

<招待論文>

Natural Disaster Management as Soft Power on Diplomacy

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Abstract

This paper aims at examining how disaster management has contributed to the development of soft power on diplomacy. This issue is important since disaster has been a recurring phenomenon, which often develops negative sense among citizens and government exposed by it. However, it can be modified into a positive social capital to solve economic, political and social-cultural problems as well as to develop prospective cooperation among states.

Indonesia is one of the most disaster-prone countries in the world. Indonesia has developed disaster management system including structural initiatives such as certain regulations and acts, as well as special agencies which cope with disaster issues. Indonesia's responses toward disaster have shown its quality on disaster management system. Indonesia has demonstrated government's behavior that saved lives and prevented a large-scale humanitarian crisis through behavioral power, which comprises of behavioral norms, organizational skills, and planning. A lot of international recognition and appreciation for its effective, efficient and well-organized disaster responses have enhanced their attraction in the world. It is the phenomenon of soft power.

Key words: natural disaster, Indonesia, soft power

1. Introduction

Disasters are a contemporary international issue which should specially be concerned since they bring bad impacts on people such as causing the death, losing goods and chattels, damaging environment, and shattering infrastructures as well as public facilities. Disasters are a threat which cannot be predicts by states and can occur anytime and anywhere. It shows that each country, either a poor, developing, or developed country, can front disasters.

Indonesia is a prone-disaster country, which have been exposed by many disasters such as Tsunami, earthquake, volcano eruption, typhoon, landslide, flood etc. Some of the latest and most destructive natural disasters happening in Indonesia was the earthquake followed by tsunami hitting Aceh in 2004, earthquake hitting Yogyakarta and Central Java in 2006 and volcanic eruption of Mount Merapi Yogyakarta and Central Java in 2011. Because of earthquake and Tsunami hitting Aceh Indonesia in 2004, more than 129,775 people were dead, 38,786 people missed. and 504,518 people displaced, and economic loses were more than US\$ 4,451 million. In Indonesia, disaster potentials increase. National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) mentioned that 2,431 disasters

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occurred in 2016. It raised 35 percent of 1,753 disasters in 2015¹⁾.

Noticing the fact, it is reasonable if people and government see the disasters as negative phenomena causing trauma which will influence their future life. Nevertheless, the negative thought of geographically and topographically prone-disaster condition can bear behaviors and policy which is far from the real life. This paper will present how disaster issues in Indonesia and Japan can be modified into positive social means to solve economic, political, and socio-cultural problems. Disasters possess uniqueness to be capitalized as a strategic instrument to create regional and international cooperation, to develop infrastructures to decrease material and immaterial loss.

2. Soft Power and Disaster Diplomacy: Conceptual Framework

Disaster is a sudden, calamitous event that seriously disrupts the functioning of a community or society and causes human, material, and economic or environmental losses that exceed the community's or society's ability to cope using its own resources. Though often caused by nature, disasters can have human origins.²⁾ Although generally people will see disaster as a negative event, but some scholars see disaster as potential issue which can be managed as a positive instrument to enhance national interest. For example, Louise K. Comfort argued that disaster issues have become crucial to enhance the quality of people's welfare. Disasters should more widely be defined. They are dealing with not only natural disasters but also contagion having global effects such as endemic virus of avian influenza, swine flu, and global warming issues. Defining disasters as a global issue is expected to raise empathy of people in the world in order to get engaged in resolving the disaster issues.

Disaster Diplomacy examines the role of disaster-related activities not just in international affairs and international relations, but also in political conflicts not involving more than one independent state. Disaster Diplomacy also embraces a wide definition of "disaster", not just rapid-onset events such as earthquakes and industrial explosions, but also events which are more diffuse in space and time such as droughts, epidemics, and global changes. These latter events have been termed "chronic disasters", "creeping changes", and "disaster conditions" amongst other terms³⁾.

Many stakeholders have been aware that various conflicts in the world, including disaster issues and climate change, cannot be resolved through hard power. They believe that soft power is a mean of solving the issues. For instance, inter-faith dialogue and socio-cultural cooperation as the examples of soft power can slacken strains in a number of countries recently. Aids in disaster areas have been used as soft power to show existence of a country. The aids commonly do not need applied prerequisites as there should be previously diplomatic relations among countries.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. on his book *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* divided power into hard power and soft power. He explained why soft power is a vital element in a foreign policy and international relations and why it cannot be disregard. According to Nye, soft power is "...its ability to attract others by legitimacy of State's policies and the values that underlie them."⁴⁾

Nye maintained that a country has to set out its tractive-power and persuasion to play its international roles. On the other words, soft power is an ability to persuade other parties to

undertake what we want through enticement and without employing violence or paying.⁵⁾ In soft power, other parties carried out what we wish due to their willingness which is resulted by our ability not to be gruff. Contrary to soft power as a concept or strategy, hard power encompasses various phases or actions to force or threaten other countries to be bent in submission.⁶⁾ The actions include military attack or economic embargo (sticks). The threats can also be followed by military protection or trade threat deduction (carrots).

Based on Nye, the resources to coin soft power of a country can be obtained through:

The resources that produce soft power for a country include its culture (where it is attractive to others); its values (where they are attractive and not undercut by inconsistent practices) and its policies (where they are seen as inclusive and legitimate in the eyes of others)⁷⁾

A country can employ various instruments as soft power resources such as public diplomacy, media, educational and cultural exchange programs, aids on development of military cooperation -such as training and collaboration exercise, disaster aids, and governmental credibility in disaster management.⁸⁾ A government with abundant resources on financial, military or professional expert on disaster issue can mobilize them as a soft power and an instrument to conduct an effective diplomacy toward another state.

Moreover, research by I. Kerman revealed that disasters are not always a bad factor for people, but they can be managed in certain limits to solve national or international political conflicts, which have not been resolved yet.⁹⁾ According to Kelman, disasters provide people living in disaster-prone areas huge spaces to reduce disaster risks.¹⁰⁾ He also explained that natural disasters can be managed to be spaces to expand political, economic, and socio-cultural cooperation. Disaster-prone countries, which do not have intensive cooperation or tend to be hostile, may decide to cooperate to decline disaster impacts.

Another study by Weizhun mentioned that disaster issues can be utilized as an interaction mode with other countries. Weizhun told that progressive economic growth of the People's Republic of China for the recent 10 years can be indivisible from capitalization efforts of the government to manage disasters as a mean of building international cooperation with countries which had suspected interventive Chinese policy. The People's Republic of China is no longer an enemy since the county showed empathic politics to be involved in cooperation among disaster-prone countries. The People's Republic of China, then, can invest in countries, which had refused capital from the People's Republic of China.

The practice of Disaster Diplomacy has a great influence and actual values on improving national and international interests. Disaster Diplomacy is flexible and multiform yet uncertain and there are some restrictions in the process of diplomatic practice. Disaster Diplomacy can also promote the Chinese role "as a responsible and powerful country"¹¹⁾.

From the aforementioned explanation, disaster issues and disaster management can become effective means of diplomacy of a country to achieve its interests.

3. Structural Initiation of Disaster Management: Indonesia's Experiences

Disasters are an inseparable part of Indonesian people's life. Located in an area which is so-called *Ring of Fire* requires the people to be more cautious toward disasters. The circumstance drives government to be responsible for anticipating and managing disasters through establishing National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB).

The BNPB establishment possesses a long history since the declaration of independence on August 17th, 1945. The times, needs, and changing perception on disasters have contributed to the disaster management agency formats and disaster management implementation. At first after the Independence Day, Indonesian government started to develop special agency that take care of victims of wars and their family, which represent Indonesian government perception on the term disaster was related with war. Since 1967 when the number of natural disaster happened in Indonesia started to increase, the government developed special team, which managed disaster management. The development can generally be divided based on periods written as follows:¹²⁾

1. 1967-1979

The number of natural disasters increased so that solemn controlled management was necessary. Thus, cabinet presidium made Decree No.14/U/KEP/1967 to coin National Natural Disaster Management Coordination Team (TKP2BA).

2. 1979-1990

In this period, the national natural disaster management coordination team altered into National Natural Disaster Management Coordination Agency (*Barkonas* PBA) through Presidential Decree No.28/1979 coordinated by Minister of Social. As operational explanation of the decree, Home Minister established Disaster Management Implementation Coordination Unit (SATKORLAK PBA) for each province.

3. 1990-2000

In this period, it was aware that disasters encompass not only natural disasters but also impacts of human behaviors often causing the enormous number of deaths. Therefore, National Natural Disaster Management Coordination Agency changed into National Disaster Management Coordination Agency (BARKONAS PB). Based on Presidential Decree No. 43/1990, there responsibilities of BARKONAS PB were dealing with managing not only natural disasters but also disasters because of human behaviors. Emphasized on Presidential Decree No. 106/1999, disaster management needed coordinate management of inter-sector, inter-doer, and inter-discipline.

4. 2001-2005

After Indonesia confronted multidimensional crises, alternate disasters, and various conflicts, a new problem emerged that refugees needed special management. Hence, BAKORNAS PB improved into National Disaster and Refugee Management Coordination Agency (BAKORNAS PBP) through Presidential Decree No. 111/2001. Along with the implementation of regional autonomy that the authority of disaster management became the regional responsibility, central government commenced to enhance the ability of local

government and people to face disaster issues in their area autonomously.

5. 2005-2008

Due to earthquake and tsunami hitting Aceh, there was Presidential Regulation No. 83/2005 on National Disaster Management Coordination Agency. This agency had coordinative functions supported by the daily executive as disaster management executive. Indeed, approaches through a paradigm of risk reduction were a proper answer for disaster management efforts in the regional autonomy era. In the paradigm, each individual was introduced to various threats in their area, how to reduce the risks and susceptibility, and how to enhance people's ability in encountering threats.

6. Since 2008

Based on Law No. 24/2007 on Disaster Management, there made Presidential Decree No. 8/2008 on National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB).

The BNPB as a special agency of disaster management in Indonesia has developed disaster management cycle involving two huge events, namely pre event and post event. The post event embraces disaster response/emergency response or disaster recovery, while the pre event includes disaster preparedness and disaster mitigation. A term of disaster reduction is also proposed as the combination of disaster mitigation and disaster preparedness.¹³⁾ The pre event can be in term of enhancing disaster awareness, giving disaster drill, providing disaster-proof, establishing social system of disaster preparedness, and making disaster management policies.

Coinciding with the implementation of Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA) 2005–2015, Indonesia established National Disaster Management System from legitimation, institution, planning, funding, and capacity development in order that disaster management, disaster risk reduction could be applied cohesively and comprehensively.

Since the existence of Law No. 24/2007 on Disaster Management, Indonesia possessed various performances such as the establishment of National Disaster Management Agency and Local Disaster Management Agency (BNPBD) in province and regency/city level, the arrangement of National Disaster Management Plans (2010–2014), National Action Plans of Disaster Risk Reduction (2010–2012), and the addressing of disaster management on RPJMN (2010–2014) as one of the main priorities of national development.¹⁴⁾

The commitment of Indonesia to the HFA was showed through the establishment of National Platform of Disaster Risk Reduction (*Planas* PRB) as a platform for disaster risk reduction stakeholders (media, community organization, government, academicians, business agencies, and international organization to work together since disaster risk reduction is “everybody's business.” In a local level, several disaster risk reduction forums were created. New government endlessly attempts to support disaster management development in local areas by making maps of risk to be utilized to arrange development planning, to empowering agencies through the arrangement of contingency plans and drills for disaster preparedness.¹⁵⁾

4. Natural Disaster Management in Indonesia as Soft Power

The BNPB and disaster management event institutions have shown good performance and brought a positive impact on how people in the world saw government's image. Disaster management under the BNPB yielded soft power which government could utilize to undertake effective diplomacy to expand cooperation with other countries to achieve national goals and interests.

Besides BNPB, people in the world have viewed that disaster management in Indonesia has amazingly improved. Post-tsunami in Aceh in 2014, Indonesia did not possess disaster management system and equipment, but this country then could have complete national system. Four years after the establishment of Law No. 24/2007, many countries considered Indonesia as a developed county in disaster management. On the contrary, Republic of Korea took more than 15 years to have national disaster management system.

To build disaster integrity in community levels, various organizations/NGOs coined Community Based Disaster Risk Reduction (CBDRR) projects. The establishment of the CBDRR was due to the idea that local community possesses local wisdom and knowledge. They are considered as appropriate parties to identify threats and risks which they face as well as to find out the mitigation efforts.

Early alert systems of various threats have been developed such as an early alert system of tsunami (INA TEWS), volcano eruption, flood, and landslide. Efforts to mainstream disaster risk reduction in education have been commenced since 2008. Ministry of Education and Culture, supported by various components focusing on the field of education and disaster risk reduction, arranged strategies of the mainstream of disaster risk reduction in the form of a ToT module which can be used as a guideline for teachers to explain threats, basic knowledge of disaster risk reduction, disaster preparedness, and others. Indonesia also participated in a global campaign 'One million safe schools and hospitals' that 13,500 schools and 133 hospitals in Indonesia committed to build schools and hospitals which are safe from disasters. Government's commitment to disaster risk reduction was shown by the increasing of disaster risk reduction funding for the recent five years. The disaster risk reduction funding alleviated significantly from US 2.14 million dollars in 2010 to US 21.4 million dollars in 2011.¹⁶⁾

Indonesia, as a laboratory of disaster management, has become a reference for other countries that many delegates of various countries came to Indonesia to learn the development of disaster risk reduction as well as disaster management in Indonesia and to adapt similar means utilized by Indonesia, for example Indonesia Disaster Data and Information/DIBI, National Platform of Disaster Risk Reduction, Law No. 24/2007 on Disaster Management, and others. The achievements of Indonesia in disaster risk reduction displayed that the significance of partnerships in the disaster risk reduction implementation. Under supervision and coordination of the BNPB, various partners of disaster risk reduction such as Safer Communities for Disaster Risk Reduction (SCDRR), Global Facility for Disaster Risk Reduction (GFDRR), Australia- Indonesia Facility for Disaster Reduction (AIFDR), DIPECHO, JICA, United Nations Country Team, UN ISDR, and others gave significant

contribution to the disaster risk reduction development of Indonesia.

Efforts to promote disaster risk reduction and awareness of disaster risk reduction have sustainably been conducted by disaster management agencies and stakeholders including private sectors, civil society, and communities in Indonesia. Noticing the fact that people in remote areas often become susceptible to disasters so that raising their awareness of disaster risk reduction should be the main concern. Indonesian government's endeavors were assisted through technical cooperation with international partners, particularly UNISDR, UNDP, AIFDR, World Bank, JICA, and donor countries. Meanwhile, national institutions, NGOs, universities, and private sectors supported to actualize the activities of disaster risk reduction. Those are soft power resources of Indonesia which can be utilized in international relations.

The disaster management development in Indonesia has attracted attention and care of international organizations including the United Nations. The United Nations is amazed by Indonesia Tsunami Early Warning Center (Ina TEWS) which can build a system and buoy to warn tsunami with the 8-minute prediction capacity after an earthquake. The Indonesia Disaster Data and Information (DIBI) is acknowledged as the best disaster information system instrument in Asia-Pacific and becomes a model for other countries. Indeed, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono achieved Global Champion for Disaster Risk Reduction from the United Nations in 2011 as the acknowledgement and expectation of Indonesia strong leadership in disaster management, particularly in campaigning disaster risk reduction. The world acknowledgment of Indonesian achievements in disaster management proves that Indonesia possesses potential competitiveness to continuously be enhanced and this is a soft power. In the constellation of international relations and developing national products having high value, disaster management has comparative and competitive superiorities so that Indonesia can become world-class center of excellence.¹⁷⁾

For instance, soft power of Indonesia was shown in its involvement in providing aids when tsunami hit Japan in March 2011 that Indonesia was carrying out an international disaster drill in Manado (ARF DiReX). Japan was as co-chair in the drill. Indonesia was also engaged in giving humanity aids to Japan. Then, in the following three months, President of the Republic of Indonesia visited a disaster-impacted area, namely Prefecture Fukushima.

The visit left great impression that Prime Minister of Japan expressed his gratitude for Indonesia's help to Japan. Indonesia as a strategic partner of Japan now may be able to be enhanced to become an ally. It means that involvement in universal humanity issues has influenced another factor, which became the consideration of Japan, to change their preference in bilateral relations with Indonesia. This is the phenomenon of soft power. If Indonesia can be an ally of Japan, Indonesia can also be the ally of Japan's allies. To be noted, steps of bilateral relations from the lowest to the highest respectively are partner, strategic partner, and ally.

Besides, government of Myanmar required Indonesia's assistance to make Law of Myanmar Disaster Management. Almost 70 percent of contents of Law No. 24/2007 were adapted to Law Disaster Management in Myanmar. It shows that the BNPB performance gained appreciation from another country and became effective soft power on diplomacy between Indonesia and other countries. In fact, Indonesia was the host of the fifth Asian Ministerial Conference for Disaster Risk

Reduction (AMCDRR) conducted on October 2012 and participated by 65 countries. Additionally, 11 Asia-Pacific countries visited the BNPB and asked Indonesia to give technical assistance in the establishment of disaster information system and AHA Center in Jakarta. Indonesia also cooperated with a number of countries through Gentlement Agreement or Memorandum of Understanding in disaster management fields.

Therefore, disaster management can become soft power of Indonesia in international relations. It is expected to assist the effective implementation of diplomacy to achieve national goals and interests.

5. Conclusion

Disaster management coordinated by government can be utilized as soft power for the implementation of Indonesia's diplomacy. The world acknowledgement toward the achievement of Indonesia in disaster management proves that Indonesia possesses potential competitiveness which should endlessly be developed and this denotes the phenomenon of soft power. In the constellation of international relations and developing national products having high value, disaster management has comparative and competitive superiorities so that Indonesia can become world-class center of excellence.

Note

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- 3) Louise K. Comfort, "Disaster: Agent of Diplomacy or Change in International Affairs?", *Disaster Journal*, 2002
- 4) Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), xi.
- 5) *ibid*
- 6) *Ibid*
- 7) Joseph S. Nye, Jr, "The Future of Soft Power in US Foreign Policy" dalam Inderjeet Parmar and Michael Cox (ed.), *Soft power and US foreign policy: theoretical, historical and contemporary perspectives*, Routledge, New York, 2010, h. 4
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- 12) See <http://www.bnpb.go.id/website/asp/content.asp?id=2> retrieved on June 13, 2012
- 13) Makki, 2006
- 14) See Newsletter *Gema BNPB*, vol. 2 No. 3 November 2011
- 15) *ibid*
- 16) *ibid*
- 17) Statements of Head of National Disaster Management Agency DR. Syamsul Maarif, Msi dalam http://www.bnpb.go.id/website/asp/berita_list.asp?id=612

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