

ISSUES OF FOOD SECURITY POLICY IN INDONESIA: A PERSPECTIVE FROM NEW INSTITUTIONAL ECONOMICS

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ABSTRACT

Food security is one of the main issues facing Indonesia. Government efforts to improve the quality of food security in Indonesia through various policies are still considered by the parties to have not touched the root of the problem. This article discusses food security in Indonesia from the perspective of New Institutional Economics (NIE). This study uses a literature review method. The literature review aims to analyze and synthesize existing knowledge related to the topic being studied, with the aim of identifying food security problem in Indonesia. This study found that from the NIE perspective there are important issues that must be considered in improving the ability to realize food security in Indonesia. These issues are related to high transaction costs, protection of property rights, information asymmetry, and institutional enforcement are important issues that must be addressed immediately.

Keywords: *Food Security, New Institutional Economics (NIE), Transaction Costs, Asymmetric Information, Property Right*

INTRODUCTION

Food security is one of the main issues in Indonesia's economic development. Although the country has great potential in the agricultural sector, realizing good food security is still a major challenge. In Indonesia, efforts to improve the quality of food security are addressed by formulating food security policies in each government period. However, this approach has not escaped criticism from various parties. A study released by the Bright Institute (Tempo, October 8, 2024) revealed that Indonesia as a country is still vulnerable to a food crisis. One indicator of the threat of a food crisis is the decline in its food security ranking, from position 62 in 2019 to position 65 in 2020. As we know, in 2018, Indonesia achieved a relatively good GFSI score of 63.60, which was an achievement in the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) in President Jokowi's first term. However, since 2019, Indonesia's GFSI score has

tended to decline. In fact, in 2022, the score dropped to 60.2, far from the target set in the 2020-2024 RPJMN which targeted a score of 95.20 in 2024.

The issue of development policy is one of the focuses of the New Institutional Economics (NIE) study. New Institutional Economics (NIE) is an approach that has developed over the past few decades as a critique of the neoclassical development model, which the initiators of NIE considered to have failed in its implementation in development policy. The issues raised in this study are the problems that arise in the implementation of food security policies in Indonesia from the perspective of New Institutional Economics.

The New Institutional Economics (NIE) as a school of thought that is also a scientific approach, has an analytical framework in understanding development issues and public policies, including food security issues, one of which is by reviewing the role of institutions that run when policies are formulated and implemented where the formulation and implementation also influence economic behavior, as well as in food security. NIE, which is based on a fundamental view of institutions that include norms, rules and institutions that form interactions, both social interactions and interests, also influences the economic behavior of people around them, including in the context of food security. Kurdyumov is of the view that rules and laws must apply correctly in an effort to create food security. In addition, it is also important to consider new hands in the present and future that require adaptation (Kurdyumov, 2020). This perspective has also been voiced by Wahbeh et al., who argue that efforts to create effective food security need to pay attention to the specific context of a country or region and integrate it with many factors that also influence the principles of sustainability that are upheld (Wahbeh et al., 2022).

Food security thus requires attention to the institutional framework that presents food security policies that are in line with long-standing goals in people's lives, especially related to economic and social goals, including in smaller contexts. Food security is not just about food availability. Therefore, proper governance is needed when implementing food security policies. Thow et al. are of the view that the legacy of the conventional view that has taken root has indirectly formed a

paradigm of food security policy that is often trapped in the issue of aggregate food availability compared to the issue of food quality and inequality in food access (Thow et al., 2021). Habits or perhaps also limited understanding that cause only focusing on the issue of availability make it impossible to create a comprehensive food security strategy where many factors can be counterproductive if only focusing on the issue of availability. This is what Bowers et al. called the importance of efforts to create policy alignment that leads to equality in food security which is also accompanied by equality in health. Where once again, if it is not aligned and only one side will be counterproductive (Bowers et al., 2021). Therefore, it is important to rethink the right governance structure to achieve integrated food security.

Food security must pay attention to the existence of institutions at the local level. Moudio views the issue of food supply and guaranteed access to food as two policies that often require seriousness in carrying out structural arrangements including in the economic environment when implementing food security policies (Moudio, 2021). The perspective of Richards et al., is also the same, that the existence of local institutions cannot be denied and must be involved and of course with appropriate empowerment efforts so that the challenges that arise in implementation can be overcome. Involving actors in local institutions transparently in policy implementation and of course providing space to translate policies with local wisdom is very necessary so that efforts to realize food security run effectively. It is necessary to align Indonesia's food security policy with socio-economic goals that can realize justice. Thow et al. are of the view that there is potential for policy inconsistency in the interests of economic growth in the supply chain where on the other hand nutritional factors and food security are important (Thow et al., 2018). This view is similar to the view of Alpha and Fouilleux, who see the importance of understanding the history and development of neo-institutionalism discourse to diagnose institutional conditions in relation to efforts to improve the quality of food security policies (Alpha & Fouilleux, 2018).

The integration of various policy domains reflects the NIE emphasis on the interconnectedness of institutions and their impact on economic outcomes. The

research method used in this study is a literature review. A literature review aims to analyze and synthesize existing knowledge related to the topic being studied, with the goal of identifying research gaps that can be addressed by the upcoming research. According to Ramdhani, Amin & Ramdhani (2014), there are four stages in conducting a literature review: (1) determining the topic to be discussed, (2) searching and selecting relevant and appropriate articles, (3) analyzing and synthesizing the literature, and (4) structuring the review writing. This study is conducted within the scope of Indonesia. The analysis tool used to analyze the issues in this research is the New Institutional Economics framework.

The article aims to map the issues of food security policy implementation in Indonesia based on the New Institutional Economics (NIE) approach, which is relatively new in Indonesia. The preparation of this article is important as it can provide a new perspective in exploring food security issues, which is one of the critical problems amid the continually growing population in Indonesia.

ANALYSIS & RESULT

New Institutional Economics (NIE) is an economic school of thought that sees institutions as playing a critical role in determining economic behavior and outcomes. NIE is based on the view that institutions, which include norms, rules, and organizations that govern the interactions of an economy, play a major role in determining economic effectiveness and efficiency (Arwani & Priyadi, 2024); (Williamson, 2000).

NIE also focuses on broader issues, namely public policy and governance issues. This framework states that the quality of institutions directly affects governance structures and policy outcomes, which in turn affect economic performance. This is evident in the work of Douglass North, who emphasized that institutions evolve over time and are influenced by historical context, thus shaping the trajectory of economic development (Ménard & Shirley, 2014). Furthermore, NIE has played an important role in informing policy discussions, particularly in international development, where understanding the institutional landscape is critical to designing effective interventions (Cameron, 2004).

Thus, we can conclude that NIE has built an approach to analyzing the interaction of institutions and economic growth. With its theories, NIE presents one solution for efforts to boost performance and increase economic growth. NIE presents practical implications for parties involved in the formulation and implementation of policies in order to create equitable and sustainable development.

New Institutional Economics (NIE) argues that policies in a country must consider the important role of institutions that include rules, norms, local wisdom, and enforcement. Based on the facts that have been seen so far, NIE criticizes government policies and markets that do not function to create justice and efficiency due to the neglect of clear and effective institutions. Institutions in this case are understood as rules of the game that regulate related matters and related parties. Institutions, both formal and informal, have long influenced and played a role in the behavior of individuals and organizations in the economy. According to NIE's perspective, submitting to market mechanisms means allowing a development policy effort not to function effectively and efficiently.

Transaction Cost

One of the focuses of NIE, including in terms of measuring policy implementation, is transaction costs, which include costs incurred to seek information, negotiate, enforce contracts, and monitor the implementation of agreements. In the context of food security, transaction costs that have existed in food management and distribution activities must be reduced so that food markets in various regions can run more efficiently.

The concept of transaction costs in NIE was initially introduced by Ronald Coase and deepened by Oliver Williamson, where both of them viewed that the condition of a good structure would reduce transaction costs (Caballero & Sotoonate, 2016); (Petrakis & Valsamis, 2013). An institution, including in the author's view a country, will see the level of efficiency or uncertainty from the number of transaction costs that occur where these transaction costs include the cost of obtaining information, costs arising from negotiation activities and contract

implementation, costs of making exchanges, and other similar things. The high or low level of these transaction costs in NIE's perspective is influenced by the effectiveness of existing institutions which ultimately determine whether a policy is running efficiently or inefficiently. Caballero and Soto-Oñate show us that it often happens in a government where transaction costs are often higher where in this case according to both of them good institutions are needed to regulate the interaction of the parties in it (Caballero & Sotoonate, 2016). According to Dollery's view, NIE has provided a good analytical tool if we want to understand the behavior and how a public sector organization is run, where in this case one of them is to see the size of the transaction costs that affect the efficiency of the public bureaucracy (Dollery, 2001). It can be said that in NIE's perspective, this is an indicator where if we want the environment where a policy is implemented to be more efficient and responsive to what is needed by the stakeholders, then minimize the transaction costs that arise (Hou et al., 2019); (Shahab et al., 2018). In the context of agriculture, Bhattarai and Bhusal have conducted research related to these transaction costs in the context of agriculture. His research in Nepal found that transaction costs greatly affect agricultural productivity in the country, where when institutions are improved, it provides better benefits for farmers (Bhattarai & Bhusal, 2017). From this research we can conclude that the lower the transaction costs, the better the economic conditions of a region and the higher the productivity and welfare of individuals.

In the agricultural and food sector in Indonesia, including in the world of food distribution, we have seen many examples of the practice of transaction costs for a long time. This proves that transaction costs in this sector are still a crucial problem so that when food security policies are formulated and implemented, they are often ineffective and inefficient. The potential threat of a food crisis urges policies that minimize the emergence of transaction costs in the food sector. In NIE's perspective, efforts to reduce high transaction costs can be carried out through efforts to reduce trade barriers, improve infrastructure for smooth food distribution, and improve the quality of price transparency are important and closely related policies. These conditions will create efficiency in terms of food distribution and

play an important role in the current price fluctuations in the market, both in the global market and the Indonesian market.

Property Right

Another important factor in NIE's perspective is related to property right. The parties will experience a decrease in productivity if there is no clear protection regarding these property right, where according to the New Institutional Economics (NIE) perspective, this is a fundamental element that is closely related to market efficiency and economic growth, including food.

Clear and secure property rights provide incentives for individuals and companies to invest in assets, develop innovation, and participate in economic transactions. Acemoglu et al. in their research found that countries that support clear property rights tend to be safe areas for investment so that the economy grows and people's incomes increase (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2010); (Auerbach & Azariadis, 2015). In addition to increasing economic efficiency, clarity of property rights will also have a positive impact on the social and political conditions of a region. Research by Che and Wang found that clarity of property rights led to significant economic growth in China (Che & Wang, 2013). Research by Murtazashvili and Murtazashvili found that the role of the state in supporting and legitimizing clear property rights is influential. Without state support like this, protection of property rights does not materialize (Murtazashvili & Murtazashvili, 2015). Transparent and consistent policies in a country accompanied by clear law enforcement and regulations will create stability so that the economy will grow in the long term.

In Indonesia, perspective of land are a critical issue in the Indonesian agricultural sector. Many news and studies by various parties have found conflicts in the agricultural sector that ultimately harm farmers and investors, thus also affecting the food sector and efforts to increase food security. Recently, the issue of protecting property right of land has also become a crucial issue, where land conflicts between communities and large companies often occur in the Indonesian agricultural sector. This is one of the causes of increasing inequality and also decreasing productivity on the part of farmers. NIE underlines the importance of

strengthening institutions that regulate the protection of land ownership rights to create productivity that supports food security efforts.

In the context of Indonesia, a paradox in the food sector occurs, where Indonesia is a country that has extensive and fertile land and many people involved in the food and agriculture sector, but on the other hand also experiences dependence on food imports. In NIE's view, this condition is related to the problem of unclear protection of land ownership rights in the agricultural sector which ultimately reduces farmer productivity as referred to in the previous paragraph. The issue of property rights is also the focus of NIE's study. In the context of food security, property rights play a very important role because food security is not just about good access to food, but also an effort to create food security. In this case, the state cannot implement a policy if the regulation, market interests, and politics are not integrated. Therefore, it is important to place the government, market, and society along with their basic rights in a balanced manner. If they can collaborate, then strength will be created in facing the challenges that arise in efforts to create food security.

The condition of dependence on food imports that has occurred in the NIE food sector is related to the problem of unclear land ownership in the agricultural sector. The direction of policy that tends to focus on the Plantation sector such as palm oil ultimately triggers dependence on food exports. The application of incentives for agricultural land management to create food security is something that is rarely heard even though it will have a major impact on creating national food security.

Information Asymmetry

New Institutional Economics (NIE) believes that information asymmetry or lag of information greatly influences decision making and economic interactions in a country. This information asymmetry arises when there is an unequal, where one party has better information than the other party, thus potentially giving rise to opportunistic behavior and disrupting market efficiency (Casali et al., 2020).

In NIE perspective, the role of formal and informal institutions is very strategic in balancing the availability of this information. Research by Williams and Horodnic found that information asymmetry will increase if there is a mismatch between formal and informal institutions, which will affect participation in the informal economy (Williams & Horodnic, 2018). In the agricultural sector, research by Brito et al. discusses that cooperation between farmers can reduce the condition of information asymmetry. Farmer involvement in organizations, cooperatives and similar institutions can improve information asymmetry in the agricultural sector (Brito et al., 2015). This shows that strengthening social institutions can be an effective strategy to overcome information asymmetry.

Asymmetric information is one of the problems that often occurs in Indonesia, especially between farmers and traders. Farmers who do not have sufficient information about prices and market conditions, including in terms of technological developments or even related to policy developments often have to bear material losses. In NIE's perspective, this condition can be described as a condition of unequal in relations in the food market in Indonesia where large traders and companies very easily cover up real information or even control supply conditions so that farmers are disadvantaged. Based on NIE's perspective, in the context of food policy in Indonesia, small farmers often do not have good access to information about market prices, agricultural technology, and applicable food policies. This causes an imbalance in market relations, where large buyers or food processing companies have an advantage in terms of access to information. In the context of NIE, this unequal triggers the problem of exploitation, where large traders can take advantage of farmers' ignorance to manipulate prices or control the food supply chain, which is detrimental to small farmers and worsens food security.

Policies that are not based on adequate data can arise from the lack of good information flows between governments, producers, and food consumers. In NIE's view, non-transparent and asymmetric information increases transaction costs, leading to market instability and uncertainty in food supply. Therefore, good food policies must ensure an open flow of information between all parties involved in

the food supply chain, so that prices can be stable and efficiency in food distribution can be achieved. Opportunism is also an obstacle where in the food supply chain, large traders or companies related to the processing of raw food materials often take advantage of their knowledge and the availability of complete information to exploit small farmers. In this regard, NIE is of the view that pricing is often unfair and the lack of transparency in food trade will actually worsen food security conditions where farmers find it difficult to increase their income in the long term.

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Institutional Enforcement

In NIE's perspective, in policy implementation, obstacles will still arise, but if institutions are enforced, it will give rise to collaboration between parties that will minimize these obstacles. One of the crucial things in property rights is the commitment to enforcing regulations and the certainty of regulations, including in the food-related sector. Institutional enforcement includes the ways in which rules and regulations are implemented, as well as how compliance with those norms is ensured. Strong institutions are determined not only by the existence of formal rules, but also by the ability to enforce those rules effectively (Fleitas et al., 2013).

One example of weak institutional enforcement in the food sector is the protection of farmers against property rights, especially land, which often experiences uncertainty caused by unclear laws and regulations, not enforced properly and inconsistent policies that are prone to posing threats to farmers. In NIE's perspective, the state should have clear, unchanging policies and, no less importantly, transparent policies, accompanied by strong institutions in enforcing the law, all of which will lead to the realization of good economic growth in the

long term. More stable institutions will trigger the market to be able to adapt well to change and make the market more efficient.

As mentioned at the beginning of this study, Indonesia's Global Food Security Index (GFSI) score has tended to decline since 2019, one proof of the need to review the policies that have been implemented so far, especially related to the obstacles that arise in achieving the food security target as planned. From the NIE perspective, this condition often occurs due to unclear regulations in the food sector so that the market experiences uncertainty. Like a vicious circle, weak institutions trigger non-transparency and inefficiency in food distribution and then trigger high transaction costs which in the next stage trigger an unequal in demand and supply, as we often see in rice commodities. In NIE's perspective, this condition is a policy condition that is far from inclusive, a condition in which various interests ranging from farmers, consumers, business actors, and the government are not in the same direction and oriented towards sustainability. Food policies that only focus on short-term results, such as cheap food imports or assistance in the food sector, and ignore long-term impacts, will worsen food dependence in Indonesia and will ultimately be more vulnerable to food crises in the future.

With a large and growing population, of course the threat of a food crisis is increasingly real. The New Institutional Economics (NIE) perspective on food security policy in Indonesia will certainly be able to provide deeper insight into the importance of paying attention to the role of institutions in overcoming the threat of a food crisis. In this regard, the food security policy implemented by the Indonesian government must place the role of institutions with a set of prerequisites in a larger portion in managing the provision and distribution of food. For example, policies related to land ownership rights and food distribution mechanisms are very important to reduce market uncertainty and ensure that food supply conditions remain stable.

The gap between the formal and informal sectors is also one of the main challenges in implementing food security policies in Indonesia. The informal sector in this case is small farmers who are often neglected and the formal sector such as large companies is often the one that benefits. In the NIE's perspective, this neglect

has the potential to cause inequality in production and distribution and will ultimately create a gap in food access between urban and rural areas. This is what we see happening in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

With a large and growing population, of course develop the food security is a necessity which is also a major challenge in Indonesia. In the view of New Institutional Economics (NIE), there are still several important problems such as high transaction costs, protection of property rights, asymmetric information, and institutional enforcement are important issues that must be fixed immediately. In relation to this, the food security policy implemented by the Indonesian government must be able to overcome transaction costs, protection of property rights, asymmetric information, and institutional enforcement in order to achieve the true goal of food security.

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