

# Enhancing Disaster Diplomacy between Indonesia and Turkey: A Study on the Roles of Non-State Actors in Collaborative Governance during the 2023 Earthquake

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## Abstrak

*Diplomasi bencana, penggunaan strategis bantuan kemanusiaan dan bantuan bencana untuk memperkuat hubungan diplomatik, muncul sebagai elemen penting dalam politik internasional, terutama setelah bencana alam. Studi ini meneliti kasus khusus gempa bumi Turki tahun 2023, berfokus pada aktor non-negara Indonesia dalam mempererat hubungan diplomatik melalui tata kelola kolaboratif. Dengan menggunakan metodologi kualitatif deskriptif, penelitian ini mengeksplorasi kemitraan antara Pemerintah Indonesia dan organisasi non-negara terkemuka, Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama, dalam melaksanakan diplomasi bencana. Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa hubungan diplomatik Indonesia dengan Turki mengalami peningkatan signifikan karena upaya bersama mereka dalam manajemen bencana dan bantuan kemanusiaan. Studi ini mengidentifikasi tiga elemen inti yang membentuk tata kelola kolaboratif ini: konteks sistem, faktor pendorong, dan dinamika kolaborasi. Penelitian ini menekankan keterlibatan aktif Muhammadiyah dan NU, menganalisis bagaimana pusat manajemen mereka – Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC) dan Lembaga Penanggulangan Bencana dan Perubahan Iklim Nahdlatul Ulama (LPBI NU) – memainkan peran penting. Kontribusi mereka tidak hanya meningkatkan efisiensi dan volume distribusi bantuan kemanusiaan tetapi juga mempercepat proses evakuasi. Temuan ini memberikan kontribusi terhadap pemahaman tentang dinamika kompleks diplomasi bencana dan peran penting aktor non-negara dalam meningkatkan hubungan internasional melalui tata kelola kolaboratif dalam situasi krisis.*

*Kata Kunci: tata kelola kolaboratif, aktor non-negara, diplomasi bencana, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama.*

## Abstract

*Disaster diplomacy, the strategic use of humanitarian aid and disaster relief to strengthen diplomatic relations, emerged as a crucial element in international politics, particularly in the aftermath of natural disasters. This article delved into the specific case of the 2023 earthquake, focusing on the role of Indonesian non-state actors in fostering diplomatic ties through collaborative governance. Employing a descriptive qualitative methodology, this article describes the findings of desk research that explored the partnership between the Indonesian government and prominent non-state organizations, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), in executing disaster diplomacy. Results of the said research revealed that Indonesia's diplomatic relations with Turkey experienced significant enhancement due to their joint efforts in disaster management and humanitarian aid. The research identified three core elements structuring this collaborative governance: system context, driving force, and collaboration dynamics. It underscored the active involvement of Muhammadiyah and NU, analyzing how their respective disaster management centers – Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC) and Nahdlatul Ulama Disaster Management and Climate Change Institute (LPBINU) – played pivotal roles. Their contribution not only improved the efficiency and volume of humanitarian aid distribution but also expedited the evacuation processes. The findings contribute to understanding the complex dynamics of disaster diplomacy and the influential role of non-state actors in enhancing international relations through collaborative governance in crises.*

*Keywords: collaborative governance, non-state actor, disaster diplomacy, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama*

## INTRODUCTION

On February 6<sup>th</sup>, 2023, Turkey experienced a seismic catastrophe when a 7.7 magnitude earthquake, followed by 312 aftershocks, struck at four o'clock in the morning, later accompanied by a separate 7.65 magnitude earthquake. These seismic events, the most significant in the region for centuries, occurred during winter's peak, with tremors felt as far as Israel and Egypt. The epicenter, located near Pazarcik in Kahramanmaraş Province, lay within a densely populated area encompassing several provinces such as Iskenderun, Antakya, Maras, Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş, and Osmaniye, with a combined population of 13,500,000, including around 2,000,000 Syrian refugees and asylum seekers (IFRC, 2023; Karaosmanoğlu et al., 2023). The World Organization (WHO, 2023) reported staggering human tolls: approximately 15,000,000 affected, 18,342 fatalities, and 74,242 injuries. This earthquake was not just a natural disaster but also a catalyst for various indirect impacts. Key among these were the exacerbation of shelter shortages, vulnerability to severe winter conditions, overcrowded living spaces, and disrupted utility and transport services. Such secondary effects were likely to amplify pre-existing health risks, leading to further mortality and morbidity. Although airports and railways endured minimal damage, the earthquake severely disrupted major road networks, complicating relief efforts (IFRC, 2023). International solidarity was evident as governments worldwide, including Indonesia, extended aid and rescue teams. On February 8<sup>th</sup>, 2023, Indonesia, demonstrating proactive international engagement, dispatched humanitarian teams and supplies to affected regions in Turkey. This effort was facilitated by the Indonesian Embassy in Ankara, coordinating with the Turkish Red Crescent to deliver essential food supplies and planning for search, rescue, and medical team deployments (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2023). In this scenario, the role of Indonesian non-state actors, specifically the Nahdlatul Ulama Disaster Management and Climate Change Institute (LPBINU) and the Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC), becomes pivotal. Their active involvement highlights a crucial aspect of Post-Soeharto Indonesian diplomacy,

where moderate Islam, represented by Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), has played a significant role in cultural diplomacy, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding. These largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia have extended their influence in various domains, including education, social welfare, philanthropy, and disaster management. In the context of the Turkish earthquake, their collaboration with the Indonesian government exemplifies the efficiency and effectiveness of their joint humanitarian efforts. Their contributions are vital in ensuring swift and adequate distribution of aid, medical assistance, and coordination of evacuation operations (Nubowo, 2023).

This comprehensive approach to disaster response, encompassing both state and non-state actors, underscores the evolving nature of diplomatic engagement and international solidarity in facing natural disasters. It also highlights the unique role that organizations like Muhammadiyah and NU could play in enhancing the effectiveness of disaster diplomacy.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This article employed a multifaceted approach by integrating diplomacy and collaborative governance frameworks to investigate the interplay between international relations and disaster management. This methodology allows for a comprehensive exploration of how states and non-state actors collaborate and interact in disaster diplomacy. By leveraging the principles of diplomacy and the mechanisms of collaborative governance, this research aims to provide nuanced insights into the dynamics of international cooperation in disaster scenarios.

## DISASTER DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy stands as a pivotal element in the realm of international relations, characterized by its ability to shape power dynamics without resorting to violence, propaganda, or legal mandates. At its core, diplomacy involves nuanced communication between state officials, with the aim of furthering foreign policy objectives through both formal agreements and more subtle, tacit accommodations (Berridge, 2005). This aspect of

diplomacy becomes particularly salient in the context of natural disasters, where shared humanitarian crises can redraw the conventional boundaries of international politics. The concept of disaster diplomacy probes into the potential of natural disasters to act as a catalyst for international cooperation, especially among countries with a history of conflict or limited interaction. Ilan Kelman (2012) posed a critical question in this field: Do natural disasters lead to international cooperation among countries that have historically been at odds? This question underpins the latest understanding of disaster diplomacy, which examines the role of disaster-related activities in either fostering or impeding cooperation between traditional adversaries. It also assesses how these activities might influence diplomatic relations positively or negatively, both in the lead-up to and in the aftermath of such disasters (Ilan Kelman, 2012).

At its essence, disaster diplomacy investigates the intersection between disaster management activities and international relations. It includes a wide array of actions, ranging from pre-disaster efforts such as investigations, prevention, preparedness, and planning to post-disaster initiatives encompassing relief, reconstruction, and rehabilitation. While the underlying principle of disaster diplomacy suggests that disaster-related actions can facilitate diplomatic engagement, these occurrences do not guarantee a lasting change in international relations. The catalyst effect of such activities is not always predictable or transparent, often requiring a pre-existing foundation of collaboration through trade, cultural connections, or ongoing peace negotiations for a tangible impact to materialize. Over the long term, non-disaster factors tend to play a more substantial role in shaping diplomatic relations (Kelman et al., 2018).

In their research, Koukis, Kelman, and Ganapati (2016) delved into the specific case of Greek-Turkish relations within the framework of disaster diplomacy. Their findings indicate that while disaster-related actions might yield a temporary improvement in existing diplomatic ties, they rarely result in long-term relationship and that they do not necessarily ignite the establishment of new diplomatic relationships. The observation is particularly noteworthy given the historical

adversarial nature of the Greek-Turkish relationship. However, it is also essential to recognize that disaster diplomacy can significantly enhance a nation's soft power. The provision of substantial aid in times of crisis can garner respect and improve a nation's standing and bargaining position on the international stage. Beyond immediate disaster response, disaster diplomacy also encompasses efforts in pre-disaster scenarios, focusing on prevention, mitigation, and casualty reduction, as well as post-disaster initiatives aimed at promoting peace and resolving conflicts (Koukis et al., 2016).

A notable example of disaster diplomacy in action is the case of India and Pakistan in the wake of the 2005 earthquake. This natural disaster facilitated unprecedented communication between the two historically conflicting nations, particularly along the contentious Kashmir border. The disaster led to the opening of borders for refugee movements, including in the Kashmir region, exemplifying how shared humanitarian crises can bridge long-standing barriers (Herningtyas & Surwandono, 2014). In light of such examples, it becomes imperative for nations like Indonesia to reassess their approach to international disaster relief. By promoting greater international participation and cooperation in disaster response, Indonesia can enhance its role and efficacy in disaster diplomacy. It involves a critical reevaluation of existing regulations and practical mechanisms related to disaster relief, fostering a more open and collaborative stance toward international assistance (Surwandono et al., 2021).

## **COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE**

Collaborative governance represents a dynamic intersection of various sectors coming together to shape public policy and administration. Ansell and Gash (2007) conceptualized it as a government-administrated process involving actors beyond the governmental sphere aimed at consensus and agreement in public decision-making (Ansell & Gash, 2008). Their model, detailed in 'Collaborative Governance in Theory and Practice', identifies four main variables: initial conditions, institutional design, leadership, and the collaborative

process (Astuti et al., 2020). Complementing this, Agrawal and Lemos (2006), as cited by Astuti et. Al. (2020) viewed collaborative governance as a synergy of stakeholders from diverse sectors, including government, non-government, private, civil society, and community. This collaboration is pivotal in developing hybrid strategies for public-private social partnerships (Lemos & Agrawal, 2006).

Moreover, Emerson and Nabatchi (2015) further expanded on this concept by defining collaborative governance as a framework and procedure that transcends the traditional confines of public sector institutions and governance levels, involving participants from public, private, and civil sectors. They proposed an integrative framework comprising three critical elements: system context, drivers, and collaborative dynamics. The system context encompasses key aspects such as resource and service conditions, political and legal frameworks, socioeconomic and cultural characteristics, network attributes, as well as political tension and power relations. Drivers, on the other hand, include leadership, consequential incentives, dependency, and uncertainty, which are essential in addressing complex, interdependent issues that necessitate collective risk management (Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015). Emerson and Nabatchi defined the integrative, collaborative

governance framework as follows.

The collaborative dynamics, as outlined by Emerson and Nabatchi (2015), involve shared motivation, principled engagement, and collective action. It requires a clear definition of involvement through investigation, thoughtful consideration, and decisive action. Key to these dynamics are trust, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy, and commitment. Effective collaboration also depends on leadership qualities, expertise, resource availability, and suitable institutional and procedural arrangements. The cooperative dynamics displayed by participants during the formation of collaborative governance regimes (CGR) led to the establishment of shared goals, objectives, and a theory of change guiding their actions. These actions, in turn, can influence the adaptability of the system context or affect the CGR itself. In collaborative governance, participants may take on various roles, representing themselves, a constituency, decision-makers, public authorities, NGOs, private entities, communities, or the public at large. Each participant brings a unique set of perspectives, values, concerns, and knowledge influenced by the cultures, agendas, and missions of their respective organizations or groups (Emerson et al., 2012). This diverse representation is key to the rich tapestry of collaborative governance, enabling a more holistic and inclusive

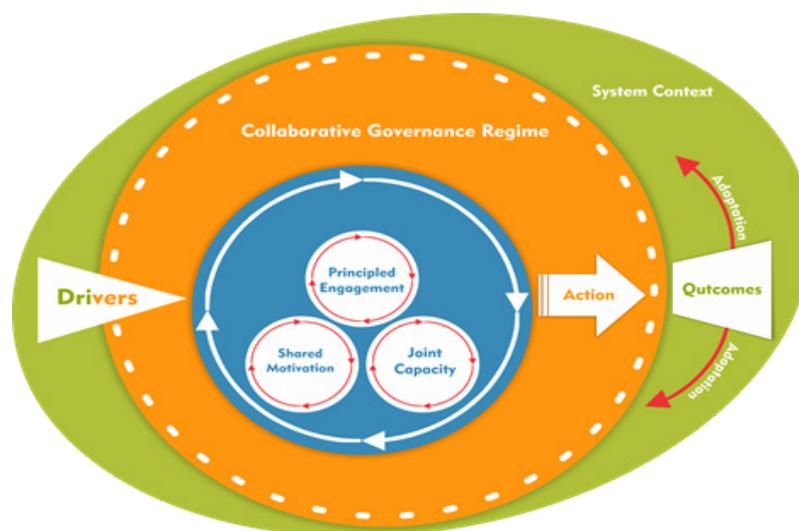


Figure 1. The Integrated Framework for Collaborative Governance (Emerson et al., 2012)

approach to public policy and administration. This article utilized a multifaceted theoretical approach combining the concepts of diplomacy and collaborative governance to examine the complex relationship between international relations and disaster management. This integrated methodology was designed to thoroughly explore the interactions and collaborations between states and non-state actors within the framework of disaster diplomacy. By applying the principles of diplomacy, the article seeks to understand how countries navigate and negotiate their foreign relations during disaster events. Simultaneously, it employed the mechanisms of collaborative governance to analyze how various stakeholders, including governmental, non-governmental, and private entities, work together in managing disasters. This approach aims to offer detailed and nuanced insights into the dynamics of international cooperation during disaster scenarios, highlighting how diverse actors come together to address the challenges posed by such crises.

## RESEARCH METHOD

The study, which this paper is based from, adopted a descriptive methodology, as developed by Creswell (2016), to analyze the collaborative governance role of non-state actors, particularly Muhammadiyah and NU, in the context of disaster diplomacy during the earthquake disaster in Turkey. The primary method of data collection was extensive library research, involving gathering information from a range of sources. These sources included academic literature from experts specializing in disaster diplomacy, multitrack diplomacy, and collaborative governance, as well as secondary data from renowned journals, books, online resources, and other relevant written materials. This approach ensured a comprehensive and multifaceted understanding of the subject matter. The data analysis was methodical and multi-staged. It began with the careful selection of relevant data, focusing closely on information aligning with the study's objectives. It was followed by an in-depth examination of the selected data, concentrating on the most pertinent aspects of disaster diplomacy and collaborative governance. The final stage involved

drawing conclusions aimed at fulfilling the research objectives, using insights gleaned from the data in conjunction with the theoretical perspectives of disaster diplomacy and collaborative governance. This methodical approach was designed to ensure that the study provides a thorough and nuanced understanding of the roles and contributions of these non-state actors in disaster diplomacy (Creswell, 2016).

## RESULT AND ANALYSIS INDONESIAN DISASTER DIPLOMACY IN RESPONSE TO TURKEY'S EARTHQUAKE

Indonesia and Turkey established diplomatic ties in 1950. The Turkish Embassy in Indonesia opened on April 10th, 1957, in Jakarta. Currently, unresolved disputes between the two countries were absent due to their shared Muslim populations and similar political goals and programs. It has eliminated potential sources of conflict between Indonesia and Turkey. Diplomatic relations between the two nations have improved due to international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), the G-20, the Developing Eight (D-8), and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum (Colakoglu & Guler, 2011).

The Indonesia-Turkey Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IT-CEPA) aims to enhance non-disaster economic cooperation between the two countries. From 2017 to 2021, Turkey, Singapore, China, Japan, and the United States were Indonesia's main trading partners. The IT-CEPA agreement was anticipated to enhance the economic relations between Indonesia and Turkey. The economic cooperation between IT and CEPA has added value to the implementation of Indonesia and Turkey's free trade agreement. Indonesia and Turkey have agreed to collaborate on infrastructure development and construction, including the relocation of the capital city to Kalimantan, as well as increasing air frequency between the two nations. Talks have also begun regarding collaboration in aerospace, electric vehicles, rocket and shuttle launch pads, satellites, satellite launch vehicles, medical technologies, and pharmaceuticals (Darmawan

et al., 2022).

Indonesia and Turkey have established disaster-related cooperation due to their significant potential for natural disasters. Indonesia, in particular, is prone to earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, flash floods, land and forest fires, and droughts. Natural disasters are unpredictable in terms of time, place, and scale. Indonesia has experienced numerous natural disasters, both large and small in scale. One of the most devastating disasters occurred on December 26<sup>th</sup>, 2004, when a 9.1 magnitude earthquake struck Indonesia and several areas around the Indian Ocean, resulting in massive tsunami waves that affected 14 countries. This event is considered the largest natural disaster in recorded history (Sudirman & Putra, 2018). Due to Indonesia's susceptibility to disasters, disaster management has been declared a national priority by the government. Accordingly, the Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management (BNPB) was established to achieve this goal. The BNPB is a comprehensive agency that coordinates, plans, formulates, and enforces policies. Its mandate includes not only effective and efficient disaster response but also addressing the issue of relocation. Indonesia has improved its disaster response not only on a national level but also across the ASEAN region through regional initiatives (Sudirman & Putra, 2018).

Given the vulnerability of Indonesia and Turkey to disasters, disaster diplomacy could be a potential avenue for both countries to explore. Diplomatic relations between the two countries began in 1957, with the construction and opening of the Turkish Embassy in Indonesia on April 10<sup>th</sup> of that year. In 1982, Indonesia and Turkey established a Joint Economic Committee (JEC) to promote economic cooperation. Turkey and Indonesia are both members of the Organization of Eight Developing Countries with predominantly Muslim populations (D8) and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). They have been cooperating in various fields, including politics, defense, socio-cultural, and humanitarian missions. The two governments also provide mutual support to regional and international organizations (Lubis & Zulian, 2021).

The Indonesian government has provided initial assistance by sending personnel and equipment, including doctors and medical staff. For the second stage of assistance, the government has dispatched doctors and health experts to treat infectious diseases. In the following stage, the government provided aid in the form of food and logistics. Additionally, the governments of Indonesia and Turkey discussed the subsequent steps following the end of the emergency period after the disaster. The Indonesian government has planned to assist Turkey in the post-earthquake rehabilitation and reconstruction (PANRB, 2023).

On February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2023, the first stage was completed. The Indonesian government utilized two Indonesian Air Force aircraft: a B-737-500 military aircraft and a C-130 Hercules aircraft to transport 47 Medium Urban SAR INASAR personnel from BASARNAS, along with equipment and support from the Ministry of Defense. The Turkish Disaster Management Agency (AFAD) provided full support throughout the landing, including immigration and customs processes. The INASAR team promptly proceeded to the operation area designated by AFAD and coordinated with the UN office in the Antakya region of Hatay Province (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia, 2023).

On February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2023, the Indonesian government dispatched Garuda Indonesia's Airbus A 330-300, along with an Emergency Medical Team (EMT), a field hospital, and almost 40 tonnes of humanitarian logistical aid. The EMT has been coordinated by BNPB, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Health, with members from various health organizations and supporters from the Ministry of Health, TNI, Polri, and non-governmental organizations. Meanwhile, the largest non-governmental contributors were MDMC, NU, and specialist medical associations. The Turkish authorities requested the EMT to construct a field hospital in the most affected area, Hassa District in Hatay Province (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia, 2023).

On February 18<sup>th</sup>, 2023, the third stage of humanitarian aid arrived in Turkey via an Airbus A 330-300 aircraft owned by Garuda Indonesia. The cargo,

which consisted of 35 tonnes of humanitarian logistical assistance, was welcomed by Murat Salim Esenli, a member of the Turkish Foreign Policy Advisory Council. Esenli stated that the Indonesian government's humanitarian aid was a form of solidarity and evidence of the strong ties between the two countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia, 2023).

Furthermore, Esenli argued that Indonesia's use of catastrophe diplomacy toward Turkey was part of a larger diplomatic strategy. The theory of catastrophe diplomacy suggests that disaster-related actions can catalyze diplomatic efforts, but they cannot create diplomacy on their own. While catalysis is not always evident, disaster diplomacy can spur diplomatic action. It is important to note that disaster diplomacy does not create new diplomatic opportunities. In Indonesia, disaster diplomacy is viewed through a long-term lens, where non-disaster issues often have a greater impact on the diplomatic process than disaster-related operations. Political agendas for action are among the factors influencing the diplomatic process.

According to Kelman's disaster diplomacy (2016), Indonesia's response to the Turkish earthquake disaster has strengthened diplomatic relations between the two countries. Disaster-related activities can have an impact, but they are most effective when countries already have established cooperation, such as trade relations, cultural exchange, and peace negotiations. Indonesia's disaster diplomacy could strengthen its diplomatic relations with Turkey, which have been ongoing since 1950 (Koukis et al., 2016). This disaster diplomacy could catalyze further strengthening of the relationship between Indonesia and Turkey. The two countries have previously cooperated in trade, culture, and peace negotiations. Disaster management collaboration, particularly in the area of mitigation and response, had been in place before the earthquake disaster occurred. The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) of Turkey and the Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management (BNPB) were encouraged to cooperate in the area. There have been ample opportunities for the two institutions to strengthen each other. It is noteworthy that AFAD possessed experience in Indonesia, having been present in the aftermath of major

disasters in the past (Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia Ankara, Turkey, 2020). Disaster-related activities include prevention, mitigation, and recovery.

To enhance disaster diplomacy, the governments of Indonesia and Turkey should broaden their disaster-related efforts beyond providing humanitarian aid after a disaster occurs. These efforts could be implemented both before and after a disaster. Pre-disaster efforts focus on mitigation, while post-disaster efforts focus on rehabilitation. Both AFAD and BNPB have established national disaster management organizations. These institutions could aid in the implementation of disaster diplomacy. Both Muhammadiyah and NU have disaster management institutions as non-state actors: MDMC and LPBINU.

#### **THE ROLE OF NON-STATE ACTORS IN DIPLOMACY: A CASE STUDY OF MUHAMMADIYAH AND NAHDLATUL ULAMA IN TURKEY**

In post-Cold War diplomacy, diplomacy is not only carried out by state actors but also by non-state actors, including individuals, business organizations, NGOs, communities, and civil society. This diplomacy is known as multitrack diplomacy, combining government, group, and individual diplomacy. The goal of multitrack diplomacy is to promote world peace through integrated soft power (Rohman et al., 2021). Two major religious organizations often associated with moderate groups are Muhammadiyah and NU. Muhammadiyah advocates the concept of progressive Islam, while NU advocates the concept of Islam Nusantara. Accordingly, the combination of these concepts is reconcilable and vibrant and represents democratic Islam (Rohman et al., 2021). Muhammadiyah propagates the concept of *al-wasatiyyah* (middle path) in Islam, emphasizing the importance of tolerance and moderation, while NU promotes Islam Nusantara. Recently, Muhammadiyah has also introduced the concept of progressive Islam (Saiman, 2019).

Both Muhammadiyah and NU, the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, have made significant contributions to assist the Indonesian government in

various fields to advance the development of the country. As representatives of moderate Islam, both Muhammadiyah and NU have played crucial roles in maintaining and promoting peace. The internationalization of Muhammadiyah and NU through their branches in various countries has become an essential element of Indonesia's soft diplomacy. Muhammadiyah and NU played an active role in peace dialogues, humanitarian activities, and conflict resolution. They held a strategic position as multitrack diplomacy actors. The cooperation between Muhammadiyah, NU, and the governments of Indonesia and Turkey has been strengthened. These two organizations collaborated with the Indonesian government in various fields, including disaster diplomacy activities.

Muhammadiyah established a special branch in Turkey on February 12th, 2016, through Decree No. 57/KEP/LO/B/2016, issued by the Central Leadership of Muhammadiyah. The decree legalized the establishment of the Special Branch of Muhammadiyah, operating throughout the country. Muhammadiyah has carried out various activities, such as preaching through social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter, as well as conducting online and offline studies, to revive its preaching in Turkey. The establishment of the Muhammadiyah Special Branch (PCIM) in Turkey aims to serve as a liaison between Muhammadiyah and various government and non-government agencies in Turkey, spreading the concept of progressive Islam (Muhammadiyah, 2016). Meanwhile, on June 3rd, 2012, the NU Special Branch (PCINU) was established in Turkey. The formation of PCINU Turkey aims to play a crucial role in presenting Islam in a friendly manner and preserving the integrity of the nation and state. PCINU has initiated various activities, including Islamic studies, discussions, and training (Murtaufiq & Sugandi, 2012).

The presence of Muhammadiyah and NU as civil society and non-state actors has illustrated their political attitudes and behavior in the international sphere. They often engaged in second-track diplomacy to address various international security issues. As part of multitrack diplomacy, second-track diplomacy aims to promote

world peace by alleviating or eliminating disputes, conflicts, tensions, and misunderstandings between groups or nations. It operates alongside first-track diplomacy by the government (Purwono, 2013). In international relations, Muhammadiyah and NU both embody the principle of moderate Islam, aligning with humanitarian values. NU has seen this as a manifestation of religious practice based on the principle of human brotherhood, creating a common ground for promoting human values between the West and Islam. The meeting point between Islam and international humanitarian law could also be identified in their conformity (Purwono, 2013).

As part of Islamic globalization, NU has expanded its special branch offices in various countries across the Middle East (Egypt, Syria, Sudan, Kuwait, and Turkey), the West (England, America, Canada, Australia, Japan, the Netherlands, and Germany), and Asia (Malaysia and Taiwan). These offices exist not only to serve NU members living abroad but also to promote and practice NU-style Islam. Some of these efforts are intended to bridge Islamic and Western civilizations (Purwono, 2013). Muhammadiyah diplomacy is based on building peace alliances with religious groups and civilizations from different countries. For instance, Muhammadiyah established the Center for Dialogue and Cooperation among Civilizations (CDCC). This cooperation forum provides input and assistance to governments, organizations, and policymakers regarding the importance of dialogue and cooperation between civilizations as a model for building resolutions for political, social, economic, cultural, security, and environmental problems. Muhammadiyah also has some special branches, similar to NU. Various countries have special branches, including Egypt, Iran, Sudan, the Netherlands, Germany, England, China, Taiwan, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Australia, and others (Rohman et al., 2021).

As one of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah has consistently addressed the problems faced by the ummah, including responding to disasters, given that Indonesia is prone to such events. In 2007, Muhammadiyah established MDMC, serving as

a supporting element of leadership at the national, provincial, regional, and district levels throughout Indonesia. The institution's primary focus is to coordinate Muhammadiyah resources for emergency response efforts, including recovery, mitigation-preparedness, and strengthening network systems, organization, and management of disaster management resources (MDMC, 2022). MDMC operates on international missions as a part of Muhammadiyah Aid. It is also a member of various organizations, such as the Muhammadiyah Covid-19 Command Center, the Humanitarian Forum Indonesia (HFI), the National Platform for PRB, and the Disaster Education Consortium (KPB). MDMC has carried out several international missions, including those in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, Palestine, Myanmar, and during the Turkish earthquake disaster (Lazismu DIY, 2017).

Meanwhile, NU established LPBINU with the aim of creating a society resilient and adaptive to disasters, reducing environmental impact, and mitigating climate change. The steps taken to achieve this goal include: LPBINU aims to increase multi-stakeholder capacity by strengthening base nodes, promote networking and collaboration to establish a credible and professional organization, encourage the dissemination of information and knowledge related to disaster risk reduction, climate change adaptation, and environmental preservation, and enhance emergency response capacity. LPBINU has also participated in international humanitarian missions, such as those in Myanmar and Turkey. During the Turkish earthquake, LPBINU, together with the Indonesian government's humanitarian team, transported 140 tonnes of food and other logistical supplies to Turkey (Faizin, 2023).

#### **COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE OF NON-STATE ACTORS IN INDONESIAN DISASTER DIPLOMACY TOWARD TURKEY'S EARTHQUAKE DISASTER**

Participants engaged in collaborative dynamics operate under three principles during and after the construction of the CGR: commitment to principles, shared motivation, and the ability to act cooperatively. These

dynamics resulted in the formation of a shared purpose, goals, and a common theory of change, guiding the collaborative activities of the CGR. These activities could have consequences requiring changes within the system environment or inside the CGR itself. The integrative framework for cooperative governance consists of three components: system context, drivers, and cooperative dynamics. The system context dimensions encompass seven factors: resource situation, regulatory and legal framework, level of conflict or trust, socioeconomic status, well-being, culture and diversity (portrait condition), prior failure to resolve difficulties, political dynamics or power relations, and network connectivity.

#### **System Context**

The following table explains the system context of the CGR in Indonesia's disaster diplomacy regarding the Turkish earthquake disaster.

The government of Indonesia, Muhammadiyah, and NU, as civil society organizations, were members of the CGR of disaster diplomacy. Each participant brought a unique set of perspectives, values, concerns, and experiences to the table. The Indonesian government's open and active foreign policy has contributed significantly to global peace and humanitarian missions. Indonesia and Turkey have depicted a strong working partnership in various industries due to their shared Muslim populations and similar political aims and agendas.

After the 2014 tsunami disaster, the Indonesian government prioritized disaster management. Indonesia's location at the intersection of three tectonic plates—the Eurasian, Australian, and Pacific—makes it particularly vulnerable to earthquakes, tsunamis, and landslides, posing a significant threat to public safety. The national prioritization of disaster management is demonstrated by the enactment of Law No. 24 of 2007 on Disaster Management, followed by Presidential Decree No. 8 of 2008 on the National Disaster Management Agency, serving as the formal basis for the formation of the BNPB (Sudirman & Putra, 2018).

**Table 1.** System Context of CGR for Indonesian Disaster Diplomacy Toward Turkey’s Earthquake Disaster

No	Element	Explanation
1.	Resource condition	Muhammadiyah is a religious and social organization with several branches (PCIM) in Turkey. It also has MDMC, EMT, and LazisMu. LPBINU, PCINU of Turkey, NU Peduli, and LazisNU are all organizations associated with NU.
2.	Policy and legal framework	Law No. 37 of 1999 governs foreign relations, while Law No. 24 of 2007 governs domestic disaster management strategies. Additionally, Presidential Regulation No. 8 of 2008 serves as the legal basis for the establishment of the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB).
3.	Level of conflict or trust	No conflicts existed in diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Turkey. Additionally, there were no conflicts in the collaborative governance process. Communication and coordination between the government and non-state actors, such as Muhammadiyah and NU, have been running smoothly.
4.	Portrait condition	The government, as a leading sector of disaster diplomacy, was supported by Muhammadiyah and NU.
5.	Failures issue	Disputes between Turkey and Indonesia were absent due to their shared Muslim populations and similar political goals. Additionally, moderate Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU have contributed to the preservation and promotion of peace.
6.	Political dynamics	Muhammadiyah and NU played a strategic role in promoting democracy and maintaining peace in Indonesia. Both organizations have collaborated with the government to create a conducive environment in society. To support Indonesia’s diplomatic relations with Turkey, both organizations have established special branches in Turkey.
7.	Partnership relation	Indonesia’s disaster diplomacy during the Turkish earthquake strengthened diplomatic relations between the two countries. Such disaster-related activities had an impact, but they were most effective when countries had already established cooperation, such as in trade relations, culture, and peace negotiations. As the two major Islamic organizations in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah and NU had a strategic position as actors in multi-pronged diplomacy.

Source: Processed by authors, 2023

The Indonesian government's humanitarian assistance for the earthquake disaster in Turkey was the largest international operation it has ever carried out. The Coordinating Ministry for Development and Humanity made this announcement. Turkey was the first to send humanitarian aid during the earthquake and tsunami in Aceh and the natural disaster in Central Sulawesi. Indonesia and Turkey could exchange experiences in disaster management to enhance their resilience against future threats (Muhari, 2023).

Muhammadiyah distributed humanitarian aid to the Turkish people affected by the earthquake through the PCIM of Turkey, LazisMu, MDMC, EMT, and the Aisyiyah Special Branch of Turkey. The organization's One Muhammadiyah One Response (OMOR) spirit united all elements to assist (Fizriyani, 2023). Meanwhile, NU has assisted Turkey through its disaster response organizations, LPBINU and NU Peduli, via PCINU. NU Peduli raised donations from Indonesian people, especially NU members, to aid those affected by the earthquake. The fundraising was carried out by NU Peduli-LazisNu (Faizin, 2023; Setiawan, 2023).

### **Drivers And Collaborative Dynamics**

The second dynamic is a driver with several components, including leadership, consequential incentives, interdependence, and uncertainty. Leadership refers to a leader who takes the initiative and prepares resources to support collaboration. The incentives for stakeholders to collaborate can take the form of resources, interests, and opportunities. Stakeholders can be assured of equal benefits from collaboration through incentives. The collaboration process will be strengthened if stakeholders perceive the real benefits of collaboration. Collaborative governance is efficient in situations where there is interdependence, particularly when individuals and organizations cannot achieve their goals with the effort and capacity of one side. On the other hand, collaborative governance can create dynamic interdependence among stakeholders, including government, corporations, communities, and academics, through coordinated facilitation and improved governance processes (Emerson et al., 2012).

The Indonesian government has become a key player in disaster diplomacy, with support from Muhammadiyah and NU.

Muhammadiyah and NU are the two dominant Islamic organizations in Indonesia and have made significant contributions to the country since before independence. Both organizations played a crucial role in the fight for Indonesian independence, starting from the grassroots level. Following independence, they continued to assist the Indonesian government in various sectors, including education, economy, socio-cultural, and politics. They have supported Indonesia's soft diplomacy in international agendas, particularly those related to the Islamic world. Hence, mutual trust and understanding between the Indonesian government and Muhammadiyah and NU were established.

As autonomous community organizations, Muhammadiyah and NU have been recognized for their leadership by the Indonesian people. This recognition was evidenced by the fact that both organizations have been in operation for over a century. Muhammadiyah is currently 111 years old, while NU is 100 years old. The extensive history of these two organizations demonstrates their legitimacy and unwavering dedication to community and country building. Additionally, they have supported Indonesia's free and active foreign policy by actively participating in peace agendas and humanitarian missions. For instance, they recently participated in a humanitarian mission to aid in the aftermath of the earthquake disaster in Turkey.

Muhammadiyah and NU, which represent moderate Islam, also contributed to maintaining and caring for peace. Their internationalization through special branches in various countries has become one of the elements of Indonesia's soft diplomacy. They played an active role in peace dialogues, humanitarian activities, and conflict resolution. The Indonesian government, Muhammadiyah, and NU shared the same goal of providing humanitarian assistance to Turkey in response to the earthquake disaster. It was performed within the framework of friendship, partnership, and solidarity among fellow Muslims. According to the collaborative engagement paradigm, shared motivation is a

self-reinforcing loop that includes four components: mutual trust, comprehension, internal justification, and commitment. Collaborative capacity is the interaction of four essential elements: organizational and institutional arrangements, leadership, knowledge, and resources. Collaborative governance is typically initiated with a specific goal in mind, aiming to catalyze actions that would not have been possible if any of the groups acted alone.

The capacity for joint actions refers to the combination of four essential elements: operational and institutional framework, leadership, knowledge and means. The government of Indonesia has established cooperative governance with the major Islamic organizations in Indonesia, specifically Muhammadiyah and NU, to provide humanitarian assistance. These organizations possess a proven track record in various humanitarian activities. They have been involved in global initiatives related to peacebuilding and interfaith dialogue.

Muhammadiyah and NU utilized their significant resources to increase the amount of aid sent to Turkey. Muhammadiyah distributed humanitarian aid through various channels, including the PCIM of Turkey, LazisMu, MDMC, EMT, and the Aisyiyah Special Branch of Turkey. In the spirit of OMOR, every element of the organization worked together to provide aid to the Turkish people affected by the earthquake (Fizriyani, 2023). Meanwhile, NU has assisted Turkey through NU Peduli and PCINU in Turkey. NU Peduli raised donations from Indonesian people, especially NU members, to help Turkish people affected by the earthquake. The fundraising was carried out by NU Peduli-LazisNu (Faizin, 2023; Setiawan, 2023).

Indonesia and Turkey have been collaborating in disaster management to prevent major disasters. Prior to the earthquake disaster, Indonesia and Turkey collaborated on disaster management, specifically in the areas of mitigation and response. AFAD of Turkey and BNPB of Indonesia have encouraged cooperation in this field. There have been ample opportunities for these institutions to further strengthen their partnership. Moreover, AFAD had experience working in Indonesia by being present during major disasters in the past

(Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia Ankara, Turkey, 2020).

## CONCLUSION

Disaster diplomacy is a strategy adopted by countries to enhance diplomatic relations with others by capitalizing on opportunities that arise from natural disasters. Indonesia's approach to disaster diplomacy has notably benefited its long-standing relationship with Turkey, dating back to 1950. These two nations have historically cooperated in trade, culture, and peace negotiations. To further advance disaster diplomacy, it is recommended that Indonesia and Turkey expand their disaster-related activities beyond merely providing humanitarian aid post-disaster. These activities should encompass both pre-disaster mitigation and post-disaster rehabilitation efforts. In executing disaster diplomacy in Turkey, the Indonesian government has effectively employed collaborative governance, partnering with non-state actors such as Muhammadiyah and NU. This CGR model includes three key elements: system context, actors, and collaborative dynamics. Both the Indonesian government and civil society organizations like Muhammadiyah and NU have contributed significant resources to disaster diplomacy. The collaboration was enriched by the unique perspectives, beliefs, interests, and expertise of each participant, as well as the distinct cultures, missions, and directives of the organizations they represent.

Significant Islamic groups in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah and NU, have joined forces with the Indonesian government to provide humanitarian assistance. Muhammadiyah's efforts were channeled through various entities, including the PCIM in Turkey, LazisMu, MDMC, EMT, and the Aisyiyah Special Branch in Turkey. Embracing the 'One Muhammadiyah One Response' (OMOR) philosophy, the organization's various elements were united in delivering aid to those affected by the earthquake in Turkey. Similarly, NU has been actively assisting Turkey through its NU Peduli program, supported by PCINU and LPBINU. NU Peduli's fundraising efforts, driven by NU Peduli-LazisNU, have garnered significant support from

the Indonesian community, especially NU members, to aid the earthquake victims in Turkey.

Both Muhammadiyah and NU, as non-state actors, have played an active role in disaster diplomacy in Turkey, collaborating with the Indonesian government through their respective disaster management centers. MDMC and LPBINU were instrumental in providing essential infrastructure support. This collaboration has notably enhanced the efficiency and scale of humanitarian aid distribution and expedited the evacuation process.

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