

# WIMAYA

Interdisciplinary Journal of International Affairs

## Research Articles

Does Climate Awareness Lead to Climate Action?

A Study on Adults in Malawi

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(Case Study: Stances of Football Institutions in Europe in the Conflict of Russia-Ukraine)

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Archiving Food Heritage Towards Championing Food Security:

A Case Study on Lokalpedia

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End of Academic Freedom: The Coming Obliteration of the Core Purpose  
of the University by William M. Bowen, Michael Schwartz, and Lisa Camp

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## Aim and Scope

WIMAYA is an international scholarly journal devoted to international affairs. Published twice a year by the International Relations Department, Pembangunan Nasional Veteran East Java, the journal aims to promote the importance of interdisciplinary approach to analyze various international issues. The journal welcomes empirical and theoretical research articles that seek to cut across disciplines in order to capture the complexity of a phenomenon. The editors also welcome discursive book reviews that contribute to the literature.

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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

### Does Climate Awareness Lead to Climate Action? A Study on Adults in Malawi

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#### Abstract

*The study examined the general understanding of climate change among Malawian adults (n=601) and its impact on their climate-related actions. Leveraging the knowledge-attitude-behavior theory, it assessed their awareness, readiness to act, and actual practices against climate change. The results showed that 40 percent of participants have a high awareness of climate change, with varied levels of awareness observed across the spectrum. Educational attainment ( $p=.000$ ) emerged as the sole significant predictor of climate change awareness. Although 68 percent of respondents showed a willingness to act, the study found that some actions are more prevalent than others. The research identified a statistically significant relationship between climate change awareness and action ( $R=0.187, p<.001$ ). These findings contribute to the ongoing discussion on the role of climate change awareness and its influence on action, offering valuable perspectives for policymakers in developing climate change awareness programs and education.*

**Keywords:** climate change, awareness, climate action, climate change education, adults

## I. Introduction

Climate change is increasingly acknowledged as a key sustainability issue affecting global communities in various ways (Belay et al., 2022; Kuthe et al., 2019; Resurreccion, 2023). Its impacts including rising sea levels, extreme weathers, and changes in precipitation and temperature have brought out devastating consequences to the ecosystem where human lives depend upon (Di Giusto et al., 2018).

The urgency in developing and implementing strategies for effectively mitigating and adapting to climate change cannot be overstated. Considering that climate change is mainly caused by human activities (Hundera et al., 2019; IPCC, 2014, 2023), effective responses to climate change should also be human-driven approaches.

Awareness of climate change and its origins is widely regarded as the foundation of such responses (Ağırbaş & Sariçam, 2023; Predieri et al., 2023). The critical role of climate change awareness (CCA) in achieving climate action objectives has been widely acknowledged. For instance, Hwang et al. (2021) highlight that raising awareness for climate change mitigation and adaptation is fundamental to Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 13 on climate action. SDG Target 13.3 emphasizes on the need to “improve education, awareness-raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction and early warning” (United Nations, 2015, p. 23).



Moreover, commitments outlined in the SDGs framework and the Paris Agreement necessitate widespread CCA (Johnston, 2018). Similarly, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has consistently argued for the positive impact of CCA on informed decision-making and behavioral changes (IPCC, 2007). The Intergovernmental Panel further asserts, in high confidence, that enhancing public awareness through education initiatives effectively influence individuals' behaviors (IPCC, 2023).

While some researchers argue for the critical role of CCA in shifting individuals' pro-environmental behaviors, others do not agree with such argument. For example, various scholars have argued that awareness or knowledge of climate change does not necessarily lead to action (Azevedo & Marques, 2017; Milěř & Sládek, 2011; Niepold et al., 2007; Simpson et al., 2021). In fact, some studies like that by Venghaus et al. (2022) empirically confirmed that there is no significant association between CCA and behavioral changes among Germans.

One speculation on such contradictory findings from current literature would be that the 'awareness-action' relationship may be context-dependent. In other words, CCA may lead to behavioral transformation in some regions or contexts but not in others. This necessitates a context-specific exploration of the relationship between CCA and climate action. For instance, it is crucial to whether the finding by Venghaus and others that there is no relationship between CCA and climate action among Germans applies to other regions like Malawi.

The contextual evaluation perspective is especially important in the case of developing regions like Africa, where the relationship between climate awareness and actions are less known despite its acute vulnerability to the impacts of climate change (Ajuang et al., 2016; Selormey et al., 2019; Simpson et al., 2021). Malawi is one of such developing nations in Africa that has experienced severe climate change impacts including devastating cyclones and droughts that have undermined agricultural production and the economy (Chisale et al., 2023; Fujisawa et al., 2020). In addition, few studies on CCA have been done in Malawi and to the knowledge of this study, none has assessed the correlation between awareness and practical behavioral transformation to address climate change. Given these challenges, our study set out to establish an empirical understanding on CCA and their impact on climate actions in Malawi, in view of contributing to the evidence-based design of the climate change education (CCE) and any related decisions.

#### *a. Climate Change Awareness in Malawi*

A literature search regarding CCA in Malawi on Scopus and ScienceDirect revealed two issues. First, there is a dearth in literature on CCA and climate action in Malawi. An article titles-abstracts-keywords search in Scopus using the Boolean operator "climate change awareness" OR "climate action" AND "Malawi" with no limits produced as few as seven articles. In ScienceDirect, title-abstract-keyword search using key terms namely climate change awareness, climate action, and Malawi yielded only three articles.



Second, the identified studies that delved into CCA in Malawi had notable gaps that future studies could pursue. A research study conducted by Chisale et al. (2023) provides a comprehensive examination of awareness, knowledge, and perceptions regarding climate change and variability among forest-dependent communities in Mchinji and Mangochi districts in Malawi. To assess respondents' awareness, the study asked them to identify any observed changes in the forest and agro-ecosystem that they believed to be an impact of climate change. Findings of the study revealed a significant variance in CCA and participants' willingness to transform their behaviors across the two districts. However, it fell short of assessing actions taken in practice and to what extent they are influenced by CCA.

Another recent study by Twinomugisha & Mushy (2021) assessed awareness of climate change among Malawian farmers in Salima district by asking the leading question "have you heard about climate change?". The study revealed that 71 percent of the respondents had heard about climate change, 17 percent were not sure, and 12 percent had not heard about climate change. Further questions were asked on observed effects of climate change and sources of the information, but these were not considered part of CCA. Still, this study did not assess actions taken to address climate change, let alone to what extent they are affected by CCA.

A study by Selormey et al. (2019) which was part of the Afrobarometer case studies explored CCA across 54 African countries including Malawi. Just like in the study by Twinomugisha and Mushy, awareness

of climate change was determined based on whether respondents had heard about climate change. Based on this definition, 78 percent of Malawians were declared climate change aware. The study asked respondents about the meaning of climate change but did not consider responses to that question as part of CCA. Furthermore, it did not draw any relationship between being aware and what respondents do to address climate change.

Four years later, Kayuni & Chunga (2023) conducted a similar study to that by Selormey and others by asking whether respondents had heard about climate change as a measure of their awareness. The findings revealed that 74 percent of Malawians were climate change aware, a slight decrease from the earlier study by Selormey and others. Out of these, urban residents, men, and the more educated were found to be more aware than rural residents, women, and those with less years of education. However, just like all the above studies, this study did not assess how awareness is linked to climate action.

#### *b. Gaps in CCA Assessment in Malawi*

The studies on CCA in Malawi discussed in the preceding section exhibited similar gaps that are of interest to our study. The first gap is the lack of assessing the relations between CCA and climate action. The study by Chisale and others assessed willingness to act which is more of an attitude towards climate change than the actual actions taken in practice. Our study acknowledges that awareness potentially influences attitudes (willingness) which may in turn affect behavior as illustrated by the knowledge-attitudes-behavior model (Ajzen, 1991). Our study





addresses the need to establish a relationship between CCA and behaviors based on what individuals do in practice beyond willingness or attitude. By understanding how CCA is translated into climate action, we hope to provide a foundation to make informed decision on the design of climate change education (CCE) programs.

The second gap is on how CCA is conceptualized in the studies. Chisale and others describe it as 'knowing the impacts of climate change'. On the other hand, studies by Twinomugisha and Mushy, Selormey and others, and Kayuni and Chunga conceptualized it as 'having heard about climate change'. This is also the case in the study by Madaki et al. (2023). These conceptual variations demonstrate that CCA should be assessed by more than one assessment item used in the reviewed and other similar studies.

While agreeing that hearing about climate change is important for awareness, we consider it as part of being aware. One may hear about climate change but not know what it is or how it came into existence or its broad impact. For the purposes of our study, we conceptualize CCA as acknowledging that climate change is occurring, that it is a big or serious problem, that it is negatively affecting people, and that it is mostly caused by human activity.

Based on the above-mentioned gaps, our study aimed to 1) evaluate the levels of CCA among Malawian adults; 2) identify factors influencing CCA among the Malawian adults, and 3) explore the relationship between climate change awareness and climate action.

## **II. Data and Methodology**

### *a. Study Area*

Malawi is a located in South-East Africa and is a developing nation with notable sociodemographic gaps. As of the last census conducted in 2018, only 16 percent of the country's population live in urban areas which implies that the majority are rural residents (National Statistical Office, 2019).

The rural areas are characterized by poor access to essential services including education and information which may include that on climate change. When it comes to education, 69.6 percent of men and 62.9 percent of women are considered literate (National Statistical Office, 2021). The country has over the recent years suffered from major climate change consequences including droughts and cyclones and other associated impacts (Chisale et al., 2023; Fujisawa, 2020).

Three of the country's twenty-eight districts were earmarked to be part of the study namely Lilongwe, Blantyre, and Zomba. These districts were specifically chosen due to their unique composition, encompassing both city and district regions, thereby offering a diverse sample that includes both urban and rural populations. Additionally, these areas exhibit a wide range of educational backgrounds, ranging from highly educated individuals to those with minimal or no formal education at all. This diversity in demographics is crucial as it enables a comprehensive analysis of various potential predictors of climate change awareness.





### b. Study Population and Sample

The focus of the study was Malawian adults, legally defined as individuals aged 18 and above (Government of Malawi, 2015). The selection of adults as the target population was informed by several compelling reasons. Firstly, Liam (2020) highlights that adults are likely to contribute more to greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions due to the escalation of human activities with age. However, some of the adult population did not receive climate change education during their formal schooling years, as climate change was not a prominent public issue until the 1980's (Ağırbaş & Sariçam, 2023). This lack of formal climate education in earlier years is supported by UNESCO's (2021) report, which states that Climate Change Education (CCE) was only recently introduced into formal schooling.

To determine the sample size for the study, the study used the Cochran formula  $n = \frac{Z^2 P(1-P)}{e^2}$  where  $n$ =sample size;  $Z$ =confidence interval;  $P$ =expected prevalence/proportion; and  $e$ =margin of error. The confidence level was pegged at 95 percent. The use of this formula was necessitated by the fact that the exact number of Malawian adults is infinite since the most recent population census in the country was conducted in 2018.

For the selection of respondents, the study utilized convenience sampling, also referred to as grab, accidental, or opportunity sampling (Obilor, 2023). This sampling technique was chosen to counter the time limitation for fieldwork.

### c. Data Collection

A survey instrument was adapted from existing tools including the Clarkson University climate literacy tool (DeWaters et al., 2014; DeWaters & Powers, 2021; Powers et al., 2021). Others were tools used by Dalelo (2011) and by the European Union (2021).

Our survey tool's items had an acceptable content validity index ( $I - CVI > 0.78$ ) and a remarkably high overall content validity index ( $S - CVI = 0.96$ ) (Elangovan & Sundaravel, 2021). Results from the pilot study revealed high reliability for items on climate change knowledge ( $\alpha = 0.830$ ) and those on climate action ( $\alpha = 0.811$ ) based on the acceptable benchmark of 0.7 (Ritchie & Sharpe, 2022).

The tool was later translated into Chichewa, a dominant language in Malawi, to ensure increased participation by participants who cannot understand English. A team comprising a professional translator and four secondary school language teachers conducted the team-translation exercise.

After undergoing scrutiny and attaining ethical approval from the United Nation University's Research Ethics Committee, data collection was conducted in October and November 2023.

To ensure a robust and comprehensive data gathering process, the study employed two approaches: web-based questionnaires using Google Forms and face-to-face interviews for those who do not have access to the Internet or do not have sufficient literacy skills. A total of 110 participants responded to a google form unassisted, a further 193 respondents were interviewed using the same



google form, while 298 were interviewed using hard copy questionnaires. Both google form and paper-based interviews were facilitated by research assistants who underwent extensive training to ensure data collection integrity and consistency.

#### *d. Data Analysis*

For initial data management, the collected information was systematically compiled into an Excel spreadsheet and transferred to the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 27.0.1 for detailed analysis. Descriptive statistics were used for sociodemographic data, levels of CCA, and climate action. One-way ANOVA was used to determine the effect of location of residence, and gender while the t-test for independent samples statistic was used for age, level of education, and frequency of climate change training. Differences were considered significant only when  $p < 0.05$  (Predieri et al., 2023). To determine the relationship between CCA and climate action, a regression analysis was employed.

### **III. Findings**

Our study aimed at assessing climate change awareness and its predictors among Malawian adults and whether their understanding of climate change translates into practical climate actions. The findings of the study are presented in this section.

#### *a. Profiles of Participants*

The findings in Table 1 below show that more respondents were rural residents (n=355, 59 percent) than their urban counterparts (n=266,

41 percent). This reflects the representation reported by the National Statistics Office (NSO) that as of last household census done in 2018, more Malawians resided in rural (84 percent) National Statistical Office (2019).

The number of male participants (n=314, 52 percent) was slightly larger than that of females (n=287, 48 percent), presenting a gender balance. Respondents 30 years and younger (n=293) constituted almost half (49 percent) of the total sample while the age group of 60 and above (n=11) participated the least, representing only about two percent. This corresponds to the census data that 72 percent of Malawi's population are under 30 years of age while only five percent of the population are 60 years or older.

Regarding the education level, those who did not attend any formal school (n=26) and completed primary education only (n=165) make up the largest portion representing 32 percent. This corresponds the national attainment which indicates shrinking transition rates from lower to higher education levels. For instance, the Government of Malawi reported a primary school completion rate of 56 percent and a transition rate to secondary school of 42.5 in 2022.

Those who completed secondary schools (n=188, 31 percent) and bachelor's degree or equivalent (n=190, 31 percent) are equally represented. The number however drastically go down for those who attended up to the level of master's degree or its equivalent (n=27, four percent) and only five studied up to the Doctoral degree or its equivalent level (about 1 percent). Lastly, only 26 participants



(four percent) did not attend any formal education.

**Tab. 1.** Respondents’ Socio-demographic Information

Description		Rural	Urban	Total
Gender	Female	160	127	287
	Male	175	139	314
	Total	335	266	601
Age	Under 20 years old	29	27	56
	21-30 years old	127	110	237
	31-40 years old	86	82	168
	41-50 years old	63	34	97
	51-60 years old	24	8	32
	61 years and above	6	5	11
	Total	335	266	601
Level of education	No education	24	2	26
	Primary school	140	25	165
	Secondary school	106	82	188
	Bachelor’s degree or its equivalent	157	133	190
	Master’s degree or its equivalent	6	21	27
	Doctoral Degree or its equivalent	2	3	5
	Other	0	0	0
	Total	335	266	601
Climate change training	Yes, one time	24	22	46
	Yes, two to four times	14	14	28
	Yes, more than four times	7	7	14
	No	286	222	508
	I don’t know	4	1	5
	Total	335	266	601

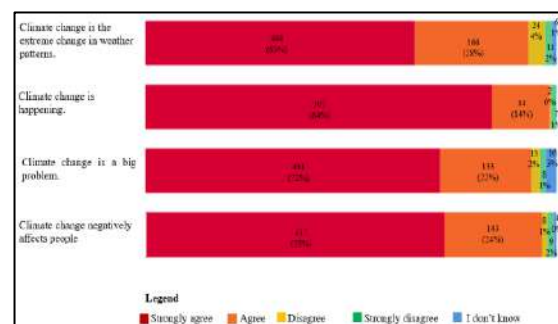
Source: Author

Finally, an overwhelming majority of participants (n=508, 85 percent) reported that they did not attend any climate change training in the past year. The number of those who did not attend any climate change training was almost split in half between rural (n=286, 56 percent) and urban residents (n=222, 44 percent). This finding indicates a lack of climate education across both countryside and city populations.

*b. Climate Change Awareness*

The predominant CCA among the respondents was revealed. As shown in Figure 1, a substantial number of respondents either strongly agreed or agreed to each of the five items used to assess CCA. Out of the 601 respondents interviewed, 560 of them (93 percent) either strongly agreed or agreed with the accurate definition of climate change that ‘climate change is the extreme change in

weather patterns’ (DeWaters & Powers, 2021; Powers et al., 2021). In addition, 591 respondents (98 percent) observed that ‘climate change is happening’. Furthermore, 564 respondents (94 percent) reported that ‘it is a big problem’. Lastly, 580 of the total respondents (97 percent) indicated that ‘climate change negatively affects people’.



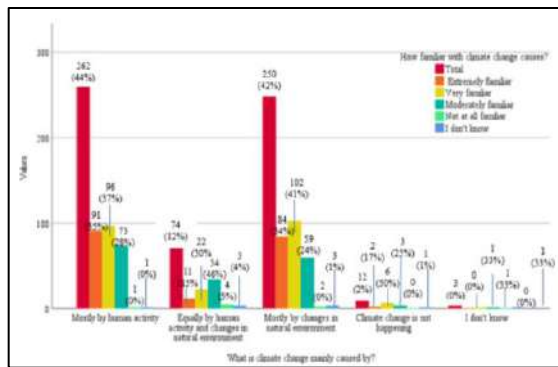
**Fig. 1.** Respondents’ Self-Reported Awareness of Climate Change.

Source: Author

Further results depicted in Figure 2 below indicate varying degrees of respondents’ familiarity with the causes of climate change that the current scientific community acknowledges, i.e., climate change is mainly caused by human activities. A considerable number of respondents claimed to be very familiar with these causes (n=227) or extremely familiar (n=188), followed by those being a moderately familiar (n=170).

Interestingly, when asked if climate change is a natural environmental phenomenon, the patterns of their familiarities appeared to be identical as the previous question. In other words, there were almost as many respondents who reported that climate change is caused ‘mostly by changes in the natural environment’ as those who chose ‘mostly caused by human activities’





**Fig. 2.** Familiarity with Climate Change Causes\*Main Cause of Climate Change.

**Source:** Author

While it has been scientifically established that human activities are the main cause of climate change (IPCC, 2023), studies have found that global populations continue to deny or not be aware of this. For instance, Jürkenbeck et al., (2021) observed that 17 percent of citizens of the United States of America (USA), 10 to 15 percent of Germans, and four percent of Norwegians deny the existence of climate change. Another study by The Policy Institute (2022) found similar misconceptions as 24 percent of Norwegians, 17 percent of citizens of the United Kingdom, 16 percent of the Polish and 10 percent of Italians reported that climate change is not caused by human activities (Jürkenbeck et al., 2021).

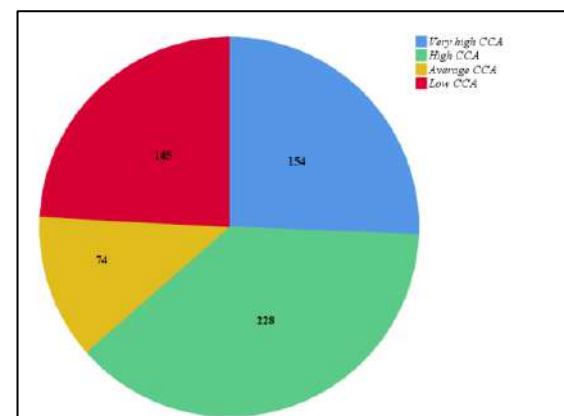
*c. Levels of Climate Change Awareness*

Our study had five items aimed at comprehensively assessing CCA. The items are indicated in Figure 1 above.

All the questions were five-point Likert scale response items. The first four items except the one on the main cause of climate change had response options ‘strongly agree’ (coded as 5 in our scoring), ‘agree’ (4),

‘disagree’ (3), ‘strongly disagree’ (2) and ‘I don’t know’ (1). The question ‘What is the main cause of climate change?’ had ‘mostly by human activities’ (coded as 5 in our scoring), ‘equally by human activities and changes in the natural environment’ (4), ‘mostly by changes in the natural environment’ (3), ‘climate change is not happening’ (2), and ‘I don’t know’ (1).

A climate change awareness levels model of four groups namely *very high*, *high*, *average*, and *low* was determined prior to commencing computations. Thereafter, a new variable coded CCA composite scores which are means for each respondent’s scores. These were statistically divided into quartiles leading to the division of the scores  $\leq 4.39$  representing low CCA; 4.40-4.59 for average; 4.60-4.99 for high; and  $5.0 \geq$  for very high awareness. The findings from the processes above are illustrated in Figure 3 below.



**Fig. 3.** Levels of climate change awareness

**Source:** Author

According to the findings, most respondents have high awareness of climate change (n=228) representing about 38 percent. Almost an equal share had either very high (n=154) or low (n=145) awareness representing 26 percent and 24 percent respectively. Although representing the group



with the least number of respondents (n=74), the average CCA group still claimed a significant 12 percent of the total number of respondents.

*d. Predictors of Climate Change Awareness*

An analysis of the mean values ( $\bar{x}$ ) presented in Table 2 indicates heightened CCA among certain demographic segments. Urban residents ( $\bar{x}$ =22.77), males ( $\bar{x}$ =22.61), and respondents in the 21-30 years age bracket ( $\bar{x}$ =22.92) had higher mean scores. Moreover, respondents holding master’s degrees recorded a mean score of 23.41 which is higher than the rest of the education levels. Participants who were not sure if they attended climate change training or not or the ‘I don’t know’ group had comparatively the highest mean ( $\bar{x}$ =23.20) in their sub-category.

However, it is important to acknowledge that mean scores are influenced by the number of respondents within each socio-demographic category. To ascertain the statistical significance of the observed differences, both one-way ANOVA and t-test for independent samples analyses were employed. These statistical tests revealed that the level of education was the only factor that significantly influences CCA among the participants, with a p-value of .000.

**Tab. 2.** Climate Change Awareness\* Socio-Demographic Factors

			n	$\bar{x}$	SD	p
Awareness	Location	Rural	335	22.42	2.30	.074
		Urban	266	<b>22.77</b>	2.49	
	Gender	Female	287	22.55	2.33	.754
		Male	314	<b>22.61</b>	2.44	
	Age	Under 20 years old	56	22.34	2.52	.099
		21-30 years old	237	<b>22.92</b>	2.23	
		31-40 years old	168	22.48	2.54	
		51-60 years old	32	22.27	2.43	
		41-50 years old	97	22.06	2.47	
		61 years and above	11	22.18	1.33	
	Education	None	26	20.92	2.51	.000***
		Primary school	165	22.13	2.31	
		Secondary school	188	22.94	2.16	
		Bachelor's degree or equivalent	190	22.71	2.57	
		Master's degree or equivalent	27	<b>23.41</b>	2.19	
		Doctoral degree or equivalent	5	22.8	1.30	
	Climate change training	No	508	22.62	2.38	.664
		Yes, one time	46	22.18	2.36	
		Yes, 2-4 times	28	22.22	2.59	
		Yes, > 4 times	14	22.71	2.61	
		I don't know	5	<b>23.20</b>	1.79	

Source: Author

Although the findings did not establish any statistical significance apart from education levels, the mean differences concur with earlier findings on CCA in Malawi. A recent Afrobarometer report found that urbanites (87 percent) as compared to rural residents (72 percent) and men (79 percent) as compared to women (69 percent), those with post-secondary education (91 percent) as compared to those with primary (67 percent) or no schooling (54 percent) were more aware of climate change (Kayuni & Chunga, 2023). Furthermore, younger generations, for example those aged 26 to 35 years (78 percent), 36-45 years (77 percent) had higher awareness than those aged 56 and above (68 percent).

*e. Climate Action*

As indicated in Table 3, around 68 percent of all the respondents expressed their complete willingness to take climate action followed by 27 percent who were mostly





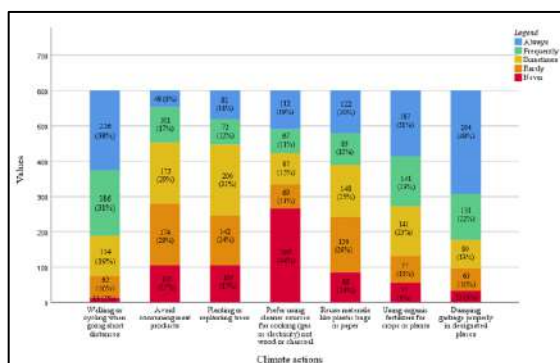
willing to do so. Only one percent of the respondents indicated that they are not at all willing to act.

**Tab. 3.** Respondents' Willingness to Take Climate Action

		Frequency	Percent	Valid %
Valid	Completely willing	411	68.4	68.4
	Mostly willing	161	26.8	26.8
	Not so willing	21	3.5	3.5
	Not at all willing	6	1.0	1.0
	I don't know	2	.3	.3
<b>Total</b>		<b>601</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Author

The study further questioned respondents' actual climate actions over the past year to determine if their professed willingness to act aligned with their practices. As seen in Figure 3, the findings revealed a disparity in these actions. For instance, a higher number of respondents reported that they 'always' walked or cycled when going for short distances ( $n=226$ ), used organic farming fertilizers for crops or plants ( $n=187$ ), and dumped garbage properly in designated places ( $n=294$ ).



**Fig. 1.** How Often Respondents Have Been Taking Climate Action in the Past Twelve Months.

Source: Author

In contrast, many respondents reported 'never' to prefer using cleaner sources of energy for cooking ( $n = 266$ ),

avoiding meat consumption ( $n = 105$ ), or engaging in afforestation or reforestation ( $n = 105$ ). This finding highlights differences in climate action commitment.

The findings on varying commitments to climate action agree with the study by Venghaus et al. (2022). The authors noted that people tend to take actions that are cost related. Most Germans cut their purchase of electricity preferring to replace it by the cheaper green electricity. In this case, reducing cost is the motivation as opposed to intended climate action.

*f. Climate change awareness and climate action*

A linear regression analysis was conducted to examine the influence of CCA on climate action. The findings show an *R value* of 0.187 which signals a low positive correlation between the two variables. An analysis of the coefficients predicts that if CCA changes by one unit, climate change action changes by 0.230 units. The p-value is  $< .001$  which illustrates a statistically significant difference and is evidence that climate change awareness positively impacts climate action.

**Tab. 4.** Results of Linear Regression Analysis

Model Summary <sup>b</sup>					Coefficients <sup>a</sup>					
Model	R	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	Std. Error of the Estimate	Unstandardized coefficients		Standardized			
					Beta	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	
1	.187 <sup>a</sup>	.035	.033	.579913	(Constant)	2.340	.225		10.40	<.001
					CCA	.230	.050	.187	4.65	<.001

<sup>a</sup>. Predictors: (Constant), Climate change awareness

<sup>b</sup>. Dependent Variable: Climate action

Source: Author

Our finding that CCA among Malawian adults significantly affects climate action does not agree with certain studies including that by Venghaus et al. (2022). In their study, the



authors found no evidence that increased CCA manifests itself in significant behavioral changes among the German public.

#### **IV. Discussion and Conclusion**

In this study, we conducted investigation on climate change awareness among Malawian adults, its predictors, and influence on their adoption of low-carbon behaviors. The relationship was explored considering the longstanding debate that CCA does not guarantee climate action. Our focus was on whether CCA influences practical behaviors as opposed to willingness to act or protest-related behavior aimed at putting pressure on policymakers.

The findings revealed that most of the respondents have either 'very high' or 'high' CCA. However, the respondents were notably divided on whether climate change is mostly caused by human activity or changes in the natural environment.

The findings further established that while there are mean differences between groups in each socio-demographic factor like location of residence, gender, age, education level, and frequency of climate change training. Out of these, only education level significantly affects CCA. This finding is particularly important as it suggests the need for intensified CCE in lower education levels. It also signals the need for increased CCA programs for those with few years or no education to enhance their understanding of climate change.

Lastly, our study has statistically determined that there is a positive correlation between CCA and respondents' behavior. This finding has not only challenged prevailing debates that CCA does not automatically lead to action, but it has affirmed the study's earlier observation that CCA's influence on low-carbon behaviors might be contextual. While studies elsewhere found no relationships between CCA and climate action, that correlation exists among the Malawian adults who participated in our study. The study has, therefore, underscored the need to empirically substantiate both the claim that CCA influences or does not influence behaviors.

By advancing the perspective that the CCA-climate action relation ought to be assessed context by context, our study is of the view that effective decisions for climate change mitigation or adaptation or climate change education may be framed based on the available evidence. For instance, the finding in this study that there is a relationship between CCA and climate action among Malawian adults may hint to decision-makers in the country on the need to concentrate on awareness-raising among the unaware populations which, as found in our study, translates to behavioral transformation. In situations where the two are not related, decisions may be made to devise strategies for promoting climate action for both the aware and the unaware.

The study however has fallen short in certain areas that future studies on CCA and climate action may build on. On the methodological front, the use of convenience sampling means that the results may not be





inferred on all Malawian adults (Andrade, 2021). Future studies should employ sampling methods that ensure generalizability of the findings.

Second, the study observed that the respondents reported that they take certain climate actions and not others. For instance, most respondents reported that they do not avoid the consumption of meat products while mentioning that they walk or cycle when going nearby. The study cannot explain why this case arose as it relied solely on quantitative data. Do respondents walk or cycle because they cannot financially afford to ride a bus or a car? Or do they deliberately do so because they are environmentally conscious? Future studies must conduct an in-depth exploration of such questions through qualitative methods.

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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

### Politicization of Football and International Relations in Europe (Case Study: Stances of Football Institutions in Europe in the Conflict of Russia-Ukraine)

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#### Abstract

*Football, one of the most popular sports in the world, has never been separated from political aspects. In Europe, at least since the World War, football has been used by governments as a propaganda tool. At other times, football is the first to initiate entry into the world of politics, such as UEFA's decision to involve football clubs and the national team of Turkey in competing with European football clubs and national teams. Recently, the security conflict between Russia and Ukraine has given rise to political support by several football confederations in Europe. This research aims to identify the chain of politicization that occurs between the Russia-Ukraine conflict and the political attitudes of football confederations in Europe, using issue linkage theory. Next, this*

*research, using European solidarity theory at the macro level, analyzes the implications of this chain of politicization for European integration. The research method applied in this research is basic research using secondary data. This research finds that on the issue of the Russia-Ukraine security conflict, this issue controls the dynamics of football politics in Europe. Meanwhile, European solidarity occurs at the institutional level with a political orientation.*

**Keywords:** Issue linkage, European solidarity, UEFA, FA, Football

#### I. Introduction

Football is one of the most well-known sports in every community. According to Statistics and Data (2022), football is still the most popular sport throughout the world. From 2010 to 2020, football was ranked first as the world's most popular sport with more than 4 million fans. (Statistics and Data, 2022) This number surpasses cricket, which is in second place with around 2.5 million fans. The high popularity of football positions this sport as a strategic sport, both for business and political purposes. (Power, Widdop, Parnell, Carr, & Millar, 2020)

In Europe, football has been infiltrated by political interests since the 1930s. In this period, ultranationalist sentiment increased due to Nazi populism in Germany and the existence of England as the antithesis. Football matches involving both or their respective partner countries often demonstrate intense matches since both are considered representatives of the country, which means they represent the interests of the two countries that are at war. For instance, in 1933, before the match between England and Italy, a



British state official pressured the players of the English national team to win the match at all costs. (Benoit, 2008)

An indicator of the attachment of European football to politics can be perceived from Türkiye's joining the Union of European Football Association (UEFA). Even if Türkiye did not yet have an incorporation agreement with the European Union (EU), the country still decided to join UEFA in 1962. Türkiye's participation is claimed to have implications for Türkiye becoming increasingly identified with Europe. This, indirectly, strengthens the case for Türkiye to make it easier to join the EU. Türkiye has engaged in the Euro competition, in addition to obtaining visa-free facilities through the Schengen scheme. (McManus, 2017)

In another case, St. Pauli, a football club in Germany, has been established as a club that conveys progressive values. Proponents of St. Pauli often voice their opinions regarding political ones, especially progressive affiliations, during the club's matches. They also structurally hold activities outside of matches that support progressive values. For example, they conduct "Anti-Nazi" congresses, visits to the Yad Vashem memorial site, cross-ethnic and gender football training, and an annual friendly tournament commemorating the liberation from Auschwitz. (Perdana, 2016) Through the three case studies, it can be perceived that football as one of the popular sports in the world is relatively related to political matters.

The recent security conflict between Russia and Ukraine is not only related to

political aspects but also other aspects. To illustrate, aspects of the economy, business, and trade are experiencing relatively significant pressure. In 2023, the Eurozone and the United States were expected to face a recession. The Eurozone experienced an economic decline of around 1.2-1.4% compared to 2022. This is due to conflicts that affect the number of sales and costs that must be covered. (Prohorovs, 2022) Apart from the economic aspect, the Russia-Ukraine conflict also has implications for the dynamics of football in Europe.

The most visible indication that football is influenced by the Russia-Ukraine conflict is the prohibition of Russian football clubs from participating in competitions between member clubs of the UEFA Champions League (UCL), UEFA European League (UEL) and UEFA Conference League. Meanwhile, the Russian national football team (known as Our Boys) was also not allowed to take part in Euro 2020, Women's Euro 2022 and the 2022 World Cup in Qatar. Attempts by the Russian Football Union (RFU), the Russian Football Association, to negotiate with UEFA and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) did not result in positive outcomes. (Buckingham, 2022) A similar experience occurred to Roman Abramovich, owner of Chelsea Football Club, who was forced by the English Premier League Board to relinquish ownership of Chelsea, following the British Government's closure of the Russian businessman's business access. (McVitie, 2022)

Based on the cases above, the existence of football often intersects with





political matters, including European football. To continue research on the politicization of football that has previously existed, this research aims to enrich the discourse on the politicization of football, especially after the outbreak of the security conflict between Russia and Ukraine. This research specifically focuses on the politicization of football due to the Russia-Ukraine conflict using the theory of issue linkage as this approach rarely has been utilized by scholars. In addition, this research deepens the discussion by analyzing the political reasons for the utilization of issue linkage as well as the reasons for involving only certain actors in this approach in the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Additionally, this research aims to analyze the implications of the linkage issue that occurred in European football due to the Russia-Ukraine security issue on the dynamics of European solidarity. To achieve the research purposes, two questions investigated in this research are: 1) how does issue linkage occur, from political and economic issues related to security conflict between Russia and Ukraine to football issues; 2) what are the further implications of the issue linkage tactics implemented by these political actors?

## **II. Theoretical Framework: Issue Linkage**

The issue linkage theory is efforts or bargaining activities to resolve a problem or achieve an interest by linking issues or a problem being discussed with one or more other issues. (Koremenos, Lipson, & Snidal, 2001)

Issue linkage is applied by state actors when they encounter problems in cooperation or conflict, such as distribution problems, and enforcement problems, and the number of actors in cooperation or conflict is too considerable. Firstly, the distribution problem occurs when one or several of the political actors involved believe more disadvantaged than others. The same thing can happen if the benefits of the actors involved are not evenly distributed among the actors involved. Secondly, law enforcement problems appear when one or some political actors do not comply with previously established agreements. Thirdly, numerous actors involved can impact to problems due to varying preferences to be compromised (Koremenos, Lipson, & Snidal, 2001)

Ernst Haas (1980) divides strategies in issue linkage into three approaches: tactical issue linkage, fragmented issue linkage, and substantive issue linkage. (Haas, 1980) Tactical issue linkage is defined as a tactic of connecting two issues that are not related at all. Meanwhile, fragmented issue linkage is defined as a tactic to maintain or strengthen existing cooperation by adding issues outside of existing agreements. For instance, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which initially united itself to dispel communism, gradually expanded cooperation between its member states to trade and socio-cultural issues to perpetuate the ties. Lastly, substantive issue linkage is a strategy to raise new issues as a result of intellectual discoveries.



### III. Methodology and Data

This research is qualitative. Creswell (2009) defines qualitative research as research that prioritizes exploration and analysis of meaning. (Cresswell, 2009) In qualitative research, data is not sought in a laboratory, but is natural or is already available in nature to be observed. This qualitative research strategy focuses on case studies. This strategy focuses on analyzing a phenomenon or event that is limited by area and time. (Kusumastuti & Khoiron, 2019)

Meanwhile, the secondary data obtained comes from books, journal articles, and articles in credible mass media. (Rahmadi, 2011) The selected data is statements from formal institutions such as the European Union and football associations in European countries. These data were taken to be analyzed using discourse analysis.

### IV. Discussion

#### *a. Europe's Position in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict*

To claim that Europe has a position in the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the terminology "Europe" has to be clarified first. Europe in various discussions is interpreted in various ways. Until recently, there is no absolute agreement regarding the definition of Europe. Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2023) found that defining Europe can be framed in terms of history, identity, and politics. (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2022) The meeting point between these three aspects is the common fate of experiencing a period of great war, specifically

the Great War and World War. The existence of the European Union (EU) strengthened politically that they were united as a result of the two wars. In this discussion, Europe is narrowed down to countries that were or are still members of the EU and were involved in the Great War and World War. Thus, the EU and countries such as the United Kingdom, Spain, France, and Germany can be categorized as Europe.

Next, how does Europe perceive the situation in Ukraine? Europe explicitly supports Ukraine and condemns Russia's expansive actions. In early February, the EU firmly utilized the diction of "must stop" the war and "stand with Ukraine under any circumstances". This political manifesto reflects that Russia is on the side that initiates the war. In other words, this means that Russia is the trigger for the problem. Statements of "support under any circumstances" possibly impact political and economic risks, however, Europe is firm in its stance. (Council of the European Union, 2023)

The statement by President of the European Council Charles Michel stating that the EU supports humanitarian, political, economic, and military aspects further confirm Europe's stance. Even though Europe is not in the war directly, support for the Ukrainian military confirms that Europe is behind Ukraine. In addition, Europe stated that it was coordinating with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the G7. This political intention emphasizes the firmness of Europe's position in this conflict. (Council of the European Union, 2023)





European support and stance in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict is consistently manifested. From March 2022 to February 2023, the EU gradually impose sanctions on Russia. Of all the sanctions formally stated, the majority of sanctions are in the form of prohibitions on trade relations such as export-import activities between EU member countries and Russia. Other sanctions that are also quite highlighted are restrictions on financial transactions with Russia and the mobility of high-profile Russian citizens, such as Roman Abramovich. (Council of the European Union, 2023)

Once Europe's position is explicitly recognized, the next question is, how can the political, security, and economic issues related to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine impact socio-cultural issues, specifically football in Europe?

*b. Shifting Issues: From Economy and Security to Football*

In issue linkage logic, a problem can spread to other problems intentionally. The Russia-Ukraine conflict involving European football can be identified from UEFA's strategic steps in responding to Russian attacks on Ukrainian territory. According to García (2007), both the EU and UEFA represent Europe with different governments. (García, 2007) Both organizations agree to cooperate in promoting European values. Therefore, what UEFA applies relates to Europe's stances.

First, on the first day the conflict between Russia and Ukraine emerged, UEFA, via its official website, immediately issued a statement condemning the Russian attack and

expressing UEFA's solidarity with Ukraine. (UEFA, 2022) Even though UEFA only acts as a European football association, taking an active position and issuing statements on social issues is categorized as a political communication effort. (Valerevna & Rakhmatovna, 2022)

The shift in issues was reinforced by UEFA's follow-up statement which stated that its stance in the Russia-Ukraine conflict is based on European values. (UEFA, 2022) These values, which consist of human rights, democracy, freedom, equality of dignity, and legal compliance, were formalized by the European Union. (European Union, 2023) This formalization is emphasized by the statement of the former President of the European Commission who stated that the EU is a community of values. (Voloshin, 2014) This fact demonstrates that UEFA implicitly recognizes the authority of the European Union as a supranational organization that has a political stance.

Furthermore, UEFA not only recognizes the EU's authority but also follows EU values through legal corridors. In the agreement between the European Commission and UEFA on June 9, 2022, UEFA promised to base all its activities on European values as manifested in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. (European Commission, 2022) By having this collaboration, UEFA also explicitly adheres to European values. In other words, the EU and UEFA tend to walk along the same corridor. The connection between political institutions and football federations shows that there is a



tactical issue linkage, namely an effort to connect two issues.

Second, the shifting issue is strengthened by statements from football federations or representations from European countries. *The Deutsche Fussball Liga (DFL)* or German league administrator through its official website strongly castigated the Russian attack and conveyed its concern for Ukraine as the country most affected. (Deutsche Fussball Liga, 2022) The French Football Federation (FFF) applied the same thing by putting pressure on FIFA to act in response to the Russia-Ukraine conflict. According to FFF, football will never be neutral. (Perform, 2022)

Third, the strategy of tactical issue linkage can be found in the asset freeze and entry ban for Roman Abramovich, owner of Chelsea Football Club (FC) by the UK government.<sup>1</sup> This sanction impacts Chelsea's activities where the club is unable to carry out player buying and selling activities, infrastructure development, and other activities involving club finances. The UK government argues that the asset freezing purpose is to prevent Chelsea's profits from flowing to the Russian government. (Steiner, Ingle, & Hytner, 2022)

Furthermore, freezing assets enhances negative sentiment towards Abramovich. (Ratten, 2022) The consequence of this increasing negative sentiment is that the English Football Association (FA) is following the steps of the UK government. However, The

FA still allows Chelsea to compete until the end of the season (Brien, 2022).

### c. Politics Behind Official Statements

To sharpen this discussion, the reasons why football institutions in Europe are involved in the Russia-Ukraine conflict are interesting to analyze. The authors argue that the existence of distribution problems triggers this involvement.



Fig. 1. Donbas Region, Area Targeted by Russia  
Source: Aljazeera (2022)

Before discussing distribution problems, we need to first notice what occurs in the conflict using a geographical approach. In **Figure 1**, the Donbas region, which is part of Ukraine, is directly adjacent to Russia and the Sea of Azov. This sea separates the region from Crimea, a region that in the early 2010s was annexed by Russia from Ukraine. The Donbas region is flanked in three directions by Russian

<sup>1</sup>Abramovich is the owner of Chelsea until mid-2022. Chelsea is then owned by Tedd Boehly until recently.



territory. This means that, geographically, this area is closer to Russian territory than Kyiv.

Is there any significance to this geographical proximity? One point that requires to be underlined is that the Donbas region is unwritten as a buffer zone between the two poles of the multipolar situation in the world today, namely Russia and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). (Widiasa, 2018) The EU generally does not refer to NATO, which was spearheaded by the United States (US), as a partner. However, when encountering the Russian Federation, the EU prefers NATO to be involved in mainland Europe to balance Russia's power. (Turke, 2019) Thus, in other words, this buffer area must not be controlled by Russia so that Europe remains distant from Russia as a polar one. The Donbas attack poses a threat to Europe because Russia is getting closer to European territory.

Two, relations between Ukraine and the EU since the early 2000s have been characterized by processes of push and pull. These processes are provoked by the EU's significant investment in the form of foreign direct investment (FDI), dominated by investment from the Netherlands, Cyprus, Germany, Italy, France, Poland, and Austria. (Bulakh, Ivashchenko, & Lytvyn, 2018) However, with a large investment, the EU still has not included Ukraine in its EU membership since Ukraine is a grey zone that must be protected by the EU and Russia. (Herbst, 2016) This means that Russia's attack violates the agreement established between the EU and Russia not to "touch" Ukraine.

Furthermore, if Ukrainian territory is annexed, the EU and several of its member countries will not be able to rely on some of their investments in Ukraine. As the investment between Ukraine and Europe is interdependent, Ukraine also has the potential to reduce its dependence on the EU. (Zhang & Hock, 1996) On the contrary, Russian attacks can impel Ukraine to become even more dependent on Russia. (Walter, 2022) These points are what, according to the EU's perspective, create an imbalance of benefits and losses resulting from the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Third, Russia is one of the largest oil suppliers in the world as well as the largest supplier to EU member countries (40% of total oil imports). The effect of Russia's aggression on Ukraine is an increase in crude oil prices. For example, at the beginning of 2022, Brent crude oil was only US\$ 80, but by mid-2022 the price had reached US\$ 120. (Kalogiannidis, Chatzitheodoridis, Kalfas, Kontsas, & Toska, 2022) The increase in crude oil prices does not consider the effect of sanctions from other countries on Russia. This increase in oil prices adds to the losses caused by Russia's attack on Ukraine for EU member countries. The reasons above underlie why tactical issue linkage involving aspects of football in Europe is implemented by the EU and its member countries.

#### *d. Why Chelsea and Abramovich?*

In the previous section, Abramovich and Chelsea FC are mentioned as being among those affected by the linkage issue carried out by political actors in Europe. Interestingly, apart from Abramovich, three Russian tycoons,



Dmitry Rybolovlev (AS Monaco FC and Cercle Brugge KSV), Valeriy Oyf (SBV Vitesse Arnhem), and Maxim Demin (Bournemouth FC) are close to Russian President Vladimir Putin possess football clubs in Europe as well. (Krishnan, 2022) However, why is it only Roman Abramovich who is under pressure from Europe, especially the British government and the FA?

highest position. On this basis, Abramovich received great pressure from sports organizations and political institutions. Chelsea FC's progress, if still owned by Abramovich, represents a "victory" for Russia in the field of sport amidst a conflict situation. The prevention of Russia's victory through Chelsea FC proves Europe's strategy of using tactical issue linkage.

**Tab. 1.** Market Value and Achievements European Clubs Owned by Russians

No.	Club	Market Value 2019 (in million)	Last Standing in League (2019)	Best Achievement in European Competition (in last 5 years)
1	Chelsea (England)	€ 1020	3	Champion
2	AS Monaco (France)	€ 324	17	Group stage
3	Vitesse Arnhem (Belgium)	€ 39,68	10	Not achieved
4	Bournemouth (England)	€ 243,35	14	Not achieved

**Source:** Transfermarkt (2024)

To examine the reasons why only Abramovich is treated differently, **Tab. 1.** assists in comparing the difference in status between Chelsea FC and the other 3 clubs owned by the Russian tycoon. **Tab. 1.** demonstrates that financially Vitesse Arnhem is far below the other three clubs. Meanwhile, AS Monaco FC and Bournemouth FC are not far apart, namely around 80 million Euros. In contrast to the others, Chelsea FC's income far exceeds that, reaching 1,020 million Euros.

Still looking at **Tab. 1.**, referring to the achievements of each club being compared, Chelsea FC is relatively the club that achieved the highest achievements. In terms of market value and achievement indicators (domestic and European level), Chelsea FC is in the

*e. Implications: Solidarity in Europe*

The next question is what are the further implications of the issue linkage tactics implemented by these political actors. The authors argue that the involvement of football in the Ukraine-Russia conflict influences the emergence of European solidarity actions.

The concept of European solidarity originates from the terminology of solidarity. This terminology is often adopted from studies of social movements. Solidarity is set as the prime capital for carrying out collective actions, and joint actions to convey certain ideas. In the study of social movements, the meaning of solidarity can be interpreted as something positive and negative. (Oikonomakis, 2018)

In the social and political sciences literature, both Böckenförde in Michalski (2006) and Chiocchetti in Chiocchetti & Allemand (2019) coincide that the term "solidarity" does not yet have a specific and clear explanation. (Böckenförde, 2006) Even so, Chiocchetti tries to explain the meaning of solidarity in four points. (Chiocchetti, Allemand, & Allemand, 2018)



First, solidarity is the same as a feeling of a "sense of belonging" in a group. Second, solidarity emerges when there is a measure of symbiotic mutualism between the parties involved in a phenomenon. Indeed, these first two points do not specify the indicators explicitly. Third, solidarity can also be defined as an obligation for parties involved in a problem to aid. The last point, solidarity can be related to social security policies. (Chiocchetti, Allemand, & Allemand, 2018) From the description of these four points, the red line is the feeling of togetherness or shared responsibility, which is manifested in cooperative actions between the parties involved.

Meanwhile, more specifically, Böckenförde in Michalski (2006) mentions European solidarity, which is defined as a sense of responsibility to protect fellow Europeans. (Böckenförde, 2006) Slightly different from the previous definition, Böckenförde emphasized that European solidarity is closely related to the political community, specifically meaning the European Union. European solidarity strengthens European integration which is manifested in the European Union. Furthermore, there are at least four aspects that underlie and bind the sense of responsibility to protect, namely the same religion, the connection between cultural heritage, the same history, and the same values.

Accordingly, European solidarity can be defined as a sense of togetherness and responsibility to protect and cooperate with fellow Europeans based on shared religion, history, values, or cultural relations. The

transfer of the Ukrainian-Russian political security conflict to football has an effect on European Solidarity, which can be indicated by how European football institutions display symbols of solidarity in football matches.



**Fig. 2.** Views of La Liga Matches after the Outbreak of the Ukraine-Russia Conflict.

**Source:** Real Madrid (2022)

La Liga, the official Spanish league competition, campaigned for its support for Ukraine by displaying the Ukrainian flag (see Fig. 2.) throughout at least the remainder of the 2022/2023 league season.

The campaign to display the Ukrainian flag at every LaLiga match refers to European solidarity considering the indication of support for Ukraine by LaLiga. In February 2022, LaLiga stated explicitly that all forms of the campaign were an expression of rejection of armed conflict and support for harmony and peace in Ukraine. (Warrier, 2022)







**Fig. 3.** Views of Bundesliga Matches after the Outbreak of the Ukraine-Russia Conflict.

**source:** Bundesliga (2022)

An attempt to declare solidarity is also implemented in the Bundesliga by conducting a minute of silence before the match starts (see Fig. 3.). Minute of silence is a custom or tradition in football to demonstrate empathy for a humanitarian phenomenon or condolences for a tragedy by remaining silent for one minute before the opening whistle of the match. (Foster & Woodthorpe, 2012)

The display of the Ukrainian flag and the implementation of the minute of silence are arguably political steps to show 'feeling together' which ultimately frame European solidarity for Ukraine. (Muna, Prisanto, Ernungtyas, Irwansyah, & Putri, 2020) This political communication strategy is an attempt to show Ukraine and the world that Europe stands behind Ukraine which can be interpreted as a form of solidarity.

It may be debatable whether the solidarity is the tactical issue linkage itself or the implication of the linkage. However, we think that the solidarity comes as a response to the linkage since the statement of UEFA comes first before the solidarity reactions.

## V. Conclusion

To summarize, the history of the politicization of football in Europe that had occurred since the Great War continued until the emergence of the security conflict between Russia and Ukraine in 2022. The politicization of football in this conflict, according to the issue linkage theory, occurred as Europe suffered losses politically and economically from the Russian attack. The potential for Russia to approach geographically through the attempted annexation of the Donbas, the decrease in the amount of foreign investment by European countries in Ukraine, and the increase in crude oil prices are causing disruption problems for Europe.

To overcome these distribution problems, European countries implement tactical linkages by utilizing European football institutions. The intention is to isolate Russia through football. One of the consequences of Russia's isolation is the emergence of attempts to demonstrate European solidarity at official football matches in Europe.

At last, through this research, political discourse is not limited to security aspects alone, but also socio-cultural aspects. This research still opens opportunities for further research to cover the shortcomings of this research, such as analyzing European solidarity at the societal level or determining whether solidarity comes after the issue linkage or solidarity itself is part of the issue linkage.



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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

### Archiving Food Heritage Towards Championing Food Security: A Case Study of Lokalpedia

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#### Abstract

*Key anthropologists have previously looked into the potential of using “geographical indications” to protect localities and their products, but little has been said about the role food heritage could play in championing food security. This paper looks into the open access archive of local and endemic food stuff, Lokalpedia, that is at the forefront of championing ingredients endemic to the Philippines and advocating for their preservation, and, in extension, the livelihood of farmers, fisherfolk, and market vendors. Through social media content analysis and literature review, this paper explores and builds the case for the potential of archiving and understanding local and traditional food ingredients and local produce toward a more holistic and meaningful approach to ameliorating food insecurity. By rendering these local food products visible in both the local and global arena, it attunes communities to foodstuff available in their localities and entices culture-savvy consumers to support local food producers.*

**Keywords:** food archiving, lokalpedia, social media, globalization, food security

#### I. Introduction

In November 1974, following the longstanding famine in Bangladesh at the time, global leaders convened in Geneva to discuss

the pressing issue of world food problems. The product of the convention, aptly titled the World Food Convention, was the Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition. Proceedings of the conference enunciated the goal of tackling food security, stating that the food crisis distressing developing countries “acutely jeopardizes the most fundamental principles and values associated with the right to life and human dignity.” It also stressed that “every man, woman, and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition to develop their physical and mental faculties” (UNGA, 1974). The goals were promising: eradicate hunger, food insecurity, and malnutrition within the next decade. The declaration reads:

“For a lasting solution to the food problem, all efforts should be made to eliminate the widening gaps which today separate developed and developing countries and to bring about a new international economic order. It should be possible for all countries to participate actively and effectively in the new international economic relations by the establishment of suitable international systems, where appropriate, capable of producing adequate action to establish just and equitable relations in international economic cooperation.”

The goals may be ambitious, but the global community failed to achieve them. When governments reconvened in 1996 for the World Food Summit to reiterate their



goals, about 800 million people faced hunger and malnutrition (Paul et al., 2003). At the summit, which served as a conference of non-binding commitments, solutions involving genetic engineering were continuously put forward, which many non-governmental organizations criticized. In the years leading up to 2002, genetically engineered food was being aggressively pushed on the market with US biotechnology companies at the forefront. In response to Monsanto, one of their vocal proponents, African delegates from the Food and Agriculture Organisation called corporations to “Let Nature’s Harvest Continue” (qtd. Maathai, 1988):

“We strongly object that the image of the poor and hungry from our countries is being used by giant multinational corporations to push a technology that is neither safe, environment friendly, nor economically beneficial to us... We do not believe that such companies or gene technologies will help our farmers produce the food needed in the 21st century. On the contrary, we think it will destroy the diversity, the local knowledge, and the sustainable agricultural systems that our farmers have developed for millennia and that it will thus undermine our capacity to feed ourselves.”

Yet in 2002, the United Nations hosted another World Food Summit in which biotechnology was finally formally pushed as the solution to world hunger, much to the dismay of many participants amidst questions on biosafety, among other concerns. This response failed to consider other factors that

are inextricably linked to food insecurity beyond agro-technical concerns: poverty, lack of access to land, and different forms of inequalities. As experts often argue, the world’s food supply is abundant and sufficient to feed everyone. Biotechnologist Kaiser Jamil (2012) argued that the dilemma lies not in production but in distribution, stating that the real reason for hunger is “poverty, which often strikes women--the nutritional gatekeepers in many families--the hardest.”

The use of biotechnology to optimize food production without focusing on distribution and accessibility is one of how globalization has rendered vulnerable populations food insecure, not just in terms of access but nutritional aspects as well. According to Black (2016), globalization has “fostered greater variety and access to food in many places,” but noted that global disparities have made access to healthy and affordable food varied. The scholar elaborated that urbanization brought about the ubiquity of transnational food corporations, leading to increased availability, affordability, and consumption of processed food that, on the negative side, can diminish food security, food sovereignty, and the presence of healthy food. As Shridhar et al. (2015) contended, there has been an upward trend when it comes to the consumption of unhealthy junk food, processed food, and high-fat calories. According to the group of researchers, these are some of the notable factors contributing to various ailments.

Philippine foodways, in many ways, are informed by a multitude of forces—some of which are connected but not limited to its



unique geographical position, vast history of trade that both predates and is maintained by colonialism and the process by which its people have “indigenized” foreign influences. In Doreen Fernandez’s *Colonizing the Cuisine: The Politics of Philippine Foodways*, the late food writer and scholar argued that the unique location of the archipelago “has made it possible... far more than its neighbors in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, to ‘drink from the fount of three physical and cultural worlds’” (1990). Thus, it is a rather curious case that, despite this abundance of natural resources, food scarcity remains an issue; 12.2 percent of Filipinos reported experiencing moderate to severe levels of hunger (PIDS, 2022). Additionally, a study by the World Food Program (2022) revealed that one in ten Filipino households suffer from food insecurity, and families involved in agriculture are more susceptible to hunger.

One can argue that colonialism persists through neocolonial globalization and is one of the many culprits contributing to the persisting food insecurity through the prioritization of high-yield cash crops, a practice that emerged as a consequence of mass land conversion during the late Spanish colonial period (Amano et al., 2020), which has been further strengthened under the Americans, and sustained by neoliberalist agricultural policies (Maenen, 2016).

Indeed, globalization is now one of the defining factors driving food production and consumption, as it influences the supply chain through the alteration of quantity, type, cost, and desirability of food (Hawkes, 2018). Globalization also tends to flatten out the

diverse cultural identities found, especially in less powerful countries. Many critical anthropologists have looked into this phenomenon, including Fernando Zialcita (2019), who argues that a labeling system that enunciates the products’ geographic origins can not only help address the indelible impact of globalization in cementing food insecurity but also protect biodiversity, combat climate change, and create sustainable employment in the more rural parts of the Philippines.

This paper aims to contribute to the vast body of literature on how food security can be addressed through the lens of archiving food heritage and argues for its potential in ameliorating food insecurity as well as in bolstering cultural identity among regions. Lokalpedia is one such attempt. What started as a small passion project continues to grow as a sprawling collection of photos and descriptions, presenting not just ingredients endemic to the Philippines but also food products and proofs of culinary craftsmanship, like artisanal salt (Limos, 2023). As of writing, it has an online following of more than 57,000 who actively engage with its posts. Lokalpedia has also been featured in many media outlets, such as Manila Bulletin, NOLISOLI, and Esquire Philippines, among others. The fanfare the project has been receiving is indicative of a growing interest in local produce and ingredients, which this paper attempts to unpack.

## II. Methodology

Through a critical analysis of Lokalpedia, the case study, this article is an attempt to explore the potential of archiving





and understanding local and traditional food ingredients and local produce towards a more holistic and meaningful approach to ameliorating food insecurity. Based on the interview with the person behind the case study and social media content analysis, I have determined specific practices that could be modeled, supplemented by a cursory review of related literature. Three points of discussion are highlighted: a) social media as an archive and tool towards social change, b) food archiving as recognition of food terroir, and c) limits and potentials of individual interventions and the need for systemic policy reforms.

This article concludes that food archiving helps address the issue by emphasizing how globalization pushes local ingredients into peripheries. Not only does it champion a site-specific approach in addressing food access, but it also champions the livelihood of food producers behind these produce and products. This approach also bolsters the cultural identity of respective communities as a defiance against cultural flattening in the age of globalization.

### III. Discussions

Britwum and Demont (2022) argues that cultural heritage and food security are inextricably linked but discussions are largely nascent. As defined by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (1989), cultural heritage refers to the “entire corpus of material signs - either artistic or symbolic - handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore, to the whole of humankind,” the influence of which shape foodways, from production to preference for

consumption. Although recognition of food as being classified as part and parcel of cultural heritage is only as recent as 2010, it is necessary to frame food systems as being embedded in economic systems and is beyond just a cultural identifier (Britwum and Demont, 2022). In this regard, I make a case on how the interaction of cultural heritage and food systems and how understanding of both can potentially address food insecurity, especially in the Global South through five pathways: (i) preservation of genetic resources, (ii) valorization, (iii) traditional food processing, (iv) preference matching, and (v) agritourism (Britwum and Demont, 2022). Moreover, as Brulotte and Di Giovine (2016) writes, meanings associated with food are in constant flux as shaped by “class, gender or taste; or how traditions are invented for the revitalization of a community during a period of cultural pressure.” Food heritage then could be succinctly described as culinary traditions that are shaped by personal and collective identities, which has greater implication on food security than imagined as state and global level policies overlook the cultural dimension of food (Kapelari et al, 2020).

#### *a. Social Media as an Archive and Tool Towards Social Change*

A portmanteau of “lokal,” meaning local in Filipino, and “encyclopedia,” Lokalpedia, an online page that actively archives food items from across the Philippine archipelago, actually began under a different intention. It was originally a companion work for another culinary endeavor of the cultural heritage advocate John Sherwin Felix, wherein it was supposed to merely illustrate



characteristics of ingredients used in Filipino cuisine. However, Felix explained that it has since opened wider discourse for efforts toward not only the preservation of endemic food items but also the variegated and nuanced cultural heritage of the islands across different regions, as well as socio-political causes related to sustainability and environmentalism. With a huge follower base and active involvement in food circuits, Felix has become a key figure in Philippine gastronomy. He continues to influence Philippine food circles and even popular culture, such as the Netflix limited series “Finding Chef Chico,” released in 2023, which featured some of the obscure food items Lokalpedia has archived in its collection, following the straightforward format of its entries’ descriptions.

Nowadays, Felix combs through the archipelagic country, a pursuit well-documented in both Lokalpedia and his personal account. His logs—whether of ingredients, rice cakes, viands, artisanal products, etc.—come with brief captions and a set of photos. As explained by Felix in an interview, he wants to keep the descriptions as simple as possible, recognizing that topics like science and culture are often discussed using jargon and academic speak. For Lokalpedia, he envisions a type of accessible archive that is not as intimidating as academic journals but, instead, one that allows the masses to enjoy and learn from. This, however, does not mean that Lokalpedia resorts to oversimplification; Felix strives to communicate scientific names of the food items he finds in his fieldwork and discusses pressing issues like environmental conservation and anti-mining sentiments, with

a full understanding of food as intersections of these concerns (Felix, personal communication, 2023).

#### *b. Dood archiving as recognition of food terroir*

More often than not narrative, the caption provides a background to the product or process he is documenting. His descriptions are often exhaustive in that they tackle not just the taste, source, uses, and geographical terroir but also borrow insights from the accounts of locals he interacts with, as well as historical sources, as shown in Table 1. As Catherine Orda (2022) of NOLISOLI has written of Felix: “The careful curation (and narration) is not even half the job: Felix’s one-man team takes care of everything, from research and curation to the acquisition of ingredients, from writing and fact-checking to photographing.”



Fig. 1. Lokalpedia Post on Syzygium Polycephaloides





Source: Lokalpedia (2024)

In my interview with Felix, the former chef delineated the process in which he undertakes the ambitious task of archiving Philippine endemic and unique food items and cultures, some of which are close to extinction. Recognizing the communication gaps in how Filipino food items—especially those that originate outside the metropolitan areas are talked about—he sought to use social media to communicate conservation and food concerns to the popular audience.



Fig. 2. Lokalpedia Post on *Disocorea alata*, (more famous as Ube)

Source: Lokalpedia (2024)

Felix explained that the continued neglect of local ingredients resulted in the gradual disappearance of those items in local

dishes (Felix, personal communication, 2023). Commentaries like this are pervasive in his personal account, which supplements his archival entries. More personal encounters and musings are posted publicly as well, where the exchange of information is dialogic. Much less formal than Lokalpedia, his personal account is arguably filled with people who share the same passion for food heritage. He uses this platform to solicit recommendations or suggestions about a specific region, and more recently, donation, highlighting the power of connectivity that social media offers. "The idea that some people do not see the photos of these ingredients is already a void: without visual representation, people do not know that these ingredients exist. Hence, Lokalpedia is also a visual archive," shared Felix (personal interview, 2023). Indeed, Felix's efforts have been amplified to wider audiences. Some of the photos taken by Felix are now used in Wikipedia's entries, further popularized when Nas Daily, an Israeli video content creator, used Felix's shot of asin tibuk, a formerly dying salt tradition, which earned the ire of Filipinos and had since garnered traditional media's attention (Vibal, 2024). Social media and crowdsourcing have been regarded as "important tools for solving complex problems" by scholars from different disciplines. According to Chatterjee et al. (2024), crowdsourcing leverages "the power of human intelligence cost effectively with less time," positing that, done through technologies like social media, crowdsourcing promotes social good in fields such as agriculture, tourism, education, cultural heritage and more.





**Fig. 3.** Lokalpedia Post on Heritage Grain Found in Certain Regions in The Philippines  
**Source:** Lokalpedia (2023)



**Fig. 4.** One Of Lokalpedia Posts on Asin Tibuok.  
**Notes:** Felix first wrote about the artisanal salt in 2021, which Esquire Philippines picked up.  
**Source:** Lokalpedia (2023)

Furthermore, the influence that Lokalpedia has evoked among local communities also shows the power of social media. Done in conjunction with on-the-ground engagement, social media can be effective in nudging people into epitomizing and benchmarking good practices in terms of endemic food conservation and food security movements. In the case of Lokalpedia, the archive's social media posts informed by his field engagements have influenced, for instance, a festival of endemic fruits in the biodiverse island of Palawan, accompanied by

creating their own fruit archive. Lokalpedia, in ways more than one, also influenced the resurgence of interest in artisanal regional salts across the Philippines following a catalog Felix published in 2022; these rare salts were previously discouraged following RA No. 8172 or the ASIN Law, mandating that salt intended for human consumption must contain iodine to address nutrient deficiencies (Lokalpedia, 2023).

### *c. Limits and potentials of Lokalpedia*

It is thus interesting to point out that the ubiquity of food archives has the potential to carry out social changes in the form of increased interest in local food products that are endemic to the geographical terroir but otherwise obscured by the preference of the global food chain. As of writing, Felix has been engaging in sustainable food spaces in both academic and non-academic settings. Food archiving and/or cataloging could advocate not just the use of local ingredients but also spark a sense of cultural identity and nationalism. In 1918, Pura Villanueva Kalaw published "Condimentos indigenas," a recipe book that represented regional cuisines that are otherwise not part of the mainstream from Batangas, Iloilo, Pasig, Sorsogon, and Mindanao (Sta. Maria, 2012). According to food historian Prudente Sta. Maria (2012), Kalaw consciously promoted the use of local ingredients, proper nutrition, and sanitation at



a time when Filipino identity was being compromised<sup>1</sup>.



**Fig. 5.** Felix in an Heirloom Sustainable Food Event as One of the Symposium Speakers  
**Source:** QCSBCDPO (2024)



**Fig. 6.** Asia's 50 Best Restaurants 2023  
**Notes:** Toyo Eatery collaborates with Felix for a fundraising project for Lokalpedia.  
**Source:** Toyo Eatery (2024)



**Fig. 7.** Lokalpedia Merch  
**Source:** Felix (2024)

For all the feats Felix has achieved through Lokalpedia, challenges remain, given that his practice is independently conducted and funded. Felix shared that he has had to resort to selling his personal belongings to fund earlier trips (personal communication, 2023). Now, Felix received ample, though still very little, financial support from his avid readers, often sharing the same passion for Filipino food. Moreover, Lokalpedia has partnered with local artist collectives and food enthusiasts who organize fundraising activities for Lokalpedia's cause, highlighting the need for partnership and linkages toward sustainable development. Most recent is his collaboration with Toyo Eatery, a Philippine restaurant listed as Asia's Best 50 Restaurants, which held a pop-up whose proceeds would then fund Felix's future trips (Toyo Eatery, 2024).

<sup>1</sup> The history of recipe catalogs in the Philippines is very much entrenched in the colonial past of the country. Cookbooks first emerged in schools in the

form of home economics textbooks (Sta. Maria, 2012).





#### IV. Conclusion and Recommendation

In the time of globalization and neocolonialism, when Filipino food is seen as inferior, there needs to be an intensified marketing efforts to bring back a kind of food consumption that does not rely on the capital, precisely by harvesting and consuming food items that are readily available in our immediate environment—a practice that predates colonialism, but is vanishing in part because of the manufactured reliance on cheap but unhealthy processed food brought upon by a West-centric globalization. In the face of it, food archiving made publicly available—as with Lokalpedia—presents itself as an effective way of resisting cultural flattening and championing the livelihood of farmers, fishermen, and other food producers. By bridging communication gaps between food producers and consumers, it successfully penetrates mainstream conversation on salient issues like indigenous peoples' rights, deforestation, and illegal mining, all of which are linked to food security. As Felix has stated, Lokalpedia's publicly available archive entries put focus on the local, nudging people to consume what is already available in people's environments instead of relying on industrially-produced food, thus boosting support to local food producers as well. Most importantly, food archiving has the potential to strengthen cultural identity in a similar way geographical indicators function.

Truly, food insecurity remains a pressing issue, but food archiving gleans into potential holistic ways of battling the dilemma at hand by attuning the community to existing food products in their localities, and by

rendering these food products visible in both the local and the global arena, enticing culture-savvy consumers and ultimately providing livelihood to these producers.

Consideration of food heritage in crafting food securities is thus necessary. Integration of local foodstuff underlines the importance of availability, access, utilization, and stability components of food security. Such efforts, as previously discussed, not only will create livelihood opportunities for local, especially small-time, food producers but also bolster cultural identity.

Finally, food security would not be possible without the farmers and local food producers. Building the capacities of local food producers is necessary so that these endemic ingredients do not ever falter. Hence, it is suggested that a policy incentivizing local folks to produce and consume diverse food products be considered, with emphasis on the products' terroir and geographical indicators. Institutionalized food archiving efforts in the future should actively engage and consult with them to bridge knowledge gaps for future research.

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## RESEARCH ARTICLES

### Implementation of the Country Strategic Plan (CSP) by the World Food Program (WFP) for Pakistan in 2018 – 2022: Management Approach-Based Analysis

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#### Abstract

*This research aims to determine how the World Food Program (WFP) implements the realization of food security in Pakistan. The author used the management approach as an analytical reference that includes four approach methods related to the policy implementation process of the Country Strategic Plan (CSP) 2018 – 2022 implemented by WFP in Pakistan. These four methods include monitoring, stakeholder engagement, capacity building, and humanitarian assistance as a manifestation of the implemented CSP program. In this research, continuity was found in what WFP has done in Pakistan in mitigating the food crisis in the period 2018 – 2022. The monitoring that has been implemented comes from five methods of collecting information in the form of domestic, external, and internal reports from WFP Pakistan. Stakeholder engagement in the form of collaboration between IGOs and other NGOs. Capacity Building is manifested through strategic outcomes as the essence of the Country Strategic Plan (CSP) program.*

*Humanitarian Assistance that has been provided materially and immaterially.*

**Keywords:** Pakistan, WFP, Country Strategic Plan (CSP), Food Security

#### I. Introduction

Pakistan is a country in the South Asia region with an area of around 803,940 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of around 333,902 people, most of whom are Muslim. As a developing country, Pakistan faces threats to the political, economic, social, health, and other sectors. Pakistan's geographical position is one of the factors that worsens Pakistan's socio-political situation. Historically, this country's borders were not based on topographical or ethnic divisions but instead based on religious borders where Pakistan was dominated by Muslim society, while Hinduism dominated India. This division was because of colonialism caused by the British in these two countries. (Mulyana, 2022)

In a conflict situation, Pakistan will be relatively more vulnerable to being blockaded because Pakistan's territorial areas are vulnerable to being contested. Apart from that, Pakistan has to face other threats, namely extreme natural disasters. This country has quite a high vulnerability to extreme climate change, considering that Pakistan is the area that will be first affected when glaciers melt in the Karakorum and Himalayan mountains. As a country that is vulnerable to becoming a war zone and an area prone to climate change, this country has very high levels of poverty and malnutrition. Pakistan's national nutrition experts have also stated that around 36.9% of



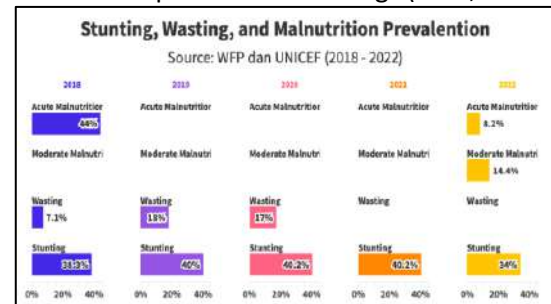
Pakistan's total population is food insecure. This condition is determined based on the accumulated quality and quantity of food the Pakistani people receive, which is still below appropriate standards.

This is in stark contrast to factual data regarding Pakistan's export commodities. Pakistan is prosperous in its export activities. (Ditjen PPI, 2021) Due to limited economic and technological capabilities, Deutsche Welle (2023) states that Pakistan still needs help managing its natural resources. Therefore, there is a need for both technical and financial assistance to the Pakistani government in improving the allocation and empowerment of existing foodstuffs. (Deutsche Welle, 2023)

The identification of key industries has been achieved by an analysis of the capacity and capability of Pakistan's various export sectors as well as trends in global demand. The general idea was to focus as much as possible on areas offering larger profits and more prospects for export, such as Iran, China, Afghanistan, and the European Union. In addition, thoughtful consideration was given to aligning the procedure with the government's broader policy aims in the areas of textiles, agriculture, engineering, automobiles, food processing, medicines, and services. (Ministry of Commerce Pakistan, 2022)

Since 1968, under the auspices of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), WFP has played an essential role in Pakistan by providing policy program recommendations to help food security in Pakistan. In 2018, the CSP program was implemented considering high malnutrition data in children aged 6 -59

months. WFP noted that around 44% of children experience malnutrition and malnutrition. Meanwhile, in 2022, UNICEF noted that 14.4% of children experienced moderate malnutrition, 8.2% of children experienced acute malnutrition, and 34% of children experienced stunting (WFP, 2022).



**Fig. 1.** Stunting, Wasting, and Malnutrition Prevalence

**Source:** WFP (2022)

Previous studies focused on (i) the role of WFP in overcoming the food crisis in Haiti through the Sustainable Program (Damayanti, 2018); (ii) the role of WFP in food insecurity in Namibia which was analyzed using the role theory approach of international organizations (Putri & Hakiki, 2022); (iii) WFP's efforts to mitigate food security in Sierra Leone through the Protected Relief and Recovery Operation (PRRO) and Country Program (Yanugraha, 2015). Thus, from these three studies, the author found research limitations in discussing the implementation of the Country Strategic Plan (CSP) program in Pakistan to mitigate food security in 2018 - 2022.

This research will be analyzed using the managerial approach initiated by Jutta Joachim, Reinalda, and Verbeek (2008), which includes several approach methods: monitoring, capacity building, stakeholder engagement, and humanitarian assistance.



The management approach offers several methods that can be employed by an international organization to implement its policies and interests. This approach serves as a comprehensive solution for addressing issues such as food inadequacy. According to the FAO (2010) in "The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Addressing Food Insecurity in Protracted Crises," potential methods for addressing food inadequacy through this approach include monitoring, stakeholder engagement, capacity building, and humanitarian assistance. These strategies provide a multifaceted framework for effectively tackling the issue of food insecurity. (FAO, 2010)

Monitoring methods initiated by Jutta Joachin et al. (2008) can be done in several ways, including (i) providing domestic reports to the relevant international organizations, (ii) forming a supervisory committee for reports received, (iii) sending representations from the relevant international organizations, (iv) supervision from other actors and NGOs, and (v) transparency of reports from the public if there are violations of treaty commitments. (Joachim, Reinalda, & Verbeek, 2018)

Collaboration with other stakeholders can provide a more comprehensive perspective for an international organization in determining the effectiveness of policy program implementation. According to Gurganus et.al (2021), the involvement of other stakeholders in mitigating food security can be through partnerships with other international organizations working in the same focus, international and national NGOs, communities, and other individuals.

(Gurganus, Marfo, Schwartz, & Stowers, 2021) Regarding capacity building, it can be classified into two types according to its purpose: (i) technical capacity building and (ii) general capacity building. (Chima, 2022) Technical capacity building will focus more specifically on a problem, while general capacity building will focus on more complex and comprehensive problems so it will take more time.

Humanitarian assistance will be focused on in this research, namely food aid according to the classification by Mossueau (2005). The food aid provided by WFP is categorized as relief or emergency food aid because WFP will help a country experiencing a food crisis due to the climate crisis, war, or population displacement. (Mossueau, 2005) Emergency relief can be provided through material assistance and technical assistance. (Kusuma, 2021) Material assistance is material assistance in food, shelter, and medicine (Kusuma, 2021), while technical assistance is immaterial assistance in counselling, outreach, and protection of affected victims. (UNOCHA, 2022)

In this study, the author delineates the scope of the research to prevent overlap and ensure alignment with the defined research problem framework. Consequently, the study focuses exclusively on examining the World Food Programme (WFP)'s policy strategies for mitigating food inadequacy in Pakistan from 2018 to 2022. The year 2018 marks the inception of the CSP program by WFP, aimed at bolstering Pakistan's food security against hunger threats, while 2022 is chosen as the endpoint due to the conclusion of the CSP program's policy period within this timeframe.





## II. Implementation of Country Strategic Plan (CSP) In Pakistan (2018 – 2022)

### *a. Monitoring Methods Resources*

#### Domestic Reports

Monitoring can be done by providing domestic reports from the state, in this case, Pakistan. (Joachim, Reinalda, & Verbeek, 2018) This indicates that other collaborators are responsible for analyzing the development of food and social conditions in Pakistan, namely the Ministry of Nutrition and Food and the Ministry of Poverty Empowerment and Social Security of Pakistan. Through these two ministries, WFP can obtain statistical data on developments in Pakistan.

WFP can elaborate on the evaluation results from the provision of domestic reports by the Ministry of Nutrition and Food of Pakistan through the results of their policy program, Pakistan Multi-Sectoral Strategy (PMNS) 2018 – 2025. PMNS includes food security interventions, improving the quality of education, gender equality, etc. (WFP, 2018) In addition, monitoring carried out by WFP can elaborate on the receipt of reports related to the Benazir Nashouma Program (BNP) policy program initiated by the Ministry of Poverty Empowerment and Social Security of Pakistan in 2017 – 2022. This program focuses on providing financial assistance to increase food security, prevent malnutrition, and improve the quality of health for the people of Pakistan. (WFP, 2018) Then, the results of the elaboration of the two programs will later be used as a reference for monitoring carried out

by WFP. The reference that the WFP uses as a monitoring step will later be elaborated upon with the formation of the Pakistan Country Reports, published annually, and the implementation that the WFP has carried out openly and transparently will be discussed. (WFP, 2018).

#### The WFP Pakistan Country Office (CO)

Meanwhile, the monitoring process is carried out by sending a committee and a team of experts representing WFP in the destination country to assess whether and how the government of that country fulfils its international commitments. The expert team will report on the progress of the destination country, which will later complement the report provided by the destination country's government. (Joachim, Reinalda, & Verbeek, 2018) So, WFP has sent a committee of experts from their team to Pakistan to monitor the country.

The monitoring process by the WFP on the implementation of Pakistan's international commitments was supported by establishing a WFP representative office in Pakistan in 1968. *Country Office (CO)* was established with a focus on normative interventions, coordination, and CO programs working with various partners to change the food security condition in Pakistan. At the operational level, CO focuses explicitly on five priority areas of intervention: providing humanitarian assistance, establishing food security policies, building facilities to support food security, facilitating natural disaster preparedness, and protecting affected groups. (WFP, 2022)



The expert team will report on Pakistan's progress. In addition, the expert committee monitoring can provide evaluations regarding the implementation of WFP in Pakistan, such as assisting with 1.1. million people with 8,615 million tons of food and US\$18 million in cash assistance to families affected by natural disasters in Balochistan, KP, Punjab, and Sindh provinces. (WFP, 2018)

#### Conference Between WFP - Senate of Pakistan and National Assembly of Pakistan

The Senate of Pakistan is the highest people's representative council of the Pakistani parliament, while the national assembly is below the Senate. These two parliaments then became supervisors of the harmony in which a political policy system in Pakistan was implemented. Therefore, both also serve as supervisory committees on implementing the CSP program. (Senate of Pakistan, 2021) This special committee will later determine the effectiveness of the CSP program carried out by WFP.



**Fig. 2.** Conference between WFP (Mr. Chris Kaye) and Senate of Pakistan (Mr. Hasnain Haider)

**Source:** Senate of Pakistan on X (2021)

The conference was intended to be a form of direct monitoring by WFP towards Pakistan, carried out by Chris Kaye as WFP representative and WFP principal director in

Pakistan. (Senate of Pakistan, 2021) This is intended to be a meeting to discuss results, evaluations, obstacles, and recommendations for policies implemented by WFP.

#### Partnership Reports

Monitoring carried out by WFP can also be sourced from third parties who collaborate with WFP. These third parties are local or international NGOs collaborating with WFP, such as EHSAAS, an international NGO providing humanitarian assistance in food, shelter, education, and employment. The focus of EHSAAS is to help victims affected by natural disasters that ultimately impact the lives of Pakistan's people.

Apart from that, the Pakistani government also has a national policy program, namely the EHSAAS Program 2019 – 2021, so this can be elaborated and become a form of a report on WFP's performance in Pakistan regarding food and community conditions in Pakistan (WFP, 2022).

#### Public Society

Monitoring it can also originate from what affected and vulnerable communities feel. WFP, as the authority responsible for handling food security and protecting victims, is open to complaints made by the Pakistani people. Complaints received are carried out transparently so that complaints can take the form of criticism if there is a violation of commitments or evaluations related to agreement commitments.

This is what Chris Kaye did when he visited a flood victim shelter in Sindh, Pakistan. (Kaye, 2021) Chris Kaye directly saw the



condition of the community and received all complaints and hopes from all victims because the floods in Sindh had claimed around 1600 people and displaced 33 million people, so through The National News (2022), Kaye hopes for more help from other world communities.

#### *b. Stakeholder Engagement*

With the central vision of "Delivering as one" of the United Nations, the UN will coordinate the allocation and integration of program assistance in Pakistan. This is relevant to the United Nations Sustainable Development Framework (UNSD) 2018-2022, which will continue WFP's transition from a humanitarian aid provider to a national development facilitator where five out of ten outputs will be the focus: food security, nutrition, resilience, education and social protection. (WFP, 2022)

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) is developing Pakistan's following country program framework. It has three priority areas: A National Zero Hunger Action Plan, Sustainable Agricultural Economic Growth, and Disaster Risk Management. (FAO, 2022) In addition, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) supports Pakistan's government in expanding and improving poverty alleviation programs that aim to help people escape poverty and build sustainable food and nutritional security (WFP, 2022).

Then, stakeholder engagement was also carried out with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which formed a draft policy program for 2018 – 2022 that focused on the survival of newborn babies and

children, nutrition for girls and boys (with a focus on specifically on the care of children experiencing acute malnutrition), education, as well as water, sanitation, and hygiene. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) helps with crisis prevention and recovery, the environment, and climate change (WFP, 2022).

World Bank also supports Pakistan's efforts to reduce poverty and increase prosperity by improving the energy sector, private sector development, equity, improving services, and expanding Pakistan's influence in regional markets. In addition, The Asian Development Bank assists Pakistan in infrastructure development and institutional reforms, providing financial assistance in agriculture and rural development, water and other urban infrastructure and services, public sector management and finance (WFP, 2022).

Meanwhile, WFP also correlates with the Government of Pakistan, which is carried out by establishing several government policy programs which are related to nutrition, including Provincial Multi-Sector Nutrition Strategies (PMNS), The Protection of Breastfeeding and Child Nutrition Act, The Food Fortification Act, and the Early Marriage Restraint Act. Inter-agency coordination has been improved since Pakistan joined the SUN Secretariat and the Ministry of Planning, Development, and Reforms, which has a particular position in the SUN Secretariat.

Stakeholder engagement WFP collaborates with the Provincial Planning and Development Department to plan healthy and nutritious student programs. This matter was initiated to facilitate coordination at the



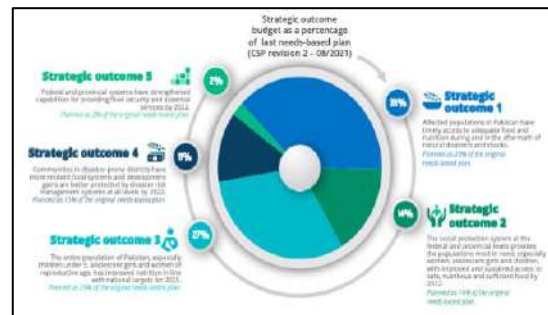
provincial level. National and provincial food fortification alliances have also been formed through Pakistan's Ministry of National Health Services, Regulations, and Coordination. These initiatives shift the focus from treating children experiencing acute malnutrition to preventing stunting, wasting, and micronutrient deficiencies through nutrition-specific and nutrition-sensitive interventions related to agriculture, health, education, gender equality, and water, sanitation, and hygiene. (WFP, 2022)

Collaboration was carried out between WFP and Pakistan's Ministry of National Food Security and Research in preparing a national food security policy that focuses on increasing agricultural production and food availability. Together with the Punjab Provincial Government, WFP is attracting other partnerships with parties in the public-private sector to manage grain reserves to reduce food inadequacy and price volatility (WFP, 2022).

### c. Capacity Building

#### Technical Capacity Building

WFP initiated capacity building through several strategic outcomes that explicitly focus on specific goals: strategic outcome 1, which focuses on providing humanitarian assistance; strategic outcome 2, policy formation and social protection for food security; strategic outcome 3, which focuses on gender equality; strategic outcome four which focuses on capacity building, and strategic outcome five which focuses on strengthening government capabilities in mitigating food security (WFP, 2022).



**Fig. 3.** Pakistan country strategic plan (2018–2022) strategic outcomes, budget, funding, and expenditures

**Source:** WFP Annual Country Report (2022)

Therefore, in the context of capacity building, WFP has issued strategic outcome four, which focuses on improving capacity and human resources in Pakistan. WFP as a legal mandate has assisted in two actions that help the government of Pakistan, namely Act 6: Support all levels of the government and communities in adopting and operationalizing an integrated climate risk management system and Act 7: Strengthen the government's and communities' capacity for disaster risk reduction.

In activity 6, the WFP states that achieving an innovative response requires integration between agencies and institutions, both national, provincial, district, and community. This integration is related to reducing and managing disaster risks, including disasters related to climate, environment, and food security, to mitigate negative impacts that may occur on the most exposed and needy communities. WFP supports the government of Pakistan in developing a comprehensive risk management approach that integrates various policy instruments to provide risk management interventions



tailored to conditions in target areas aimed at promoting rehabilitation in communities and reducing exposure to natural disasters and other emergencies. (WFP, 2022)

Then, activity 7 includes a review carried out by WFP regarding the capacity of disaster management authorities to equip tools for government and community emergency preparedness and response, such as a multidimensional early warning system to monitor natural hazards and shocks in rural and urban areas. In addition, WFP assists in strengthening supply chain networks in preparation for responding to natural disasters and other emergencies, including by providing other technical assistance for the construction of humanitarian response facilities and emergency assistance in helping the government of Pakistan to handle, store, and manage commodities that have been prepared in advance. Meanwhile, WFP is developing an inclusive model for community-based disaster risk management, including for schools, which can facilitate government efforts and support the training of local community members, government officials, and women health workers by the priority scale of the government of Pakistan. (WFP, 2022)

#### General Capacity Building

To achieve WFP's central vision, namely achieving Zero Hunger (SDG 2.0), WFP requires comprehensive efforts. Therefore, through the 2018 – 2022 CSP program, WFP is not only providing material assistance to Pakistan but also assisting in the form of comprehensive capacity building. This can be correlated with the implementation carried

out by WFP by the strategic outcome outlines because the majority of strategic outcomes are by the points of SDG 2.0, such as strategic outcome 2: by 2022, the federal and provincial social assistance systems will have enhanced and sustained access to adequate, safe, and nutritious food for the most vulnerable groups, including women, teenage girls, and children (SDG 2.1).

This strategy is implemented through two actions, including Activity 3 and Activity 4. Activity 3 is carried out in two stages, namely "Upstream" policymakers and government institutions update the social protection system so that at the federal level and in the provinces of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the role of WFP here assists government efforts in expanding social protection for food security, meeting nutritional needs, and distributing aid to people experiencing poverty. In contrast, in the provinces of Sindh and Balochistan, WFP provides technical assistance in recommending appropriate policy designs for mitigating food and nutrition security. (WFP, 2022)

Next, in the "Downstream" stage, catalytic intervention, WFP intervenes through a sensitive intervention approach and graduation strategies aimed at assimilating Pakistan so that people can be free from poverty and access healthy, nutritious food. This intervention targets needs according to gender, which, of course, have different interests. At the same time, the graduation strategies are designed to strengthen the quality of life for urban, peri-urban, and rural groups in meeting their food needs. Therefore, strategic outcome two was formed based on





the trend of increasing urbanization occurring (rapid urbanization) in Pakistan. (WFP, 2022)

In activity 4, WFP places more emphasis on the contribution of provincial governments to be able to determine food quality that meets standards for students in Pakistan, so that WFP provides technical assistance in designing the school meals program policy program and establishes an education department at the provincial level aimed at monitoring and expanding the scale this program (WFP, 2022).

#### *d. Humanitarian Assistance* Material Assistance

By the WFP program strategy in strategic outcomes, where strategic outcome one is providing humanitarian assistance, WFP has assisted in food and money. In 2022, WFP assisted Pakistan with food and aid funds amounting to 63,000 mt, amounting to USD 47 million. The assistance provided covers at least 3.1 million victims of natural disasters. In addition, WFP also assisted in the construction of several facilities and residences for 1 million Pakistani civilians. The assistance provided has prioritized at least 30% of affected Pakistani women. (WFP, 2022)

#### Technical Assistance

The non-material assistance provided by WFP to Pakistan has been implemented by providing training, outreach, and counselling related to natural disaster preparedness and food security. In 2019, WFP through WFP Fittest provided at least 20 monthly technologies to Pakistan to develop a natural disaster preparedness system. (WFP, 2020) The collaboration carried out by Fittest with

WFP is carried out comprehensively because Fittest will provide specific data regarding possible natural disasters that will be faced and provide recommendations for assistance before, during, and after natural disasters. Therefore, this assistance has a significant impact on Pakistan because of the WFP Fittest, Pakistan will receive protection in the form of communication tools or what are called Telecommunications Security Standards (TESS), which function as a means of dealing with possible natural disasters that will occur. (WFP, 2020)

In the same year, WFP also built the 7th Humanitarian Response Facility to realize WFP's commitment to providing food, shelter, and medicine assistance to affected families. This was done by WFP, considering that Pakistan is a country that is very vulnerable to natural disasters, such as floods, earthquakes, and landslides, so WFP wants to further expand its facilities to all regions in Pakistan (WFP, 2020).

### III. Conclusion

Since 1968, WFP has been present in Pakistan. As an organization committed to creating food security in Pakistan, WFP seeks to implement policy programs that are appropriate to the conditions in Pakistan, one of which is the Country Strategic Program (CSP) for 2018 - 2022. The CSP program initiated by WFP is one of the realizations of its commitment to realizing food security and natural disaster preparedness for Pakistan.



WFP has implemented comprehensive monitoring mechanisms, including domestic, external, and internal reports from WFP Pakistan. Stakeholder engagement has been facilitated through collaborative efforts with intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Capacity-building initiatives have been embedded within strategic outcomes, reflecting the core objectives of the Country Strategic Plan (CSP) program. Furthermore, humanitarian assistance has been provided both materially and immaterially.

Based on the research conducted by the author, recommendations for future studies include an examination of the effectiveness of the WFP's implementation of the CSP program. The current discussion by the author is limited to the strategic manifestations of the program; therefore, a comprehensive analysis of the effectiveness of these manifestations is necessary. Additionally, an evaluation of the overall success of the CSP program in Pakistan during the period from 2018 to 2022 is warranted. This deeper analysis will provide valuable insights into the impact and efficacy of the program's strategies and outcomes.

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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

### Analysis of United States of America Foreign Policy on The Victory of The Taliban Group in Afghanistan

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#### Abstract

*This research aims to discuss about analysis of United States foreign policy in Afghanistan by looking at case studies of the victory of the Taliban group controlling Afghanistan in 2021. Foreign policy is a unit of analysis in international relations that is related to the national political system. This strategy carried out in foreign policy lasts if the State interacts in the form of relations with the international community in making decisions to achieve its national goals. In making broad country decisions, there is a theory expressed by Richard Snyder which says there are internal factors and external factors that influence a*

*country in determining foreign policy. In the case of the Taliban's victory over Afghanistan in 2021, the United States' policy in responding to the conflict explained the internal and external factors that influence each other. Internal factors are influenced by the structure and social behavior of the State, where this is influenced by the ideology of the State, existing government institutions in the State, where this is influenced by the ideology of the State, existing government institutions in the State, the characteristics contained in national organizational institutions and the role of social groups in influencing decision making which are internal factors. The existence of internal and external factors then provides the results of the decision-making process that cannot be separated from action in decision-making. The conclusion, internal factors and external factors that influence the direction of the United States foreign policy in dealing with cases of conflict in Afghanistan have an impact on the victory of the Taliban group in controlling Afghanistan in 2021.*

**Keywords:** United States, Foreign Policy, Afghanistan, Taliban

#### I. Introduction

In the aftermath of World War II, the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union in conquering territory for regime expansion affected developing countries. This was motivated by the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union to maintain the Marxist-Leninist government in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union troops who at that time supported the communist government received full support from the Mujahideen group.

In 1978, the Saur Revolution was the cause of the coup that overthrew the



monarchical government, thus becoming the basis for the establishment of the communist Republic of Afghanistan under the leadership of Nur Muhammad Taraki who at the time succeeded in coup the government of Mohammad Daud Khan.

This policy was criticized by the people as an acculturation of external culture that contradicted indigenous Afghan values, characterized by the emergence of defense reforms and administrative degrees based on the teachings of Classical Marxist-Leninism. The invasion was also criticized by the United States. The United States pursued a strategy to counter the influence of the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The United States provided military support to the Afghan government. The resistance of the Afghan people as well as attempts to seize power and government conflicts from rebel groups turned into a war of ideology between the Western bloc and the Eastern bloc in Afghanistan, and became the end of the Soviet Union's decades-long struggle for power over Afghanistan. The United States' victory in removing the Soviet Union's army took over the government of Afghanistan.

The war in Afghanistan is also inseparable from the involvement of the United States in the fight against terrorism in Afghanistan. The Al-Qaeda group controlled by Osama bin Laden, at that time hijacked the plane by collapsing the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City on September 11, 2001. This action was carried out to reject the United States' support for Israel and the presence of the United States military in Saudi Arabia. For the action taken,

the United States fought back by attacking Afghanistan.

As for the efforts in the military strategy carried out by the United States, the United States conducted a military base defense that was inseparable from the assistance of cooperation carried out by NATO. By carrying out military interventions carried out during the time of President George W Bush with the aim of blocking the bases of terrorism in the Afghan region. With this, the dominance of American and NATO involvement can be seen from the leadership of the United States as the military centralization of the Military Committee, the highest military authority. The invasion led by the United States began to attack Islamic militant groups. Based on the goal of defending national security interests. In this act of resistance, an Islamic fundamentalist group emerged after the political turmoil of the Soviet Union left Afghanistan in 1989.

In 1994, a new group emerged that had the same goal of controlling the capital Kabul. This was the beginning of the Taliban. The Taliban group is an ultraconservative political and religious faction that supports traditional values led by Mullah Muhammed Omar Mujahed. This group originated from the membership of madrasa students who came from Afghan refugees after the collapse of the Afghan communist regime. These students managed to control the government system in Afghanistan. The word Taliban comes from the Pashtun language which means students who were born from a situation where there was no power in controlling the conditions of Afghanistan which had been divided due to





prolonged war. The basic ideology applied by its followers is Deobandism which teaches new generations to study Islam and revive Islamic religious doctrine based on learning, spiritual experience, sharia law to achieve ultimate truth.

By the end of 1996, there was popular support for the Taliban from the southern Pashtun ethnic group of Afghanistan, as well as assistance from conservative Islamic countries. With his support, the Taliban was able to capture the capital Kabul, which was due to the Taliban's presence by eradicating corruption and curtailing lawlessness by the Kabul government. To achieve its goals, the Taliban began a series of conquests of areas in southern and western Afghanistan, such as the city of Ghazni, which was initially controlled by Hizbul Islami.



**Fig. 1.** Taliban Territory Map of Afghanistan  
**Source:** BBC News (2021)

By 2021, 90% of Afghanistan was controlled by the Taliban, except for a small part of Afghanistan. Such as in the central province of Ghazni and Maidan Wardak in the North and Northeast. Then in the central city areas such as Kunduz, Herat, Kandahar and Lashkar Gah. This group formed a government

based on a very strict interpretation of Islamic law. In this case, the Taliban Group has control over several districts in the administrative center, in terms of security and other government institutions.

This is very incompatible with the culture of the people and the extremist treatment carried out by the Taliban group against the regime in Afghanistan which is globally opposed. The Taliban implemented a policy against women not to have access to education and employment. The victory of the Taliban group over the territory of Afghanistan was initially marked by a peace agreement between the United States and the Taliban by withdrawing US military forces with the results of demands in the form of Taliban groups not establishing cooperative relations with Al-Qaeda groups and other radical groups in the territory of power.

The agreement involves the United States and the Taliban, with plans for the Taliban to negotiate in leading the Afghan State. In addition, the current economic crisis faced by the United States which focuses on health due to the Covid-19 pandemic is a serious problem that is currently being faced. The reduction of 6.5% of the United States economy so that it has an impact on suppressing the costs incurred by the United States in fighting the Taliban group is also a factor in the withdrawal of the United States from Afghanistan. Based on the background of the problems that have been described, there is one problem about why the United States Foreign Policy allowed the Taliban Group to come to power in Afghanistan, so that the



Taliban managed to control the territory of Afghanistan in 2021?

## II. Data and Methodology

This research uses a descriptive qualitative research approach using various trusted and recognized sources such as books, journals, documents and other sources that support this research. The concept used in this research is the concept of foreign policy.

Foreign policy according to Plano and Roy Olton is a strategy made by State decision makers, in this case international actors, to achieve national goals. In decision-making, decision-making behavior is influenced by external factors and internal factors. This theory was proposed by Richard Snyder, who explained that internal factors are seen from domestic politics that become a reference in decision making, such as the dominance of political parties participating with the government. This theory explains the factors that become dominant in foreign policy are considered by decision makers.

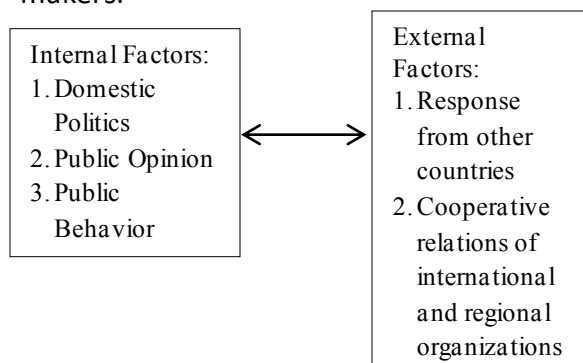


Fig. 2. Conceptual Framework I

Source: Author

In the analysis, it can be explained that internal and external factors have a correlation

in making a foreign policy supported by decision-making actors. A country's foreign policy has a continuity between internal and external factors of a country in making decisions that become guidelines in making a policy. The state as an actor in an international political situation, can be described as a state that has a policy on a particular issue, will affect countries that have the scope of regional countries in responding to policies that have been made by other countries.

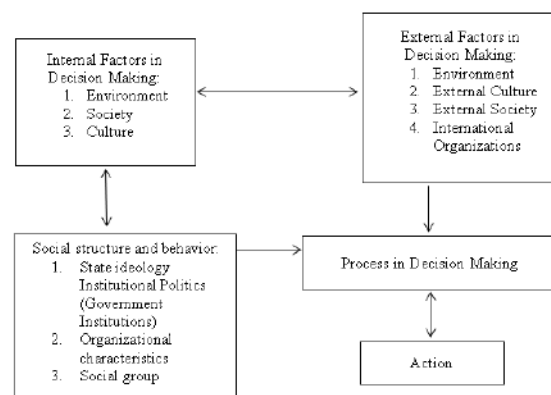


Fig. 3. Conceptual Framework II

Source: Author

Based on the chart above, it can be explained that there is a mutual influence between internal factors and external factors in decision making. Then, it can be seen that internal factors are influenced by the social structure and behavior of the State, where this is influenced by the State's ideology, existing government institutions in the State, the characteristics contained in the national organizational institutions and the role of social groups in influencing decision making which is an internal factor. The existence of internal and external factors then results in a decision-making process that is inseparable from the action in decision-making.



Thus, the basic assumption according to Richard Snyder's view is that international behavior can be interpreted as a series of decision-makers made by a group of national political actors, which includes the head of State, both in the form of individuals and groups that play a role in the decision-making process. So that it provides an overview of decision making in the organizational system with State institutional procedures, where decision making needs to consider internal factors and external factors that influence decision making.

The theory that has been described by Richard Snyder, then the author implies in the case study of the problem that the author examines in explaining the United States policy in responding to the conflict that occurred in Afghanistan in the Political Coup carried out by the Taliban Group which explains internal factors and external factors. At first the United States succeeded in controlling the territory of Afghanistan from the Taliban Group for 20 years.

Based on the theory described by Richard Snyder, the author makes implications in seeing the internal factors and external factors that are the reasons for the United States in making a decision and changing the direction of foreign policy in handling the case of a political coup that occurred in Afghanistan carried out by the Taliban Group.

Foreign policy carried out by the State is a policy that must be considered as a reason for the domestic political interests itself. The consideration of internal factors and external factors that influence the direction of US foreign policy in handling conflict cases in Afghanistan has an impact

on the Taliban group's victory in controlling the Afghan State in 2021.

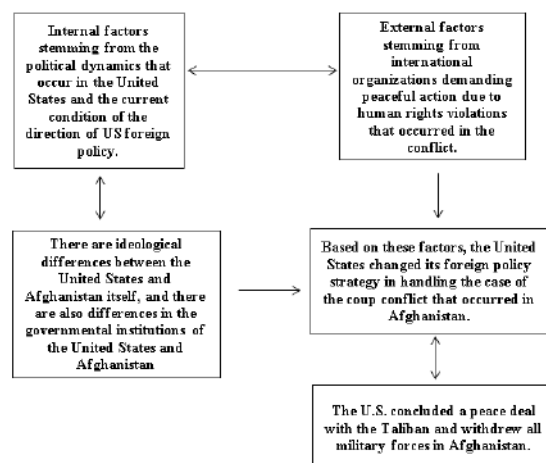


Fig.4. Conceptual Framework 3

Source: Author

### III. Internal Factors Affecting U.S Foreign Policy Toward Afghanistan

#### a. U.S Economic Crisis

Seeing the strategy carried out by the United States to stabilize Afghanistan that made the United States spend more than US \$ 1 trillion (Rp. 14,000 trillion more) and more than 2,400 American military members and tens of thousands of Afghan civilians died. The condition of Afghanistan in conflict from 2001 until now, the United States has spent Rp 4.31 trillion to the Afghan people. This proves that the US retreated from Afghanistan due to the high cost of the US military invasion in fighting the Taliban.

According to the US Department of Defense, total military spending in Afghanistan (from October 2001 to December 2020) was \$825 billion, with about another \$130 billion spent on reconstruction projects. That brings the total cost, based on official data, to about



\$955 billion between 2001-2020 which is close to his lower \$1 per year estimate issued by President Joe Biden. Most of the money spent in Afghanistan has gone for counter-insurgency operations, and for troop needs such as food, clothing, medical care, salaries and special allowances. Nearly \$36 billion has been allocated for governance and development, while smaller amounts have also been allocated for anti-drug efforts and for humanitarian aid.

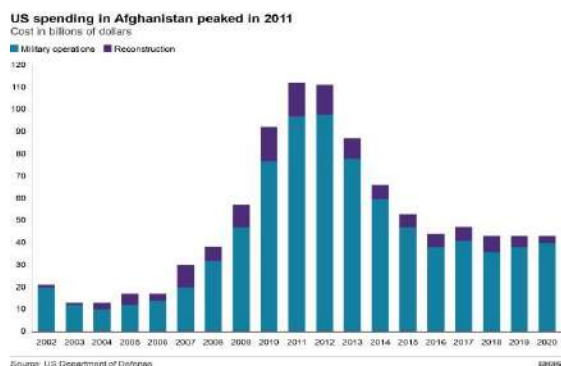


Fig. 5. US Costs of Invasion in Afghanistan  
Source: BBC News (2021)

In addition, the current health crisis is also sweeping the international world. Currently, almost the whole world is focusing on the covid-19 pandemic. The United States as the largest contributor country infected with the corona virus. There have been various efforts made by the United States in anticipating the spread of the corona virus. This makes the State focus on economic and health recovery. Data shows that the economy is experiencing a very significant recession. Military spending reached a very significant decline during the covid-19 pandemic.

### b. U.S Domestic Political Policy Change

The role of the United States in the international world is very significant whereas a superpower America has succeeded in influencing various regions by spreading the values of democracy, human rights and other liberal ideas. The role of the United States, which is believed to be a guardian of the stability of world peace either unilaterally or multilaterally by carrying the interests of the United States, in reality is not infrequently opposed by several countries as a form of resistance to the dual policies of the United States. After the 9/11 incident at the WTC Building, in 2001 it changed the direction of US foreign policy by focusing on the issue of War on Terrorism (WOT) which was manifested in the form of a campaign in response to the tragedy that befell the World Trade Center (WTC) which resulted in Al-Qaeda aircraft which then crashed deliberately into the WTC and Pentagon headquarters.

The United States policy in combating acts of terrorism has been implemented by monitoring terrorist networks in North and South America, Asia, Africa, Europe without exception countries in the Middle East region. The WOT policy contained in the 2002 NSS can be concluded on the United States' goal of dealing with acts of terrorism in an effort to attack, fight, and silence terrorist groups and any country that indicates a form of terrorism, especially to countries that have or are developing weapons of mass destruction (Weapon Mass Destruction). The United States will take firm action against these countries through military



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*c. Keep America Safe Interests (U.S Interest Group)*

The interest group *Keep America Safe* is one example of an interest group that is quite active in US politics. This group approaches important institutions in the US government, namely the legislature and the executive branch. The purpose of this interest group is to support the existence of the state in order to continue to prioritize military power in anticipating terrorism networks. The role of interest groups is one of the important forces in the realization of politics which at its stage dominates the political system, so that the birth of groups that emphasize competition by the community. The realization of interest groups is proof that there is public awareness of the influence of foreign policy. Currently, the United States has an official

website to provide information on national security.

In practice, *Keep America Safe* uses several online media and conventional mass media. In online media, through the website <https://votesaveamerica.com>, *Keep America Safe* tries to build public awareness of the importance of criticizing foreign policy in the Obama Administration. *Keep America Safe* also uploads various articles through their website. In addition to online media, *Keep America Safe* also uses conventional mass media to achieve the interests of its group. *Keep America Safe's* interest group has a YouTube account that was actively used to spread criticism of President Barack Obama's policies related to terrorism.

However, in the end, the *Keep America Safe* group was not successful in influencing congress to attract sympathizers from the citizens of the United States at large and finally the lack of participation from the citizens of the United States made *Keep America Safe* finally retreat from politics and eliminate the existence of *Keep America Safe* as an interest group in the United States.

**IV. External Factors Affecting U.S Foreign Policy Toward Afghanistan**

*a. The Changing Map of International Politics*

The success of the Taliban Group in taking power in the territory of Afghanistan has an influence on the geopolitical map that occurs. geopolitical shifts will have an impact on the United States and its allies. Pakistan as an ally of the United States that has close ties with the Taliban group, has geopolitical influence when dealing with the United States.





The invasion of the United States at that time became a momentum that was utilized by the enemies of the Taliban. After the invasion carried out by the United States in Afghanistan for 18 years, the United States changed its strategy in Afghanistan by stopping the invasion and emphasizing its commitment through a peace agreement with the Taliban. The position of security as the main issue after World War II has now shifted with the emergence of economic issues. The shift in issues affects the performance of the United States as a hegemon state. Moreover, the emergence of revisionist countries such as China and Russia, which are increasingly showing their existence and threatening the position of the United States as a hegemonic country, has made the United States a hegemonic country.

The US foreign policy decision to withdraw US troops from Afghanistan has been heavily criticized and raises questions about the projected direction of US power in the future. However, the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan is a consideration for several countries regarding the attitude of the United States in the event of a conflict with China. Some Southeast Asian analysts have observed that the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan may lead the United States to intervene in other regional countries. In addition, the United States is a key economic and security partner for most countries in Southeast Asia, is allied with Thailand and the Philippines, and has defense cooperation with Singapore and Vietnam, one of their main partners in Asia today. The United States also supports Vietnam, Malaysia, and Indonesia in

the South China Sea territorial dispute with China.

#### b. Geopolitics of Afghanistan

Basically, the victory of the Taliban group in controlling the country of Afghanistan is inseparable from the geopolitical influence of the country. Then, this group also managed to utilize the resources owned by the country. So that this group is able to ensure the continuity of life in the country. Based on its geographical location, Afghanistan has relied on the port of Pakistan as an international trade route that supplies several needs needed by the country. Then, this group also managed to utilize the resources owned by the country. The success of the Taliban group in leading Afghanistan during 1996-2001 was due to the trust that the Afghan people had given to the Taliban group. The success of the Taliban group in eradicating corruption and imposing a 50% tax on cooperatives in Afghanistan. In addition, the Taliban group also imposed import taxes on commodity goods brought into Afghanistan.

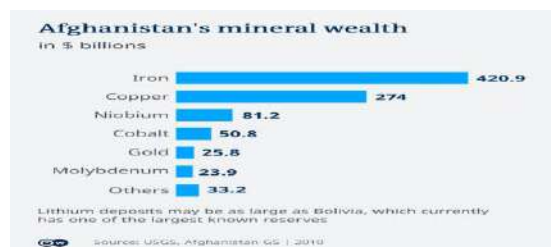


Figure 6. Afghanistan's Mineral Wealth

Source: DW (2021)

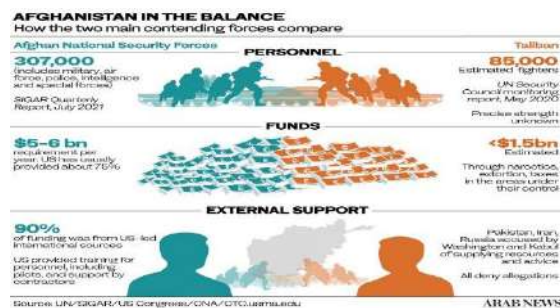
The success of the Taliban group in controlling mineral resources in Afghanistan has opened a path of cooperation between other countries and the Taliban. The existence of interests owned by several countries makes



many foreign investors provide investment in the management of mineral resources in Afghanistan.

*c. Other Countries Support in Helping Taliban Groups*

With the end of U.S military aid, the vast amount of U.S military weaponry provided to Afghanistan is now controlled by the Taliban. In addition, several other countries also aided the Taliban group. Notwithstanding the support provided by the former Soviet Union colonies in the Central Asian region who joined the Taliban. The Taliban received full support from several surrounding countries.



**Figure 7.** Afghanistan in the Balance  
**Source:** Arab News (2021)

Based on the data above, the strength of the Taliban group is seen from three factors. The first is the military personnel of the Taliban group, which consists of 85,000 personnel. With the source of funding obtained from the drug trade and tax amnesty carried out in every region in Afghanistan. From the aftermath of the Taliban's success in controlling the Afghan state, many countries have collaborated with the Taliban group.

**V. Conclusion**

By looking at an overview of the history of the conflict in Afghanistan, as well as

the involvement of US foreign policy in allowing the Taliban Group to come to power in Afghanistan, so that the Taliban managed to control the territory of Afghanistan in 2021. It can be concluded that there are internal factors and external factors that are the reasons for the United States in making a decision and the influence of changes in the direction of foreign policy in handling the case of a political coup that occurred in Afghanistan carried out by the Taliban Group.

Internal factors originating from the political dynamics that occur in the United States and the current conditions of the direction of US foreign policy are influenced by the social structure and behavior of the State. The United States gave a statement of attitude by emphasizing that the United States made a peace agreement with the Taliban, on condition that the Taliban group no longer allowed Al-Qaeda groups and other terrorism groups to operate in the territory of Afghanistan.

External factors originating from international organizations that demand peaceful action due to human rights violations that occurred in the conflict. The Taliban's success in gaining control of Afghanistan was due to the internal conflicts that occurred in Afghanistan and the lack of trust crisis by the Afghan leadership.

So that the conclusion shows that there is a relationship between internal factors and external factors that influence the victory of the Taliban group to control Afghanistan in 2021. So that the foreign policy of the United States must be based on the concept of decision making in decision making so that this has an effect in handling conflict cases in



Afghanistan which have an impact on the victory of the Taliban group in controlling the Afghan State in 2021.

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## Book Reviews

***End of Academic Freedom: The Coming Obliteration of the Core Purpose of the University.* By William M. Bowen, Michael Schwartz, and Lisa Camp. Information Age Publishing, Incorporated, 2014. ISBN: 1-62396-660-4**

Academic freedom is a complex and deeply philosophical principle that underscores the quest for knowledge, individual autonomy, and the importance of unrestricted inquiry. It includes the rights to express ideas, question established norms, and disseminate findings without fear of censorship or reprisal. This freedom is fundamental to the pursuit of truth and the spread of knowledge, creating an environment where intellectual debate and innovation flourish. It is crucial for advancing knowledge, cultivating critical thinking, and sustaining a democratic society.

Academic freedom continues to be a fundamental element of higher education but faces numerous critiques arising from political, economic, social, and technological pressures. Navigating these critiques necessitates a delicate equilibrium between safeguarding the principle of free inquiry and responding to modern challenges, thereby ensuring that universities continue to serve as arenas for open and critical intellectual discourse.

“End of Academic Freedom: The Coming Obliteration of the Core Purpose of the University” provides a powerful and insightful critique of contemporary threats toward academic freedom. The critique relevant to nowadays challenge on higher educational field. In the first chapter, by highlighting the

historical context and origin principles of academic freedom, authors emphasized its critical and important of environment where free flow of ideas can exist. He outlined universities priority has shifted and prioritizing financial interest and ideological standards rather than pursuit knowledge.

In chapter two, while remained questioning the core value of university, as the main stakeholders in higher education, he outlined the systems of higher education are under pressure from numerous prominent actors in national, state, and local politics, as well as from leaders in the business and industrial sectors. These stakeholders are urging universities to prioritize economic development and the advancement of collective prosperity. In chapter three, the authors invite the reader to understand the conditions of university in modern context and setting. University administrators emphasize the significance of "attracting, retaining, graduating, and placing" students. Trapped and focused into those routines, the university unconsciously omits any reference to "educating" them. This oversight neglects the internal, subjective, and cognitive dimensions intrinsic to the learning process, essential for fostering and perpetuating knowledge effectively.

As the follow up for chapter three, chapter four identifies the variables that make university begin to lose its origin and how importance of critical thinking, social sensitivity, and innovation. The prominent one is complexity in society and its correlation with industrial revolution. Thus, in order to describe the abstraction of “knowledge”, chapter five discusses the meaning of “knowledge” in





modern society context and what is the university's role. Furthermore, the rest of the book provides information regarding the existence of obstacles between academic freedom and current university circumstances. By identifying and elaborating variables hampered academic freedom, authors showed what are the consequences for society.

The book offers awareness that universities are deviating from their fundamental mission of generating, preserving, disseminating, validating, and applying knowledge. They believe this deviation is due to obstacles like authoritarianism, corporatism, illiberalism, supernaturalism, and political correctness, which undermine academic freedom and the free exchange of ideas. While factors like student numbers, increased efficiency, and job creation are undeniably important, universities have a much broader mission.

To address these challenges, the book suggests that universities should implement systems that promote openness, transparency, and a balance of diverse viewpoints. The authors argue that rather than concentrating solely on metrics such as student numbers and job readiness, universities should focus on fostering a diverse range of ideas and creating environments that protect and encourage intellectual dissent. From this perspective, derive insights and arguments regarding academic freedom, including the regulation and oversight of the marketplace of ideas, the flow of information within universities, the role of language in university governance, and the dynamics between administrators, faculty, and students. This approach is seen as crucial for

preserving the genuine purpose of higher education institutions.

Lastly, the book is still relevant to the current condition of higher education around the world. University becomes employee's factory which increasing marketization of education and reduce academic freedom. Additionally, the insights into the structure of information flows within universities are increasingly significant in the context of rapid technological advancements. Ensuring technology enhances rather than hinders academic freedom and knowledge dissemination is a contemporary challenge, making the book's analysis and recommendations vital for today's academic landscape.

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## Book Reviews

**Statecraft and Foreign Policy: India, 1947-2023. By Subrata K. Mitra, Jivanta Scholtli and Markus Pauli. Dublin: DCU Press, 2023. ISBN: 978-1-7393542-2-0**

This book offers an in-depth analysis of the dynamics of India's foreign policy since independence in 1947 until 2023. The author provides an assessment of how well India's foreign policy has been implemented, starting from the leadership of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to Prime Minister Narendra Modi. In this book, the analysis of Indian foreign policy is divided into three important stages, such as: the first period, the beginning of India's independence in building the foundations of foreign policy when the Western and Eastern bloc powers competed, the second period, after the end of the cold war which made India have to adjust foreign policy and finally in the third period, during the era of globalization where India carried out its foreign policy actively in various regional and global multilateral organizations in protecting its interests.

Statecraft and foreign policy are an inseparable unit. Foreign policy is an important element in statecraft. Even though both have different focuses and aspects, they complement each other in helping countries to protect their interests in the international world. Statecraft is more about the state's efforts to manage state affairs including planning and implementing policies. Meanwhile, foreign policy is an instrument for a country to protect its interests and manage relations with other countries. Statecraft is a

strategic framework used in formulating foreign policy. In this book, the author tries to analyze the influence of statecraft on foreign policy in maintaining India's sovereignty and protecting their interests in the regional and global society.

The first part of the book describes the evolution of India's foreign policy after independence. In this period, India faced several challenges in shaping its foreign policy direction. The challenges in formulating India's foreign policy include establishing the foundations of post-independence foreign policy from England, regional dynamics, and global political conditions which are divided into two poles of world power such as the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc. At the beginning of India's independence, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru attempted to formulate India's foreign policy. In foreign policy formulation, there are internal and external factors that influence foreign policy formulation. Internal factors include the influence of the legacy of British rule which is quite deep and embedded with diverse, overlapping ethnic, linguistic, and religious identities. External factors include regional conditions that are not yet conducive to the conflict between Pakistan and China. Meanwhile, the Cold War constellation also forced India to determine its stance. To maintain India's sovereignty, Nehru implemented the principle of non-alignment not taking sides with the western and eastern blocs. The author also sees that foreign policy in this period was more influenced by the political views of Indian prime ministers from Indira Gandhi to Rajiv Gandhi to Narendra Modi.



In the second part of this book, the author analyzes India's post-cold war foreign policy. The shift from bipolar to multipolar forced India to change its foreign policy. The author analyzes India's foreign policy by looking at the complexities that occurred after the cold war, such as aspects of security, economics, and alliance formation. In the security aspect, India's foreign policy was influenced by the nuclear program that they carried out in 1998. The nuclear development program that India carried out was part of the arms race that took place between India and Pakistan. During this period, India was involved in an armed conflict with Pakistan which is still ongoing today. On the economic and alliance aspects, India's foreign policy is focused on trying to build good relations with various large countries such as the US, Russia, and China. Efforts to build relations with these big countries are part of India's strategy to protect its interests.

In the third part of this book, the author analyzes India's foreign policy by looking at India's active involvement in various multilateral organizations at regional and global levels. This effort is seen as part of India's efforts to demonstrate India's existence in the international arena. India involves itself in various multilateral organizations covering various fields such as international trade organizations, climate change organizations, and regional organizations. India's activeness in various multilateral organizations aims to promote national interests, strengthen global influence, and contribute to world stability and prosperity. Through this participation, India can play a critical role in global policy formulation, building strategic alliances, and addressing complex international challenges.

Lastly, this book provides many views on India's foreign policy from the beginning of independence to the present. This book provides readers with insight into the complex and in-depth dynamics of foreign policy regarding how India faces various challenges in determining its position as a major player in the regional and global spheres. The analysis carried out by the author is also very comprehensive and uses a comparative perspective in its analysis. The analysis carried out is also very broad, covering historical, political, economic, and security aspects.

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