. Frankenberger & Nelson (2023), argue that resilience in this sense encompasses both short-term coping strategies and transformative strategies that reconfigure the network over time. The implication is analytically important: a resilient food security network is one in which non-state actors are not peripheral participants but active contributors to adaptive and transformative processes.

Non-State Actors as Network Intermediaries and Catalysts

Non-state actors occupy a strategic position in food security governance networks because they mediate between formal institutions and local communities, bridging knowledge systems, resource flows, and legitimacy claims (Cash et al., 2006; Hamm & Bellows, 2003). Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) draw their comparative advantage from embeddedness in local socio-cultural contexts, which enables them to mobilize resources that remain inaccessible to state agencies (Hospes & Brons, 2016). Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) complement this role by facilitating information flows, technological innovation, and advocacy functions across scales (Fullerton et al., 2004; Gereffi et al., 2005). Synthesizing empirical studies, the contribution of these actors can be understood across four interconnected dimensions: local resource mobilization, community capacity building, innovation in agricultural practices, and policy advocacy (Ajates, 2020; Arora, 2019). Indonesian evidence refines this typology by showing that strengthened community-based institutions directly enhance food system resilience at the provincial level (Rukmana, 2024; Rukmana et al., 2024) and that local collaborative arrangements are essential for effective governance in decentralized settings (Sopia Rukmana S et al., 2019). Yet structural barriers persist, including inadequate incentive schemes, irregular coordination mechanisms, and restricted deliberative space, which collectively confine non-state actors to symbolic rather than substan-

tive roles in policy decision-making (Lever et al., 2019; Stohl & Cheney, 2001; Yackee, 2019). This tension between documented contribution and constrained institutional position constitutes the analytical puzzle that frames the present study.

Positioning the Study and Conceptual Framework

Existing scholarship establishes three foundational claims: governance networks are the appropriate analytical unit for contemporary food security policy; resilience is the dynamic property that determines network effectiveness; and non-state actors are critical intermediaries whose resilience conditions the network's adaptive capacity. However, the literature rarely integrates these three claims into a unified analytical framework, nor does it specify the mechanisms through which non-state actor resilience produces network resilience, particularly in decentralized regional contexts. Recent Indonesian studies point toward trust management and institutional strengthening as key pathways (Rukmana, 2022a), but the conditions enabling the transition from symbolic to substantive participation remain underexplored (Berti & Mulligan, 2016; Koutnik, 2021). This study positions itself within this analytical space by treating non-state actor resilience as the mediating variable between governance network structure and food security outcomes.

The conceptual framework guiding this analysis can be articulated narratively as follows. Food security governance is conceptualized as a network of interdependent state and non-state actors whose interactions are structured by institutional arrangements and mediated by trust. Within this network, non-state actors contribute through four functional dimensions, namely resource mobilization, capacity building, innovation, and advocacy. The resilience of these actors, understood as their capacity to adapt, learn, and transform, determines the extent to which their contributions translate into strengthened network outcomes. Structural barriers such as weak incentives, fragmented coordination, and limited deliberative space moderate this relationship by restricting the scope of non-state actor participation. The analytical expectation is that network resilience emerges when non-state actor resilience is activated through enabling institutional conditions, producing a transition from symbolic to substantive participation across all stages of the policy cycle.

3. Research Methods

This study employs a descriptive qualitative design within an interpretivist paradigm to analyze the role and resilience of non-state actors in the food security governance network in Bone Regency. This approach is consistent with similar qualitative inquiries on local food security governance, which have demonstrated the capacity of interpretive methods to capture the nuances of actor relationships and contributions (Astuti, 2023). Informants were selected through purposive sampling based on direct involvement in food security policy implementation, yielding 10 informants representing both state and non-state actors. State actors comprised representatives from seven government institutions: Dinas Ketahanan Pangan (Food Security Agency), Dinas Pertanian (Agriculture Agency), Dinas Kesehatan (Health Agency), Dinas Pekerjaan Umum (Public Works Agency), Dinas Perdagangan (Trade Agency), Dinas Koperasi dan UMKM (Cooperatives and SME Agency), and Bulog (National Logistics Agency). Non-state actors consisted of three informants drawn from Penyuluh (Agricultural Extension Officer), Tokoh Tani Indonesia (Indonesian Farmers Association), and Lembaga Pemberdayaan Perempuan Bone (Bone Women's Empowerment Institute), representing community-based organizations and civil society engaged in food security and community empowerment activities.

Data were collected through three complementary techniques: semi-structured in-depth interviews with all informants, documentation of policy documents, program reports, and activity archives, and participatory observation of collaborative activities between state and non-state actors. The semi-structured interview format enabled in-depth exploration of actor experiences and strategies, an approach previously applied in studies of local food programs and community-based interventions (Renita et al., 2024). Data analysis followed a thematic analysis procedure comprising three stages, namely data reduction through coding and categorization of key themes, actor categorization based on the typology of involvement ranging from symbolic to substantive participation (Ashari et al., 2016), and contribution mapping to identify pathways of influence and collaboration mechanisms within the governance network, including innovative initiatives such as food diversification practices (Asmoro et al., 2021). Validity was ensured through source triangulation and member checking with key informants to verify the accuracy of interpretations.

4. Results and Discussion

Identification of Non-State Actors in Food Security Networks

The findings reveal that non-state actors involved in food activities in Bone Regency can be classified into two principal categories: Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), each with distinct characteristics and operational domains.



Figure 1. Three Pillars in the Food Security Policy Implementation Network in Bone Regency

The findings show that CBOs operating in Bone Regency exhibit diverse characteristics, ranging from traditional farmer groups to women’s organizations focused on local food diversification. Consistent with observations in Tasikmalaya Regency, where women’s role in land management significantly contributes to family food needs and local food security (Astuti, 2023), women’s farmer groups in Bone Regency demonstrate similar dynamics through yard-land management initiatives and the diversification of local food crops.

The identification of NGOs further reveals organizations with specific programs related to food security, including the development of alternative food technologies and community empowerment in the use of local resources. Programs introduced by NGOs to raise awareness of local food consumption, such as the introduction of Mocaf flour, confirm that education and innovation serve as effective tools for improving household-level food security (Asmoro et al., 2021; If'all & Unsunidhal, 2023). Field findings indicate that NGOs in Bone Regency adopt a similar approach through socialization programs and training in food-processing technology using local raw materials.

The findings further demonstrate that non-state actors have formed complex networks with diverse stakeholders, including local governments, educational institutions, and the private sector. Evidence from comparable contexts shows that yard land utilization in urban areas contributes significantly to household income and food security (Ashari et al., 2016; A. W. N. Khatimah et al., 2025). In Bone Regency, similar initiatives are facilitated by CBOs that educate communities on optimal land use, engage them in sustainable local agricultural processes, and support broader food security policies.

Table 1. Categories and Characteristics of Non-State Actors in Food Security Networks in Bone Regency

Actor Category	Organizational Form	Primary Focus	Key Activities
CBO	Traditional farmer groups	Local agricultural production	Crop cultivation, yard land management
CBO	Women's farmer groups	Food diversification	Local food crop diversification, household food provision
CBO	Women's empowerment institutes	Community empowerment	Advocacy, independent women empowerment
NGO	Food technology organizations	Alternative food development	Introduction of Mocaf flour, food processing innovation
NGO	Community empowerment organizations	Capacity building	Socialization, training, local resource utilization

Patterns of Participation and Local Initiatives of Non-State Actors

The findings show that the participation of non-state actors in food security policies in Bone Regency remains sporadic and predominantly concentrated at the implementation level rather than at the strategic formulation and decision-making stage. This participation pattern is reflected in their involvement in established government programs, which offer limited space to provide substantive input during policy design. Although non-state actors possess relevant capacity and experience, existing consultation and deliberation mechanisms remain formal and do not accommodate bottom-up perspectives.

The local initiatives developed by non-state actors demonstrate high creativity and adaptability in responding to community food security needs. NGOs encourage the application of local wisdom in agriculture, as exemplified by the Urang Kanekes community, which employs traditional agricultural practices to support food availability (Fahruqi & Moeis, 2024). In Bone Regency, comparable practices include the revitalization of local rice varieties and organic farming techniques developed by farmer groups with support from local NGOs. Such practices not only help meet local food needs but also maintain cultural and environmental sustainability.

The findings further reveal that CBOs and NGOs develop innovative strategies to address resource constraints and access to government programs. A study in Sleman Regency demonstrated that the Pekarangan Pangan Lestari (P2L) program contributed to reducing stunting by accelerating community

access to nutritious food (Renita et al., 2024). In Bone Regency, a similar initiative is the “Food Village” program, initiated by local CBOs with NGO support, which focuses on developing an integrated food system at the community level. The program encompasses crop diversification, post-harvest processing, and the marketing of local products through networks built by non-state actors.

Table 2. Patterns of Participation and Local Initiatives of Non-State Actors in Bone Regency

Dimension of Participation	Characteristics in Bone Regency	Level of Involvement
Policy formulation	Minimal substantive input in strategic decision-making	Low
Policy implementation	Dominant role in executing government programs	High
Local initiatives	Food Village program, local rice variety revitalization	Autonomous
Innovation practices	Organic farming, post-harvest processing, product marketing	High
Deliberative consultation	Formal and top-down mechanisms	Limited

Institutional Challenges and Structural Barriers

The findings identify several institutional challenges faced by non-state actors in strengthening food security networks in Bone Regency. The most pronounced challenge is the absence of adequate incentive schemes to sustain the continued participation of non-state actors in the implementation of food security policy. This condition creates a dependence on individuals’ or organizations’ intrinsic motivation and social commitment, which in turn affects the consistency and sustainability of their programs. Similar findings have been documented by Rukmana (2022b; Susanti & Rukmana, n.d.), who highlights the importance of trust management and maintaining actor engagement in food policy implementation networks, particularly in South Sulawesi. (Rukmana et al., 2024) further emphasize that strengthening CBOs requires institutional support mechanisms, including incentives and capacity-building, to ensure effective contribution to regional food security goals.

The findings show that irregular coordination between government and communities constitutes a significant structural barrier. Evidence from comparable studies confirms that collaboration between non-state actors and the government in food security policies is crucial, with the dissemination of information and technology through programs developed by NGOs and CBOs showing that networks among stakeholders can greatly increase policy effectiveness (Purwantini et al., 2016). However, in Bone Regency, existing coordination mechanisms remain ad hoc and poorly institutionalized, hindering the development of optimal synergies among actors in the network.

Table 3. Structural Barriers to Non-State Actor Participation in Food Security Networks

Type of Barrier	Field Manifestation	Implication for Non-State Actors
Absence of incentive schemes	No formal incentives for sustained participation	Dependence on intrinsic motivation, weak program sustainability
Weak coordination mechanisms	Ad-hoc and non-institutionalized coordination	Limited synergy among state and non-state actors
Limited resource access	Restricted financial and technical resources	Constrained capacity to develop sustainable programs
Administrative complexity	Bureaucratic standards in grant and partnership procedures	Exclusion from formal collaboration channels
Deficit of deliberative space	Hierarchical and non-participatory decision-making	Symbolic rather than substantive role in policy processes

The findings also reveal additional structural barriers, including limited access to financial and technical resources required to develop sustainable food security programs. CBOs and NGOs often encounter difficulties accessing government grants or partnership programs due to the complexity of administrative requirements and limited capacity to prepare proposals that meet formal bureaucratic standards. This condition is compounded by the absence of adequate deliberative space for substantive participation of non-state actors in policy decision-making, reducing their role to that of program executors rather than strategic partners in formulating food security policies responsive to local needs.

Discussion

The findings reveal the complexity of governance network dynamics in the implementation of food security policies in Bone Regency, particularly concerning the role and resilience of non-state actors. Although the participation of non-state actors remains limited and sporadic, the findings indicate significant potential to strengthen local food security networks. The resilience potential of CBOs and NGOs is evident in their capacity to develop innovative and adaptive initiatives to address food security challenges, as reflected in the “Food Village” program and the revitalization of traditional agricultural practices. This adaptive capacity resonates with the concept of resilience in governance networks, which emphasizes their capacity to learn, adapt, and transform in the face of disruptions or crises in food systems.

The local resource mobilization capabilities demonstrated by non-state actors in Bone Regency carry important theoretical relevance for governance network scholarship. Comparable studies have shown that yard land utilization and local food diversification indicate that non-state actors possess a comparative advantage in understanding and utilizing local potential often unidentified through government top-down approaches (Ashari et al., 2016; N. H. Khatimah et al., 2023). These findings affirm the theoretical argument that non-state actors function as intermediaries facilitating the flow of information, resources, and innovation between local communities and formal institutions. However, this potential remains suboptimal due to limitations in incentive schemes and systematic coordination mechanisms with the government.

The policy gaps identified in this study indicate that the government has not yet provided adequate deliberative space and institutional strengthening for non-state actors in food security policy decision-making. This condition generates a paradox in which the government acknowledges the importance of community participation in policy implementation. At the same time, the existing governance structure remains dominated by a hierarchical approach that restricts space for substantive participation. As demonstrated by the study of the Pekarangan Pangan Lestari (P2L) program, which contributed to stunting reduction (Renita et al., 2024), the effectiveness of food security programs depends heavily on the active and sustained involvement of non-state actors throughout the policy cycle, not merely at the implementation stage. This gap signals the need for a paradigm shift from government to more inclusive and participatory governance.

The findings further reveal that the structural barriers faced by non-state actors are not merely technical or administrative but also reflect limitations in the government’s understanding of the potential contributions of non-state actors to food security. Collaboration between non-state actors and the government in food security policies has proven essential, as the dissemination of information and technology through well-developed programs significantly enhances policy effectiveness (Purwanti, 2016). However, the realization of this collaboration remains constrained by the bureaucratic perception that views non-state actors as beneficiaries or program implementers rather than as strategic partners pos-

sessing knowledge, networks, and capacities that can enrich the design and implementation of food security policies.

The implications of these findings for participatory governance indicate a need for a fundamental shift from a symbolic to a substantive role for non-state actors in food security policy decision-making. This shift requires a restructuring of governance mechanisms to enable the meaningful participation of non-state actors throughout the policy cycle, from problem identification and formulation of alternative solutions to implementation and program evaluation. As demonstrated by the local wisdom practices of the Urang Kanekes community, which employ traditional agricultural methods to support food availability (Fahruqi & Moeis, 2024), integrating local knowledge and practices into food security policies can enhance program relevance and effectiveness. The transformation toward participatory governance also requires capacity development in both non-state actors and the government bureaucracy to build equitable, mutually beneficial collaborative relationships that strengthen the resilience of food security networks at the local level.

5. Conclusion

This study demonstrates that non-state actors in Bone Regency possess significant yet under-utilized potential to strengthen food security governance networks, with their participation currently confined to sporadic involvement at the implementation stage despite high adaptive capacity evident in initiatives such as traditional agriculture revitalization and local food diversification. The main finding is that this limitation stems from three interrelated structural barriers: the absence of adequate incentive schemes, weak institutionalized coordination between government and communities, and restricted deliberative space for substantive participation in policy decision-making. The study contributes theoretically by positioning non-state actor resilience as the analytical entry point for understanding governance network dynamics in food security, and empirically by documenting how CBOs and NGOs in decentralized Indonesian contexts operate as intermediaries whose strategic engagement remains institutionally constrained. These findings carry a clear implication: strengthening food security networks requires a paradigmatic shift from government to participatory governance that enables substantive rather than symbolic roles for non-state actors across the entire policy cycle.

6. Recommendations

Future research should develop an optimal multi-stakeholder governance network model for food security, conduct comparative analyses of non-state actor roles across diverse geographic and socio-economic contexts in Indonesia, and design evaluation instruments to measure the effectiveness of inter-actor collaboration in food security policy implementation. Subsequent studies should also examine incentive mechanisms and institutional strengthening schemes that can facilitate the transition of non-state actors from symbolic to substantive roles, particularly within the context of decentralization and regional autonomy.

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