

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Marked by the end of the Cold War, focuses of international relations has shifted and/or got broader. States are required to grow their concern on other fields apart from maintaining national security by protecting from what so called as traditional security threats. In the previous time, state pursued national security to maintain the integrity, sovereignty, and independence.¹ The actions taken were developed by the military as the core power of states. However, although traditional security is still the core focus of each state, challenges of national security recently come from other phenomena compared to state-based external threats, which are referred as non-traditional security threats.

Non-traditional security (NTS) threats vary in its form, from environmental degradation, forced migration, terrorism, money laundering, international terrorism, crime organization, etc. The Centre of Non-Traditional Security Studies of S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) which defines NTS issues as “challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise from non-military sources”, also lists the examples of NTS such as recourse scarcity, human

¹ Beri, Ruchita. (2007). Traditional and Non-Traditional Threats in a changing global order: An Indian perspective. *Policy: issues and actors*, 20 (2).

trafficking, infectious diseases, and natural disasters.²These issues affects in the international scale. The Rank of Country Problems of Pew Research Centre retrieved from RSIS' website shows five major problems are all non-traditional security issues.

As one of non-traditional security issues, disasters are “challenges to the survival and well being of peoples and states”³ that could not be prevented to happen and the effects could affect over the national borders, whether they are natural disasters or man-made. The cost of disasters, including human and economics cost, are increasing along with the growing population and the more varied disasters as the effects of climate changes. A disaster could be a mass killer to one state by sacrificing millions of life and millions dollar.

Compared to other parts of the earth, Southeast Asia countries are in a very vulnerable situation towards disasters. Indonesia and Philippines are located in the Ring of Fire with higher risk for disasters compared to others. Indonesia was stricken by volcanoes and earthquake, Philippines and Myanmar are prone to typhoon and cyclone, while Viet Nam and Thailand suffer from flooding. These are the perpetual threats to the region. The data from World Bank initiate that 100 million people of ASEAN were hit by disasters since 2000 with the loss of US\$ 4.4 billion

²*What are NTS issues?*. 2015. Retrieved from <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/research/nts/about-us/#.VcBaXPOqqko>

³ Ibid.

per year.⁴ The 2004 Tsunami in Indonesia and the 2008 Cyclone Nargis in Myanmar were two big strikes for ASEAN countries' security.

Sophisticated disaster relief and emergency responses are needed to reduce the vulnerability of the victims, the possibility of increasing number of victims, as well as financial loss caused by damaged infrastructures and/or relief process. ASEAN's concern on disaster management was dated back in the 1971 when it established ASEAN Expert Group on Disaster Management (AEGDM). It was the rise of international concern's of natural disasters by the establishment of Yokohama Strategy in 1994, which led the association to propose an ASEAN Regional Programme on Disaster Management and the replacement of AEGDM with ASEAN Committee on Disaster Management (ACDM).

However, the agreement never becomes an obligation for the member states, it only becomes a program consisting guideline of what should be done in order to respond to disaster.⁵ As the result, the international norms on disaster reliefs could not be fully implemented because they are usually the subject to state's sovereignty. One of the cases was the aftermath of Cyclone Nargis, that caused approximately 130.000 people dead, in which foreign request of disaster reliefs assistance

⁴Quayle, Linda. (2013). National and Regional Obligations, The Metaphor of Two-Level Games, and The ASEAN Socio-Cultural *Community*. *Asian Politics & Policy*, 5(4), 499-521. Policy Studies Organization Published by Wiley Periodicals, Inc.

⁵Collins, Alan. (2013). *Building People-Oriented Security Community the ASEAN Way*. Oxon. Routledge.

was first denied by the military junta.⁶ After it was finally accepted, it was poorly coordinated and badly executed which resulted more loss even though it could actually be pressed if there was another way around.

Disaster management of ASEAN never becomes a cooperative actions of all members joined into one. Looking backward to the year of 1997, the region was stricken by huge forest fires in Borneo islands which affected Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and even Philippines. The haze reached an intolerable level, ASEAN then decided to set up a Regional Haze Action Plan. Indonesia was the only one who did not ratify the agreement and considered that the problem was a domestic problem. All of the member states acted according to the non-interference policy of ASEAN and with sovereignty they tried to protect. The regional attempt to solve this haze pollution which affected 4 of 10 ASEAN members was failed. The problem had to be brought to the United Nation with internal disagreement between Indonesia and other affected countries.⁷

On the Indian Ocean, Tsunami hit almost half of ASEAN member countries, as Gentneer also argued, the effort of ASEAN as a regional cooperation to respond the event was hardly mentioned. It is hard to look for news or report from each country illustrating the sum of their support or the regional collective support on the disaster reliefs. ASEAN efforts was only limited to a “declaration on action to strengthen emergency

⁶Steele, Pamela. (2013). *Disaster preparedness: lessons from cyclone Nargis*. The Guardian. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2013/jul/16/cyclone-nargis-burma-disaster-relief-aid>

⁷Gentneer, H. Heide. (2005). *ASEAN: Cooperative Disaster Relief After Tsunami*.

relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction and prevention on the aftermath of the earthquake and tsunami disaster of 26 December 2004“,⁸ while ASEAN is not vividly specified as a leading role for the joint actions.

After long years of ideal-sovereignty-reason-based negligence, ASEAN member states concerned that disaster management and reliefs system are long process and could not be done by any countries alone.⁹ Thus, it led the agreement on the establishment of ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance (AHA Centre) which had finally been ratified on 2011. The purpose of the Centre is “to facilitate co-ordination and co-operation among the parties, , promoting regional collaboration in disaster management and emergency response.”¹⁰

Tracing from the events of haze pollution, Aceh tsunami and Cyclone Nargis, the existence of an official regional agency is essential to have more well-managed, coordinated and efficient disaster reliefs and risk reductions. The above three events suggesting that without an agreed regional mechanism and institution, ASEAN role in creating a regional mechanism of disaster reliefs could not be efficiently presented. Many of foreign aid were the subjects to national sovereignty of disaster-affected party as what happened to these three big events. When aids were accepted, other member states gave their supports individually and usually

⁸Gentner, H. Heide. (2005). *ASEAN: Cooperative Disaster Relief After Tsunami*.

⁹Collins, Alan. 2013. *Building People-Oriented Security Community the ASEAN Way*. Oxon. Routledge.

¹⁰ASEANa.(2014). *History*. Retrieved from <http://www.asean.org/asean/about-asean/history>

it was not collectively coordinated. Moreover, ASEAN provides steps or plan of what should be done without becoming an actor to lead the actions. Thus, the establishment of AHA Centre as the agency in managing regional disaster management is essential.

The question is whether the existence of AHA Centre becomes the answer of low coordinated disaster management in the region, and whether this regional cooperation really existing¹¹, AHA Centre was not only established but also be able to enhance the coordination of disaster management and emergency responses in the ASEAN region.

As a regional cooperation, the Centre conducts mechanisms and programs in order to function as it is established for and to achieve its purposes. On the agreement of establishment, it has already determined several functions of the Centre. Using the first theory of regionalism, this undergraduate thesis is aimed to adapt the argument explained by Rick Fawn that the Centre as a regional cooperation would not be effective unless it functions as it is established for.¹² The agreement of the establishment listed several functions of the Centre and these functions would need member states' to provide sources needed. Thus, this thesis is going to, first, refer the sources allocation as the supports from the member states for the Centre to be able to function.

Second, as it is established to create a regional mechanism for disaster managements and emergency reliefs, it should be the prime resort

¹¹Fawn, Rick. 2009. 'Regions' and their study: wherefrom, what for and where to?.*Review of International Studies*, 5-34. British International Studies Association

¹²Ibid pp.

for the member states when other catastrophic events striking their areas. By referring to the second theory of global governance, this research argues that member state's involvement in the form of categories of functions which are performed, are what the theory determines as the consequences of establishing, in this case, the Centre. These consequences are what make the Centre as a global governance of disaster management and emergency responses. Thus, the second variable analyzed is member states' performance of the cooperation's functions which is referred as their involvement towards the system of cooperation.

Regarding this factors, the research is aimed at analyzing the effectiveness of AHA Centre's role in creating a regional cooperation for disaster management and emergency responses, through the support and involvement of ASEAN's member states towards its purposes and functions.

B. Research Question

How is the effectiveness of AHA Centre in creating regional cooperation of disaster management and emergency responses in ASEAN?

C. Theoretical Framework

a. The ASEAN Way

The Oxford Online dictionary describes cooperation as: “The action or process of working together to the same end.”¹³ However, ASEAN as a region has a unique and different kind of interaction and cooperation between its member states. Archarya’s term of “ASEAN Way” is defined as: "... a process of regional interactions and cooperation based on discreteness, informality, consensus building and non-confrontational bargaining styles".¹⁴

ASEAN cooperation could not be separated from the historical and cultural construction of this region which creates certain norms and values between the member states. While AHA Centre as a form of cooperation between ASEAN member states is constituted under the same interaction and cooperation they usually perform. It is faced by fundamental challenges, especially in terms of political rights, participation and also their position in the construction. These challenges certainly will affect the effectiveness of AHA Centre in creating regional cooperation of disaster management and emergency responses.

Based on the above concept, this undergraduate thesis will conduct the analysis of AHA Centre’s effectiveness using the framework described

¹³ Oxford Dictionary. Retrieved from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/cooperation> on August 31st 2015

¹⁴ Wirasenjaya, Ade & Herningtyas, Ratih. (2013). ASEAN way – at the crossroads. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/07/17/asean-way-crossroads.html>

by Archarya related to the nature of ASEAN member states' interaction and cooperation.

b. Regionalism

The definition of regionalism is not yet reached an agreed decision between international relations scholars. The fundamental differences appear from what forming a region from where it aroused, and how it interacts with other regions and other actors within the international system.¹⁵ However, regionalism could be understood as a wide-range cooperation and coordination at different times, between various kinds of actors who define and consider themselves as the parts of specific identity or given region.

As one of the debatable aspects of the region's definition, Fawn examines the features of a region. One of them is institutionalism. According to him, the existence of institutions might be misleading because often it is used by regional organization to measure their functionality and effectiveness. Although institutionalization is a later stage of a region's progress, it does not mean that formally institutionalized region resulting a more effective organization than the less formally institutionalized ones.

The existence of institution could not measure the degree of a region's effectiveness. There could be more institutions with explicitly defined purposes and function agreed by the members in one region.

¹⁵Fawn, Rick. 2009. 'Regions' and their study: wherefrom, what for and where to? *Review of International Studies*, pp. 5-34. British International Studies Association

However, the actions to establish an institution could not be the indicator that the region is existing. A region is considered existing, in terms of the degree of institutionalism, is when its members and the institution itself are committed to the purposes and function.

AHA Centre's establishment indicates a deeper institutionalism of ASEAN region because an agent is created to administer the creation of regional cooperation in humanitarian assistance. Using the following framework, this establishment, along with its agreed function and mechanism, does not necessarily mean that the Centre functioning effectively in creating regional cooperation of disaster management and emergency responses.

To examine whether this regional cooperation really exists and is effective, is by analyzing that with the function it has, AHA Centre could obtain its purpose. Written on the agreement of establishment, it has the purpose of promoting regional collaboration in disaster management and emergency responses (further elaboration on Chapter 2). Some of the functions are receiving information about disaster risks from each member as well as distribute the information to the other members, conducting analysis, and receiving data of assets owned by members. It could function when there are required resources, such as information, and actual data updates from members states. Another important resource is fund, as it is stated on the agreement that the member states should give annual contribution to the Centre.

As the actors who agree on the establishment, these requirements should be given by member states as form of their support to the Centre. To put it together, effectiveness of the Centre would be seen through members' allocation of resources which are needed by the Centre to function, properly as it would be referred as the variable of support.

c. Global Governance

Lawrence Finklestein came up with a definition of the concept "global governance":

"Global governance is governing, without sovereign authority, relationship that transcends national frontiers."¹⁶

The idea of global governance is being used to explain the relationship constituted in the world of states, in which there is no authority above them. Finklestein argues that the importance of global governance, which based on purposive acts, lies on actions taken rather than the constitutional basis of taking it. Global governance is not only about the decisions to form it but more about the consequences of those decisions, such as the allocative effects, projects and programs, efficacy, compliance, and domestic implementation.¹⁷

The scope of the definition is flexible whether it is general or specific, and whether it is constituted of bilateral, function-specific, regional, or global. The idea of global governance is not merely about

¹⁶Finklestein, Lawrence. 1995. What is Global Governance? *Global Governance*, 1(3)(Sept.-Dec. 1995), 367-372. Lynne Rienner Publishers

¹⁷ Ibid.

reaching a decision of accepted rules, but also constituted “overlapping categories of functions performed internationally.”¹⁸ Some of them are: information creation and exchange, principles and consensual knowledge promotion, attempts to influence domestic rules and behaviors, resources allocation, provision of technical assistance and development program, and maintenance of peace and order.¹⁹

In line with the case of AHA Centre, the establishment of regional cooperation could be indicated as the creation of global governance in disaster management and emergency response. To reach the idea of global governance, as Finklestein explained, is about what have been done.²⁰ By this it means that, not only member states create a basis of having and executing a mechanism in disaster management and emergency responses as referred with the signing of agreement to establish the Centre, but also after that they cope with the “consequences” of creating it at the very first place. AHA Centre constitutes a global governance of disaster management and emergency responses, when its activities involve the “categories of functions performed” by member states.

This research would refer the set of performed function as the member states’ engagement to the Centre’s functions and purpose, which are indicated as the form of commitment given by the members.

¹⁸ Finklestein, Lawrence. 1995. What is Global Governance? *Global Governance*, 1(3)(Sept.-Dec. 1995), 367-372. Lynne Rienner Publishers

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

D. Hypothesis

According to the background and theoretical framework which have been explained, several hypothesis could be asserted in order to explain how and to what extent is the effectiveness of AHA Centre's role in creating regional cooperation of disaster management in ASEAN is.

The role of AHA Centre is effective in creating a regional cooperation of disaster management in ASEAN measured by the commitment of member states to its purposes and functions through:

- a. The allocation of resources as its supports in the form of funding, advocacy, experts, or other resources such as data and information given to run the programs
- b. The engagement of member states in which member states utilize the Centre based on its establishment purposes.

E. Method of Research

This research will conduct a qualitative research to analyze the problems and then draw the conclusion. There are three main steps of a qualitative research: data collection, data categorization, and analysis.

1. Data collection

The writer would conduct library and online research to collect data related to the theories and concepts in strengthening the ideas which

would help the writer to analyze the problems. In the data research about the problems, the writer would collect information from the Internet about recent news regarding it. The data about the problem would also be collected from direct interview with AHA Centre official(s) in Jakarta and Dave Hodgkins as a disaster consultant from Australia.

2. Data categorization

The data that which be collected are going to be classified in order to determine data which are appropriate for the research and the data which are not.

3. Analysis

From the data collected and categorized, the writer will conduct an analysis in accordance with the theories and concepts which have been described on the theoretical framework. From the analysis, the conclusion is going to be asserted that would answer the writer's question.

F. The Scope of Research

The writer will make a limitation in this thesis by regarding to the scope of time which is set since the establishment of AHA Centre in 2011 to the time this research is conducted.

G. The Structure of Thesis

Chapter I: Examining the background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research and system of writing

Chapter II: Explaining the history, content of agreement, purposes and functions of ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance (AHA Centre)

Chapter III: Explaining the dynamic of disasters management and emergency responses in ASEAN, what the Centre is dealing with and how it deals these past few years.

Chapter IV: Analyzing the effectiveness of the Centre through support and involvement given by member states

Chapter V: Figuring the conclusion coming from Chapter I until Chapter IV