

## Daftar Pustaka

1. Abhiyasa, R. (2021, Agustus). Polri Menghadapi Keamanan Pangan di Saat Pandemi Covid-19. *Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian*, 15(2), 81-90. <https://www.jurnalptik.id/index.php/JIK/article/download/333/110>
2. Anderson, J. E. (2011). *Public Policymaking: An Introduction* (7th ed.). Wadsworth.
3. Anthony, M. C. (Ed.). (2016). *An Introduction to Non-traditional Security Studies: A Transnational Approach*. SAGE Publications Limited. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473972308>
4. Anwar, M. C. (2020, Juli 07). *Lumbung Pangan RI: dari Orde Baru, Dilanjutkan SBY & Jokowi*. CNBC Indonesia. Retrieved Agustus 29, 2021, from <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20200707193429-4-170983/lumbung-pangan-ri-dari-orde-baru-dilanjutkan-sby-jokowi>
5. Anwar, M. C. (2020, Agustus 30). *Jokowi Pakai Strategi Gas dan Rem Lawan Covid-19, Apa Itu?* CNBC Indonesia. Retrieved Juni 13, 2021, from <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20200830104541-4-183054/jokowi-pakai-strategi-gas-dan-rem-lawan-covid-19-apa-itu>
6. Arifin, R. (2020, January-June). Proses Sekuritisasi Pandemi COVID-19 di Indonesia serta Implikasinya Terhadap Hubungan Luar Negeri Indonesia. *Jurnal Asia Pacific*, 4(1), 15-32. <https://dx.doi.org/10.33541/japs.v4i1.1746>
7. Arrigo, B. A. (Ed.). (2018). *The Sage Encyclopedia of Surveillance, Security, and Privacy*. SAGE Publications. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781483359922.n95>
8. Asti, Priyarsono, D. S., & Sahara. (2016, December). Analisis Biaya Manfaat Program Pembangunan Food Estate dalam Perspektif Perencanaan Wilayah : Studi Kasus Provinsi Kalimantan Barat. *Jurnal Agribisnis Indonesia*, 4(2), 79-90. <https://doi.org/10.29244/jai>
9. Asti, Priyarsono, D. S., & Sahara. (2017, July 10). Analisis Biaya Manfaat Program Pembangunan Food Estate dalam Perspektif Perencanaan Wilayah: Studi Kasus Provinsi Kalimantan Barat. *Jurnal Agribisnis Indonesia*, 4(2), 79-90. <https://doi.org/10.29244/jai.2016.4.2.79-90>
10. Badan Pusat Statistik. (n.d.). Luas Panen dan Produksi Padi di Indonesia 2019. *Badan Pusat Statistik 2019*.

11. Bakry, U. S. (2016). *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional*. Pustaka Pelajar.
12. Balzacq, T. (n.d.). The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context. *European Journal of Internal Relations*, 11(2), 171-201.
13. Basundoro, A. F., & Karunia, L. A. (2021). Anatomi Sekuritisasi Pandemi COVID-19; Komparasi antara Pakistan dan Indonesia. *Jurnal Sentris*, 2(1), 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.26593/sentris.v2i1.4609.1-20>
14. Basundoro, A. F., & Sulaeman, F. H. (2020, Agustus). Meninjau Pengembangan Food Estate Sebagai Strategi Ketahanan Nasional Pada Era Pandemi COVID-19. *Jurnal Kajian Lemhannas RI*, 8(2), 28-42.
15. Berry, E. M., Dernini, S., Burlingame, B., Meybeck, A., & Conforti, P. (2015, February 16). Food security and sustainability: can one exist without the other? *Public Health Nutrition*, 18(13), 2293-2302. 10.1017/S136898001500021X
16. Birkland, T. A. (2001). *An Introduction to the Policy Process*. Routledge.
17. Boas, I. (2017). *Climate Migration and Security: Securitisation as a Strategy in Climate Change Politics*. Routledge.
18. Booth, K. (2012). *Theory of World Security*. Cambridge University Press.
19. Buzan, B. (1983). *People, States, and Fear* (Second Edition ed.). Wheatsheaf Books LTD.
20. Buzan, B., & Herring, E. (2014, Agustus 1). The Arms Dynamic in World Politics. *American Political Science Review*, 93(3).
21. Buzan, B., Weaver, O., & Wilde, J. d. (1998). *Security: A New Framework of Analysis*. Lynne Rienner. 2586187
22. Carlsnaes, W. (n.d.). The Agency-structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis. *International Studies Quarterly*, 36(3), 245-270.
23. CNN Indonesia. (2020, Oktober 20). *Food Estate, Jalan Jokowi Kenyangkan Rakyat Indonesia*. CNN Indonesia. Retrieved Juni 13, 2021, from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20201020094038-92-560361/food-estate-jalan-jokowi-kenyangkan-rakyat-indonesia>
24. CNN Indonesia. (2021, Januari 11). *Jokowi Perintahkan Food Estate Sumut-Kalteng Kelar Tahun Ini*. CNN Indonesia. Retrieved Agustus 29, 2021, from

<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20210111131220-532-592149/jokowi-perintahkan-food-estate-sumut-kalteng-kelar-tahun-ini>

25. Dwiguna, A. R., & Munandar, A. I. (2020). ANALISIS NARATIF KEBIJAKAN PANGAN NASIONAL MELALUI PROGRAM FOOD ESTATE. *Jurnal Administrasi Pembangunan dan Kebijakan Publik*, 11(2), 273-284.
26. Dye, T. R. (1972, December). Understanding Public Policy. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 5(4), 579-580. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/canadian-journal-of-political-science-revue-canadienne-de-science-politique/article/abs/thomas-r-dye-understanding-public-policy-englewood-cliffs-nj-prenticehall-1972-pp-xii-305/2629D85A620EA27A038D87841F686FD0>
27. Dzulfaroh, A. N. (2021, Maret 11). *Hari Ini dalam Sejarah: WHO Tetapkan Covid-19 sebagai Pandemi Global*. Kompas. Retrieved Agustus 29, 2021, from <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2021/03/11/104000165/hari-ini-dalam-sejarah--who-tetapkan-covid-19-sebagai-pandemi-global?page=all>
28. The Economist. (2020). Addressing structural inequalities to build strong and sustainable food systems. *Global Food Security Index 2020*.
29. Fahira, P. A., Farikhah, J. A., Nafila, A. L., Adjipersadani, G., Nugroho, P. M. P., & Mubah, A. S. (n.d.). Analisis Komparatif Kebijakan Food Estate Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono dan Joko Widodo Sebagai Upaya Ketahanan Pangan Nasional. *Jurnal Sosiologi Dialektika*, 17(2). <https://doi.org/10.20473/jsd.v17i2.2022.195-206>
30. Fahrizal, N. (2020, Agustus 17). *Pangan dan Politik Kewargaan*. Sekolah Kembali ke Akar. Retrieved Juni 28, 2023, from <https://www.kembalikeakar.com/pangan-dan-politik-kewargaan/>
31. FAO. (1983). World Food Security: a Reappraisal of the concept and approaches. In *Director General's Rome*. Rome.
32. FAO. (2006, June). Food Security. In *Policy Brief* (2nd ed.).
33. FAO. (2020). Responding to the impact of the COVID-19 outbreak on food value chains through efficient logistics. <https://doi.org/10.4060/ca8466en>
34. Fauzan, R. (2020, August 14). *Bangun Food Estate, Jokowi Siapkan Anggaran Rp104,2 Triliun untuk Ketahanan Pangan*. Ekonomi-bisnis. Retrieved July 13, 2023, from

<https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20200814/9/1279365/bangun-food-estate-jokowi-siapkan-anggaran-rp1042-triliun-untuk-ketahanan-pangan>

35. Fitra, S. (2020, Desember 05). *Inkonsistensi Food Estate*. Forest Digest. Retrieved Juni 13, 2021, from <https://www.forestdigest.com/detail/908/pandemi-food-estate>
36. Food and Agriculture Organization. (n.d.). *Food Security: Concepts and Measurement*. FAO. Retrieved September 23, 2021, from <http://www.fao.org/3/y4671e/y4671e06.htm#fn21>
37. Food and Agriculture Organization. (2008). An Introduction to the Basic Concepts of Food Security. *Food Security Information for Action*. <https://www.fao.org/3/al936e/al936e00.pdf>
38. Food and Agriculture Organization. (2020, April-December). Addressing the impacts of COVID-19 in food crises. *Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19)*. <https://doi.org/10.4060/ca8497en>
39. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (Ed.). (n.d.). Addressing the impacts of COVID-19 in food crises April - December 2020. *FAO's Component of the Global COVID-19*, (2), 5-7. <https://www.fao.org/3/ca8497en/ca8497en.pdf>
40. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. (n.d.). *FAO Director General video message on Global Report on Food Crises 2020 edition* [Youtube]. Youtube. Retrieved Juli 25, 2023, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ohpyxqjB6V4>
41. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. (n.d.). *2.1 Food security indicators – latest updates and progress towards ending hunger and ensuring food security*. Food and Agriculture Organization. Retrieved June 18, 2023, from <https://www.fao.org/3/cc0639en/online/sofi-2022/food-security-nutrition-indicators.html>
42. Franky, Y.L. (n.d.). *Mega Proyek MIFEE: Suku Malind Anim dan Pelanggaran HAM*. Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat. Retrieved Agustus 29, 2021, from <http://referensi.elsam.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Mega-Proyek-MIFEE-Suku-malin-Animdan-Pelanggaran-HAM.pdf>
43. Fulvio, A. (2016). Traditional security issues. In J. Wang & W. Song (Eds.), *China, the European Union, and the International Politics of Global Governance* (pp. 175-194). Palgrave Macmillan.

44. Gariup, M. (2017). *European Security Culture: Language, Theory, Policy*. Taylor & Francis Group.
45. Handayani, L., & Nahrawi, M. K. (2018). Bela Negara Melalui Kampanye Pangan Lokal Di Media Internet. *Jurnal Pertahanan dan Bela Negara*, 8(2).  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.33172/jpbh.v8i2.398>
46. Hansen, L., & Buzan, B. (2009). *The Evolution of International Security Studies*. Cambridge University Press.
47. Hansen, L., & Buzan, B. (2012). *The Evolution of International Security Studies*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511817762>
48. Harell, M. C., & Bradley, M. A. (2009). *Data Collection Method: Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Groups*. RAND Corporations.
49. Hay, C. (1995). Structure and Agency. In *Theory and Methods in Political Science* (pp. 189-206). Macmillan.
50. Hidayatullah, T. (2020, Agustus 21). *Pandemi korona ancam ketahanan pangan Indonesia*. Lokadata. Retrieved Juni 3, 2021, from <https://lokadata.id/artikel/pandemi-korona-ancam-ketahanan-pangan-indonesia>
51. Hills, C. (2016). *Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century* (2nd ed.). Palgrave.
52. Hoox, J. J., & Boejie, H. R. (2005). Data Collection, Primary vs Secondary. *Encyclopedia of Social Measurement*, 1, 593-599.  
[http://www.joophox.net/publist/ESM\\_DC05.pdf](http://www.joophox.net/publist/ESM_DC05.pdf)
53. Imanullah, M. N. (2013, April). POLITIK HUKUM KETAHANAN PANGAN NASIONAL (KAJIAN SINKRONISASI POLITIK HUKUM UNDANG-UNDANG HAK PVT DAN UNDANG-UNDANG PANGAN). *Yustisia*, 2(1), 87-99.
54. *Indonesia.go.id - Kasus Covid-19 Pertama, Masyarakat Jangan Panik*. (2020, March 2). Portal Informasi Indonesia. Retrieved July 23, 2023, from <https://indonesia.go.id/narasi/indonesia-dalam-angka/ekonomi/kasus-covid-19-pertama-masyarakat-jangan-panik>
55. Indrawan, J. (2019). Pengantar Studi Keamanan.
56. Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika. (2019, November 05). Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika. Retrieved July 12, 2023, from

<https://kominfo.go.id/content/detail/22584/dominasi-sektor-pertanian-jumlah-orang-bekerja-naik-250-juta/0/berita>

57. KompasTV. (2020, October 23). *Prabowo Ungkap Alasan Jokowi Kebut Proyek Food Estate*. YouTube. Retrieved July 25, 2023, from [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_CSpODBm4iM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_CSpODBm4iM)
58. KompasTV. (2021, Jauari 11). *Presiden Jokowi Ingatkan Ancaman Krisis Pangan Selama Masa Covid-19* [Youtube]. Istana Merdeka, Jakarta. Retrieved Juli 25, 2023, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xR0tVbbf5p8>
59. Kristhy, M. E., Andri, & Harefa, F. (2022, May). Legal Politics in Food Estate Program for Community Welfare. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal)*, 5(2), 14559-14564. <https://doi.org/10.33258/birci.v5i2.5328>
60. Marwanto, S., & Pangestu, F. (n.d.). Food Estate Program in Central Kalimantan Province as An Integrated and Sustainable Solution for Food Security in Indonesia. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 794-817. 10.1088/1755-1315/794/1/012068
61. Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative Researching* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.
62. Maxwell, S. (1996). Food Security: a post modern perspective. In *Food Policy* (2nd ed., Vol. 21, pp. 155-170). Elsevier Ltd. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/0306919295000747>
63. McDonald, M. (2008, December 1). Securitization and the Construction of Security. *European Journal of International Relations*, 14(4), 563. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066108097553>
64. McDonald, M. (2012). *Security, the Environment and Emancipation: Contestation Over Environmental Change*. Routledge.
65. Menteri Pertanian Republik Indonesia. (n.d.). *Keputusan Menteri Pertanian Republik Indonesia Nomor 484/KPTS/RC.020/M/8/2021* [Tentang Perubahan Kedua Atas Keputusan Menteri Pertanian Nomor 259/KPTS/RC.020/M/05/2020 Tentang Rencana Strategis Kementerian Pertanian Tahun 2020-2024]. Kementerian Pertanian Republik Indonesia.
66. Miles, M. B., & Huberman, M. (1984). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Method*. SAGE Publications.

67. Muhamdijir, N. (1998). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif Pendekatan Positivistik, Rasionalistik, Phenomenologik, dan Realisme Metaphisik Telaah Studi Teks dan Penelitian Agama*. Bayu Indra Grafika.
68. Munster, R. V. (2005, October). Logics of Security: The Copenhagen School, Risk Management and the War on Terror. *Political Science Publications*.
69. Phythian, M. (n.d.). Intelligence Theory and Theories of International Relations: Shared World or Separate Worlds? *Intelligence Theory: Key Questions and Debates*, 54-72.
70. Pojok Iklim. (2021, January 20). *Ketahanan Pangan, COVID-19, dan Perubahan Iklim*. Pojok Iklim. Retrieved May 20, 2023, from <http://pojokiklim.menlhk.go.id/read/ketahanan-pangan-covid-19-dan-perubahan-iklim>
71. Presiden Republik Indonesia. (2020, September 23). [TRANSKRIP] Rapat Terbatas Mengenai Lanjutan Pembahasan Food Estate • Presiden RI. Presiden RI. Retrieved June 25, 2023, from <https://www.presidenri.go.id/transkrip/rapat-terbatas-mengenai-lanjutan-pembahasan-food-estate/>
72. Pryanka, A., & Muhammad, H. (2020, Desember 09). *Pemerintah Paparkan Perkembangan Food Estate*. Republika.co.id. Retrieved Juni 13, 2021, from <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/ql1xgb380/pemerintah-paparkan-perkembangan-food-estate>
73. Rezkia, S. M. (2020, September 11). *Langkah-Langkah Menggunakan Teknik Analisis Data Kualitatif*. Dqlab. Retrieved Oktober 29, 2021, from <https://www.dqlab.id/data-analisis-pahami-teknik-pengumpulan-data>
74. Ridhoi, M. A. (2020, Juni 25). *Mengenal Program Food Estate Pemerintah dan Kritiknya*. Katadata.co.id. Retrieved Juni 13, 2021, from [https://katadata.co.id/muhammadridhoi/berita/5ef468ee985b8/mengenal-program-food-estate-pemerintah-dan-kritiknya?\\_cf\\_chl\\_jschl\\_tk\\_=330095c7bfedfbe4c72f34744ccf55c745ec2564-1623520201-0-ASScGLKHLg24JGmc-IPLaroeIfEfNiNUjtpsRA13O1ssys7hFSSuS2T65EX-k8dhzfz6s](https://katadata.co.id/muhammadridhoi/berita/5ef468ee985b8/mengenal-program-food-estate-pemerintah-dan-kritiknya?_cf_chl_jschl_tk_=330095c7bfedfbe4c72f34744ccf55c745ec2564-1623520201-0-ASScGLKHLg24JGmc-IPLaroeIfEfNiNUjtpsRA13O1ssys7hFSSuS2T65EX-k8dhzfz6s)
75. Riduwan. (2010). *Belajar Mudah Penelitian untuk Guru, Karyawan, dan Peneliti Pemula*. Alfabeta.

76. Riduwan. (2012). *Metode & Teknik Menyusun Proposal Penelitian*. Alfabeta. Rijali, A. (2019, Januari). Analisis Data Kualitatif. *Jurnal Alhadharah*, 17(33), 81-95. <http://dx.doi.org/10.18592/alhadharah.v17i33.2374>
77. Sandi, F. (2021, Januari 22). *Awas! Peringatan FAO Soal Krisis Pangan Bisa Jadi Kenyataan*. CNBC Indonesia. Retrieved Agustus 29, 2021, from <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20210122192310-4-218166/awas-peringatan-fao-soal-krisis-pangan-bisa-jadi-kenyataan>
78. Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. (2020, April 21). *Rapat Terbatas melalui Video Conference mengenai Antisipasi Kebutuhan Bahan Pokok, 21 April 2020, di Istana Merdeka, Provinsi DKI Jakarta*. Sekretariat Kabinet. Retrieved July 25, 2023, from <https://setkab.go.id/rapat-terbatas-melalui-video-conference-mengenai-antisipasi-kebutuhan-bahan-pokok-21-april-2020-di-istana-merdeka-provinsi-dki-jakarta/>
79. Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. (2020, September 23). *Rapat Terbatas (melalui Video Conference) mengenai Lanjutan Pembahasan Food Estate, 23 September 2020, di Istana Merdeka, Provinsi DKI Jakarta*. Sekretariat Kabinet. Retrieved July 25, 2023, from <https://setkab.go.id/rapat-terbatas-melalui-video-conference-mengenai-lanjutan-pembahasan-food-estate-23-september-2020-di-istana-merdeka-provinsi-dki-jakarta/>
80. Sekretariat Kabinet RI. (2023, January 16). *Program Peningkatan Penyediaan Pangan Berbasis Food Estate*. YouTube. Retrieved July 26, 2023, from [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ws\\_fgyhwaD0&t=198s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ws_fgyhwaD0&t=198s)
81. Shepherd, B. (2012, June). Thinking critically about food security. *Security Dialogue*, 43(3), 195-212.
82. Sianipar, B., & Tangkudung, A. (2020, November). Tinjauan Ekonomi, Politik dan Keamanan Terhadap Pengembangan Food Estate di Kalimantan Tengah Sebagai Alternatif Menjaga Ketahanan Pangan di Tengah Pandemi COVID-19. *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional*, 6(2), 235-248.
83. Simatupang, P. (2007, Juli). Analisis Kritis Terhadap Paradigma dan Kerangka Dasar Kebijakan Ketahanan Pangan Nasional. *Forum Penelitian Agro Ekonomi*, 25(1), 2007.
84. Stritzel, H. (2014). *Security in Translation: Securitization Theory and the Localization of Threat*. Palgrave Macmillan.

85. Subianto, P. (2021, November 27). *Pemenuhan Kebutuhan Pangan Melalui Produksi Dalam Negeri* [Seminar]. DPP Pemuda Tani Indonesia.
86. Sugianto, D., & Detik Finance. (2020, December 6). *Alasan, Peran dan Tugas Prabowo di Proyek Food Estate*. Detik Finance. Retrieved July 14, 2023, from <https://finance.detik.com/berita-ekonomi-bisnis/d-5283352/alasan-peran-dan-tugas-prabowo-di-proyek-food-estate>
87. Trihartono, A., Indriastuti, S., & Nisyah, C. (2020). *Keamanan dan Sekuritisasi Dalam Hubungan Internasional* (First Edition ed.). Redaksi Melvana.
88. Uly, Y. A., & Setiawan, S. R. D. (2020, October 26). *Mentan Yakin Stok Beras Akhir Tahun Surplus 7,45 Juta Ton Halaman all - Kompas.com*. Kompas Money. Retrieved July 14, 2023, from <https://money.kompas.com/read/2020/10/26/175440926/mentan-yakin-stok-beras-akhir-tahun-surplus-745-juta-ton?page=all>
89. United Nations. (1948, December 10). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Paris, France. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>
90. United Nations. (1975). *Report of The World Conference, Rome 5-16 November 1974*.
91. Waever, O. (1995). *Securitization and Desecuritization*. Columbia University Press.
92. WALHI. (2021, 06 26). Food Estate di Papua: Perampasan Ruang Berkedok Ketahanan Pangan? *Kertas Posisi*.
93. Waver, O. (1995). *Securitization and Desecuritization* (Ronnie Lipschutz ed.). Columbia University Press.
94. Williams, M. C. (2023, December). Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics. *International Studies Quarterly*, 47(4), 511-531.
95. Williams, P. D. (2008). *Security Studies: An Introduction*. Routledge.
96. Williams, P. D., & McDonald, M. (Eds.). (2023). *Security Studies: An Introduction*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
97. World Bank. (1986). *Poverty and Hunger: Issues and Options for Food Security in Developing Countries*. Washington D.C.
98. World Data Lab. (2020). *World Poverty Clock*. World Poverty Clock. Retrieved July 14, 2023, from <https://worldpoverty.io/map>
99. World Health Organization. (2020). STRATEGIC PREPAREDNESS AND RESPONSE PLAN. *2019 Novel Coronavirus (2019-nCoV)*.

100. W'ver, O., & Buzan, B. (2009). *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511491252>
101. Wyse, S. E. (n.d.). *What's the difference between qualitative and quantitative research?* Snap Surveys. Retrieved Oktober 26, 2021, from <https://www.surveymonkey.com/blog/qualitative-vs-quantitative-research/>
102. Zohrabi, M. (2013, February). Mixed Method Research: Instruments, Validity, Reliability and Reporting Fundings. *Theory and Practice In Language Studies*, 3(2), 254-262. 10.4304/tpls.3.2.254-262

