

Research Article

Human Security Policy Initiative on Catastrophic Disaster and Crisis Response in Indonesia

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Elpeni Fitrah: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2003-123X>**Abstract.**

This paper discusses the internalization of global ideas in a country's national policies. This paper reviews the application of the human security concept to Indonesia's domestic policies, especially on the issue of catastrophic disaster and crisis response. This topic arises as Indonesia has historically experienced various crises, such as the 1997 financial crisis, the health crisis due to the 2002 SARS pandemic outbreak, and the humanitarian crisis caused by the 2004 tsunami disaster. In addition, Indonesia is threatened by other issues, such as domestic conflict, separatism, terrorism, and environmental problems. All of these issues, according to experts, have an equivalent impact on conflict and significantly affect the security of citizens. Therefore, this article intends to discover the capacity and ability of Indonesia to apply human security ideas in its domestic policies. This paper uses two approaches to achieve its objective: the human security approach according to the global perspective and the policy network approach in public policy studies. This paper argues that the idea of human security has not yet become a platform in the formulation of security policy in Indonesia. However, the basic principles of the concept of human security are contained in the national constitution. Besides, in the disaster and crisis management context directly related to human security, the state is still working alone. It has not optimized all the resources and non-governmental actors to work together to produce the community's specific policies.

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1. Introduction

This article aims to discuss the internalization of human security ideas in Indonesia's national security policy. The topic is very interesting when we perceive Indonesia as a vast country in terms of area, population, and diversity. This situation might bring Indonesia into a state of crisis. In its history, Indonesia has also been tested by various emergencies such as; internal conflicts, separatism, authoritarianism, terrorism, major disasters, economic crises, violations of human rights, the environment, tolerance, and so forth. All of these problems significantly affect the security of individual citizens.

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Some of the significant cases that have hit Indonesia such as the 1997 financial crisis, the spread of the 2002 SAR outbreak pandemic, the 2004 tsunami disaster, and many other emergencies that followed after including terrorism, the rise of the Papuan separatism movement, and even the COVID-19 pandemic issue in 2020 marks that humanitarian threats are real. The internalization of human security ideas becomes relevant and essential to guarantee and protect its citizens' security. To limit the scope of the discussion, this article discussed how the human security policy initiative in Indonesia on the issue of catastrophic disaster and crisis response. At the end of this section, we reveal the novelty of this study after examining various literatures related to this research topic.

Furthermore, the concept of human security is exciting to be used as a basis in planning and implementing development in Indonesia. Therefore, this article intends to discover the capacity and ability of Indonesia to apply human security in its domestic policies. Thus, in our opinion, there are several appropriate and relevant approaches to achieve the objectives of this article. The approach is, first, the concept of global human security ideas, second, the policy network, part of a public policy study, which can be used to see how actors in a country based on their respective interests, influence political policy.

Substantially, the idea of human security is not new in the security studies. Over the past few decades, analysts and policymakers have not seen military aggression as the only threat to the country's security. The concept of an insecurity dilemma, theorist dependency view, adherents to the cosmopolitanism view, and several studies that link security aspects with the welfare of children and women, as mentioned by Caroline Thomas (1), represent the above arguments.

In the concept of human security, referent objects of its policy are not States but individuals/humans. The substance of human security can also be found in the idea of security put forward by proponents of critical theory, questioning state-building as a patriarchal order. Likewise, the national resilience initiated by Indonesia, Japan's comprehensive security, and others who see security are not only about state and military security.

Compared to interwar periods, new threats to human security are increasingly significant, based on the experience of many countries and events that have occurred lately, these threats originate from internal conflicts, natural disasters, and state oppression. At present, much information has been spread about humanitarian issues and has also been discussed in scientific forums and publications. These sources should provide tools for finding the right methods and approaches for solving problems more systematically. Furthermore, even political units such as international, regional, and sub-regional

organizations, as well as state and non-state actors, appear to be very concerned and participate in efforts to protect human security.

That means, currently, security is placed as public goods that are entitled to be enjoyed by every citizen, individuals, groups, and nation by setting the state's obligation to regulate and manage it. Thus, the security discourse is now monopolized by the state or security actors, but civil society also has space to study and discuss various security issues. But the problem is, "does such an effort help generate viable measures to achieve human security?" the question is very relevant to explain how the state provides a framework for the idea of human security in its national policies (2).

The emergence of human security idea found its momentum when UNDP released the Human Development Report in 1994 (3). UNDP stresses that *"the concept of security must change-from exclusive stress on national security to much greater stress on people security, from security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial to food, employment, and environmental security."* In the report, UNDP mentioned seven dimensions of human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, individual security, community security, and political security.

Besides, UNDP emphasized that the concept of Human Security consists of 3 crucial principles, namely: Freedom from fear, Freedom from want, and Freedom to live in dignity.

Reference: Human Security Unit, *Human Security in Theory and Practice, Application of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security*, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, United Nations (4).

The concept of human security, according to UNDP, is a synthesis of debates between development, human rights, disarmament and several commission reports, such as the Brant Commission, the Brundtland Commission, and the Global Governance Commission, which shifts the focus of security from state-centered security to people-centered security. The concept of UNDP's human security marked a shift in international relations after the Cold War, namely a change in norms about the relationship between state sovereignty and human rights, which later gave birth to the concept of "Responsibility to Protect." As such, the UNDP Idea directly links human security with human rights and humanitarian law. The major criticism of the UNDP version of the human security concept is mainly about its scope which is interpreted too broad, so that various versions of human security emerge, such as the views of Canada, or Japan. In the following, there will be an explanation of a few security concepts from two countries that have successfully applied the idea of human security in their internal and international policies.

TABLE 1: Principles of Human Security.

HS Principle	HS Approach
People-centered	Inclusive and Participatory
	Considers individuals and communities in defining their needs vulnerabilities and in acting as active agents of change
	Collectively determines which insecurities to address and identifies the available resources including local assets and indigenous coping mechanisms
Multi-sectoral	Addresses multi-sectorality by promoting dialogue among key actors from different sectors fields
	Helps to ensure coherence and coordination across traditionally separate sectors fields
	Assesses positive and negative externalities of each response on the overall human security situation of the affected community (ies)
Comprehensive	Holistic analysis: the seven security components of human security
	Addresses the wide spectrum of threats, vulnerabilities, and capacities
	Analysis of actors and sectors not previously considered relevant to the success of a policy programme project
	Develops multi-sectoral multi-actor responses
Context-specific	Requires in-depth analysis of the targeted situation
	Focuses on a core set of freedoms and rights under threat in a given situation
	Identifies the concrete needs of the affected community (ies) and enables the development of more appropriate solutions that are embedded in local realities, capacities, and coping mechanisms
	Take into account local, national, regional, and global dimensions and their impact on the targeted situation
Prevention-oriented	Identifies risks, threats and hazards, and addresses their root causes
	Focuses on preventative responses through a protection and empowerment framework
	Focuses on preventative responses through a protection and empowerment framework

Canada's Perspective

In understanding Human Security, the Canadian government has its perspective. It is different from UNDP, which tends to see humanitarian threats based on the negative impacts of development and underdevelopment and ignores "human insecurity resulting from violent conflict." The Canadian government broadens the dimension of the risk based on the UN Charter, the universal declaration of human rights, and the Geneva Conventions. It focuses on fatalities caused by violent conflict (5). Operational steps to protect people are formulated in several agendas, such as: banning the spread of mines, the formation of the International Criminal Court, human rights, international humanitarian law, the proliferation of small and small arms, child soldiers, and child labor (5). This country has become a model in the implementation of human rights, which, according to them, highly accommodates human security. The protection and

facilities provided to its citizens and the development of democracy and human rights in other countries make this country increasingly establish itself as the primary sponsor of human rights throughout the world. Canada rivals the US in promoting human rights across the globe because of reliable consistency and commitment, unlike the US, which is felt to be very biased in any human rights policy.

Japanese and Asian views

Japan's View of human security is very similar to UNDP. They cover all things that threaten human life and honor, such as environmental damage, human rights violations, international organized crime, refugee problems, distribution of illegal drugs, the spread of dangerous infectious diseases, and many more. Most Asian countries are in line with UNDP and Japan's human security views (5). They argue that it is too unrealistic and straightforward to see human security only as a measure of freedom from fear due to conflict and human rights violations. At the same time, the problems faced are more dimensional in structural violence due to socio-economic backwardness. It means that Japan adopted a comprehensive security approach that was closer to UNDP by emphasizing more freedom from want through several development projects abroad, such as the Overseas Development Assistance program (ODA)(6).

After examining the general concept of human security in global perspectives, this paper has also been influenced by several previous studies that have contributed to the mapping of ideas in this article. Several studies have reviewed regional human security ideas and national experiences. Some of them are:

Yukiko Nishikawa in *Human Security in Southeast Asia* (2) strengthens understanding of the importance of integrating human security ideas into a country's national policies. The advice arises from the author's reflection after witnessing everyday events that sometimes conflict with the principle of protection of human/citizen security. The author of this book envisions the need for an ideal system to ensure that human life is free from all forms of threats that have the potential to endanger their rights to life. Southeast Asia is a fascinating illustration to see how countries in this region interpret the idea of human security. The authors of this book see that threats to human security are severe and widespread in Southeast Asia. Some of the following problems, such as poverty, unemployment, environmental degradation, malnutrition, communal conflicts, terrorism, crimes, political violence, human rights violations, and social injustice, are considered the primary sources of human security threats in the region. The impact, these threats in one country often spread to neighboring countries through the flow of refugees and illegal emigrants with negative consequences on regional security as a whole. This book reviews three main human security issues in the Southeast Asian region: violence related to intra-state conflicts, intra-regional security issues, and human rights situations.

Deborah Wheeler, in *“Freedom from Want, and Freedom from Fear; A Human Security Approach to a New Middle East?”* (7), informs us that a human security approach is prudent, especially since the change in the world has created the need for new security concepts to address the increasingly interdependent nature of security challenges. So how can a more human-security-oriented state and society relationship emerge in the Middle East? By way of conclusion, she argued that if more citizen-friendly states are to appear in the Middle East, the impetus for such change is unlikely to originate with the country, as heads of state and their circles of family and friends have the most to gain from the status quo and are, in most cases, resistant to change except for the most cosmetic of forms. The cost of the Iraq war, the freedom deficit, the youth bulge and unemployment, water scarcity and food insecurity, occupation, and the impact of energy dependence on the region’s oil are just a few examples of the geopolitical forces encouraging a human security dialogue. To promote peace in the area, Arab states should put their own ‘houses in order,’ Instead of preparing for war, with neighbours and their populations, they should look out for the disenfranchised. They should provide contexts of good governance whereby people can thrive, be empowered by choice, and enabled by opportunities for a meaningful and secure life. Doing so is the best line of defence against foreign intervention and instability in the region.

Lina A. Alexandra in *“Perception on Human Security: Indonesian View”* (8) expresses how Human Security (HS) is being perceived in Indonesia and how different stakeholders in Indonesia view HS threats/challenges. The perception covers aspects such as the definition of HS concerning three essential elements, i.e., freedom from want, freedom from fear, and freedom to live in dignity; priority issues; protection and empowerment; and cross-border characteristics. She also examines sovereignty and the involvement of military instrument questions in dealing with matters that fall under the HS discussion. The study is based on in-depth interviews with different stakeholders that included policymakers (high-rank officials), ex-military officers, academics, and non-governmental organization activists. She concluded that while HS is known and to a certain extent understood generally by different stakeholders in Indonesia, the concept has not been fully incorporated into the policy framework or used as a useful tool to address the so-called “new security threats/challenges.” elements of HS are only broadly touched on without any profound elaboration on how HS is adopted as a full policy framework. Such fact reflects a particular concern (as highlighted in the results of interviews, particularly from the elites) that HS is instead a “foreign” concept that needs further clarification and discussion on its implementation to fit the local contexts and complexities. Moreover, the existing pieces of legislation related to the HS challenges still lack a more advanced elaboration of HS aspects, such as empowerment and how to deal with downside risks. Most of the regulations tend to focus only on ad hoc and immediate measures

rather than developing instruments to identify potentials to prevent the outbreak of the problems before it is too late.

Hawre Hasan Hama, in “*State Security, Societal Security, and Human Security*”(9) discuss several approaches namely The Copenhagen School, the Welsh School, and the human security that challenge the traditional conception of security which views states as the sole referent object of protection and rejects any broader concepts of security. The Copenhagen School assumes duality of security: state security and societal security. The Welsh School and the human security approach, on the other hand, regard individuals as the referent objects of security, with states being viewed as the means to serve such ends. The article showed and argued that the Copenhagen School could successfully broaden the concept of security by adding social security into security studies. Moreover, the school is more convincing than both the Welsh School and the human security approach. The Welsh School looked at individuals as the referent object of security and offered the emancipation strategy, which is problematic and seen by scholars as too abstract. As for the human security approach, it is found problematic because of its adherents’ lack of agreement upon certain principles and also because of the reliance on states to implement human rights, thus giving states a mechanism to protect the international community selectively applies their interests rather than human rights, mainly as the principles of human rights.

Erwin Nur Rif’ah in “*Freedom or Restraint: Redefining the Concept of Human Security within the Indonesian Muslim Community*” (10) explores the changing concept and perception of human security in Indonesia. She focuses on how Indonesian Muslims, and especially women, define the concept of Human Security, as defined by the UN Commission of Human Security, based on their experiences and opinions. This study takes two districts as study cases that are Cianjur, West Java, and Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, where a form of Perda (*peraturan daerah*/local regulations) Sharia law has been implemented. This research emphasizes the interplay between human security and women’s security and the changing religious, social, and political atmosphere relative to the implementation of Perda Sharia. In the districts where the research was conducted, the majority of respondents disagreed with the concept of human and women’s security as outlined by the CHS. It means that the western cultural context, which has formed the background for the definition of human security developed by the Commission on Human Security, is at odds with local wisdom and local cultural values regarding women’s experience. Freedom as a core meaning of human security mainly has a negative connotation in these two districts. The definition of security used by women varies widely and covers an expansive area, including personal security, the community’s security, and political security. Women defined security within the fulfilment of their needs, such as the need to be respected and to feel comfortable, being trust,

a sufficient household economy, the recognition of capability, the provision of freedom with limitations, the ability to be responsible and accountable for their actions.

If drawn far back, some of the previous works are also quite contributing to the development of human security ideas. Amitav Acharya in "*Human Security: East versus West?*"(11) explains the differences in the paradigm of human security between West and East. There are two general indicators in achieving human security; "freedom from fear" and "freedom from wants." According to Acharya, western nations are more concerned with creating the condition of "Freedom from fear" (most favoured in the West). Meanwhile, the situation of "freedom from wants" is more of a concern among Easterners (most favoured in the East). As a case example, Acharya reviews the different perceptions of human security between Canada and Japan as Western and Eastern representations.

Meanwhile, how human security is used as an instrument of foreign policy was discussed by Tobias Debiel / Sascha Werthes (Eds.) In their paper entitled "*Human Security on Foreign Policy Agendas; Introduction to Changes, Concepts, and Cases*" (12), Tobias Debiel / Sascha Werthes (Eds.) emphasized how human security is understood and accepted as Political Leitmotif (guiding vision) and influences the foreign policy agenda, policy formulation, and implementation. They also discuss the application of human security in the foreign policy agenda of countries such as Japan, the European Union, and the United States. According to Werthes and Debiel, political leitmotif, or guiding vision, is a referential framework that contains coherent ideas to guide the formulation of political agendas and decision making. It shapes the attitudes and appearances of actors. Political leitmotif must fulfill at least three functions: Explanation and Orientation, Coordination and action-related decision guidance, and Motivation and mobilization.

Based on the abovementioned issues, this paper will focus on discussing Indonesia's human security policy initiative on the subject of catastrophic disaster and crisis response by using the public policy approach, especially the concept of network policy, to explain the case.

At this point we would like to emphasize that this paper carries a different spirit from several other existing studies. The combination of the human security approach and the policy network in this paper reflects two things that support each other, namely how the state understands the serious challenges that are being faced and how the solutions are to respond to them. The human security approach provides a new way of thinking for identifying broad and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihoods and dignity of nations. Meanwhile, the policy network approach helps countries to formulate appropriate national policies to address all recurring problems that may continue to occur in the future.

2. Method

This study applies qualitative methods to produce the expected conclusions. Denzin and Lincoln (13) stated that qualitative research uses a natural setting to interpret phenomena that occur and is carried out by involving various existing methods. Besides, Babbie (14) also stated that qualitative analysis as "the non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations, to discover underlying meanings and patterns of relationships." In addition, this research collected data mainly from document analysis. Document analysis is gathering information from various kinds of literature, including reference books, journals, news sources, personal documents or official documents of relevant institutions, and official statements from the online sites of individual institutions related to this research. The primary purpose of conducting a literature study is to find the variables to be examined; distinguish between the things that have been done, determine the things that need to be done; do the synthesis, obtain a new perspective, and establish the meaning and relationship between variables.

This study used descriptive methods for data analysis techniques to find a phenomenon's elements, characteristics, and features. A qualitative descriptive approach includes the construction of social reality and cultural meaning, focusing on interactive processes, events, authenticity, non-free values, integrated theories, theories or data, situational or contextual, and researcher involvement (15).

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Policy Network Approach

The policy network approach is an analytical tool to see the relation of actors with all their resources and interests in the implementation and formulation of policies. Policy networks are described in several categories, namely actors, linkages between actors, and the boundary (16). Policy networks in the implementation and policymaking are influenced by political processes that are controlled by state actors, but there are a variety of actors and interests in them.

The experts call the policy networks approach with several different names but with the same meaning, such as the inter-organization approach (17), advocacy coalition framework (18), sub governmental approach (19), and policy subsystems (20). Hanf, K & Scharpf in Patrick & Schneider (16) use the term policy networks consistently and explain in advance the terminology of networks, which are necessarily the relations and dependencies of actors involved in the policymaking process.

Borzel in Hugh Cumpston (21) explains two schools, which ultimately led to two views on the policy network, namely "the interest intermediation school" and "the governance school." The interest intermediation school refers to an analysis that interprets policy networks as a general term to distinguish forms of relations between interest groups and the state and sees policy networks based on the dependence of power between government and interest groups where resources are exchanged (21). Meanwhile, the governance school refers to the analysis that the interpretation of the term is more narrowly to refer to the specific form of public-private interaction in public policy, namely the one based on non-hierarchical coordination (21). Thus, Cumpston's emphasis on policy network analysis is actor and resource exchange.

Furthermore, according to Marin & Mayntz (22), policy networks are another type of inter-organizational networks that function to analyse the formulation and implementation of public policies. The members involved are private actors, academics, policymakers, journalists, and others, and there is no single actor category in the explanation of policy networks. Meanwhile, according to Thomas König, policy networks are a self-organizing group that coordinates a growing number of public (decision-makers) and private (interest groups) actors to formulate and implement public policies (23). Roderick A.W. Rhodes (24), defines policy networks as sets of formal institutions and informal links between governmental and other actors structured around shared if endlessly negotiated beliefs and interests in public policymaking and implementation. From several understanding of policy networks above, it can be seen that the focus is on the actors, relations between actors, and the interests of actors.

As explained by Erik Hans Klijn (25), the characteristics of policy networks focus on three main domains, namely; 1) Dependency, which means that the actor is dependent on other actors. Actors want to achieve goals but depend on other actors to achieve their goals. This dependence is not static but changes caused by the involvement of actors in the interaction; 2) Processes, which means that policy networks consist of many actors and no single actor can control the strategies of other actors. All actors have their own goals and interests. There is no sole objective that can be used to measure the effectiveness of policies because the policy itself is the result of interaction among many actors. 3) Institutions, which are formed due to dependence, interaction experiences, and patterns of relationships between actors. This pattern shows a specific density and has a strong character. So, it can be said that the policy network is relevant for understanding the process of implementation and policy formulation. The concept of network policy in public policy studies focuses on the involvement of actors, the relationships between these actors, the resources they have to realize the right type of policy network in policy implementation and formulation.

3.2. Construction of Human Security Ideas in Indonesia

Information about the construction of the human security ideas in Indonesia's national policy is still minimal. Therefore, we only briefly discuss this aspect based on available data. The design of human security policy in Indonesia is contained in the Indonesian constitution, namely *Undang Undang Dasar 1945* (26) and the State National Ideology, namely *Pancasila*.

Undang Undang Dasar 1945 is a constitutional foundation that describes the state's objectives, which stands above the management of interdependent national security and national prosperity (National Constitution, Preamble/UUD 1945, Pembukaan). The principle is stated in the fourth paragraph, which reads:

"Kemudian daripada itu untuk membentuk suatu Pemerintahan Negara Indonesia yang melindungi segenap bangsa Indonesia dan seluruh tumpah darah Indonesia dan untuk memajukan kesejahteraan umum, mencerdaskan kehidupan bangsa, dan ikut serta melaksanakan ketertiban dunia yang berdasar kemerdekaan, perdamaian abadi dan keadilan sosial,...." ("Furthermore, to form an Indonesian Government that protects all Indonesians and all of Indonesia's blood and to promote public welfare, educate the nation's life, and **participate in carrying out world order based on independence, sustainable peace and social justice...** ")

Meanwhile, Pancasila, as the way of life of the Indonesian people, explicitly also contained a conception of human values, national values, democratic values, and social justice for all citizens of the nation. The Indonesian Constitution and Pancasila do not directly mention the term human security. Still, the benefits to be championed are the same as those in human security principles, which emphasize the guarantee and protection of human security. However, in practice, the application of the idea of human security in Indonesia is different from Western/liberal views.

The design of human security conception adapts to a typical Indonesian perspective. The term individual, according to the Western version, refers more to liberalism. Individuals in this liberal context view humans as universal, free individuals, without seeing their identities and relationships within the community in which they are located. Meanwhile, the concept of human security in the Indonesian perspective has its characteristics based on communitarianism. Communitarianism views humans as an integral part of their community. There is a reciprocal relationship between humans and their communities. In a broader sense, National Security seeks to create a sense of security for each individual or group in different ways, by promoting national interests and not based on the importance of groups, nor at the expense of the rights of every citizen.

In our opinion, in terms of internal structure, Indonesia intends to accommodate the idea of Human Security in its domestic security policy. Despite the current reality, the statutory regulation called the National Security Act, which explicitly mentions human security as an essential part of the security element in Indonesia, is still drafted and is in the stage of discussion with relevant parties.

Besides, the integration of the idea of Human Security in Indonesia's national policy will be more reliable with adequate intersubjective understanding. We need to assess how the Indonesian elite's responses and perceptions to internalize the idea of human security. In this concept, knowledge, and thought together contribute to how actors look at themselves and act in national policy formulation. Inter-subjective understanding requires a conversion between subjective rationality and the transformation of personal interests. Similarities in views and interests are necessary conditions for producing corporate and institutional policies. Otherwise, inter-subjective compliance (from group members) and power of authority (from group leaders) will determine policy choices.

3.3. Indonesia's Human security policy Initiative on disaster and crisis response

As we mentioned at the beginning of this paper, Indonesia is a country that is prone to disasters and crises. Major events had struck Indonesia in the previous year, such as the 1997 financial crisis, the SARS pandemic outbreak of 2002, and the massive tsunami of 2004. Also, in the past five years, starting in 2014, many other situations could be categorized as crises, such as the crisis of tolerance, and now, as the case is affecting the global world, a pandemic of COVID-19 originating from Wuhan- China. We will review only two phenomena, namely catastrophic disaster and crisis, and how Indonesian public policy responds through the framework of human security idea.

To formulate the right policies in overcoming these problems, based on the policy network approach, good synergy between state and non-state actors is needed. Security discourse, at present, is not only monopolized by the state or security actors, but civil society also has space to study and discuss various security issues.

Human security initiatives in the handling of catastrophic disasters and crises in Indonesia can be seen from mitigation measures or protocols issued by the state to minimize or even reduce the impact and risk due to these events. Mitigation efforts are carried out to deal with all kinds of disasters, whether natural or human-made disasters. In general, mitigation efforts in Indonesia are carried out in two ways: structural mitigation, which relies on the construction of physical infrastructure, and non-structural mitigation through specific regulations and policies.

Meanwhile, experience in dealing with the economic crisis in 1997-1998 and 2008-2009, including the 2002 SARS pandemic outbreak, can certainly be a lesson in preventing future crises. The government should be aware of the need for coordination mechanisms, information exchanges, and decision-making mechanisms to prevent and treat legislation. In the following, we will describe how Indonesian public policy efforts in the above situation are based on the policy network framework.

3.4. Catastrophic Disaster

Indonesia is a country that has many areas prone to natural disasters. According to *Indeks Rawan Bencana Indonesia* (IRB – Indonesian disaster measurements index), released by the *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana* (BNPB -National Disaster Management Agency), 19 provinces in Indonesia have high IRB and 15 medium-indexed regions (27). Natural disasters that have struck Indonesia's territory have caused considerable damage to humans and their physical infrastructure. That is why natural disasters are considered as one of the factors that threaten human security. According to BNPB, the types of natural disaster events in Indonesia refer to the following cases: floods, landslides, earthquakes, earthquakes and tsunamis, forest and land fires, volcanic eruptions, tornados, and tsunamis.

Indonesia's geographical location, which is in the "ring of fire," has a great potential for Indonesia to experience a disaster. Disaster events result in reduced quality of human life, loss of life, and physical and material losses. The impact of disasters, in addition to physical and social lives, will also affect other dimensions of life, such as health, the environment, politics, community, food, and others.

As stating in *Undang-undang No. 24/2007* (28) – Indonesian official regulations on Disaster Management - the territory of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia has geographical, geological, hydrological, and demographic conditions that enable disasters, whether caused by natural factors, non-natural factors or human factors that cause human casualties, damage the environment, property losses, and psychological impacts which in certain circumstances can hamper national development. Disasters are not explicitly mentioned as aspects or dimensions in the concept of Human Security, according to UNDP, but rather are part of Environmental Security. Therefore, Madoka Futamura et. Al (29), when trying to explain the relationship between disasters and their impact on human welfare, referring to the concept of environmental security as contained in the UNDP human security idea. This work is very reasonable since Giovanni Zurlini and Felix Muller (30) also revealed that "environmental security is central to the national security, comprising the dynamics and interconnections among humans and natural resources." In addition, the Global Environment Facility in its study

illustrates that environmental problems are closely related to security issues as both aspects linked to the roots of sustainable livelihoods, health and well-being (31).

Responding to this reality, according to Kirchner (32), policymaking in the environmental sector (including disaster management) needs to involve two main actors namely the environmental observer community who frequently respond to and observe the impact of ecological changes on security, and the security community that is concerned with the non-traditional security issues that increased after the Cold War. According to the concept of network policy, the two actors are resources that play a role in the policymaking process.

Efforts to protect human security from the threat of disasters in Indonesia can be seen from the government's strategies and policies to strengthen its capacity to cope with and reduce disaster risks. Indonesia seems to emphasize preparedness and disaster risk identification factors. This preparedness variable underlines the importance of prevention aspects which includes: development and utilization of science and technology and education for disaster prevention and preparedness; conduct regular and continuous simulations and rehearsals for disaster preparedness in disaster-prone areas (33).

According to Indonesian regulation on Disaster Management (34), disaster preparedness is a series of activities carried out to anticipate disasters by organizing appropriate and effective steps. The readiness is carried out through:

1. preparation and testing of disaster emergency management plans;
2. organizing, installing and testing an early warning system;
3. supply and prepare supply goods to meet basic needs;
4. organizing, counseling, training, and rehearsal on emergency response mechanisms;
5. preparation of evacuation sites;
6. compilation of accurate data, information, and updates on disaster emergency response procedures; and
7. the supply and development of materials, goods, and equipment to fulfill the recovery of infrastructure and facilities.

Based on the description above, it seems very clear that the formulation of policies on handling disasters is still exclusively in the hands of the state power. Referring to the concept of a policy network, at least Indonesia must take three critical actions in the human security strategy, namely:

1. Making decisions regarding changes in the external and internal environment.

2. Mobilizing resources to carry out the decisions that have been taken.
3. Applying specific instruments to support the decisions that have been taken.

As part of the three points above, the state needs to make arrangements on national security that reflect broader actors' interests. At present, no institution or agency has the role in coordinating all components involved in national security issues at various degrees of magnitude, which vary according to the relevance of threat conditions to the national interest.

Bearing in mind that major catastrophic events in Indonesia affect many aspects of human security, it requires the government to develop a comprehensive security policy with clear stages, beginning with the establishment of an early warning system, prevention mechanism, countermeasures, and recovery process. Thus, the involvement of diverse actors to carry out these stages becomes a necessity.

3.5. Crisis Response

A country needs to have a crisis management protocol to deal with the threat of a global crisis. The contract regulates surveillance mechanisms for early warning system indicators that indicate the likelihood of an emergency, status determination, policy responses that need to be taken, and the organization and decision-making process to ensure excellent and transparent governance. Thus, the protocol means that it is the real action required to anticipate, prevent, and handle crises. A crisis that is not handled correctly will have a devastating effect on the economy, the country, and society.

In the context of Economic Crisis

The economic dimension is one of the essential aspects of human security that arose due to a shift in the concept of security after interwar periods. Economic security is not just discussing poverty but also includes the problem of unemployment, access to resources that generate income, and homelessness (35). Therefore, the economic crisis can directly affect the quality of life of the people related to other dimensions of security, such as health, individuals, the environment, and so on.

Indonesia, in its history, is a country that was affected by the financial crisis in 1997. After taking lessons from the case, Indonesia currently has a "Protokol Manajemen Krisis" (PMK - Crisis Management Protocol) that involves professional and political actors. The existence of PMK in Indonesia is regulated in *Undang-Undang No. 9/2016* (Indonesian official regulation concerning Financial System Crisis Prevention and Management) (36). The national crisis management protocol in Indonesia involves several institutions, such as *Bank Indonesia* (Indonesian Central Bank), the Ministry of Finance, *Lembaga Penjamin Simpanan* (LPS – an official institution for Deposit Insurance Corporation), and

Otoritas Jasa Keuangan (OJK – formal institution for the Financial Services Authority). The involvement of these institutions is because they consider that the crisis management protocol includes several sub-protocols such as the exchange rate crisis, banking and financial crisis, capital market crisis (bonds, stocks), fiscal and debt crises, which are carried out by each institution according to their authority given by the Act. However, any sub-protocol handling must be coordinated and integrated (37).

The Crisis Management Protocol framework is based on four basic principles: governance, prevention and action, coordination, and communication. In terms of governance, crisis prevention and mitigation must be carried out through a structured and transparent decision process through good coordination with other relevant government agencies. Furthermore, excellent communication is also needed to ensure the effectiveness of crisis management policies, especially if there are indications that lead to a systemic crisis and impact the national economic system.

Managing a financial crisis involves several controversial and often complex political issues. Addressing this problem requires political leadership because rallying political support for change can be difficult. Political skills are needed for the restructuring program through the legislative process in dealing with various forces of various group interests. Maintaining public confidence in this process's integrity is essential for success and for achieving confidence in international financial markets. This process is critical to ensure that policies are taken in a transparent and accountable manner to the public and the market. Achieving this target requires institutional coordination, highly qualified staff, and an excellent ability to communicate.

Effective leadership is the most crucial factor in financial crisis management. They are tasked with providing, developing, and implementing crisis management strategies, which must always act reasonably and transparently. Effective leadership also means being able to overcome crises appropriately and quickly.

Financial system crisis resolution cannot be planned in detail in the next few months or years. Therefore, many aspects need attention, such as hereditary factors and the expansion of the policy framework. This framework is designed to deal with unexpected events and the possibility of always recurring in the future.

In the Context of Health Crisis

Indonesia has a special regulation for overcoming the health crisis, named "*Peraturan Menteri Kesehatan Nomor 75 Tahun 2019* – a regulation issued by the ministry of health concerning Health Crisis Management" (38). The regulation defines a health crisis as an event or series of events that result in fatalities, injuries/illnesses, displacement, and the potential dangers that impact public health that require quick responses beyond regular habits and inadequate health capacity. Unlike the management of economic

crisis management, which is quite structured, handling the health crisis in Indonesia is not well coordinated. The situation was apparent in the processing of the COVID-19 outbreak that swept the world since the beginning of 2020. Despite having experienced a similar situation in 2002-2003 (SARS outbreak), the Indonesian government did not take lessons by establishing a Public Health response mechanism as a Rapid Action to deal with the next crisis. As a result, no trained and experienced officials quickly recognized the crisis and activated the emergency management structure to deal with the outbreak.

The existing regulation does not fulfill the requirements to be a comprehensive reference for crisis management of health because it only regulates the technical guidelines for the prevention of public health from disasters. That is why Health crisis management in Indonesia is one with the problem of disaster under the coordination of the *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana* (BNPB – National Agency for Disaster Management). Based on Indonesian's official regulation on Disaster Management (*Undang-undang no. 24/2007*), the main Actors responsible for the disaster management process are the Central Government and Regional Governments. Meanwhile, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (ministry of defense) acts as supporting actors. In 2014, BNPB decided to form a national cluster system for disaster management by involving several related departments such as the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Public Works, the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Ministry of Economics. Each of these ministries is the coordinator of each cluster: Health, search and safety, logistics, refugee and protection cluster, Education, facilities and infrastructure, economy, and early recovery. But unfortunately, this cluster seems only designed to work during disasters and post-disaster and was not prepared as an instrument of rapid disaster response.

COVID-19 Policy in Indonesia (a brief review)

In the following, we will briefly discuss Indonesia's health crisis management policy due to COVID-19. President Joko Widodo designated COVID-19 as a national outbreak disaster on March 14, 2020. This determination was followed by many policies, including the establishment of institutions and outbreaks of disaster emergency response frameworks under BNPB control, and finally, the Large-Scale Social Limitation (*another concept of the lock-down policy*) and financial allocation strategies to deal with outbreaks and to reduce the socio-economic impact of COVID-19.

The COVID-19 crisis gave birth to a complex policy crisis. The causes of this problem's complexity can be described as follows: the absence of rapid responses, unclear policy messages, weak coordination and synergy between policy actors, and the lack of disaster preparedness in both aspects of resources and infrastructure.

The earliest mistake in responding to the threat of COVID-19 was the negligence of anticipation by policymakers in Indonesia. Government officials in Indonesia, at the beginning of the spread of this virus, felt overconfident and thought that this virus was not a threat to the country and thus had no control instruments at all. The second problem is that the state does not have a clear policy message; there is even a robust mixed message impression. This impression is shown by the many statements of government officials who contradict each other. As a result, the role of leadership as a vital element in crisis management is invisible. The absence of policy messages harms several things, namely the re-emergence of hoax information, or hoaxes, related to the causes and efforts to deal with the virus. Besides, the absence of the policy message also gave rise to widespread confusion, not only at the community level, even within the government itself both at the central and regional levels.

The third problem is poor coordination and synergy between lines of government as an essential element of crisis management. Lack of coordination and the absence of synergy have a real impact on the fragmentation of treatment between central and regional government institutions. The nuance that then emerged was the politicization of the COVID-19 crisis. Although, in the end, the President issued a firmer policy, recreating a system of coordination and synergy that had been broken up at the initial response stage was not easy. The next issue is limited resources and infrastructure. This situation has caused a health crisis due to an increasingly large and widespread outbreak.

Through this description, we want to show that the policy network should be a source of strength in the formulation of policies regarding the protection of human security. After reading how Indonesia responded to the spread of the Covid-19 outbreak, we concluded that at this time, Indonesia was failing to coordinate relevant actors, both state and non-state, to strengthen each other's roles in overcoming the crisis. Indonesia should have an integrated policy channel so that there is an equal interpretation of policies among multi actors in the political system and government. Also, the government needs to establish a system of Routine Coordination and Synergy between Actors to reduce policy fragmentation at various levels of government or other actors involved.

4. Conclusion

This article probably has not developed a valid hypothesis about a policy framework based on the idea of human security in the problem of catastrophic disaster and crisis responses in Indonesia through a policy network approach. The ideas of this manuscript should be developed by conducting direct interviews and gathering information to

related parties and institutions to produce accurate and measurable conclusions. However, based on our simple analysis, Indonesia still has a long way to internalize the idea of human security in its national security policy.

Specifically, regarding the internalization of human security ideas in national policy, two aspects must be considered: the government's willingness to guarantee individual security broadly and responsibly, and the integration of security policies that are designed integrally between sectors. Another critical factor is the involvement of policy networks and all supporting resources.

The absence of national regulations on the concept of national security in Indonesia at this time because there are no institutions or agencies that have the role in coordinating all components involved in national security issues at various levels of participation (degree of magnitude), including on the subject of disaster management and crisis responses. The state currently appears to be exclusively the primary holder of the policymaking process and implementing actors in the field. The state should involve actors from various components to ensure that the policies taken are right on target and achieve the desired goals. Current state actors are dominant in handling human security issues, including the central government, local government (subnational actors), military apparatus, and relevant ministerial institutions. Meanwhile, the state does not seem to openly provide opportunities for actors outside the country, such as groups of scientists, communities, private actors, and journalists, to get involved in a rapid response team to address critical issues relating to human security and crises.

The state should accommodate a preventive-oriented approach to human security through the synergy of two-way policies, namely top-down and bottom-up systems. A top-down approach means that the country has a responsibility to protect its population through systematic, comprehensive, and preventive work procedures. While the bottom-up approach emphasizes the empowerment of various actors to develop their capabilities in supporting government policies, implementing an appropriate policy network can cover the state's inability to prioritize human security. Without these efforts, if the state fails to guarantee the right of life of its people, then it will be considered weak and tarnish the government's credibility.

Conflict of Interest

This manuscript proceeded accordingly as a contribution of objective thought without being influenced by any individual, organization, or entity with any financial interest in the subject matter or material discussed in this manuscript.

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