

Humanitarianism and Disaster Governance in Indonesia: Case Study: Merapi Eruption in 2010

Annisa Gita Srikandini

Universitas Gadjah Mada, Jl. Sosio Yustisia Yogyakarta
email: annisagita@yahoo.co.id

Abstract

This paper argues that humanitarian action in the aftermath of disaster could be explained with the concept of disaster governance. Humanitarian action has been defined as any action to minimize human suffering wherever it is found without considering any state boundaries. Its goal is to make the affected person to be resilient in the aftermath of disaster. This paper elaborates the principle of disaster governance including the concept of humanitarianism, the development of humanitarian enterprise, and the issue of coordination within the chaotic coordination after disaster. Second, it examines the concept of disaster governance as a model of network. Later, through those both tools, the case of Merapi Eruption in 2010 will be put into context.

Key Words:

disaster governance; Merapi eruption; humanitarian actors

Abstraksi

Artikel ini mengemukakan argumen bahwa aksi kemanusiaan pasca bencana dapat dijelaskan dengan konsep tata kelola bencana. Aksi kemanusiaan didefinisikan sebagai tindakan untuk meminimalkan penderitaan manusia dimanapun berada tanpa mempertimbangkan batas-batas negara. Tujuannya adalah untuk membuat orang yang terkena dampak bencana mampu bangkit kembali. Artikel ini menguraikan prinsip tata kelola bencana, termasuk konsep kemanusiaan, pengembangan *humanitarian enterprise*, hingga isu koordinasi dalam situasi bencana. Artikel ini juga mengkaji konsep tata kelola bencana sebagai model jaringan. Dengan pendekatan dan instrumen tersebut artikel ini mengulas kasus penanganan bencana Letusan Gunung Merapi tahun 2010.

Kata Kunci:

tata kelola bencana; letusan Merapi; pegiat aksi kemanusiaan

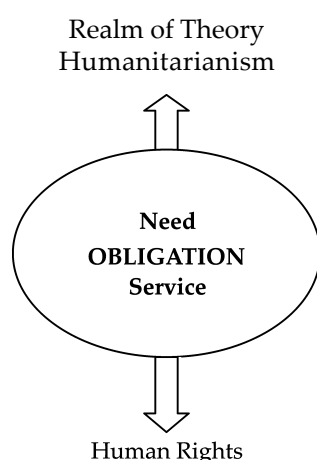
Humanitarianism

Humanitarianism has long been discussed as any action driven by moral obligations that called humanity. As one of prominent humanitarian principle, humanity highlighted the obligations to addressed

human suffering wherever it is found with attention to the most vulnerable people such as children women and the elderly (NOHA Course Reader p 31). Humanity never reckons boundaries on nationality, religion, ethnic origin, gender, race and political associa-

tions on their work. In the traditional point of view, human solidarity builds on 'something within each of us – our essential humanity – which resonates to the presence of this same thing in other human beings (Wheeler p 10). Regina Nockerts and Peter van Arsdale on Journal of Humanitarian Assistance elaborates the essence of moral obligations for humanitarian action.

Figure I: Humanitarianism and Moral Obligations



There are two moral reasons which turn to be a basis for humanitarian action: **first**, the tendency to respond to people with certain kinds of respect as a bound to the idea of dignity, **second**, sympathy as part of caring behavior to address the miseries and the happiness (Glover p 22).

Humanitarianism has driven by moral values embedded within human beings. Accordingly, humanitarian principle is narrated as nonnegotiable universal values in which human beings agree to respect and to comply. Walzer further argues that moral reality has to be seen in terms of a 'complex duality' between universalism and particularism; it is 'universal because it is human and particular because it is a society' (Wheeler p 12). Any violation to principle of humanity would be considered as uncivilized and barbaric action. Therefore, in the cases man-made and/ natural disaster, rapid action to assist the affected

population often emerged without necessary requests from the government. A report from Development Initiatives stated that in 2007/2008 Sudan received humanitarian assistance fund around US\$ 1.2 billion, the greatest share of total humanitarian assistance from donor countries of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (Development Initiatives p 1). Despite the failed government, international community has constantly provided humanitarian assistance to Sudan which suffered from complex humanitarian emergencies (Development Initiatives p 1). Further example showed by Indonesian experience in addressing tsunami. This natural disaster – the worst in Indonesian history in 20th century- struck Indonesia in December 26th, 2004. This tsunami was recorded as 'the longest and second strongest tsunami ever occurred' (Foley p 120). As the National Disaster Relief Co-ordination Agency reported in the beginning of 2005, over 120,600 people died and another 114,900 were missing who predicted dead (BBC: Aceh after Tsunami). Further, the tsunami also resulted on 500,000 displaced persons (Foley p 134) and destroyed 20% of the infrastructure (LSE: Between Conflict and Peace). As a response, Indonesian Government opened its access for foreign humanitarian aid. By that time, it was unfeasible for the government to handle the relief, recovery and development phase with their own capacity. In the end of January 2005, around 3,645 International Organizations and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) conducted their humanitarian work in Aceh (LSE: Between Conflict and Peace). This hints show that as a reflection of values and moral obligations, humanitarian action has certainly emerged as rapid response to deal with extreme events.

Humanitarianism is later expanded which not only touching the moral values but also being discussed as international agenda. There are two important improvements on

humanitarian enterprise: first, the adaptation of humanitarianism by international community and second, the rapid progress made by humanitarian actors. The development of humanitarian action has been marked by the compliance of humanitarian norms within international politics (Carlton p 50). This momentum is underlining the fact that more countries acknowledge the urgency of humanitarian principle as a collective action. Development Initiative on their report examines the rank of largest donor countries who contributed to global humanitarian assistance in 2006 as follows: European Union countries (49,5%) , the US (35%), Norway (5%), Canada (3%), Australia (2%), Japan (2%), Switzerland (2,3%) and New Zealand (0,3%) (Development Initiatives p 2). State needs to place humanitarianism as a policy orientation to reduce the damage effects and serious causalities. International Migration Review elaborates four logics behind the engagement of countries into humanitarian values:

- (1) Humanitarian issues reflect the standards of civilization
- (2) Humanitarian issues can threaten domestic and international order
- (3) Multilateral forums are the legitimate means to handle these issues
- (4) Multilateral organization provide burden-sharing mechanisms

(Barnett p 250)

Multilateral action turns to be one of the features in humanitarian action. Humanitarian stakeholders such as state, international organizations, non-government organizations, civil society, etc should address collective political violence and natural disaster that create serious disruption to society. Multilateral action further contribute to improve and to empower the national mechanism. Miller and Rivera on their book 'Comparative Emergency Management: Examining Global and Regional Responses to Disasters' stated three reasons why regional collabora-

tive approach on disaster management should adapt multilateral action on their approach:

- (1) World continue to globalize and countries become more interdependent and it's essential to looking across and outside the borders.
- (2) Disaster does not recognize borders. It can struck and affect trans-boundaries. The 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami directly affects 13 countries on two continents.
- (3) Any damage by disaster might affect the stabilization of region.
- (4) Government in the region will be able to support the affected country from having serious loss of life and property.

(Miller and Rivera p xxvii)

Considering these factors, countries ought to commit on the global efforts to humanity by presenting their political commitment. Their contribution could be measured from their national policy to prevent the outbreak of humanitarian crises. Humanitarianism engages directly or indirectly to state foreign policy goals and wartime purposes (Mills p 166). Often, there is an engagement between humanitarian and politics. Politicization on humanitarian action could be an inevitable issue. Conflicting parties or ruling authority could found humanitarian action as a real threat for them. International aid and international humanitarian organizations are sometimes constructed as a variable that intervene the domestic politics. The rejection of Burma in the aftermath of Cyclone Nargis 2008 could be the case. Approval on humanitarian space is certainly part of countries contribution on humanity. Humanitarian space is a key element for humanitarian agencies and organizations when their deployment dedicates to the establishment and maintenance of conducive humanitarian operating environment (NOHA Course Reader p 4). Both International Humanitarian Law and United Nations agreed on the obligation of sovereign

state to provide humanitarian assistance and/or to give its consent to ensure that it is provided by humanitarian actors, the right of civilian population to receive it and the corresponding right of third states, International Government Organizations (IGOs), Non Government Organizations (NGOs) to provide it within certain limit (Carey and Richmond p 59). By humanitarian space, it indicates that humanitarian action should be organized by independent and neutral organization without involving military and political forces (Olson).

Following the commitment of countries on humanitarianism, further development of non-state actors turns to be another variable on the expansion of humanitarian enterprise. *Viru Dayal, the former chef for the cabinet of two UN secretaries-general stated that 'life would be duller without the NGOs, and there would probably be much less point to it also.'* Over the past three decades, humanitarian NGOs have evolved into a crucial pillar of the international humanitarian architecture (Humanitarian Policy Group). NGO is defined as self-governing, independent, and not-for-profit organizations that are geared to improve the life quality of disadvantaged people (Cagri Topal 2008). NGO works to assist, advocate and improve the quality of life in relation with humanitarian action in the aftermath of disaster. NGOs contribution to humanitarian enterprise relies on their role on cluster approach and their relations with the UN on decision-making process. In terms of cluster approach that have been agreed as a framework of action during humanitarian response, NGOs with its characteristics and mandates engage significantly on distributing aid and conducting project. Cluster approach provides distribution of duty within humanitarian enterprise. It divides humanitarian action into nine clusters:

- Logistics (led by the World Food Program)

- Emergency Telecommunications (led by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA))
- Emergency Shelter (led by UNHCR)
- Health (led by the World Health Organization (WHO))
- Nutrition (led by UNICEF)
- Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (led by UNICEF)
- Early Recovery (led by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP))
- Camp Coordination and Camp Management (led by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for conflict-generated Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) for natural disasters)
- Protection (led by UNHCR)

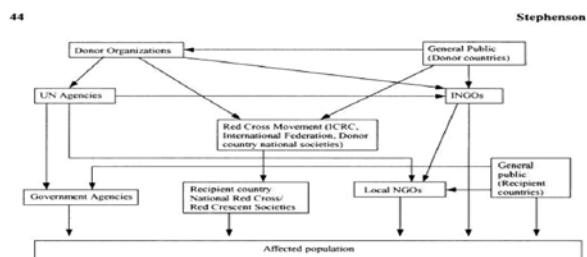
In almost every cases of humanitarian response, NGOs existence tries to fill these nine clusters. Meanwhile, in order to boost up their role on humanitarian enterprise, NGOs build their collaboration with the United Nations (UN) – as the leading actor within humanitarian enterprise. Thomas G Weiss in *Journal of Global Governance* is calling NGOs as a 'third UN'. A third UN should be recognized, and composed of actors that are closely associated with the world organization but not formally part of it (Thomas G Weiss, Tatiana Carayannis, Richard Jolly 2009). Analysts usually identify two United Nations; one is composed of member states and a second is composed of the secretariat. As an institution, the number of NGOs on humanitarian enterprise increased dramatically up to 25,000 in the last 21st century. During that era, NGOs has granted an international recognition when 1,200 NGOs received 'consultant' status from the United Nations. There are three reasons why the UN plays an essential partner for NGOs: **first**, the UN gives political backup for humanitarian operation particularly in related with humanitarian access. As an inter-governmental organization, the UN has a political

power to endorse a policy in international level including humanitarian collective action. The UN is the only organization, which has a right to produce legal framework on humanitarian intervention. Through their resolution, the UN is justified to call an international response in order to address violation on international humanitarian law. Furthermore, with their political power, the UN could establish high political lobby to ease the operational of humanitarian action. **Second**, The UN is fruitful for NGOs because they support the establishment of a global civil society by offering a formalized way of advancing societal aims and goals (Peter Willets 2000). The UN's mandates often go along with the advocacy action conducted by the NGOs. In the practical matters, UN and NGO are cooperating in all clusters of humanitarian assistance namely: early recovery, emergency shelter, health, logistics, and etc. This cluster approach is used to coordinate humanitarian actors in the field. **Third**, UN agencies like UNDP and the World Bank are major supporters of NGOs and might direct their funds to particular NGOs (Cagri Topal 2008). Moreover, UN also become a primary reference for the donor organizations and the general public which are likely to provide funding and support for the NGOs (Cagri Topal 2008).

Despite the government, the UN and NGOs, humanitarian actors such as donors, International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) are part of the enterprise. Mark Stephenson on his publication 'Toward a Descriptive Model of Humanitarian Assistance' delivers a well elaboration on the international relief system. Through his model, Stephenson attempt to capture the linkages between all stakeholders. Humanitarianism comes into action when program and project being implement on the field. In the beginning of humanitarian action, the relations between the UN, NGOs and the government

touch upon the issue of humanitarian space and humanitarian appeal to fund the program. It further continued on the execution of program. During this process, these humanitarian actors actually face the common challenges in which humanitarian aid should be delivered immediately to affected population. Meanwhile, on top of it, the demand of coordination between these actors is necessary to improve the effectiveness of humanitarian response. A successful coordination will lead to improved outcomes for beneficiaries (Stephenson p 42). In order to obtain this goal, the discussion on the improvement of disaster governance turns to be an inevitable issue.

Figure II: International Relief System



Source: Borton, 1993, p. 188.

Fig. 1. The international relief system.

Disaster Governance

The predominant model of governance relies on the variables of common values, decision making process and systems of rules and regulations. Governance is different with the term of 'government'. This concept is defined as complex set of values, norms, process and institutions used by society to manage its development and resolves conflict (Kohler-Koch). Furthermore, the crucial point from the concept of governance places in the context of relations between public and private actors in the process of policy making (Kohler-Koch p 5). The involvement of many actors on the decision making process aimed to obtain the implementation of good governance. By widening the actors, it is expected that the policy output could be

more effective, accountable and legitimate. As a term, good governance has first used in the field of economic development (World Bank and other international organizations such as OECD). It's actually stressing on the best practices in key areas such as public management, business-government relations and social policy. The concept of good governance itself covers eight parameters:

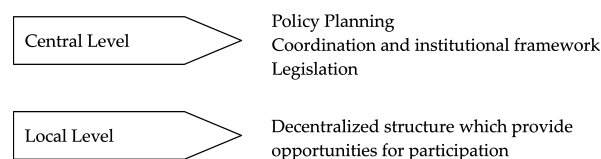
- a. Democratic pluralism
- b. Public participation
- c. Equity and rule of law
- d. Responsiveness, effective and efficiency
- e. The legitimacy of political process
- f. Accountability
- g. Strategic Vision
- h. Values of equality, empathy and tolerance

(Cadribo: Disaster Risk Reduction and Governance)

Even though the concept of governance has been used on various terms and areas, governance offers non-traditional approach to analyze the complexity of decision making process. Governance correlates the penetration of non government actors not only as an actor on policy planning but also as part of the network. Through this context, governance considered to be 'self organizing and to resist government steering, develop their own policies and mould their environments' (Rhodes). Compared with previous meaning, under this terminology, state is not being recognized as the central element. Meanwhile, the interactions of actors are 'regulated by rules of the game like negotiated and agreed by network participants' (Rhodes). The manifesto of this consent often reflected through agreement, convention and regime. Regime is a set of implicit and explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors expectations converge in a given area of international relations (Krasner). The complexity

of decision making process as well as the interactions within networks governance evolved within two levels:

Figure III: Policy Level



(Cadribo: Disaster Risk Reduction and Governance)

As governance correlated with different meaning and perspectives, there are four similarities in which they share in common:

- a. The approach is pluri-centric rather than unicentric
- b. Networks play an important role
- c. Process of governing without government
- d. The relations between actors pose specific risks and uncertainties.

(Rhodes)

Jonatan Lassa on his dissertation '*Institutional Vulnerability and the Governance of Disaster Risk Reduction: Macro, Meso and Micro Analysis*' stated that the embedded meaning of governance attached to disaster risk is that it acknowledges new alternative forms of policy and regulation that are distinct from traditional hierarchical government activity and implies an alternative form of governance which is more inclusive to diverse actors and diverse knowledge (Lassa p 28). Disaster governance is attempts to explain the complexity of decision making process on disaster management including multifaceted interactions within humanitarian networks. Referring to the figure of international relief system build by Stephenson, it could be projected various actors which involved in humanitarianism:

- a. Governance
- b. Donor Organizations

- c. Donor Countries
- d. International Organizations
- e. International Regime
- f. International Non-Government Organizations
- g. National Non-Government Organizations
- h. Beneficiaries

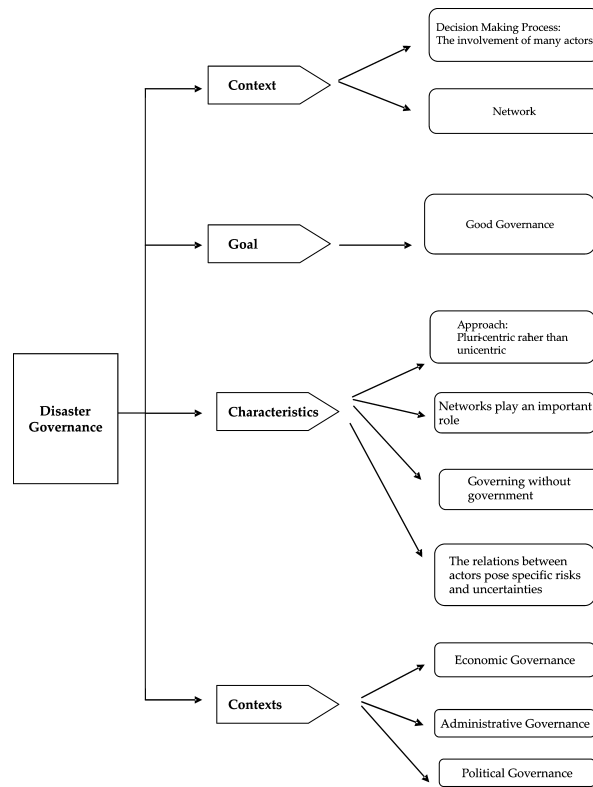
Furthermore, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 2004 divided disaster risk governance into three categories:

- a. Economic Governance: decision making process that affect a country's economic activities and their implications for equity, poverty and quality life
- b. Political Governance: decision making process that set legislative process, formulate laws, regulation and policies and which is refereed to Hyogo Framework of Action as strong institutional basis for implementation
- c. Administrative Governance: system of policy implementation that requires the existence of well-functioning government organizations at the national and local levels, and which play roles as enforcers of regulations related to disaster mitigation, building code enforcement, land use planning, environmental risk and human vulnerability monitoring and safety standards.

(The Wisconsin Magazine of History)

Throughout the elaboration of disaster governance above, it could be illustrated, the main components of disaster governance:

Figure IV: Disaster Governance



Merapi Eruption

Merapi Mountain is one of the most active volcanoes in the world. It is the most active volcano in Indonesia and has erupted regularly since 1548. Located on the border between Central Java and Yogyakarta, Indonesia, *Merapi* only situated 30 kilometers away from city center of Yogyakarta. It is clearly becomes a serious hazard for Indonesia. In 2010, *Merapi* was erupted twice causing a big volcanic blast, expulsing hot clouds of ash 9 kilometers from its crater and sending residents fleeing in panic (BBC: Latest *Merapi* Eruption). The eruptions later were followed by several tremors (BBC: Latest *Merapi* Eruption). The heat clouds went down the slopes as far as 13km (eight miles) and the explosion was heard as far as 20 kilometers away (BBC: Dozens Die). *Merapi* eruption which occurred on October 26th caused 37 people died and 46 people injured due to hot cloud while the biggest blast occurred on November 5th caused more casualties. On their last reports, Indonesian

National Body for Disaster Management (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana* (BNPB)) stated that the total number of death is almost 400 people. Meanwhile, an estimated 75,000 residents have been evacuated from the area. Total loss from *Merapi* Eruption is almost IDR 3, 56 Trillion. Indonesian Government has measured any damage and loss from five aspects: shelter, social, economic, infrastructure, inter-sectoral (government, finance, and environment). The worst casualties mostly caused by people low awareness, who lived in the danger zone. Even in the aftermath of first *Merapi* eruption, some people returns to their home, which only located less than five kilometers from *Merapi*. The authorities have decided to widen the “danger zone” around the crater from 15 km (9 miles) to 20km (12 miles) (BBC: Dozens Die). At least four local regions in Yogyakarta province have been affected with *Merapi* eruption:

Figure V: Affected Regions in Yogyakarta’s Province

Regions	Villages
<i>Turi</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Bangunkerto</i> • <i>Donokerto</i> • <i>Girikerto</i> • <i>Wonokerto</i>
<i>Pakem</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Candibinangun</i> • <i>Hargobinangun</i> • <i>Harjobinangun</i> • <i>Pakembinangun</i> • <i>Purwobinangun</i>
<i>Ngemplak</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Bimomartani</i> • <i>Sindumartani</i> • <i>Umbulmartani</i> • <i>Wedomartani</i>
<i>Cangkringan</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Argomulyo</i> • <i>Glagahrejo</i> • <i>Kepuharjo</i> • <i>Umbulharjo</i> • <i>Wukirsari</i>

Source: Yogyakarta’s Local Disaster Management Agency (BPBD Provinsi DIY)

Most of these villages are located in the dangerous zone. In 2011, the agreement to regulate the dangerous and affected zone caused by *Merapi* eruption has being signed by Indonesian Ministry of Forest, Indonesian National Disaster Management Agency, Indonesian National Development Plan Agency, Governor of Yogyakarta and Governor of Central Java. The government decided to evacuate the population within the affected area to safe zone. Accordingly, people are no longer permitted to build a house within the ‘red zone’. Furthermore, the dangerous zone is currently transformed into national park.

As the rehabilitation program is already started, since now, Yogyakarta’s authority has manages eight temporary shelters which accommodate populations from 18 villages:

- a. Gondang I
- b. Gondang II
- c. Gondang III
- d. Kentingan
- e. Kuwang
- f. Dongkelsari
- g. Banjarsari
- h. Jetis Sumur

Source: Yogyakarta’s Local Disaster Management Agency (BPBD Provinsi DIY)

Humanitarianism and Disaster Governance: Merapi

(1) Humanitarianism

One of the essential points which support the implementation of humanitarianism relies on political willingness from the government to manage the potential hazard. In Indonesia, government effort to deal with disaster management has been initiated since the national independence was declared (BNPB: *Sejarah*). Since that time, the disaster management body faced their transformation. However, the turning point was occurred on 2004 when tsunami struck Aceh. By this time, Indonesia established a ‘non-department government body’ called Indonesian National Body for Disaster Manage-

ment (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana* (BNPB)) and Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD). The urgency to establish central coordination for disaster management is associated with Indonesian vulnerability to hazard. Within the last 30 years Indonesia has lost 191,105 lives over the same period, but 165,708 of these casualties were caused by the tsunami in December 2004 (Relief Web). On their current study, the Natural Disasters Risk Index (NDRI) even rated Indonesia as 'the nation with extreme risk to natural disasters' due to their extreme weather and geophysical events (Relief Web). Indonesia's location in the so called Pacific 'Ring of Fire', an area where four of the earth's tectonic plates come together, is the reason behind it. Around 75 percent of the world's active volcano is located in Indonesia and highly vulnerable to earthquake and tsunami (IOM Community Based Disaster Risk Management). Through the government regulation No 21 2008, BNPB responsible to conduct the disaster management in Indonesia (BNPB: Government Regulation). Meanwhile, as part of Indonesian willingness to ensure a conducive humanitarian environment, BNPB and BPBD are obliged to provide humanitarian space for international humanitarian actors.

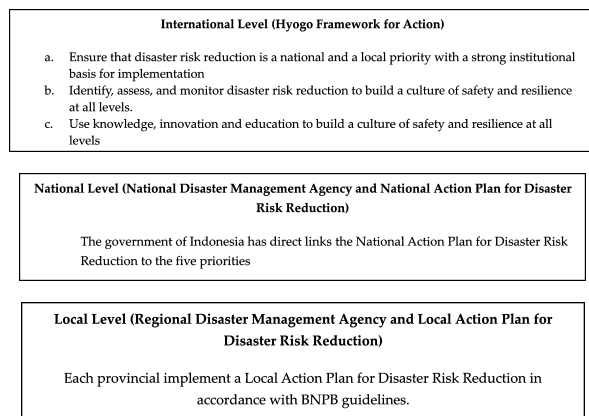
(2) Disaster Governance

(2.a) Set of Regulation

In order to analyze the disaster governance of Indonesia, it is insistent to elaborate the Indonesian national framework for disaster management. It is related with the concept of governance itself that have been build based on set of norms, values process and institutions used by society to manage its development and resolves conflict (Kohler-Koch). An examination toward Indonesian framework on disaster management would not only assess the regulation set but also could highlight Indonesian values to deal with disaster. During 75th UN Plenary Meet-

ing, all countries agreed to take care of the victims of natural disasters and similar emergency situations occurring on its territory (NOHA Course Reader). Community has been working actively as an agent to mitigate the disaster on their living area. Later, this paradigm has manifests through Community-Based on Disaster Risk Management (CBRDM) which becomes the driving force for Disaster Risk Reduction in Indonesia. The United Nations secretariat for the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR) defined disaster management as 'the systematic process of using administrative directives, organizations, and operational skills and capacities to implement strategies, policies and improved coping capacities in order to lessen the adverse impacts of hazards and the possibility of disaster' (IOM Community Based Disaster Risk Management). The CBRD program has introduced as a driving force for coping mechanism in community level. Thus, stakeholders from international level to community level must work on the same platform. In terms of regulation, Indonesian national policy attempt to adapt international guidelines on disaster management. International Organization for Migration (IOM) on their publication examined the frameworks and initiatives for CBRDM in Indonesia:

Figure VII: Frameworks of Community-Based on Disaster Risk Management (CBRDM)



<p>Local Grassroots Level</p> <p>Local government authorities, NGOs, universities, and civil society engage in capacity building and vulnerability reduction</p>

(2.b) People Participation (Non-Government Involvement)

The involvement of community has express important step on people participation within the disaster governance. Beate Kohler Koch mentioned that the essence of governance is about ‘the ways and means in which the divergent preferences of citizens are translated into effective policy choices, about how the plurality of societal interests are transformed into unitary action and the compliance of social actors is achieved’ (Koch p 5). Without neglecting their position as an affected person and beneficiaries, community turns to be the activator for humanitarian program. Community plays an important role to participate and initiate the implementation of program. Further, the CBRD program intended to be the platform for community resilience toward disaster. The President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on his remark at ‘the 2011 Global Platform for Disaster Reduction’, stated that the Government needs community to be engaged on the disaster management program (UNISDR: Global Champion). Another objective of CBRDM is to establish the culture of safety within society. In one of the psychosocial program in the aftermath of *Merapi*, international NGOs which work closely with local NGOs initiate the training for local people to be the program coordinator for psychosocial action. Plan International along with Yayasan Lestari Indonesia organize psychosocial program in *Ngargomulyo Village, Muntilan*. This program is intended to provide culturally appropriate care, support, nurturance, and guidance for children and adolescents at different stages of their development as well as time spent with a child in a caring relationship, availability of adult or mentor to the child. The psychosocial program consists of three activities: children learning center, children playground, and training for teenager. Both Plan International and

Yayasan Lestari Indonesia acknowledges the need to engage the community to drive the sustainability of the program. Accordingly, local people have trained to be the program coordinator for children learning center and children playground.

(2.c) Network

In order to implement the national framework on Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR), both BNPB and BPBD’s in charge to covers areas as follow:

Pre-Disaster	Post-Disaster
Disaster Management Policy Planning	Analysis on Affected Area
Disaster Risk Reduction	Emergency Status
Mitigation	Safety and Evacuation
Development Planning	Providing Basic Needs
Disaster Risk Analysis	Protection to Vulnerable group
Education and Training	Recovery for vital infrastructure
Standard Operational Procedure for Disaster Management	

During pre-disaster, international humanitarian actors provide an assistance/technical work to Indonesia. For instance, the UN is actively involved on Disaster Risk Reduction assistance. The United Nations Technical Working Group- Disaster Risk Reduction (NTWG-DRR) is working with the Government of Indonesia in collaboration with donors, Red Cross Societies and non-government organizations (UN in Indonesia: UN Technical Working Group). This collaboration aimed to establish the capacity of government institutions and communities on disaster risk reduction (UN in Indonesia: UN Technical Working Group). Aside from that, major humanitarian assistance is also presence to support the emergency response. The existence of BNPB and BNPB plays a significant role in building the strategic partnership.

In the case of *Merapi*, Indonesian government through National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) and Yogyakarta’s Volcanic Technology Development and Research Center works as the focal point. BNPB played as a central actor that coordinates the government response along with the Local Disaster Management Agency. Meanwhile, the Yogyakarta’s Volcanic Technology Development and Research Center was responsible on early

warning system. Furthermore, during the relief and recovery, through Disaster Risk Reduction Forum (*Forum Penanggulangan Resiko Bencana* (FPRB)), humanitarian action had been organized through cluster approach. Slightly different with the humanitarian cluster approach, FPRB adapt this cluster approach based on their needs:

- a. Health
- b. Water, Sanitation, Hygiene
- c. Communication
- d. Education
- e. Shelter
- f. Livelihood
- g. Logistics
- h. Gender, Children, Disable

International and Local NGOs later conduct their program based on these classifications.

No	Cluster	Organizations
1	Health	PKBI DIY, Plan International, KYPA, Handicap International, Ciqal, Sapda, Samsara, Perhimpunan Solidaritas Buruh, LBH Apik, BPPM DIY, Yakkum Emergency Unit, FEB UGM, LIPPO Group, Sampoerna, Kagama Jakarta, GKJ Sawo Kembar, PKPU, Yakkum Emergency Unit, Handicap International, Ciqal, Sapda, Samsara, Perkumpulan Lingkar
2	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene	World Vision, Perhimpunan Solidaritas Buruh, ACE, BMP, Oxfam GB, World Vision, Oxfam GB
3	Communication	Combine Resource Institution
4	Education	Hijau, ICBC, Samin, PKPU, Dinas Sosial DIY, Langkah Bocah, Unicef, Save the Children, PKPU, Lestari Indonesia, Plan International, Kapalasastra UGM, Walhi Yogyakarta, ICBC, Perkumpulan Lingkar, Pandega Center, Daya Anissa, Forum LSM DIY, Mitra Wacana
5	Shelter	PKPU, PT. Sari Husada Tbk
6	Livelihood	Gerakan Jogja Bangkit, Save the Children, Pusat Studi Masyarakat, Dinas Pertanian DIY, PKPU, PT Sari Husada Tbk. Combine Resource Institution
7	Logistics	World Vision, IOM, Gerakan Jogja Bangkit, Save the Children, Good Neighbors Indonesia, Plan International, KYPA, Perhimpunan Solidaritas Buruh, Plan International, KYPA, PKPU, Karina KAS, Caritas Germany, CRS, Walhi Yogyakarta, Walhi Yogyakarta, Jesuit Refugee Service, Perhimpunan Solidaritas Buruh, Karina-KAS, Caritas Germany, CRS, IHH Insani Yardim Vakvii Turkey, Perkumpulan Lingkar, Bina Swadaya, Cordaid, ChildFund, Perkumpulan Lingkar
8	Gender, Children and Disable	World Vision, Sapda, Gender Working Group, Handicap International, ChildFund, Daya Anissa, PKPU

The interaction of humanitarian actors within this network relies on the needs to exchange the resource such as information and funding. This pattern is associated with one of governance modes called 'self-organizing networks' in which these networks are made up of organizations to exchange the resources to achieve their objectives, to maximize their influence over outcomes, and to avoid becoming dependent on other players in the game (Rhodes p 658).

(2.d) Pluri-centric approach within decision-making process

Jon Kooiman stated that governance can be seen as the pattern or structures that emerge in a socio political system as a 'common' result or outcome of the interacting intervention efforts of all involved actors (Rhodes p 657). Under the FPRB, humanitarian coordination in the aftermath of *Merapi* eruption was taken place. The local government facilitates the coordination under this FPRB. During *Merapi* relief process, the representatives of these NGOs along with the government had a meeting almost everyday to coordinate the humanitarian action. Thus, an intensive coordination between BNPB and NGOs could be maintained. In accordance with the decision making process, FPRB provides input to government meanwhile government policy be the guidelines for program implementation on the field. The involvement of various humanitarian organizations becomes a reflection of disaster governance.

(2.e) Governing without Government

Terms 'governing without government' related to the characteristics of governance, which highlights the urgency of non-government actors within decision-making process. There are four characteristics of governance:

1. Interdependence between organizations. Governance is broader than government, covering non-state actors. Changing the boundaries of the state