

ASEAN Mechanism in Disaster Management: A Case Study of Disaster Management in Indonesia 2010-2020

Suwarti Sari

Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani

ABSTRACT

The geographical location of the Southeast Asia region, which is between an intercontinental fault, two oceans, and the Pacific Ring of Fire, has implications for the probability of the region's vulnerability to natural disasters. Therefore, how Southeast Asian countries deal with this problem becomes an interesting subject of study. The awareness among Southeast Asian countries of the necessity for collective efforts in disaster mitigation and disaster management is closely related to the ASEAN Way mechanism. This paper discusses environmental security by looking at the ASEAN mechanism in disaster management and the case studies of disasters that occurred in Indonesia. Employing the concept of cohesion, the signing of the AADMER and the establishment of the AHA Centre became a positive signal of group cohesion. This study finds that there is a contradiction between the ASEAN Way and the disaster management mechanism among ASEAN member states in their application. Still, on the one hand, it strengthens the cohesion of ASEAN member states. The ASEAN Way prohibits any intervention from member states against affected states except at the states' request with the urgency of collective disaster management. However, cohesion among member states is determined by the behavior of each state, considering the complexity of the influencing factors.

Keywords: ASEAN, cohesiveness, disaster management

Letak geografis kawasan Asia Tenggara yang berada di antara patahan-antar-benua, dua samudera serta bentangan Cincin Api Pasifik memiliki implikasi terhadap probabilitas kerentanan kawasan tersebut dalam menghadapi bencana alam. Kesadaran negara-negara Asia Tenggara tentang perlunya upaya kolektif dalam melakukan mitigasi bencana dan manajemen bencana berkaitan erat dengan mekanisme ASEAN Way. Tulisan ini membahas mengenai keamanan lingkungan yang dikaji dengan melihat mekanisme ASEAN dalam penanggulangan bencana dengan studi kasus bencana yang terjadi di Indonesia. Menggunakan konsep kohesi, penandatanganan AADMER dan pembentukan AHA Centre menjadi sinyal positif pembentukan kohesi kelompok. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa antara ASEAN Way dengan mekanisme penanganan bencana antar negara anggota ASEAN terlihat bertolak belakang dengan aplikasinya, namun di satu sisi semakin memperkuat kohesi anggota ASEAN. ASEAN Way melarang adanya campur tangan negara anggota terhadap negara terdampak kecuali atas permintaan negara tersebut dengan urgensi penanganan bencana secara kolektif. Meskipun demikian, kohesi di antara para negara anggota ditentukan pula oleh perilaku masing-masing negara, mengingat faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhinya pun cukup kompleks.

Kata-kata kunci: ASEAN, kepaduan, penanggulan bencana

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The presence of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) since 1967 as a regional organization in the Southeast Asian region has contributed to influencing the pattern and interaction of relations between nations in regional and global contexts. ASEAN was established on the desire of its initiators, which consisted of five countries, namely the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand, to create a stable, safe, peaceful, and prosperous region amid competition between the two superpowers at that time, the United States and the Soviet Union. This existence and ideals ultimately led ASEAN to open its horizons, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In addition, the presence of ASEAN Plus Three, the ASEAN Economic Community, and other ASEAN communities involving countries from within and outside the region encourages ASEAN to be more dynamic in responding to any changes in situations and conditions that occur.

Changes in the international structure after the 1990s also influenced the issues that developed. Previously, the concern among Southeast Asian countries is threats originating from outside their territory in the form of invasions and military threats, considering the historical fact that most Southeast Asian countries have experienced colonialization. The consequence is an increase in the security system, which is perceived as the ability to increase its defense capabilities with what is conceptualized as “national security” (Wolfers 1952). However, after that period, the concept of “security” gradually shifted and tended to have a broader and deeper perspective than just a matter of defense. Non-traditionalists argue that the object of reference to security should be expanded to include the collectivities of humans or people. They firmly believe that the main security threats include various hazards that affect all conditions of human existence (Hadiwinata 2011), also known as human security (UNDP 1994). The classification of human security consists of seven main dimensions, namely economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security.

One of the most intriguing issues in the human security dimension in Southeast Asia is environmental security, which includes the issue of natural disasters. Disasters are mainly classified

into natural disasters and disasters caused by humans (Sawada 2007). Natural disasters include hydrological disasters (floods), meteorological disasters (hurricanes), climatological disasters (drought), geophysical disasters (earthquakes, tsunamis, and volcanic eruptions), and disease disasters (epidemic and insect infestations). Apart from that, there are also various other technological disasters, namely, industrial accidents (chemical spills, collapse of industrial infrastructure) and transportation accidents (air, train, road, or water transport). Moreover, various disasters arise due to activities or man-doing, such as economic crises (hyperinflation, banking, and currency crises) and violence (terrorism, civil strife, riots, and wars). The aforementioned disasters certainly significantly influence a country's policies, especially if the disaster threatens the people's lives and mobility and the political economy of the government.

Even though some Asian countries have succeeded in achieving economic growth and poverty alleviation, some areas have always been vulnerable to various disasters due to their geographical location. In general, Asian countries, including ASEAN member states, are among the regions that occupy the most disaster-prone areas in the world (ERIA 2014). Naturally, Southeast Asia is located among the three earth plates: the Eurasian, Australian-Indian, and Pacific plates. This condition causes the susceptibility of plate shifts in the area to cause earthquakes (Frederick et al. 2020). In addition, this area is often referred to as the ring of fire, where there are a series of underwater volcanoes and earthquake locations around the edge of the Pacific Ocean (NOAA 2020). Furthermore, high rainfall due to its location on the equator and a tropical climate often causes floods and landslides. From 2012 to 2020, there were more than 2000 disaster events and at least 14 major disasters officially recorded at the ASEAN secretariat after the 2004 Tsunami (AHA Centre 2022a).

The fact that the Southeast Asia region has a high probability of disaster has made the countries in the region require collective actions to respond and cope with existing disasters. In 2005, ASEAN member states committed to implementing the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) to build disaster-resilient countries and safer communities. The

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motivation behind this agreement is the increasing frequency and scale of disasters in the ASEAN region that affect society both in the short and long term, so a collective mechanism is needed to take action. In order to facilitate cooperation and coordination, ASEAN member states also agreed to establish a particular body that focuses on disaster management called the ASEAN Coordinating Center for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management or the AHA Centre. However, the effectiveness of this body is also worth discussing.

The ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) was implemented in December 2009. It establishes and emphasizes the basis for regional cooperation, coordination, technical assistance, and resource mobilization in disaster management and emergency response. The agreement supports ongoing and planned national initiatives of ASEAN Member States by supporting and complementing existing national capacities and work programs. Since its inception and through various initiatives, ASEAN has increased the national capacity for disaster response in Southeast Asia. However, the region faces a continuous evolution in the landscape of human security and natural disasters. While ASEAN has made progress in cooperation and collaboration, it is evident that mechanisms to respond to these new challenges need further development.

Approaching 2025, ASEAN needs to recognize these changes and adapt the implementation of AADMER to ensure that comprehensive and robust disaster management and emergency response systems are in place. This strategic policy document outlines the possible directions ASEAN may consider in the next ten years and identifies key areas for moving AADMER implementation forward to a people-centered, people-oriented, financially sustainable, and networked approach by 2025. Many tasks need to be implemented as the region moves forward to meet emerging challenges. Three interrelated strategic elements – Institutionalization and Communication, Finance and Resource Mobilization, and Partnership and Innovation – were identified that can guide the direction of AADMER implementation through 2025 (ASEAN 2021a). In this paper, Indonesia was chosen as a case study because of its strategic position or because Indonesia

has the largest area compared to other countries in the region. In addition, the size of the region and the magnitude of Indonesia's influence or leadership in ASEAN are also the reasons why reviewing Indonesia's work in responding to the probability of disasters that arise becomes more intriguing.

Therefore, this research attempts to answer how the ASEAN mechanism in disaster management occurred in Indonesia as a case study. This paper discusses one of the dimensions of human security, namely environmental security. Before further explaining how this mechanism works, it is essential to understand how ASEAN as a group or organization gets its place among its member states. By employing the concept of cohesion from Psychology and Sociology, the author attempts to analyze how group cohesiveness as an indicator can be used as a benchmark for the implementation of ASEAN's functions as an organization. Based on this, the author proposes several research questions: how does ASEAN respond to every disaster in its member states? What is the approach? What factors support and become challenges for ASEAN in tackling every incident in each country? What is the role of the affected country in the mechanism?

Literature on Disaster Management

Several existing works of literature on disaster management can be used as references in the preparation of this article. For example, Puspita (2017) argued that based on the principle of the primary state responsibility, the state is the main actor in natural disaster management. Unfortunately, Puspita's analysis mainly focuses on the state's role and overlooks the role of international organizations that gather cooperation for more effective and efficient disaster management. Meanwhile, ASEAN's role is still limited to being a coordinator and facilitator of cooperation between the parties in providing humanitarian assistance in a natural disaster. Frequently, actions are taken based on temporary systems and rules that show disparities between one country and another. Puspita's writing is descriptive-analytical, normative legal research and emphasizes secondary data as the main data. However, this paper has provided a country's point of view as the main actor in perceiving and managing disasters, regardless of

how their perceptions will be compiled and driven by the role of international organizations.

The following literature from Rum (2016) explained that in supporting the agenda of disaster management cooperation in Southeast Asia, ASEAN countries were not only driven by their national interests but also by norms that dictated how states recognize the appropriateness of behavior. Therefore, member states believe that establishing regional disaster management is the proper behavior. This article highlights the importance of norms as a driving force in shaping the preferences of each ASEAN member state in responding to disasters. Furthermore, to discuss how disaster management norms are adopted in the Southeast Asia region, this paper underscores the importance of the international norms dynamics in forming the ASEAN regional disaster management architecture. Apart from that, the shortcoming of this article is that it does not discuss how the ASEAN disaster management mechanism works comprehensively.

Lastly, Sawada and Zen (2014) examined the experiences of ASEAN and other countries and regions in the world in disaster management. Their article summarizes various approaches to effective disaster risk management strategies and regional cooperation in disaster management by using a wide range of the political-economic spectrum. The advantage of their article is its contribution to the related research from a political-economic point of view in reviewing the risks and impacts caused by disasters. From this point of view, their research emphasized that disaster is an issue that needs to be handled collectively among countries in a particular region, an argument that will be further discussed in this paper. However, the weakness in their article is the lack of description and analysis of the collective effort mechanism carried out by ASEAN member states, particularly related to the case studies of disasters in Indonesia. Their article employs the perspective and conceptual framework developed from the thoughts of Yujiro Hayami, namely the framework of the Community, Market and States concept.

Based on the literature mentioned above, several articles have raised and reviewed how states respond to disasters regardless of the type and scale of the disaster. However, none of them focused

on the same subject of this article, which is not only on the state as the sole actor in disaster management and management but also on international organizations such as ASEAN as the main actor. In addition, this article will also further discusses how the ASEAN mechanism works, in which member states work collectively to overcome existing disaster due to the high probability or potential of disasters in the region. Therefore, this research aims to complement similar research on ASEAN, particularly in disaster management mechanisms, and contribute to research that examines the role and works of international organizations as IR subjects in dealing with particular case studies.

ASEAN Cohesion and Its Respond towards Disaster

To explain how ASEAN works on the problems presented in this paper, the author uses a cohesion concept framework (Forsyth 2010). As an organization, ASEAN has mechanisms, rules, attitudes, and behavior that befits the group. The dynamics that characterize an association (organization) indicate that the organization “exists”. One of the common characteristics of a group is cohesiveness. The characteristic of a cohesive group is unity: members enjoy interacting with one another, and there is a sense of reluctance to leave the group. However, cohesion is not a simple process but a multicomponent process with various indicators. This result in the absence of a group that can be said to be “ideal”. In addition, there is no single cohesion theory agreed upon by experts to adequately identify the core components of what is referred to as “cohesion”. Some, for example, emphasize the strength of bonds between members, others highlight the group’s ability to retain its members, while others emphasize the degree of emotional intensity expressed by members during group activities (Forsyth 2010).

Nevertheless, there are at least four interrelated components that function as the glue that holds the group together, as listed in the table below:

Table 1
Four Components of Group Cohesion

<i>Component</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Examples</i>
<i>Social cohesion</i>	<i>The attraction of members to one another and to the group as a whole</i>	<i>I have many friends in this group.</i> <i>I love this group.</i> <i>This group is the best</i>
<i>Task cohesion</i>	<i>Capacity to perform successfully as a coordinated unit and as part of the group</i>	<i>This group is effective.</i> <i>This group is the best at what it does.</i> <i>I do my best for this group.</i>
<i>Perceived cohesion</i>	<i>The construed coherence of the group; a sense of belonging to the group; unity</i>	<i>United we stand.</i> <i>It is a unified group.</i> <i>I am one with this group</i>
<i>Emotional cohesion</i>	<i>The emotional intensity of the group and individuals when in the group</i>	<i>This group has tremendous energy.</i> <i>This group has team spirit.</i> <i>I get excited just being in this group</i>

Source: Forsyth (2010)

The first one is social cohesion. Cohesiveness is a multilevel process by which group members can be attached to their group in several ways. It is apparent from the analysis of individual and group levels. On the individual level, a person's interest in a group

is based on how other individuals form personal relationships that will make the group more united. While on the group level, interest in being part of the group is made when they want to be part of the group. In this context, experts agree that the group level is used as a reference to see the level of group cohesiveness. Although members of a cohesive group usually like each other, this personal attraction is not group cohesion. In contrast, group cohesion corresponds to a form of group-level attraction known as social attraction, a condition in which preferences for other group members are based on their status as group members (Hogg 2001).

The second component is task cohesion. Experts believe that cohesiveness will be formed when group members work together to achieve the group's goals, and it is called teamwork (Yukelson et al. 1984). A group that believes in each other's abilities for the goals they want to achieve together and can share roles and competencies tends to have high collective efficacy. It is understandable because all group members believe in their abilities and are aligned with group goals so that the group works efficiently.

The third component is perceived cohesion. Cohesive groups are considered highly unified and integrated, in which individuals fuse to form a whole. On the group level, members and non-members alike consider the group to have a high entity (high in entitativity). On the individual level, members express a sense of belonging to the group by emphasizing their commitment to the group; they are loyal to the group, identify with the group, and easily classify themselves as group members

The last component is emotional cohesion. Various terms describe group-level emotional states, including *élan*, *morale*, *esprit de corps*, and other positive terms. However, whatever the label, these shared positive emotions are one of the most apparent features of a cohesive group. These terms refer to several positive behaviors in groups, including helping teammates, protecting the organization, making constructive suggestions, improving one's performance, spreading goodwill, and even increasing survival (Kelly and Spoor 2013). Like other cohesion components, this emotional component is also a multilevel process. Collective emotions are also shared socially, in the sense that all group members experience the same emotional reactions as if they had reached a consensus about the

feelings they should have experienced. Through this perspective, the author attempts to analyze the issues raised in this paper.

Transforming ASEAN Paradigm in Perceiving Human Security

The ASEAN plays several roles, including contributing to implementing cooperation and serving as an arena for negotiations. As an international organization, ASEAN serves as the main means for cooperation between members so that what is a common goal will be achieved (Karns and Mingst 2010). On the other hand, as an entity, ASEAN is also seen as an international actor like its member states (Hurd 2014).

It is essential to discuss the development and relevance of ASEAN as a legacy of the Cold War in a contemporary context. Both are inseparable from the emergence of new issues in international forums that no longer emphasize traditional security issues. If we look closer since it first emerged, ASEAN has a vision that covers almost the entire field of human security. Its agenda includes cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, technical, educational, and other fields and promoting regional peace and stability through respect for justice and the rule of law.

The transformation of the ASEAN paradigm towards changes in the international environment leads to forming an ASEAN Community consisting of a political-security community, an economic community, and a socio-cultural community. The breadth of insight of the ASEAN Community has changed the perspective of its member states in viewing an issue through the so-called “mechanism” of ASEAN. This term refers to the statement by the Secretary-General of ASEAN, Rodolfo C. Severino, who gave a speech in Malaysia in 2001 at the International Law Conference on ASEAN Legal Systems and Regional Integration. Severino stated that unlike the European Union, which bases its member interactions on a formal basis, ASEAN has its own way or mechanism (Severino 1999). This mechanism, which was later called the ASEAN Way, includes the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, not imposing will, and so on (Katsumata 2003).

There was a significant change in the basis of this organization, especially in the post-ASEAN Charter period in 2008. Earlier during the Bangkok Declaration period, the interaction of ASEAN member states was defined as “cooperating through informal understandings that impose no legally binding obligations, which has implications for its members to seek informal and gradual approaches to cooperation through lengthy consultations and dialogues (Katsumata 2003). Afterward, the ASEAN Charter de jure transformed ASEAN from a loose regional organization to a rules-based organization (Pratomo 2009). Therefore, placing the ASEAN Community into a pillar that shapes the direction and goals of ASEAN itself. As a result, there was an expansion and deepening of understanding among ASEAN member states after the agenda.

The expansion of the human security perspective in ASEAN is apparent in its community-based policies. For example, the formation of a Socio-Cultural Community – which includes 16 formal entities – involves more parties in quantity compared to the Political-Security Community (6 entities) and the Economic Community (14 entities), which is a positive indicator for the implementation of ASEAN’s function as a guarantor: “... sustainable development that benefits present and future generations and places well-being and decent livelihoods and the prosperity of the people” (ASEAN 2008).

It is not surprising that the emphasis on the “human” basis becomes a central point in the Socio-Cultural Community because it is proper that the term “socio-cultural” is closely related to people and society. However, apart from this, we can see that making ASEAN an integrated region takes an emotional bond and a multicomponent process called cohesion.

In line with this, the existence of this community also aims to strengthen people-center ASEAN integration and strengthen awareness, solidarity, partnership, and a sense of community togetherness (We Feeling) towards ASEAN (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia 2015). For example, in the case of humanitarian action, ASEAN’s role is to ensure that people and communities are at the center of adequate preparedness and response. This approach will shift towards a greater focus on

regional and international initiatives and systems (AHA Centre 2017). Consequently, their approach affects their perspective to work collectively in dealing with a perceivable threat, such as a disaster.

Referring to how member states believe that people's welfare is the ultimate goal that ASEAN can fulfill, it becomes the basis for how any conditions such as disasters that have the potential to occur and disrupt welfare need to be managed effectively. With a combined GDP of US\$ 2.57 trillion, the ASEAN region is one of the most dynamic and fastest-growing regions in the world (ASEAN 2017). However, the vulnerability of this area due to geological and geographical factors also carries considerable risks. For example, in at least three major disasters that occurred in the region, including the 2004 Tsunami, Hurricane Nargis 2008, and Typhoon Haiyan 2013, the economic loss was estimated at US\$22.5 billion and as many as 278,000 victims (AHA Centre 2017). The magnitude of the potential disasters encourages the greater commitment of member states to share the same perception to cope with disasters.

ASEAN articulated the spirit of reducing disaster risk and enhancing disaster management in Southeast Asia by establishing the AHA Centre, a regional coordinating body for disaster management and emergency response. It is also a way to maintain the spirit of "One ASEAN, One Response" through Risk Identification, Early Warning, and Monitoring to reduce casualties and property damage due to natural disasters (AHA Centre 2022b). Previously, ASEAN countries formally signed the AADMER (Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response) in 2005 in Laos, and it became effective in 2009. The similarity in interpreting the importance of disaster management and the response was essential to discuss and study ASEAN disaster response implementation mechanisms in case studies of disasters in Indonesia.

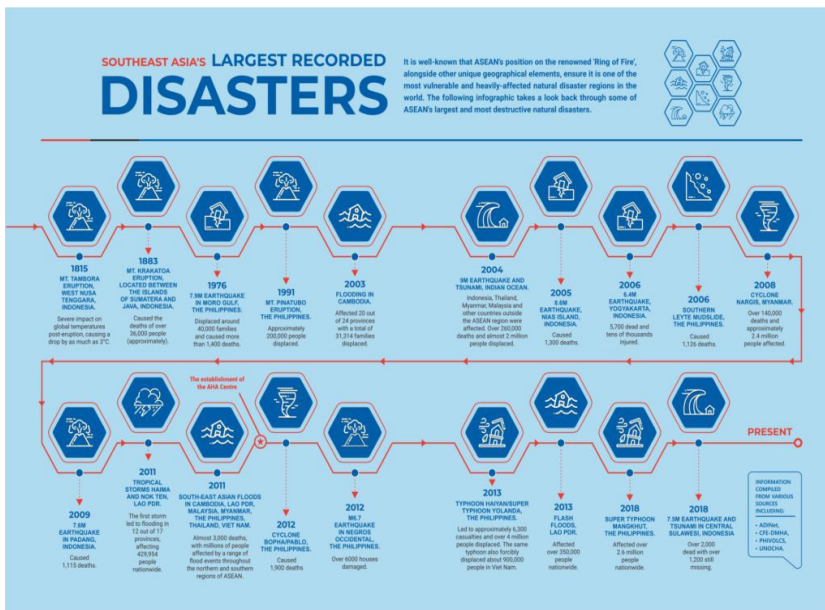
Disaster Track Record and Disaster Institutionalization in Southeast Asia

The logical consequence of the high disaster risk in the Southeast Asia region is to create an agency that specifically deals with this issue. According to data from the ASEAN statistical center,

from 2012 to 2020, there were more than two thousand natural disasters with 14 major disasters officially recorded at the ASEAN secretariat after the 2004 Tsunami (AHA Centre 2022a).

The signing of the AADMER in 2005 in Laos further strengthened the foundation of regional policies in disaster management by prioritizing disaster risk reduction, thus enabling a more proactive regional framework for cooperation, coordination, technical assistance, and resource mobilization in all aspects of disaster management. The paradigm shifts in perceiving disaster as something essential, and part of responding and providing humanitarian assistance is the basis for or underpinning the presence of AADMER. Moreover, it is in line with the objectives of the ASEAN Charter to promote an open, inclusive and transparent ASEAN that is people-oriented. AADMER also expects the active participation of all stakeholders, such as non-governmental organizations, the private sector, and local communities, as the key to effective disaster management (ASEAN 2021b).

Figure 1
Southeast Asia Disaster Timeline



Source: AHA Centre (2022a)

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In the period of disaster, as shown in the figure above, there are at least two momenta that form cohesion among ASEAN members. First, the earthquake and tsunami that occurred in the Indian Ocean in 2004 led to the initiative of members to form a policy framework regarding disaster anticipation and management, especially in Southeast Asia, with the signing of the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) in July 2005. The author identified this initiative as part of the emotional cohesion process, which is a high level of empathy from each member so that there is a strong sense of belonging and belonging, especially in the context of the organization, ASEAN.

Second, Hurricane Nargis, which occurred in 2008, became the next momentum. After being signed in 2005, the implementation of AADMER in 2009 prompted the formulation of the 2010-2015 AADMER work program. In addition, the establishment of the AHA Centre in 2011 as the agenda driver gave a positive signal for integrating ASEAN into an integrated regionalism for disaster response. The objectives of the AADMER program in the 2010-2015 period include increasing ASEAN's capacity in regional risk assessment, assisting member states in adopting regional policies into national policies and strategies for disaster risk and management following humanitarian standards, organizing technical planning and briefing on disaster risk management of each member states, and increase the awareness of the ASEAN community towards disasters.

Specifically, the 2010-2015 AADMER work program, namely (1) Prioritizing activities that are regionally focused due to geographic proximity, shared borders, and shared ecosystems; (2) Emphasize initiatives to address the impacts of transboundary disasters and those that require collaboration among Member States, thereby acting as a power multiplier on the regional level; (3) Support activities that build on current national priorities and agendas and regional mechanisms to enhance benefits and expected outcomes at regional, national and sub-national levels; (4) Support efforts to synergize existing networks and potential partnerships with all stakeholders so as benefitting the ASEAN community as the center of attention; (5) Recognizing the unique needs and potential contributions of various stakeholder groups, in particular children,

women, the elderly and people with disabilities, in disaster risk reduction, response and recovery processes and the need to incorporate genders, human and social security perspectives, equity issues, as well as transparency and accountability in the implementation and monitoring of the Work Program; (6) Consider the linkages between the components of the Work Program and other ASEAN thematic programs and aim to complement other ASEAN agreements and policies under thematic programs such as climate change adaptation, environment, science and technology, health, pandemic preparedness and response, and education, and others; (7) Operationalize the strategic objectives and actions outlined in the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint, in particular Section B.7 and the ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint in particular Sections B.5 and B.6 as part of the Roadmap for the ASEAN Community for the period 2009-2015.

AADMER prepares four strategic components for disaster issues: Risk Assessment, Early Warning and Monitoring, Prevention and Mitigation, Preparedness and Response, and Recovery. This program was conducted in two phases, between 2010-2012 and 2013-2015; unfortunately, the final result of the program is not optimal. Based on the official report, there are many influencing factors, one of which is the need for additional resources and the policies that have not been fully implemented in each country. Only 2 of the 12 concepts have reached one hundred percent, namely capacity building of the ASEAN Emergency Rapid Assessment Team (ASEAN-ERAT) and capacity building of the ASEAN Regional Disaster Emergency Response Simulation Exercises (ARDEX). In the next section, the author discusses an analysis of how this can happen.

ASEAN's Position in Disaster Emergencies

The future of ASEAN as a modern organization depends on its response to every international dynamic. Therefore, the adaptability of a living entity is crucial. Even though its birth was covered in cold war nuances, ASEAN's capabilities and leadership were significantly tested after that period. Since the Berlin Wall fell, it has taken more than a week to formulate a new direction for

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ASEAN. In 2003 during the 9th ASEAN Summit in Bali, ASEAN leaders decided that an ASEAN Community would be formed. This meeting is known as the Declaration of ASEAN Concord II or Bali Concord II, with the ASEAN Community as its pillar. The separation of the issue of “traditional security” with “non-traditional security” in the ASEAN pillars is not merely interpreted as a textual simplification but also understood as a contextual and conceptual understanding. However, these three communities work in harmony and tandem.

Since AADMER was signed in 2005, ASEAN’s progress in responding to disaster issues has been apparent. Changes in the organizational base, forming a task force to formulate a future strategy to reduce the impact of disasters contained in the ASEAN Vision 2025 on Disaster Management. In the 2010-2020 period, through the AADMER work program, ASEAN has established globally recognized regional initiatives such as the ASEAN Emergency Response and Assessment Team (ASEAN-ERAT), Disaster Emergency Logistics System for ASEAN (DELSA), Standard Operating Procedure for Regional Standby Arrangements and Coordination of Joint Disaster Relief and Emergency Response Operations (SASOP), and many other initiatives in disaster management that make a significant contribution to minimizing the consequences of disasters and climate change (ASEAN 2021b). This achievement has not been effective and perfect, but its presence can provide a sense of security and increase member states’ confidence when facing a disaster.

The author considers that when viewed from the cohesion component, the existence of ASEAN has been able to meet the criteria as a cohesion group. Indeed, this assessment seems subjective and will raise other questions. However, the author underlines that at least by considering the cohesion component, we can evaluate how the ASEAN mechanism works. However, the “ASEAN mechanism” peculiarities have not changed or disappeared altogether. The institutionalization and implementation of the AADMER work program, for example, will be returned to each member as the owner of the first and main responsibility (Puspita 2017).

Meanwhile, according to the author, the many organs involved

in the disaster management framework in Southeast Asia have hampered the achievement of ASEAN's work programs. The impact of many involved parties makes disaster management less effective. Different bureaucratic procedure in each country is a challenge. The risk is that the disaster mitigation process will not work, and it is feared that it will increase the risk of many victims. On paper, processes and procedures like this will serve as a guide for policymakers. Meanwhile, in the field, overlapping responsibilities will occur. As a result, it is the society that is ultimately harmed.

Hurricane Nargis, which killed 84.500 people and left 53.600 people missing (IFRC 2011), can be used as an example. The slow handling in the disaster area due to visa issues that did not come out resulted in the disruption of the supply of foreign aid until, finally, the ASEAN Secretariat was involved in resolving this visa issue (Relief Web OCHA 2008). According to the United Nations, an estimated 1.5 million people were affected by Hurricane Nargis. In this example, the author sees similar concerns if the ASEAN mechanism in disaster management involves many parties in coordination and all forms of procedures. Moreover, with the "ASEAN Way", which prioritizes the principle of non-intervention and the principle of the affected country as the first and foremost person in charge, the humanitarian aspect will be neglected by delays in aid supplies, for example. In this paper, the author will not further discuss the need for intervention in the name of humanity. However, it is clear that cohesiveness is not only about how to achieve something with "tools" but also with "action". The principle held by ASEAN clearly shows how ASEAN and its member states give each of them space and the right of sovereignty. No matter what the issues spread all-around members, any form of action that leads to intervention is forbidden because it will not only ruin the relations among the member states but also clarifies that not every issue in the region is a regional concern; some of them belong to a country themselves privately.

Figure 2
Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief Chart in ASEAN

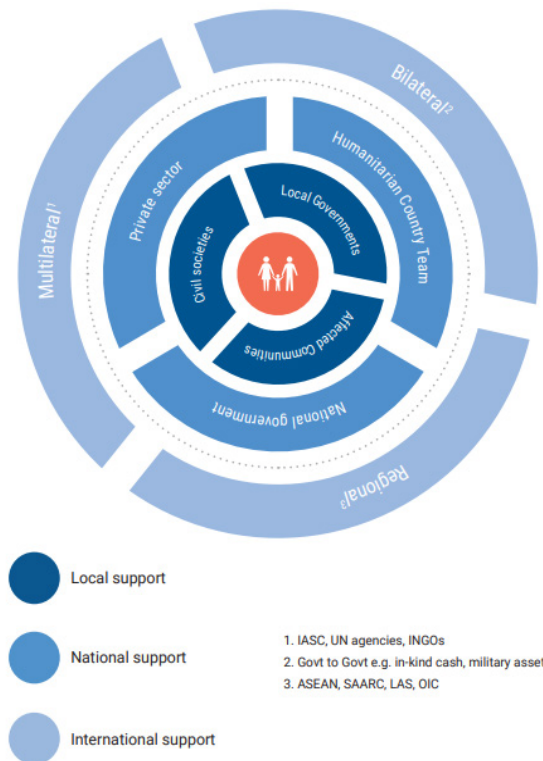


Source: AHA Centre 2017

Regardless of how the ASEAN principle values sovereignty and non-interventionist policy, it sometimes has weaknesses. Because on the other hand, the many external actors and channels outside ASEAN not always produce negative impacts but also several positive impacts. The AADMER work program has not been achieved optimally because of the limited resources. As explained in the previous section, only 2 of the 12 new concepts or performance targets were met. ASEAN uses its external channels to meet its needs in dealing with these limitations. For example, with USAID support through the ASEAN-US Partnership for Good Governance, Equitable and Sustainable Development and Security

(PROGRESS), the Regional Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (RVA) Guidelines were developed to facilitate the identification of areas of critical concern and serve as a guideline for mitigation on the regional, national and local level (ASEAN 2015). It shows how the principle that emphasizes the value of non-intervention will likely put things on hold, while most of the disaster's impacts were urgent matters that require a rapid response because they harm the environment and the people in certain areas of disaster. Moreover, it is not only related to ASEAN; other case studies as a comparison also show how disasters even in the region of Asia Pacific can become more than a domestic issue of the impacted country but a regional concern and require international support.

Figure 3
Model Map of International and Regional Support in Facing Disasters in the Asia Pacific



Source: OCHA (2018b)

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Meanwhile, the Capacity Building program and the ASEAN Emergency Rapid Assessment Team (ASEAN-ERAT) and the capacity building of the ASEAN Regional Disaster Emergency Response Simulation Exercises (ARDEX) are two programs that have achieved their performance targets in 2015. The Australian government supports both programs. ASEAN's external relations play an essential role here. In 2015, around 118 people from the 10 ASEAN member states were trained in the ASEAN-ERAT Exercise. ASEAN-ERAT members consist of representatives from governments, the military, civil society organizations, the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the ASEAN Secretariat, and the AHA Centre. Another area where ASEAN has developed its disaster management capacity is through joint exercises and simulations. The ten participating ASEAN member states aim to practice, assess and review disaster emergency response mechanisms under the ASEAN Standard Operating Procedure for Regional Standby Arrangements and Coordination of Joint Disaster Relief and Emergency Response Operations (SASOP).

The role of the AHA Centre is very crucial. At this stage, to increase the effectiveness and coordination of response efforts, this humanitarian module should be coordinated under a single mechanism in which the AHA Centre is ASEAN's main regional coordinating body (AJDRP 2017). The readiness of the AHA Centre in dealing with disaster situations has yet to be tested. The reason is that until the final report of the 2015 AADMER work program was made, the progress had only reached 21.8% (ASEAN 2015). In addition, the ACDM decided in 2010 that the AHA Centre's mandate should focus on Monitoring, and Preparedness & Response for the first three years. Therefore, there are other aspects of the Work Programme, particularly regarding Prevention & Mitigation, and Recovery, which have not been covered by the mandate of the AHA Centre (ASEAN 2013). Only in 2016 this was realized with the issuance of guidelines developed in extensive consultation with key stakeholder institutions working on recovery in the ASEAN region (AADRG 2016)

This extensive process has become a test for ASEAN whether they are becoming more cohesive as a group or just a mere formality for carrying out organizational functions. The closer cooperation

among members in dealing with disasters in ASEAN is due to three factors (Rum 2016). The first is support from the international community; the second factor is the ASEAN leadership; the third factor is the regional mechanisms resulting from deepening ASEAN regional cooperation.

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There is no single cohesion theory agreed upon by experts to adequately identify the core components of what is referred to as “cohesion”. Some, for example, emphasize the strength of bonds between members, others highlight the group’s ability to retain its members, and others emphasize the degree of emotional intensity expressed by members during group activities, such as the ASEAN mechanism in disaster management with case studies of disasters that occurred in Indonesia. Disaster mitigation in Southeast Asia is a serious task, especially for ASEAN member states. This condition makes the government in each country optimize its role while formulating regional policies that can reach the security and comfort aspects of the community. These two tasks cannot be separated because they also move the will of the state in overcoming disaster problems, both as the main person in charge (Puspita 2017) and bound by agreed norms (Rum 2016). Shifting the focus from traditional security to non-traditional security is not easy. Moreover, the increase in the defense budgets among Southeast Asian countries is believed to boost the macroeconomic sector (Sastrawan and Yao 2018). This mitigation awareness should be a concern.

At least six major disasters occurred in Indonesia from 2010 to 2020 (Mercy Corps 2020), and one reasonably large earthquake occurred in Aceh in 2012, although it did not cause many casualties. Indonesia’s disaster management capacity has increased significantly since the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami (Suppasri et al. 2015). In the 2010 eruption of Mount Merapi, for example. The Yogyakarta provincial government is coordinating the response to the eruption of Mount Merapi with the support of the national agency. Local disaster risk reduction forums are also developing ad-hoc cluster systems. United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) has

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worked closely with the Indonesian government to ensure the cluster approach is mainstreamed into national and provincial systems, including facilitating government engagement with clusters to ensure adequate capacity and resources are available in the event of a disaster. This preparedness allows for an effective response from national and provincial authorities. The response highlighted lessons learned from previous disaster responses, including capacity building for disaster relief management and preparedness planning for national and local authorities as well as civil society and communities (Flint et al. 2017)

Meanwhile, the latest natural disasters were an earthquake, tsunami, and liquefaction in the Central Sulawesi region. An earthquake measuring 7.4 on the Richter Scale rocked the Palu, Donggala, and Sigi areas on Friday, 28 September 2018, at around 5:55 WITA. The disaster was not only a test for Indonesia but also for ASEAN. During the Central Sulawesi disaster, Indonesia commissioned the AHA Centre for the first time. It creates opportunities and challenges for various humanitarian actors. For the government and national actors, it is convenient because of their proximity and familiarity with the AHA Centre. This issue is also relevant to the indicator of social cohesion, where attractions from previously formed ASEAN member states have built a cooperative bond and how existing social interactions build the same perception in providing quick response to disasters.

However, foreign actors generally view ASEAN 2.0 as a complex challenge because it adds another layer of bureaucracy. For multilateral institutions such as the United Nations, the AHA Centre becomes a challenge because the United Nations has a dynamic nature, adaptive capacity, and flexibility (Trias and Cook 2019). For the AHA Centre, the Central Sulawesi disaster provided a platform to test ASEAN 2.0 capabilities and the interoperability agreement with the United Nations (AHA Centre 2018). With this disaster that occurred in Indonesia, it was not only used as a test for the disaster response mechanism but as momentum in assessing the extent to which ASEAN member states carried out task cohesion as one of the other indicators of conceptual cohesion. It includes how member states coordinate with each other as a unit to use their best capacities to achieve common goals.

Figure 4
Picture of the Refugee Assistance Tent from DELSA in Sigi



Source: AHA Centre (2018)

In any disaster in the ASEAN region, the AHA Centre will initiate a response and immediately focus on three roles, namely: (1) collecting, analyzing, and disseminating information on disaster risk in the affected Member States; (2) supporting the affected member state's disaster response operations; (3) projecting ASEAN solidarity. In addition, if deemed necessary, the AHA Centre will address other mission objectives, in particular, to facilitate and coordinate humanitarian assistance (AHA Centre, 2017). Several activities carried out by the AHA Centre in responding to disasters in Indonesia did not only show the cohesion of tasks carried out by coordinating member states with disaster-affected countries such as Indonesia regarding the need and updating of the status of disaster information. However, it also shows the interaction among member states in providing quick response assistance among people who are collectively able to properly and effectively deal with existing disasters. In addition, it is inseparable from having formed and intertwined a sense of belonging to each other as a part of the Southeast Asian region or referred to as perceived cohesion. The awareness that one country is an inseparable part

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of an organization, in this case, ASEAN, is a driving factor for the emergence of feelings or bonds of emotional intensity between individuals.

The first responder in an emergency is the people affected by the disaster and their local and community-based organizations. Affected countries are primarily responsible for providing protection and life-saving assistance to people affected by the crisis. In recent years, the capacity of government agencies, particularly the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB), to coordinate and aid disaster-affected communities has increased. They are better off engaging in timely and effective response preparedness activities to minimize loss of life, injury, and property damage in a disaster and ensure that rescue, assistance, rehabilitation, and other services can be provided after a disaster (OCHA 2018a). Continued progress leads to a growing preference for nationally led emergency response models, supported regionally and internationally as necessary. National actors affiliated with the government and others had minimal problems mobilizing their personnel and material resources in the disaster-affected areas during the Central Sulawesi disaster (Trias and Cook 2019).

In disaster management, the coordination between national disaster management authorities and communities and groups that have competence, including the military, is essential (OCHA 2018a). In the case that occurred in Central Sulawesi, the TNI has sent troops of 6.687 people, material and defense equipment in collaboration with BNPB, Central Sulawesi Regional Government, and all components of the community who care about disasters and have carried out various disaster management efforts including arranging humanitarian assistance from abroad (Kogasgabpad Sulteng 2018). On the other hand, external support from regional partners and/or the international humanitarian system for disaster response occurs only with the consent of the affected country, usually upon request or upon acceptance of offers of assistance (OCHA 2018a). Foreign actors are allowed to operate or demonstrate that they have specific capabilities that fill gaps or sufficient capacity to deliver at scale and complement the efforts led by the Indonesian government (Trias and Cook 2019). Indonesia did not receive foreign aid when the disaster occurred in

Central Sulawesi. At least 29 countries have offered humanitarian assistance. However, the Indonesian government refused medical assistance from friendly countries because international assistance focused on transportation, water treatment, generators for electricity needs, tents (BBC Indonesia 2018), and certain assistance during reconstruction after a disaster (International Cooperation and Development Fund 2018).

Disaster management in Central Sulawesi Province in 2018 also involved many parties, which were categorized into three layers (OCHA 2018b): the outer layer consist of support from outside the country or international assistance, both regional and international; the inner layer consists of government partners both from within and outside the country; and the core layer, namely the community that has direct access to the community, for example, local NGOs and certain community groups. Nationally led disaster management does not only include government, but the entire society, including the military, private sector, civil society, and most importantly, the affected communities themselves. In Asia-Pacific, local communities are always the first and last responders, so disaster management is strengthened when communities are actively involved, primarily through a community-based approach to disaster risk reduction that builds on local capacities. If a humanitarian action is genuinely relevant, timely, effective, and efficient, the disaster-affected communities must be at the center of all humanitarian action, and they must be actively engaged and engaged before, during, and after a disaster (OCHA 2018b).

Conclusion

Based on the recent analysis, the mechanism in Southeast Asia in responding to the issue of natural disasters seems contradictory, especially regarding the actions that ASEAN wants to take toward affected countries. On the one hand, some rules are pretty “typical”, namely that ASEAN is not allowed to take initiative actions except at the request of the affected country. This attitude shows that every country has sovereignty that should not be disturbed, and ASEAN member states should mutually protect this sovereignty. However, on the other hand, it is related to the ASEAN principle, which acknowledges equality among all member states without

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any superior country having the authority to be involved with the other countries' problems. Moreover, the non-intervention principle is one of the fundamental principles adopted by ASEAN. This principle states that ASEAN, including its member states, should not intervene in the internal problems of every member state. Nevertheless, the principle which provides a tangible form of respect for the sovereignty of each member state is questioned for its function and strength.

From its development, establishing a body that functions as a regional coordinating body for disaster management and emergency response shows ASEAN's direction and commitment to perceive disaster issues more comprehensively. However, it also shows that despite acknowledging sovereignty among its member states, ASEAN realized that several matters still require them to work together. Furthermore, one of the issues that require more than just one or two roles of member states, but all members and external actors simultaneously is disaster management. The high expectations of member states for collective goals related to disaster issues also form cohesion among its members. It also elucidates that the level of cohesion of ASEAN members is increasingly intertwined and will be tested in the years to come. However, cohesion among member states is also determined by the behavior of each state, considering the factors that influence it is quite complex, such as leadership factors, domestic political conditions of each member, and social conditions. The greater the interrelationships between member states and the increasing awareness of the importance of disaster management overrides the principle of non-intervention by prioritizing safety, welfare, and human security.

The importance of human security and guarantees for the safety of all people in each ASEAN member state are the responsibility and authority of not only the government of the disaster-affected states, especially if the disaster that is managed has an impact on the surrounding country. Because with the intervention of each member country, the recovery of an area affected by a disaster will be faster and more comprehensive, especially with the ASEAN management system that emphasizes cohesion between countries. This multidimensional and multicomponent process requires

more than the commitment and intense cooperation of member states through bilateral approaches and multilateral forums. In this regard, the author identifies several recommendations that might be part of the cohesion process, such as (1) Strengthening the role of the AHA Centre through disaster risk assessments in each country by cooperating with national and local stakeholders (sub-district or village level); (2) Comparative study of the national mechanism in each member country so that it will bring up a unique approach from ASEAN to each country; this approach also has the aim of respecting the sovereignty of the state; (3) and Review of the “ASEAN Way” in the context of humanitarian assistance which is in certain emergency conditions and cannot be postponed.

About the author

Suwarti Sari is a senior lecturer at the Department of International Relations, Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani. She obtained her Bachelor’s Degree from Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani in 1999, her Master’s Degree from Universitas Padjajaran in 2009, and her Doctoral Degree from Universitas Padjajaran in 2017. She can be reached via email at suwarti.sari@lecture.unjani.ac.id.

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