Aim and Scope

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Research Article

Building Inclusive Development for People with Disability in Post-Pandemic Era to Pursue ASEAN Community 2025: Learning from Asia-Pacific Development Center (APDC)

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Abstract

This qualitative research conducted with the study case method tries to point out the impact of COVID-19 on the employment condition of disabled-person and what ASEAN might consider adopting from the Asia-Pacific Development Center (APCD) when it faces disability policy development. ASEAN itself has many legal commitment papers to establish an inclusive community, particularly for people with disabilities. COVID-19 has hit multi-sector of development in ASEAN and facing bigger challenges to establish an inclusive environment to achieve ASEAN Community 2025 due to the economic slump and mass unemployment. The study found that the pandemic's negative effect doubled when it hit people with disabilities and required rapid response. ASEAN established the Comprehensive Recovery Framework (ACRF), a set of principle guidelines, to respond to the challenge. However, it lacks procedures on how to implement the principles and guidelines at regional level. ASEAN may learn from Asia-Pacific Development Center for Disability (APCD) program, 60+Plus Project, as policy implementation guidelines for ASEAN Member States.

Keywords: Disability, Inclusive Development, ASEAN, APCD, 60+Plus Project, COVID-19, post-Pandemic World*.*

I. Introduction

Persons with disabilities are one of the groups most likely to be left behind, encountering a range of barriers including limited opportunities for health, education, and employment. Approximately 1 billion people, or 15% of the world's population, live with some form of disability, and 80% of them live in developing countries. It is estimated that 1 in every 6 people in Asia and the Pacific about 690 million people live with a disability. These 690 million people include individuals with physical disabilities; those who are blind or experience low vision, deaf, or hard-of-hearing; those with learning disabilities, cognitive/developmental disabilities, psychosocial disabilities, or are deaf-blind; and those with multiple disabilities (Crosta & Sanders, 2021).

The qualitative case study is used to help explore the impact of COVID-19 on the employment condition of the disabled group. Various data sources from ASEAN legal policy documents related to the current guidelines on the post-pandemic period, statistics, and official websites from various world actors who have concerns about disability inclusion have been used to provide multiple perspectives. In the end, as the outcome of the policy and practice analysis between ASEAN and APCD, learning points can be recognized.

The commitment of Asia and Pacific countries to the disability agenda after the adoption of the CRPD (Convention of The Rights of Persons with Disabilities) became more tangible with the Incheon Strategy to "Make the Rights Real" for persons with disabilities in ASEAN (M. Lusli, 2010). All 10 ASEAN countries have signed and ratified the UNCRPD and are now responsible for its

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implementation in their countries (Cogburn & Reuter, 2017).

In 2013, The ASEAN Declaration on Strengthening Social Protection mentioned that people with disabilities should have equitable access to social protection. The Declaration calls upon ASEAN members state (AMS) to support the principle by adopting it into their national policies, strategies, and mechanisms to ensure the implementation of social protection programs as well as the tangible targeting system to assure that social protection services may go to those who need most. Furthermore, In 2015, The Kuala Lumpur Declaration on a People-Oriented, People-Centered ASEAN, promotes the protection rights of people with disabilities and facilitates their interest and welfare in ASEAN's future agenda (ASEAN Summit 33rd, 2018). Both declarations are the follow-up of the previous work and to show continued commitment to the issues, Bali Declaration on Enhancement of The Role and Participation of Persons with Disabilities in ASEAN Community in 2011. ASEAN's commitment to an inclusive community is enshrined in the ASEAN Community Vision 2025.

There are 4 main aims to realizing disability inclusion; adjusting national development plans of education, diversifications of social services, development of social security schemes, and accessible education and work opportunities, among others (ASEAN Summit 33rd, 2018). Thus, ASEAN embodied the Bali Declaration on the Enhancement of The Role and Participation of Persons with Disabilities in The ASEAN Community into 3 principles set forth in the Mobilization Framework of The ASEAN Decade of Person with Disabilities (2011-2020):

1. Relevance. The vision and work plan of inclusion on people with disabilities rights is pertain to the ASEAN Community Pillars.
2. Complementarity. The inclusion rights for people with disabilities complements the existing commitments and aspirations of ASEAN to establish ASEAN Community 2025.
3. Interrelatedness. People with disabilities rights are the whole part of human rights, which means the principles are interconnected and interdependent. Coordination among sectoral bodies and participation of persons with disabilities and their organizations will be key success factors in the holistic implementation of this Enabling Masterplan. (ASEAN Summit 33rd, 2018)

ASEAN Enabling Masterplan 2025: Mainstreaming the Rights of Persons with Disabilities developed to address the needs of persons with disabilities across the three pillars of ASEAN Community Vision 2025. The master plan's purpose is to mainstream the rights of people with disability across the three pillars by providing a framework for the integration of persons with disabilities across sectors (Singh, 2022). The commitment to include people with disability in ASEAN Community Agenda are emerge as the response of ASEAN as the key regional actor in Southeast Asia and contribute to the global development, of the 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development.
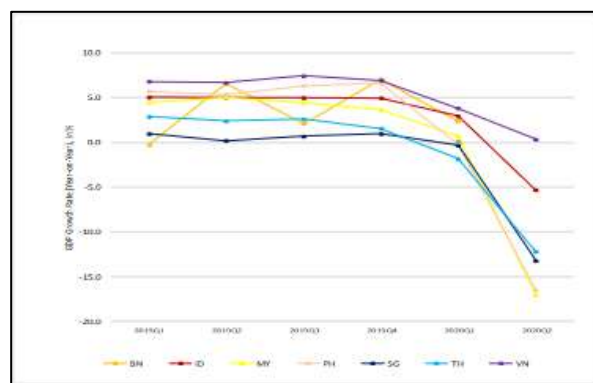
II. Conditions of People with Disabilities in ASEAN

Fig. 1. *Massive GDP Contraction ASEAN Member States in Q2 2020*
Source: *(ASEAN, 2020)*

COVID-19 declared as pandemic in March 2020, and since then the world condition disrupted and filled with uncertainty crisis. Neither developed countries nor developing countries were secured from the rapid changing because of COVID-19 which generated global multi-dimension crisis; health, economy, and social disaster.

Southeast Asia region has encountered similar experiences with the rest of the world. Figure 1 shows after expanding by an average of 5.3% over the last decade, the ASEAN region is now projected to contract by 3.8%1 in 2020, the first decline in economic growth in 22 years. Economically, in 2020, trade and investment in ASEAN were impacted by the pandemic. ASEAN's trade fell by 12.4% and FDI inflows by 32.9% compared to the previous year (ASEAN, 2020).
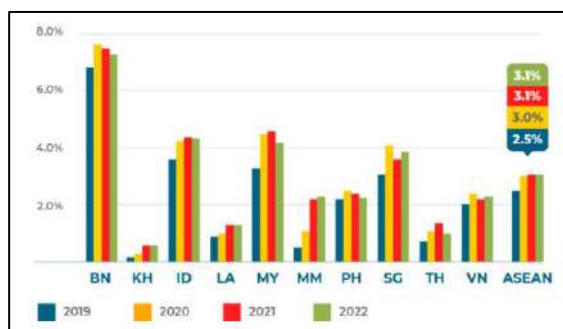
Fig. 2. *Unemployment Rate in ASEAN 2019-2022 (%)*
Source: (ASEAN, 2021)

Furthermore, an economic catastrophe is unavoidable as the response of the world economy fell off due to the pandemic. The COVID-19 crisis led to mass layoffs and contributed to rising poverty and inequality around the globe. International Labor Organization (ILO) estimated global working hours were lost by around 5.4% in the first quarter of 2020 compared to the last quarter of 2019 and the number worsened to 14% in the second quarter.

The situation in ASEAN is even more delicate given the high levels of informality, uneven social security nets, and structural dependence on highly labor-intensive sectors in some AMS. Yet overall, job losses appear to rise in unemployment rates across ASEAN in the second quarter of 2020 (ASEAN, 2020). In detail, figure 2, unemployment in ASEAN from 2.5% in 2019 to 3.1% in 2021, stalling the 20-year achievement of the region in terms of labor force participation (ASEAN, 2021). Unfortunately, there are less data on disability unemployment rate before and during COVID-19 period can be found to exactly point out the analysis impact.

Assumed that the number shown in figure 2 includes unemployment status for people with disability. Even so, the percentage of people with disability unemployment rate may be higher than the data showed. Because, people with disabilities often do not register as either employed or unemployed, which means they are often invisible in labor market statistics and likely to be overlooked in policy initiatives (UN ESCAP, 2020).

Moreover, the employment prospects for individuals with disabilities tend to be poor; they are likely to be in low-paying jobs in the informal economy without social protection; they are likely to be involved in corporate social responsibility programs; or they are likely to be self-employed. It is estimated that three quarters of employed persons with disabilities work in the informal economy, with informal workers accounting for 28 to 92 percent of the labor force across developing countries. It positioned people with disabilities at more critical point and broadened the inequality at the worst moment.

It is estimated that in 1 in every 6 people in Asia and the Pacific, about 690 million people live with a disability. The emergence of the Pandemic COVID-19 in 2020 has significantly affected multi-dimensions of social life for the majority group of society and made the vulnerable group more suffer due to existing gaps in the status quo. People with disabilities in general, have experienced

poorer health outcomes, lower access to education, reduced services, and support, and increased violence and abuse throughout the pandemic.

Furthermore, persons with disabilities are not fairly represented in the workforce in Asia and the Pacific. As an outcome, people with disabilities have less overall consumption and less contribution toward economic growth. Persons with disabilities are systematically excluded from equal access to work across the region. According to UNESCAP, persons with disabilities work less or earn less because of the barriers they face. The domino effect of being excluded from the system has triggered a long record of social injustice. People with disabilities most likely experienced discrimination in their daily lives in many sectors even in normal conditions and aggravated due to the pandemic. Evidence shows that people with disabilities faced more threats due to the pandemic, such as; higher rates of infection and death from COVID-19, less access to healthcare information, worsened mental health, lack of involvement in response planning, loss of income, and poor assistance, reduced access to disability support and services, increased gender-based violence, and inaccessible remote learning (Crosta & Sanders, 2021).

The prevalence of specific disabilities varies among the AMS, yet the obstacles people with disabilities face is similar. Despite the different variables among the AMS, they have similar weaknesses such as inadequate legislation, unequal employment, and inadequate physical access which correlated to education accessibility. Meanwhile, studies show that if persons with disabilities were paid on an equal basis as their colleagues without disabilities, the GDP of many Asian and Pacific countries could increase by 1 to 7% (Crosta & Sanders, 2021). Based on the founding, the contribution of people with disabilities might be one of the keys to supporting the region's

economic pace to recovery from the pandemic if they were, to have more chances and access, included in the mainstream.

III. ASEAN Resolution in Post-Covid Development Framework
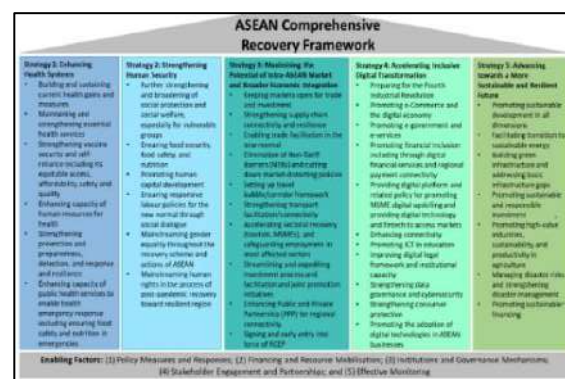
Fig.3. *ASEAN Comprehensive Recovery Framework: Broad Strategies, and Enabling Factors*
Source: *(ASEAN, 2021)*

ASEAN has designed the "ASEAN Comprehensive Recovery Framework (ACRF)" to provide a consolidated exit strategy for ASEAN to emerge resilient and strong from the COVID-19 crisis. ACRF observes 6 key principles; focused, balanced, impactful, pragmatic, inclusive, and measurable (ASEAN, 2020). ASEAN applied the principles into 3 phases: re-opening, recovery, and resilience. First, in brief, re-opening designed the smooth transition from lock-down/social rigid restriction into "new normal" conditions without undertaking the health procedure to prevent further COVID-19 waves. Secondly, concerns to support the sectors back to pre-COVID-19 potential and focused on assisting sectors and groups that have been affected by the pandemic, such as tourism, micro, small and medium enterprises, and vulnerable groups (ASEAN, 2020). The third phase, building resilience in society towards unprecedented crisis on fundamental vulnerabilities within economies and societies.

Indirectly, inclusive development for the vulnerable group has been involved in the 5 strategies of ACRF shown in figure 3. In the short term of the ASEAN Comprehensive Recovery Framework embedded in further strengthening and broadening of social protection and social welfare for a vulnerable group, social assistance programs need to be continued and scaled up. The proposal is necessary not limited only to mitigate the risk of the pandemic in socioeconomic impact at an individual level, but also to ensure domestic consumption going.

One key challenge is to ensure that social assistance is accessible to those without social security or unemployment benefits. Accessibility to social care services should also be ensured especially for those facing higher risks during lockdown and containment measures, owing to their age, gender, disability, economic status, and other factors (ASEAN, 2020). ASEAN recovery efforts must follow inclusive principles and cover the intersection of age, disability, and gender in designing measures. Prioritizing human rights and the protection of vulnerable groups and sectors is uncompromised. Recovery efforts must be inclusive and consider the intersection of age, disability, and gender in designing measures. Human rights and the protection of vulnerable sectors must be prioritized.

To sum up, COVID-19 has positioned ASEAN in an uncomfortable situation from multi-dimensions, such as economic instability to mass unemployed wave, and it affects the path of the region to establish equal environment for vulnerable groups. But the insufficient disaggregated data hampers a deeper analysis of socioeconomic impact of the pandemic on people with disabilities. ASEAN, directly and indirectly, stated inclusive development for vulnerable groups on many legal papers, yet full and integrated programs still turn out as the main issues. Thus, the framework offers very general overview of the inclusive development principle yet lacks implementation policy development. Considering the hidden economic potency towards domestic finance growth, building accessibility and integration program for people with disabilities is a vital foundation. Not only to tackle inequality but also to achieve rapid recovery, it will need double effort due to the pandemic development setbacks and stagnancies.

IV. Asia-Pacific Development Center: The 60+ Plus Project

APCD was established in Bangkok, Thailand on 31 July 2001 as a legacy of the Asian and Pacific Decade of Disabled Persons, 1993-2002. APCD was endorsed by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) as a regional collaboration between Thailand and JICA. ESCAP also identified APCD as the regional center on disability and development for the Incheon Strategy to Make the Right Real, 2013-2022 (APCD Foundation, 2021).

The main mission of APCD is to nurture the capacities of person with disability and establish Community-Based Inclusive Development Disabled Organizations and Disability-Inclusive Business as agents of change. While the vision is to promote an inclusive, barrier-free, and right-based society for person and organizations of disability throughout empowerment program. After operating for 21 years, APCD has trained more than 7,000 persons with disabilities and stakeholders in the Asia-Pacific region. APCD provide capacity building and training for not only people with disabilities but also for parent who has disabled family members and staff who interact with disabled person. Moreover, APCD cooperates with more than 30 countries to establish disability and development

programs and activities (APCD Foundation, 2021).

To achieve an inclusive community, people with disabilities must be independent, and capable of empowering themselves and leading community-based development to support the entire agenda of inclusive development. Networking and collaboration among disability organizations and stakeholders are one of the main missions. Armed with sophisticated network and various collaborations will provide people with disability more access to be actively involved and contribute to the community. Considering how the issues have been left behind among any other inequality concerns, even without the pandemic, it is essential to build networking, initiate collaboration and share experiences to mainstream the issues of inequality among people with disabilities.

Working closely and considering people with disability as resourceful individuals is the principle of APCD's capacity development (CD) project. Since it is important to build strong self-esteem in people with disabilities, considering the common societal prejudice against them. Once the PWDs got involved in their communities and began to work towards a barrier-free society, they came in closer contact with non-disabled persons, including their families and community members, local government officials, and even policymakers at the central government level. In this way, the APCD Project also created a comprehensive and multilayered CD impact (JICA & IFIC, 2008). Through effective training and capacity building, people with disabilities and stakeholders will be empowered with skills, knowledge, and a positive attitude toward disability and community development (APCD Foundation, 2021).

The 60+ Plus Bakery & Chocolate Café Project is APCD's main activity. One of the settled projects is disability-inclusive business in the food industry which aims to develop the inclusive business skills of persons with disabilities in society, as well as provide sustainable on-the-job training and an inclusive environment for them. The project supports them to be professional bakers and chocolatiers, shopkeepers, and entrepreneurs based on Disability Inclusive Business and Inclusive Entrepreneurship.

This initiative is implemented by APCD, with support from the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) and other partners, as part of the Incheon Strategy to 'Make the Right Real' for Persons with Disabilities in Asia and the Pacific. Collaboration between the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security of Thailand, the Embassy of Japan, Thai-Yamzaki Co.ltd., and APCD, 60+Plus Bakery has been established. The project aimed youths with disabilities produce and sell baked goods at the shop. Thus, another project with food-based workshop is 60 + Plus Chocolatier by MarkRin, initiated by APCD and MarkRin Co., Ltd (*Home | Asia-Pacific Development Center on Disability*, n.d.). Almost 100 trainees with various disabilities (visual, hearing, physical, psychosocial, intellectual, learning, and autism) participated in both Thai Yamazaki and Chocolate training since 2015. The trainee employed by Thai Yamazaki in various branches in Bangkok while others were hired by cafes (i.e., Cafe Amazon, Black Canyon), hotels (i.e., Chaophaya Hotel), hospitals (i.e., Siriraj Hospital), and schools (i.e., Anglo Singapore International School). Trainees are also hired by 60+Plus Bakery & Chocolate Café or start their entrepreneurship career in food businesses.

As the follow-up workshop program of 60 + Plus Chocolatier and 60 + Plus Bakery, APCD established 60+Plus Bakery & Chocolate Café. The original 60+Plus Bakery & Chocolate Café in the compound of Rajvithi home for the girls where APCD is located has been established at the end of December 2018. The

café run by the disabled person has become the star and down-to-earth role model on how to include people with disability into the community in Thailand and internationally. As a result of this success, APCD has been invited to open another branch of 60+ Café in the Government House. The opening new branch in the Government House will increase the number of employment opportunities and real-life training facilities for a person with disabilities (*Home | Asia-Pacific Development Center on Disability*, n.d.).

V. Learning from APCD to Achieve ASEAN Community 2025 for People with Disabilities
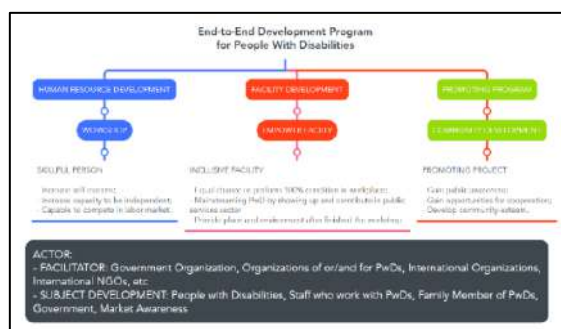

Fig. 4. *End-to-End Inclusive Program Mapping*

The end-to-end development principle run by APCD on 60+Project has become the key to building inclusive development for people with disabilities. Overall, the end-to-end program required many actors to work together on the same track, from start to finish line, to empowering people with disabilities from human development, providing inclusive access and/or facility, and promoting.

The cooperation between APCD, the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security as the representative of Thai government, Embassy of Japan and UNESCAP as the international actors, and the business sector represented by Thai-Yamzaki Co.ltd and MarkRin Co., Ltd has succeeded to established end-to-end program for inclusive development of people with disability.

The program started with a workshop not only for people with disabilities but also for the disability staff who work within the community and was supported by government commitment and collaboration with the business sector. 60+Project equip people with disabilities-specific skill sets in the F&B sector. People with disabilities obtained intensive training on F&B services, from making to marketing. F&B, as one of the closest sectors to human services, is considered a strategic sector, to begin with, to make people with disability gain more exposure and public awareness towards the equal capability to provide services. Furthermore, due to unequal access to many sectors since they were born, as the result, people with disability cannot properly develop their potencies and most likely has low self-esteem as well. Training them with useful skills will increase people with disability specialty and self-esteem as the first step to competing in the labor market (figure 4).

The effort to actively include people with disability in the business sector is acknowledged as an effort of economic redistribution. The core problem with fully including people with disability in the economic sector, which later become one of the main reasons to increase independence level and self-esteem, is because employers are less likely to hire people with disabilities and prefer persons without disabilities. Therefore, it is essential to provide a place or facility where people with disabilities can show what they are capable of after finishing the workshop (figure 4). If there is no follow-up program after the workshop is finished, the resolution to achieve equality between the person with and without disabilities will end up in vain. Bear in mind that unequal access and the absence of fruitful networks are the main obstacles for the disabled person to explore their potencies.

Positive discrimination against people with disabilities access to the workforce is needed due to the current condition of inaccessibility. The prejudice that peoples with a disability unable to work as efficiently as people without disability due to disabling conditions have to eradicate. It is vital for non-disabled persons in general to recognize the status of "disabled" is no barrier for person with disability to give equal service. If the majority of employers find it difficult to hire people with disabilities, then create a place and/or facility where disability may perform 100% with their conditions and at the same time promote cooperation with companies who may employ people with disabilities. Humans are more reluctant to believe in invisible changes, therefore it is important to show them that humans with disabilities have equal abilities. While having people with disabilities in a workplace full of people without disabilities will promote an inclusive environment as part of mainstreaming the issue.

Through the efforts above, the next step is promoting the program as the community development endeavor. A successful project, such as 60+Project, will most likely become favorable case study. In this state, media exposure plays an important role to gain mass public awareness and build community esteem among people with disabilities. The process of spreading good news will contribute to reconstructing the definition of self-sufficiency widely.

Due to the fact that the current notion of self-sufficiency pays amount of responsibility against discrimination against people with disability in the matter of workforce selection procedure. Employers will prefer to hire a non-disabled person based on the argument that efficiency in the workplace can be achieved if the workers have proper self-sufficiency (the absence of physical and intellectual disability). The argument failed to capture the root problem. Even people without disabilities will need a set of the facility to support their potency to become fully efficient laborers. Therefore, instead of a set requirement to meet a certain level of self-sufficiency during recruitment, the problem is how employers provide facilities to support their worker's efficiency points. The APCD actively working on promoting 60+Project, as one of the role models to establish inclusive model development, through seminars, TV shows, and joining a meeting with various actors either domestically or internationally.

To sum up, the persons with disabilities in ASEAN are still facing difficulties to access fair employment and assistance either in their respective fields or entrepreneurship skill. Strengthening by ESCAP report that the gap in inclusive development in ASEAN, almost always leads to the lack of financial investment in accessibility, as well as a dearth of innovative investment forms outside of monetary values, ranging from high-level commitment and institutional buy-in, or the creation of strong legal accessibility frameworks to the development of human resources, as well as to the development of strong partnerships among governments and policymakers, organizations and other stakeholders. (Sano, 2021).

ASEAN may adopt end-to-end development model to improve the regional capability to achieve ASEAN Inclusive Community Masterplan in 2025. Due to the fact, APCD has a tangible project which answers the challenge to build and provide equal access, as well as a network for people with disabilities. Indeed, the last policy product and implementation, in the end, will be AMS's responsibility. An end-to-end program such as the 60+Plus Project by APCD will automatically answer the world agenda against inclusive development for vulnerable groups. As a prior explanation, the hidden economic potency of people with disability is still less explored and

even shrink due to the economic crisis because of the pandemic. Therefore, offering a clear path to develop an inclusive environment, which positively impacts economic inclusivity, for people with disabilities is considered a necessary option. The development framework with sharp and clear methods will be easier to be adopted and further adjusted by AMS. Especially in the current condition where recovery from the pandemic becomes a priority for vulnerable groups.

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Research Article

Ecofeminist Review of Women's Participation in Ecotourism Development Through Social Forest Scheme in The Province of Bangka Belitung

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Abstract

The region of Bangka Belitung Province, in its economic distribution, focuses heavily on the mining and plantation sectors on community forest land belonging to social forestry, which causes much damage to the coastal forest ecosystem due to mining production and has an effect on the decline of the community's economic system due to the unproductive mining land in the area. Even with the dominance of the mining area, women have a very subordinate position. The community's economic welfare is highly dependent on the participation of men. For this reason, the Bangka Belitung regional government has implemented the Social Forestry Program through the Ecotourism scheme to improve some of these problems, prioritizing the concept of gender mainstreaming and involving the role of women in ecotourism management and sustainable economic development. This paper will further analyze the benefits of social forestry schemes for the improvement of environmental ecosystems in the Bangka Belitung region and see the importance of women's participation in supporting efforts to maintain the sustainability of forest resources as well as achieving gender equality in aspects of forest management as well as improving the economy of communities around Bangka Belitung forests from an ecofeminist perspective. This study uses previous research literature studies to strengthen the author's argument in analyzing the issues raised, the author uses the theory of ecofeminism. The resulting conclusion is that women are not only complementary or complementary but also play an essential role as decision-makers and drivers of community economic empowerment. Around the forest, by utilizing the status of social forestry land in the structure of ecotourism utilization and can achieve gender equality in its management.

Keywords: Social Forestry, Ecotourism, Women's Role, Ecofeminism.

I. Introduction

The problematization of forestry issues in the forest management process is often associated with the destruction of forests due to the use of sustainable natural resources by communities around the forest, causing deforestation and forest degradation. For this reason, social forestry programs have emerged to improve the *raming* of the issue and promise improvements or proposed solutions.

Social Forestry is a sustainable forest management system implemented in forest areas with the status of State Forests or customary rights forests implemented by indigenous peoples as the main actors. The benefits are to improve welfare, environmental balance, and socio-cultural dynamics in the form of village forests, Pakatan

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community forests, community plantation forests, customary forests, and other forest partnerships (Ministry of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia 2016

Social forestry is launched in the national Laws regulation of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia as a form of the federal program in the forestry sector that opens access to forest governance for community communities. The goal is to increase economic equality and community income, reduce poverty by opening up opportunities for new financial centers through community income, and reduce poverty by opening up opportunities for new financial centers by providing legal access to forest management to all communities.

The main proportion of social forestry is legal access for communities to utilize forests. They will also participate directly in preserving forests with environmental mitigation programs launched in forest management policy laws. The community is more directed to be an agent in implementing various development schemes with continuation under the umbrella of social forestry (Wong et al. 2020b). The government has targeted that around 12.7 hectares or about 10% of the country's total forest will be earmarked for social forestry programs (Wong et al. 2020a).

Social forestry is directed in addition to maintaining forest sustainability by involving the community sector in managing it; it is also expected to be a point of economic equality for all communities because it involves other economic sectors such as tourism markets and the production of non-timber forest products, creative industry, and other private sectors that can boost the creative economy of community forests. In addition, this program is also expected to encourage the principle of equality and justice in forest management in terms of gender mainstreaming, where the roles of men and women are balanced in supporting economic and environmental improvement because it is often found that women are still very stammering in forest resource management.

Women's roles in environmental mitigation efforts are still underrepresented. Women were also challenged to enter the public decision-making sector in environment and forestry. Indonesia's inherent patriarchal cultural views frame people's thinking to position women only as minorities and marginalized ones whose rights are less taken into account in forest management participation.

Including what happened in the Bangka Belitung Province area, where this area, in its economic equality, is very focused on the mining and plantation sectors on community forest land owned by social forestry. This area still puts the position of women very subordinate. The economic welfare of its people is highly dependent on male participation, judging from the availability of employment opportunities and the ratio of the labor force dominated by men by 53% in various forestry and mining sectors.

Women were given opportunities but did not put in strategic positions. Women who occupy structural legislative and judicial functions are not involved as decision-making parties. This is evidenced by data on the composition of Gender 2019, which shows that card members, the majority are dominated by men, as much as 82.86%, and become the determining party in the decision of regional development plans.

The subordination and marginalization of women are common; women are considered a minority because of their weaknesses and the lower class because they are poorly educated to put their job positions

only as coolies and homemakers who do not contribute highly to the improvement of economic well-being.

Women in Bangka Belitung Province, especially those in the Community Forest Area, tend to be informal and not seen in forest management practices; they only occupy positions fulfilling the requirements for women's representation and are rarely even involved in community forest management meetings.

Even though women's peran cannot be ignored, the existence of women's empowerment in the forestry sector is correlated to increasing economic growth development and marginalization of communities around forests. This is evidenced by the writings of Desti Ariani (2019), which explain that women play a considerable role in managing community-based ecotourism villages at the foot of Gunung Rinjani. The town is not only *complementary support* but also has a vital role as a decision maker and driver of economic empowerment of communities around the forest. For this reason, this study will analyze the relationship of women's representation through the ecofeminist concept in the Bangka Belitung area in the social forestry scheme, where they also have essential value in efforts to manage forest rehabilitation through ecotourism village schemes and can improve the development of the regional economy.

This research will complement previous research by looking at women's participation in efforts to improve forest ecosystems and the economy of communities in the Bangka Belitung area wh, ere his area experiences much damage there coastal forest ecosystems due to mining production, which causes deforestation and degradation of mangrove forests, as well as the decline of the community economic system due to the unproductiveness anymore mining land in the region. Hopefully, this research will add *insight* for policymakers on the importance of gender mainstreaming positions in every policy-making, primarily for efforts to improve a country's environment and economic development.

II. Research Method

To answer the formulation of the problem, this research will use qualitative research methods by utilizing *library research* that refers to physical and electronic library sources. Secondary related to reports, records of scientific discussions, media publications, and official government writings, both physical and electronic, through google scholar searches and Scopus. Id, from Institutions of the Ministry of Forestry and Environmental NGOs and several Agencies Government Daerah Bangka Belitung.

The data will be analyzed using review content (Review Content) which results in a theoretical review of the problem yang diteliti. Then the reduction of data is carried out through data filters using the keywords "Social forestry," "Ecofeminism," and "Women's ecotourism," which are the most concrete and appropriate from the findings of the results. After that, it was processed using an ecofeminist concept to explain the relationship between the role of women in efforts to improve the environment and economic development in the Bangka Belitung province.

III. Analytical Framework

a. Social Forestry and Gender Stereotypes

Forests provide significant benefits to human well-being, so they need to be preserved. To mitigate the environment and improve the community economy based on

forest and environmental use, the government needs to create a program that involves community participation in forest management and utilization. The purpose of the engagement is to strengthen the involvement of local communities in forest management activities; the community can be more concerned about the environment and manage forests sustainably, in addition to improving social welfare through the forestry industry.

Therefore, social forestry is broadly defined as a scientific initiative, policy, institution, and process aimed at increasing community participation in encouraging the forestry agenda and the structural division of land management for communities around forests to manage customary forests (Wong et al. 2020b), rated excellent for programs that support environmental mitigation. The basic principles of social forestry schemes are devolution of rights to local communities, support for livelihoods and poverty alleviation, and support for sustainable forest conservation activities. Apart from being a tactical solution for environmental mitigation efforts, the social forestry scheme is also a solution to reduce the level of urbanization of rural communities and changing perceptions about the role and value of forest ecosystem services which are considered to have decreased due to the impact of industrialization.

State-controlled forest ownership sometimes also ushers in a discursive discourse that makes people's limited ownership of surrounding customary forests so that mobility and migration often occur. Communities around the forest feel limited in using the forest as their livelihood sector, which causes many communities to make changes and migrations from the forest.

The existence of social forestry provides changes and opportunities for communities around the forest to carry out their lives by managing forests and utilizing them for their economic welfare. Regulations and institutionalization of rules restricting access and forest management rights are translated into different scopes, where social forestry policies frame a solution approach in which there is a need for community empowerment and equality in terms of land ownership, and communities can use it for their economic welfare but remain in b specific superiors according to the applicable rules. These rules are made by the government and must be obeyed to solve tenure and justice problems for local communities and customary law communities located in and around forests to maintain a balance between achieving community welfare and preserving forest functions (Ministry of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia 2016).

Social Forestry was created with the specific objective of reducing poverty, unemployment, and inequality in the management/utilization of forest areas by offering business licenses to communities to be able to manage forest land that falls into the categories of village forests, community forests, community plantation forests, customary forests, and other, recognized forestry partnerships. The business license is forest management right in protected forest areas and production forests intended for both timber and non-timber products such as environmental services and other forms of utilization given to village institutions to empower all village communities to manage the potential and quality of forests. After the agreement is approved and given access to land to manage the allotted forest, communities or forest managers with a business license must implement the provisions on how to work as required in the Ministerial Regulation. If it is not appropriate, sanctions will be given by the requirement of the laws and regulations.

In essence, social forestry becomes a forestry agenda scheme where the use of forest land must not change the function of the forest by utilizing and using traditional knowledge or local wisdom values to improve the community's social welfare and the conservation of forest ecosystems.

However, women are often a marginalized group amid the reasonable goals of implementing social forestry. Although the Law and several policies have mandated that resources must be managed entirely for the welfare of society, in their implementation, women often benefit unequally from access and governance of resources. Several approaches to feminism suggest that gender stereotypes have directly and indirectly distanced women's access to forest access and governance control.

The separation of roles between men and women in social classes sometimes unwittingly gives rise to a form of negative stereotypes about the position of women and men. Likewise, women are still considered taboo to participate politically, become a leader, and become maintain making a living and being lowly workers; However, these constructions have been exposed with the formation of democratic values; sometimes, it is still a big issue that often closes the door to the role of women and men in contributing to the development process, which only focuses on the part of men.

Without realizing it, gender or gender gives rise to stereotypes or can be understood as labeling and values that have long been formed in society based on masculinity and feminism. Male gender stereotypes are embodied in the importance of masculinity, while women yed in the value of femininity (Rahmadhani and Virianita 2020).

Gender stereotypes are more described as social formation through the value of emotional and intellectual differences, where men are more confidential than male

males. At the same time, women are more sensitive and meek. Gender here emphasizes socially as *a sex role*, which is always connected with a general view that guides the cities. Only work in low positions under the I men because they are considered not to have a significant contribution in actively contributing to the e. Men are deemed to have more responsibility for the existence of women because of the formation of a patriarchal culture that improves their social status and provides much access to job opportunities which is considered to contribute significantly to women's economic welfare.

Just as gender stereotypes apply in aspects of social forestry, although in the rules it is clear that social forestry prioritizes gender mainstreaming in its implications, role discrimination between women and men is still pronounced. The role of women tends not to be seen in forest management practices, their knowledge of forest management is not represented in forest governance policies due to the lack of involvement in decision-making processes, and their status as housewives makes their access limited because they have a dual role that cannot fully protect forests.

The average education is much lower than that of men, furthermore, making the position of women only marginally role only as a complement to her husband's work. Such as seeding tree seedlings, harvesting forest products, and other small jobs that do not have a significant role in the process of improving forests and making their status as forest farmers. The part of women's empowerment in the forestry sector still strongly raises the negative f stereotype, where there is a limited role for women and is considered very violative of the culture that has been constructed for a long time, namely patriarchy when working in the forest full-time. Karena will ignore their status as household managers.

b. Ecofeminism

Departing from the root of the problem of gender stereotypes in the issue of social forestry, some women realize the need to open up a lot of insight and knowledge to construct their *sex role*. This includes the situation of forest management as a source of economic welfare and environmental mitigation. The construction of patriarchal culture in social society and the value of masculinity inherent in the forestry sector must be boasted and proven that the role of women in the environmental and forestry sector is indeed necessary and contributes to the development of a country's economic growth. . The part of women in ecological improvement and forest conservation has been widely exposed in the 1990s with the emergence of various environmental activist movements that named themselves as *"Ecofeminism."*

Ecofeminism as a aovement and thought emerged as proof that women's participation in the environmental sphere to create social change exists and develops in a practical g era. Ecofeminism emerged as a form of marriage between the concepts of feminism and of radical ecological age, which initially lived as a diverse academic discourse that built gender relations between women and men and involved the relationship of man and nature.

Previously, it was a practical era that fought for women's role in facing *maldevelopment* and environmental degradation (Laplonge 2016). In the end, the movement gave rise to various academic discourses that encouraged social change significantly in the environmental field.

Ecofeminism was born to challenge the "oppression of nature," where humans concentrated that nature and the environment were only used as giant machines for their survival, not as territories that needed to be considered and treated fairly. Women sometimes only become marginalized people whose involvement is not taken into account; ecofeminism invites the whole world to see that feminism e interventions can be successful in environmental mitigation efforts, either in terms of improving the concept of nature, which is only used as a giant machine or incorporating various transformative recommendations in repairing environmental damage.

They were evidenced by the various *involvements of the "Women's Environment and Development Organizations"* (WEDO). The latter contributed to preparing the action agenda at the UN conference on environment and development in Rio De Janeiro in 1992. The conference involved 1500 women from 83 countries who produced a new plan outlined in the consensus on environmental mitigation efforts and gender equality. The agenda can be declared successful because by involving the role and empowerment of women in the context of climate change, the plan can move towards a new development direction system, namely sustainable development based on a green economy.

In *ecofeminism*, the destruction of nature also means destroying women because nature is always identified with a mother or motherland. If the soul is not cared for and treated well, it is like a mother who is ignored. For this reason, protecting and preserving nature is the same as caring for a mother, and if wildlife is protected, women will prosper. The instinct can cure the damage to the heart that occurs in feminism which prioritizes feelings and sincerity; ecofeminism was born as a concept of efforts to save the earth based on the peculiarities of women in managing the environment and all its sources of life. The close relationship between nature and women is a way of looking at *ecofeminism*

where women. Women can also be involved in decision-making and provide input to improve natural and environmental damage.

c. Ecotourism

Ecotourism, according to Nias (2009), is a tourism activity that prioritizes environmental ecology while maintaining the beauty of its sustainable area and aims to improve the economy and community participation so that the benefits can be felt by the government and local communities.

There are five crucial criteria for understanding ecotourism, including 1) Being able to give appreciation to the tourist destinations visited and increasing understanding of environmental education or education in each ecotourism area for visitors, 2) With the existence of ecotourism is expected to be able to reduce negative impacts on the tourist environment because it is maintained and managed correctly, 3) D its management must involve the participation of local communities. 4) Economically able to provide benefits to the community around the ecotourism area and 5) not stopping and being able to be sustainable.

Based on Supriatna's statement (1997), the purpose of tourism development with the concept of *ecotourism* is so that the natural resources managed can provide welfare and economic value for the people around the ecotourism area. According to him, there are five primary factors in determining the main limits of ecotourism, including 1) The area environment, namely the ecotourism area, must present a natural place and culture of the natural environment that has not been polluted so that developing it does not interfere with the ecosystem that has been formed naturally. It is also a characteristic of ecotourism that does not change and damage nature but harmoniously between nature and

humans who compensate for each other. 2) Society: fill other ecotourism socially and economically its constituent elements directly to the host community. In its management, an element of human resources is also needed so that its sustainability remains beautiful and guaranteed; other implications economically and non-economically will have an impact on economic and non-economically will impact coastal communities. 3) Education and Experience: Ecotourism must be able to increase the growth and development of the natural environment and related cultures in obtaining memorable experiences. So that it is not only a tourist entertainment but also has an impact on knowledge because in tourism, what is favored is natural tourism education. 4) Sustainability Ecotourism must be sustainable in its management and development stages. Because if it stops in the middle of the road, it will impact the community, the area, and nature itself. 5) Management: tourism must be managed correctly and in the long term. So that it can positively impact the surrounding environment in the future.

It positively impacts the environment, and ecotourism can also affect women involved in its management. It has been mentioned earlier that ecotourism has economic value for the welfare of communities around the forest. One way to realize it is by utilizing the empowerment aspect. Where is the empowerment aspect? The principle is to provide equal opportunities to everyone regardless of gender. Women have been marginalized in the management and access to jobs in forests; ecotourism has become a means for women to prove their existence and develop their capabilities for forest management and environmental improvement. In line with the ecofeminist concept that demands the oppression of patriarchal culture toward women and the environment, Ecotourism has the same

essence, which requires the essential role and the contribution of the entire gender to realize sustainable tourism.

IV. Results & Discussions

a. Utilization of Social Forestry Program for Ecosystem Improvement in Bangka Belitung Region

Bangka Belitung Province is an Indonesian archipelago located in the Sumatra region and is administratively divided into four parts: South, Central, West, and East Belitung. This area is rich in sources of minerals, especially in. Therefore, the province is driving its leading economy through the mining sector; however, because much unconventional mining was opened through the authority of regional autonomy to turn the wheels of the community's economy, causing damage to the ecosystem in the Bangka Belitung area, especially in the mangrove forest sector.

The impact of unconventional mining of the area causes a lot of ecosystem damage such as damage to land ecosystems, loss of mangrove forest vegetation, and coastal forests that indirectly contribute to storing carbon stocks, even leaving many pits of former mine management.

Mining activities carried out in land and sea areas cause many significant impacts, such as deforestation and forest degradation, as well as damage to ecosystems and vegetation in marine coastal regions, ultimately impacting the Belitung people's economy. Specifically makes a living as a forest farmer and fisherman. This environmental crisis puts Bangka Belitung as an area that needs to carry out land rehabilitation. By utilizing the social forestry scheme, the Bangka Belitung regional government made efforts to improve environmental conditions by involving communities in the Juru Sebring community forest area.

The first program of the local government carried out efforts to rehabilitate mangrove forests in Juru Sebring village with *a silvofishery* system that combines fish farming activities with mangrove planting activities, which are then used for the development of environmental services or ecotourism or better known as the *Belitung Mangrove Park* program (BPM). Communities around the forest are directly involved in being trained in managing marine conservation areas which are focused on becoming the marine ecotourism sector.

The community is provided with training assistance in small business financial management, diversification of tourist products, and planning conservation areas. The essence of this program, in addition to later, the community can be released independently in maximizing their potential to improve the environmental conditions of mangrove forests, and they are also able to manage ecotourism that has been facilitated in BMP as a new livelihood field that previously worked as miners and fishers.

Previously, it can be said that the Hutan Kemasyarakatan (HKM) area of Juru Sebring Bangka Belitung village had a lot of land damage due to mining and plantations tree vegetation, which resulted in low carbon stocks and frequent flood disasters in their area. For that, all the people of Juru Sebring village are invited to make rehabilitation efforts by planting mangrove forests again and making ecotourism facilities in the form of Mangrove Tracks, which become a diversification of new tourist products that offer river crossing tour packages by showing the beauty of newly rehabilitated mangrove forests with plus facilities such as seeing the beauty of the beach, selfie tours, bird

watching, and culinary tourism huts typical of Belitung from the results of pond cultivation.'

b. Women's Involvement in Efforts to Improve the Bangka Belitung Ecosystem

BMP ecotourism implemented in this social forestry scheme is not only a means of improving the environment and economic growth for previous mining workers, who were primarily male. However, the construction of this ecotourism provides wider opportunities for Bangka Belitung women in Juru Sebrang village. Previously, when mining was opened, they only had the opportunity to It is small to get involved and have a livelihood.

With the social forestry scheme implied in BMP Ecotourism, the women of the Belitung area can further prove their existence as decision makers in forest planning and management, marketing of forest products, as well as determining the type of forest governance, the crops to be planted, and diversification of ecotourism products. The development of ecotourism positively impacts the empowerment of Bangka Belitung women; they are directly involved in efforts to mitigate the environment and the tourism sector.

Previously, Bangka Belitung women were not given much access to work; even in the mining sector, they were only used as mining coolies carrying tin and selling fishers' marine catches with minimum wages. Chinggis is considered unable to advance the economy of his household and is consistently underestimated by men. The opening of ecotourism development not only offers economic benefits for them, but the increasing degree of women confined to patriarchal culture can directly contribute to the development of Bangka Belitung Province. They are allowed to improve their capabilities through various ecotourism management assistance and indirectly promote gender justice in the line of job accessibility and as a driver of regional development.

Women play an importable in the development of mangrove ecotourism in Bangka Belitung; almost the whole idea to increase tourist visits was sparked by village women whom the village's traditional elders recognized. Women are considered to have created many ideas that can bridge the time-honored traditions of Bangka Belitung Province, which reflect the value of local wisdom and can increase the source of economic income for rural communities—at the same time still maintain maintaining the sustainability of their forests.

They even have a particular group that is part of the K group of Women ecotourism Bangka Belitung, where it becomes a forum for finding an idea and planning together and deciding on plans for the economic development of the community around HKM, such as offering much diversification of EcoTourism product. For example, the mangrove tourism track development plan needs to be complemented by a traditional culinary tour from the Bangka Belitung and "Bedulang" and an ecotourism tour that will invite visitors to be directly involved in rehabilitation efforts by planting local mangrove tree seedlings, as well as cleaning the beach trail from beach garbage.

Women are also widely trained to be tour guides who can later provide educational tours to visitors about the importance of preserving mangrove forests, understanding the types of mangrove plants, and using renewable energy.

In addition to actively building ideas for the diversification of ecotourism products, Bangka Belitung women are also heavily involved in managing rehabilitation and Aerotourism development programs. Analyzing the program's follow-up planning by

paying attention to the interests and input of visitors is beneficial for the marketing and creativity aspects of tourist products—Serta tourism promotion cooperation with travel agents.

As evidenced by the significant number of inputs and empowerment of women in developing sustainable ecotourism, it further improves the previous environmental crisis is more carbon tok than before with the addition of tree planting from the efforts of tourists visiting the mangrove track. There is an increase in economic income, which previously also experienced bankruptcy due to the destruction of the mining and sea sectors within 18 months biding (Ariani 2019).

The success of the development of ecotourism lies in the local participation of its people, who promote gender equality in social forestry schemes. This arena of nature-based tourism development leads to the reduction of economic inequality between men and women as stated in *the Sustainable Development Goals (*SDGs) goal o. 5, namely "achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls."

In essence, this form of ecotourism opens up opportunities for women to participate directly in forest conservation and environmental mitigation efforts. It is very much in line with ecofeminist values where feminist interventions can be successful in ecological mitigation efforts, as well as balanced with the development of the development process. Because in the development process, various transformative recommendation plans are included in repairing environmental damage.

c. Ecofeminist Review of Women's Involvement in Efforts to Improve the Bangka Belitung Ecosystem

While still prioritizing mining and plantations in the community forest sector as a driver of the regional economy, the average Belitung woman is in a sub-marginal position. Dimana opinions and portions are slightly overlooked regarding the nature of forest management and workplace accessibility. It is even considered to provide low income in the distribution of regional economies, so it often causes inequality in power relations between men and women.

However, with the development of the ecotourism sector, which carries the concept of social forestry, which includes women's empowerment and gender mainstreaming, it can be seen that this inequality can be minimized. This is to the idea of Ecofeminism, which carries the importance of women's involvement because it has a vital role in efforts to preserve the environment. Because women are always connected with tenderness and emotional closeness in caring for nature to create an environmental model that adopts feminist values that will be better for the ecological system as a strategy in overcoming natural disasters due to climate change.

Ecofeminists also show that women are always of significant value from an economic point of view. Dimana, as an example that has been mentioned in the explanation of the success of the development of mangrove ecotourism Bangka Belitung, that women have an essential role in forest rehabilitation and can make good use of their capabilities such as in ecotourism management, utilization of economic value, and so on.

Although the role it has in a small capacity, the part of women will be better to add value to economic income than without

the empowerment of women's roles. For example, in many cases of ecotourism management, women are the starting point for increasing the selling value of ecotourism, with their work utilizing forest products into souvenirs or processed food products so that the ecotourism journey becomes much more enjoyable. Women also play many roles in *hospitality,* which is enough to make ecotourism facilities considered much more productive.

Another eco feminist value, the involvement of women, can be in line with the improvement of development judging from economic and ecological aspects. Why ecological? Because women take advantage of nature while improving nature, for example, by recycling tourist waste and making it a product of economical selling value, inviting ecotourism visitors to be more environmentally conscious, planting trees, utilizing waste into biogas, and so on.

Judging from the knowledge of intersectionality, women's involvement in social forestry schemes, especially Bangka Belitung ecotourism, has dissected the theory about the limits of social distinction played by *Sex Roles.* Women are *a supporting system* of male roles that can also help make a living and carry out reproductive functions such as managing the household, taking care of children, cleaning the house, and so on. All are done with responsibility and do not violate the rules, which may be that if behind the position on the man not all can live it. The involvement of women in social forestry, especially in the field of ecotourism, has become an *agent of change* that changes the concept of norms and cultures that previously suppressed the existence of women in the social realm, which was considered less independent and encouraged financial security, as well as the economic welfare of the country.

V. Conclusion

The Social Forestry Scheme, which carries the concept of gender mainstreaming in the implementation process, is quite successful in becoming a way for the Bangka Belitung region to improve its environmental ecosystem, which was damaged by the dominance of mineral mining land and as a strategy for economic recovery development that is more towards a sustainable economy. Moreover, by utilizing the social forestry scheme in the ecotourism structure, women in the Bangka Belitung area can have a balanced position to use forest land and contribute to the economic development of its territory.

Because the concept of ecotourism which carries the idea of gender empowerment and mainstreaming helps strengthen the role of women and dismantle the idea of norms of role restriction by the patriarchal culture that has existed in the region.

From the study results, it can be proven that women have a significant contribution as the frontline of sustainable environmental management. The participation of women in the development of ecotourism in Bangka Belitung province has proven and strengthened the author's argument that women are not only *supporting complementary* or complementary but also enough to play an essential role as decision-makers and drivers of economic empowerment of communities around ecotourism in Bangka Belitung.

There is nothing wrong with women's involvement in the forestry and environmental sectors. There are free to love, interact with nature, and work productively for the earth. Patriarchal social norms and perceptions that have been hitting the existence of women so that they have been neglected and considered less critical can be constructed with

ecofeminist theory, which is connected with gender mainstreaming in the social forestry scheme of the ecotourism sector where patriarchy is only a system created by humans through a culture that becomes the norm, not a barrier that curbs human creativity.

The system is run to improve and regulate the course of human life, so if the system is considered to limit human movement in living their lives and creativity, why is it still a benchmark for a norm or rule that can be improved. It can be concluded that the role of women in forest management is quite essential not only to be used as an object but also as a subject of economic drivers of development and guardians of ecosystems sustainable environment.

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Research Article

The Effectiveness of the Regional Governance of the EU through EASA in its Grounding Boeing 737 MAX Decision on Member Countries

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Abstract
This paper will discuss the effectiveness of the European Union (EU) within the framework of regional governance to recommend a grounding policy for Boeing 737 MAX 8 to countries that are members of the European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA). Through the EU's regional governance approach, this paper will fully elaborate on the domino effect of the recommendations on member countries. Previously, we will discuss the background, the regional governance currently underway in the EU, the chronology of the incident of the accident of two airlines B737-8 aircraft that are outside of EASA and the EASA response in the form of US product grounding recommendations, and then the state response member countries against EASA recommendations. So, in the end, it can be concluded that EASA gets 50 percent effectiveness because the distance between the event and the recommendations issued is considered too hasty so the joining of member countries with EU attitudes generally does not run simultaneously. The importance of this research is to try to test the effectiveness of regional organizations in administering governance through agencies that stand under it.

Keywords: EASA, European Union, regional governance, grounding, Boeing 737 MAX 8

I. Introduction

This paper will discuss the effectiveness of the European Union (EU) within the framework of regional governance to recommend a grounding policy for Boeing 737 MAX 8 to countries that are members of the European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA). Boeing's production aircraft, in the United States (US) which has adopted the latest aviation technology, has experienced problems in navigation systems and engine failure, causing accidents in Indonesia in 2018 and Ethiopia in 2019. After the fall of aircraft owned by Lion Air and Ethiopian Airlines, countries in the world which started including China and Indonesia decided to do a grounding for mass transit aircraft which can also be called B737-8, followed by EU countries too. The importance of this issue is that with the rampant cases of Boeing 737-8 MAX falling in two countries, it can be used to measure the extent of regional governance in this case the EU takes a central role to ensure aviation safety in the world, considering the impact of this grounding policy to other countries that follow the high standards in the world of aviation made by the EU.

As a regulatory body under the EU, EASA took the position of a regulatory body to regulate aviation. The tasks of EASA include 5 fields: (1) compiling EU flight rules; (2) certifying products and flight organizations in the European Union such as airworthiness; (3) providing supervision to member countries on several flight competencies such as Air Operations and Air Traffic Management; (4) promoting EU standards to the world; and (5) cooperating with countries outside the European Union to achieve the highest level of security in the European Union such as making an EU safety list and authorizing a third country

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operator. (EASA, 2019) The authority of EASA is to certify products, issue regulations, make standards, and conduct investigations and monitoring. Collect and analyze security data, drafts, and recommendations in security legislation, and coordinate with similar organizations in other parts of the world.

Of the five tasks above, EASA has high authority including in considering the airworthiness of an aircraft product. What is done by EASA by the procedures that apply to subordinates of supranational organizations that are regional? So that the authors propose the formulation of the problem, how is the effectiveness of the EU EASA in issuing Boeing 737-8 MAX grounding recommendations in implementing regional governance towards its member countries?

In this regard, the author is in a position to support the argument that EASA carries out its duty to ensure flight safety as a form of EU regional governance. EASA will immediately provide recommendations to both the national aviation authorities of the EU countries and their airlines effectively by at least obtaining 50 percent of member countries following the recommendations of their regional regulatory bodies. So, flight security and safety in the EU can be guaranteed because EASA has a formal legal set to regulate aviation activities within the European region. So, harmony and order are expected between the European Union countries in creating regulations that guarantee flights.

II. Global and Regional Governance

This is in line with Keohane and Nye global governance compiles a set of norms to be adhered to by its member countries. (Keohane & Nye, 1999) In it, the state can also discuss leading international issues regionally. Although there are many theories about the

new world order or the new world order with the formation of a world government, the European Union and the United Nations as an example of international government organizations are forms of global governance. In the context of global governance, which is then derived into regional governance, the success of a governance can be measured based on existing indicators. Suppose in the concept of the effectiveness of a regime that works on the basis of measurements of geographical proxicity and dependence between one country and another. Solutions taken regionally are usually the solutions in the middle to effectively address the challenges that exist within the region based on initiatives. (Conca, 2012) Nevertheless, it can be underlined that the EU as a regional organization can have globalized bargaining power. (Delreux, 2020)

Within the regionalism that has been developed in the European Union, all principles are based on a constitution that is voluntarily agreed upon and agreed by the members so that within certain limits the European Union adheres to constitutionalism originating from institutional reforms based on the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. (Craig, 2001, pp. 125-128) Even so, the concept of inter-regionalism can unite countries within the European Union to agree on provisions that apply in the context of regional stability in the context of economics and social welfare. (Börzel & Risse, 2009, pp. 5-23) In this context, the authors associate the existence of regional organizations such as the EU with the ability to narrow the scope of global governance to become regional governance with the existence of supranational institutions capable of oversight the member countries under it.

This paper uses a qualitative-descriptive approach, which tries to examine the phenomenon and its characteristics. (Nassaji, 2015) (Neuman, 2002) To complement the qualitative-descriptive, the

authors also take a case study approach derived from the necessary libraries as a way to observe phenomena derived from data while providing context to the information obtained. (Yin, 2014) The data that has been collected is in the form of journal articles, book chapters, news articles, and official documents issued by governments and regional organizations such as the EU. The data analysis technique uses ongoing case studies to test how effective regional governance is on handling grounded issues of the Boeing 737-8 MAX put forward in this paper.

III. Regional Governance in the European Union

Regional governance can be defined as the collective management of general problems at the regional level. Regional governance itself as a small part of global governance can be in the form of institutions, regimes, processes, cooperation, and networks. (EUISS, 2010, p. 17) In addition, regional governance must stimulate the process of mutual learning between national regulatory authorities. Of course, this formulation is used as a tool to deal with regional dynamics whose challenges are increasingly diverse. For example, a weak and failed country, resource issues that are interlocked, and issues that challenge regional governance itself, namely multilateralism, climate change, biotechnology, and migration. (EUISS, 2010, pp. 49-54) These contemporary issues can be resolved if countries gather in multilateral institutions, one of which is regional organizations that are supranational like the EU.

In a discussion on regional governance, the European Union has a unique example of the order of regionalism in various other regions of the world. When compared to ASEAN, which began its regionalism through traditional political and security issues and was

part of the traditional approach, the EU surpassed it all. Political integration in Europe with the formation of supranational institutions in the form of the EU itself stems from economic integration. The reliability of cooperating as a "cartel" in the field of coal mining and steel production has increased the integration of the economy, single market, and single currency. This approach is proven by research from Falkner & Mueller who see that the EU's role in regional governance is increasing at the policy level. (Falkner & Müller, 2014, p. 3)

This means that as actors in relations between countries, the EU contributes to determining the direction and results of regional policies made collectively with other actors. In normative tools such as legal products, the EU seeks to export this value to other regions through bilateral relations with third-party countries and is a model in the world as a model of regional governance. (Manners, 2002, pp. 235-258) There are several advantages that the EU has in each of its policies that can be exported to other countries in the world. First, the procedures adopted by the EU in other international organizations are heavily influenced by the consensus established among member countries as a sign of solidarity in establishing cooperation and realizing shared interests such as in the World Trade Organization (WTO). Second, EU policy is always considered when it comes to dealing with big powers such as the US, as well as Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa or BRICs. On the other hand, there are two weaknesses of the EU in determining regional policies including a lack of solidity and solidarity from member countries internally so that dynamics and friction often occur in the policy-making process, as well as a lack of appetite for EU standards that are considered too high to be

achieved in part large developing countries. (Falkner & Müller, 2014, p. 5)

With the separation of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial powers as well as the state, the EU can make legal products, implement them in concrete policies, and adjudicate if violations occur in the implementation of these laws. (Christiansen, 2017, p. 211) This means more than economic and political integration in the European region; the EU accommodates the integration of law by the formation of a set of constitutions that were drawn up in the European Council and the European Parliament which is a bicameral legislative power. The presence of this law governing EU values and norms is due to the two pillars of political culture, namely the independent power of a supranational institution and the "compromise culture" that is developed in directing bargaining among its member states (Christiansen, 2017, p. 211).

As a supranational institution, the EU should have bodies whose legality is the same as those at the level of European countries, but the authority is higher than these national bodies. This is where the importance of legitimacy in placing countries in an equal position, giving space to freedom from state maneuvers while controlling through a formal legal framework (Christiansen, 2017, pp. 211-212). In the second pillar, it is explained that even though supranational institutions have authority that is even far beyond the state, the state remains an important factor in relations between countries in the European region. The proof is that inter-government relations within the country occur mutually influence the determination of policies that impact the region (Christiansen, 2017, p. 212).

Likewise with the presence of bodies that stand under the EU institution itself, for example, EASA. EASA's involvement in determining global aviation safety policies and

regulations also signifies increasing the EU's regional role. As mentioned by Christiansen the EU has invited post-colonial countries of Western Europe such as in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific to be involved in conducting development, trade, and binding regulations in the transportation sector (Christiansen, 2017, p. 216). In this case, the foreign policy coordination carried out is carried out outside the institutional foundation, in building institutional infrastructure for the coordination. And within certain limits, it will form a European Union-style regional governance framework. There are five approaches put forward: multilateralism, non-violent conflict resolution, promotion of international law, and development of regional institutions (Christiansen, 2017, pp. 218-220).

It becomes a challenge for the EU in facing an increasingly multipolar world, by taking part as a multipolar player (EUISS, 2010, p. 26). With the increase in the activities of countries with great powers such as in informal G2, G7, and G20 meetings at least the EU can enter and participate in being a counterweight (Christiansen, 2017, p. 220) But at the same time, the authors see a gap that should be able to be closed by the EU through the regional policy that was made, namely the formation of a new multipolar pattern that allows countries to form regionalism in the size of the country's economy. This is what the EU then tries to answer by forming as much as possible strategic cooperation with these new regionalisms to adjust to the challenges it faces (Christiansen, 2017, p. 220). This can be seen from the EASA policy, by placing membership through cooperation in a memorandum of understanding, bilateral and technical support through agreement on regional rules.

IV. MAX 8 Accident Events and EASA Grounding Response

The Boeing 737-8 MAX is an aircraft produced by the multinational aviation company Boeing, United States. The aircraft, which flew on January 29, 2016, was first introduced on May 22, 2017, by Malindo Air (FlightGlobal, 2017). This aircraft is a development of Boeing NextGen (NG) which has been developed since 1997 and refers to the types 737-600, 737-700, 737-800, and 737-900. As of this writing, 376 aircraft have been produced and used by world airlines, some of which are Garuda Indonesia, Lion Air, Ethiopian Airlines, etc. Of course, the number of these aircraft is still far from the total orders from all over the world, where in 2019 there were 5,111 aircraft ordered (The Boeing Company, 2019).
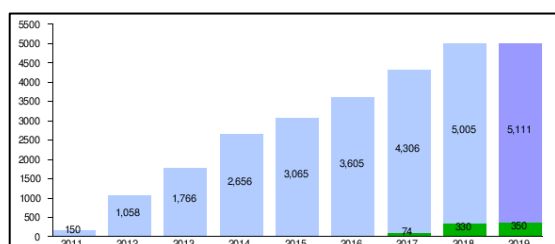

Fig. 1. Number of orders (blue) and total aircraft that have been shipped (green) from 2011 to 2019
Source: (The Boeing Company 2019).

In the majority of shipping destinations, Boeing 737 MAX 8 operations run smoothly. Before the accident finally occurred in Bekasi Bay, Karawang, West Java on October 29, 2018. At that time, Lion Air with flight number JT-610 and registration of the PK-LQP plane crashed in these waters which killed 189 people with details of 181 passengers and 8 crew on the flight. As many as 20 people working in ministries/institutions became passengers, while 1 baby and 2 children also participated (Bloomberg, 2018). This made the

public at that time wonder because the pilot and copilot had pocketed 6,000 and 5,000 flight hours, respectively. After thirteen minutes of taking off from Soekarno Hatta Cengkareng, the plane, which had pocketed 800 hours of flight, lost contact (The Sydney Morning Herald, 2018). Finally, local fishermen found a floating plane wreck in Karawang waters (Bloomberg, 2018)

After getting an in-depth analysis of aircraft investigations, it was found that the aircraft's angle of attack sensor was damaged causing the nose of the plane to point too high, and the plane could crash (The New York Times, 2019). This caused all aircraft stabilizer systems to be inactive and caused the aircraft to fall at a depth of 5,000 feet below sea level at a speed of 450 miles per hour. This was also experienced by an accident in Tulu, Bishofta, Ethiopia in 2019, with Ethiopian Airlines with flight number ET302 and ET-AVJ flight registration flying from Addis Ababa to Nairobi. The plane, which carried 149 passengers and 8 flight crews, crashed, killing a total of 157 fatalities, consisting of 32 Kenyans, 18 Canadians, 9 Ethiopians, and others (BBC, 2019).

As a result of two consecutive cases of Boeing 737-8 accidents, several countries carried out banning and grounding the aircraft made by manufacturers from the United States. Counted the United States, European Union, Nigeria, United Kingdom, China, India, Canada, Singapore, Australia, Turkey, France, Germany, Ireland, South Korea, Mongolia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Oman, United Arab Emirates, and several airlines in the country those countries are taking the same position to conduct a grounding against MAX 8 (Al Jazeera, 2019).

For the two cases of accidents that have occurred above, EASA responded by issuing a recommendation to civil aviation authorities in each EU member state not to

extend the flight permit of the Boeing 737 MAX 8. Even in the list of products issued by EASA, only one Boeing product is permitted to fly and be certified in European Union countries, namely the Boeing 737-9 or Boeing 737 MAX 9. This follows a blacklisted action on the Boeing 737 MAX 8 (EASA, 2019).

In a regional government such as the European Union, it is agreed that the principle of liberal intergovernmentalism requires three aspects, namely (1) rational; (2) liberal; and (3) created through collaboration between member states (Moravcsik, 1993). The EU has implemented all three, as in the first aspect there is a strong desire of each EU member country to implement high safety standards for aviation that are related to the mobility of society at large. The second aspect, liberal, the EU through EASA has opened several representative branches to strengthen cooperation with countries such as the United States, China, Canada, and Singapore in addition to collaborating with ICAO (EASA, 2019). And the third aspect, collaboration is seen when a decision is decided by EASA, so it is a necessity for every EU member country to comply. Including the grounding regulations of the Boeing 737-8.

EASA (2019) established an airworthiness regime in EU Regulation No. 748 of 2012. It regulates what aircraft is suitable to fly and what specifications are more complete, especially when related to the rules of flight feasibility and environmental standards that must be met. In this case, Boeing 737-8 violated article 145 of the regulation, causing EASA to ground the Boeing product.

The European Union's 737-8 grounding decision later made Boeing lose more than 27 billion US dollars as a result of being removed from the company's market value since the close of stock trading (BBC, 2019). Lion Air also decided to move aircraft orders to Airbus (Bloomberg, 2019). This

proves that it should be able to check the motives of the political economy of the EU to protect the European internal market which could endanger many falling passengers. But so far there have been no officials from Airbus who have commented in the media regarding the decision on the grounding of the Boeing 737-8. This means that so far, the EU's good intentions to ensure that the aviation world survives an accident is still a top priority.

Whereas what happened in North America, after the Lion Air accident in Karawang, the use of the B737-8 aircraft continued, considering that the FAA issued a letter of recommendation for the continuity of the use of the MAX aircraft type (DW, 2019). The FAA shows its alignment with national interests by protecting Boeing producers from a significant fall due to this accident. It was only after Donald Trump's government issued a recommendation today March 14, 2019, that the United States banned and grounded the Boeing 737-8 (The New York Times, 2019).
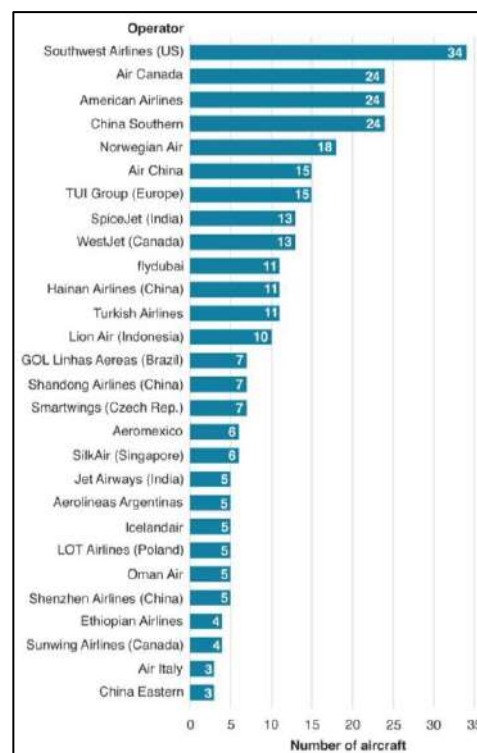

Fig. 2. Airlines using Boeing 737-8 have more than three types of aircraft
Source: (BBC, 2019).

V. Member States Response and EASA Regional Governance Effectiveness

From its development, EASA countries are not only limited to EU membership. Rather it opens up the possibility for countries outside the EU to join the regional regime of the aviation authority within the framework of technical cooperation, become an observer country, sign a memorandum of understanding, bilateral cooperation between these countries and EASA, and become a location for EASA's representative offices in each continent. But in principle, there are 29 European Union member countries and 4 European Free Trade Area (EFTA) member countries. Austria, Netherlands, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Germany, United Kingdom, Ireland, Italy, Croatia, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Portugal, France, Romania, Cyprus, Slovenia, Slovakia, Spain, Switzerland, and Greece. While the EFTA countries include Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, and Sweden (EASA, 2019).

In the EASA grounding policy, it is important to examine the effectiveness of the regional governance of the aviation authority within the European Union if viewed in terms of implementing the rules in its member countries. On March 12, 2019, out of 33 EASA member countries, 12 member countries applied official appeal for grounding including the European Union. These countries include Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, United Kingdom, Ireland, Italy, Germany, Poland, Portugal, France, Romania, and Greece (ANAC 2019; Civil Aviation Authority 2019; ENAC 2019; Kathimerini 2019; Reuters 2019; RTE 2019; SeeNews.com 2019; Urzad Lotnictwa Cywilnego 2019). Whereas the next day on March 13, 2019, three countries consisting of Bulgaria, Denmark, and Cyprus followed to ground the Boeing 737 Max 8 (Kathimerini 2019; CPH Post Online 2019; SeeNews.com

2019). This means that until now only 15 of 33 EASA member countries have implemented regulations that are in line.

Whereas the only EASA member country that follows airline appeals is only Iceland and Sweden (NBC News, 2019). So that it was found that overall, 17 members applied the EASA recommendations and regulations, of which two were on the airline. This means that it can be said that there is an effectiveness of 45 to 50 percent of the implementation of regulations from EASA. However, as a side note, the countries which are members of EASA are also included in the membership of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) under the UN body and also the European Civil Aviation Conference (ECAC) or Joint Aviation Authority (JAA) which is within European Union coordination.

VI. Conclusion

So, it can be concluded that EASA has succeeded in reminding at least half of the total membership. Among the other 15 countries are national aviation authorities and 2 countries based on the airline that implements grounding recommendations on the Boeing 737 MAX 8 aircraft products from EASA. It is purely in the interests of EASA to guarantee flight safety in the EU. After the accident with the fall of Lion Air flight number JT-610 in Karawang waters in 2018, followed by Ethiopian Airlines in 2019 in Ethiopia there was a difference of opinion regarding the decision for product grounding. For example, the FAA, the US aviation authority does not immediately take a firm stand against Boeing company to the ground. In issuing its notification, EASA follows the mechanism and procedures of representatives of countries sitting at EASA to negotiate whether grounding measures must be taken for the aircraft products.

This means that with a value of 45 to 50 percent effectiveness, EASA must evaluate its grounding recommendations to find a formulation so that member countries can submit immediately to a flight and grounding ban. The problem that occurs in the case of the Boeing 737 MAX 8 is that there is no simultaneous regulation in EU member countries because in implementing the EASA recommendations it does not coincide. It takes two days, 12 to 13 March 2019 to ensure 50 percent of the countries comply with the EASA grounding decision. However, in the context of regional governance, the EU has implemented the two pillars of regional governance namely a culture of compromise that creates consensus among member states and supranational nature that can bind all member states to submit to and comply with the provisions governed in a set of systems, rules, and regimes in force in a region.

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Research Article

Tantamount: A Comparative Study in Analyzing the Effectiveness of Covid-19 Response Policy in Indonesia and Thailand

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Abstract
Over the past few years, the world has experienced a pandemic with the spread of the COVID-19 outbreak. Every country attempt to minimize virus transmission through the implementation of various policies such as implementing travel restrictions, the closure of International borders, mass vaccination, and stabilizing the economy and welfare. This research aims to compare the effectiveness of the domestic policies in Indonesia and Thailand in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic and analyze the impact that followed the implementation of the policies. The authors use comparative theory by analyzing two main indicators: the health and economic sectors. The results show that the policies implemented by the Thai government are more effective in reducing the rate of transmission of COVID-19 and recovering the economic sector during a pandemic. The authors argue that the effectiveness of the Thai government's policies is a major factor in the country's post-pandemic recovery.

I. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic, which is a virus outbreak caused by SARS-CoV-2 virus, has paralyzed the world since early 2020. This virus was first found in the city of Wuhan, China, back in December 2019 and rapidly spread worldwide (WHO, 2020). Not only the health sector, but this Coronavirus has also affected other sectors such as the economy and industry, tourism, social, and educational sectors. Within the first semester, since the virus had been found, most of the countries in the world were experiencing economic setbacks, health crises, as well as limited movement, and lots of restrictions for more than two years. The governments along with the World Health Organization (WHO) try their best to reduce the spread of Coronavirus and recover from the pandemic through the domestic policies implemented in each country, including in the Southeast Asia region.

The first recorded COVID-19 case in Southeast Asia was in Thailand, which is also the second country affected by COVID-19 after China, on January 13th, 2020 (Cheung, 2020). The cases remained low in the country until May 2021, it reached 10.000 daily cases. In January-March 2022, Thailand experienced its peak number of COVID-19 infections with more than 25.000 cases recorded during the wave. However, the death rate has sharply decreased. In Indonesia, the first COVID-19 case was discovered in Depok on March 2nd,

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2020 (Jaya, 2021). The peak was recorded in July-August 2021 as the delta variant started infecting people and caused middle to severe symptoms. As of July 5, 2022, Indonesia has had 6,095,351 confirmed COVID-19 cases and 156,758 deaths, while Thailand has had 4,532,100 confirmed cases and 30,718 deaths (WHO, 2022).

The high number of COVID-19 infections as well as the death rate has affected Indonesia and Thailand, prominently in the economic and health sector. As the ASEAN economic tiger with the two GDPs combined makes up 50% of the whole ASEAN, Indonesia and Thailand experienced a decrease in economic growth. Indonesian economic growth was minus 2.1 percent during the first year of the pandemic (Muhyiddin & Nugroho, 2021). The deficit was equal to IDR 1.226,8 trillion for the prevention of COVID-19 according to APBD (Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget). On the other hand, Thailand's GDP also decreased by 6.1 percent from the previous year, marking the largest decline since the Asian financial crisis (Kaendera & Leigh, 2021). Not only affecting national economic growth, the pandemic also resulted in a high rate of unemployment, decreased incomes, businesses and food security as well as tourism, education and social protection for both countries, particularly the low-middle income society.

In the last 2 years, COVID-19 has become everyone's concern from the government, businesses, and society. The government put their best effort to decrease the spread of Coronavirus, while businesses and society are experiencing critical socioeconomic fatigue amid the pandemic. In Indonesia, large-scale social restrictions were implemented, particularly in the big cities. The government also closed the international border, issued a 'stay at home' policy, mass vaccination, and supported micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs) as the key factors of domestic economic growth during the pandemic. Meanwhile, in Thailand, the government focused on four aspects: social distancing implementation, economic incentives, health insurance system, and national emergency status on COVID-19 (Tunggal, Putra, & Salim, 2021).

Several previous studies have examined the government policies in Southeast Asia, as well as compared one and other countries. However, there is the least research regarding comparative policies between Indonesia and Thailand in handling the COVID-19 pandemic, particularly on a national level. Agustino (2020) in the journal article entitled "Policy Analysis of Handling The COVID-19 Outbreak: Indonesian Experiences" argues that the combination of the slow response of the government, weak coordination, and citizen ignorance has weakened the policy implementation in Indonesia. Regarding Thailand's policies in handling COVID-19, Tungga et al. (2021) and Tantrakarnapa (2021) described how Thailand's government coped with the pandemic, such as implementing social distancing, closing international borders, preparing health personnel, etc. In addition, Naprathansuk, et al (2021) compared the good governance between Indonesia and Thailand in handling the COVID-19 situation at the province level, which is in Tegal, Indonesia, and Chang Puak sub-district in Thailand.

This research aims to compare the effectiveness of the domestic policies in Indonesia and Thailand in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic and analyze the impact that followed the implementation of the policies. Despite the geographical aspect, Indonesia and Thailand were economically leading in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, both countries rely on the tourism sector, which was highly impacted by the pandemic. There are two major concerns regarding government

policies in handling the COVID-19 pandemic in both countries: the health sector and the economic and industry sector. By comparing and examining the two major aspects of the government policies, the author argues that although the policies implemented were similar, however, the result of COVID-19 handling between the two countries turned out different. Thai government policies are more effective in handling the COVID-19 situation in the country rather than in Indonesia. This argument was proven by the ability of the Thai government in maintaining low cases of COVID-19, offer its best healthcare system, as well as recovering its economic hardship amid the pandemic.

II. Method

This research is descriptive research using mostly qualitative approaches. Some statistical data is taken from secondary resources such as books, research articles, official websites, and reliable news and is interpreted in qualitative analysis. In this regard, the authors try to examine the effectiveness of the government in handling the COVID-19 pandemic using a data set of COVID-19 development particularly in the past two years. Subsequently, the authors use the concept of comparative politics as a tool for analysis.

Comparative politics is the study of political institutions that exist in different countries. The study includes the analysis and comparison of the actual behavior of formal and informal political structures. Scholars define at least three approaches as tools to analyze the complexity of political systems and behavior. First, the institutional approach focuses primarily on the formal aspects of government and politics such as the legislature, executive, and judiciary. Many scholars argued that institutions have shaped political behavior and social change. Second,

the system approach which analyses the relationship between politics and other aspects of life such as economic, religious, or social aspects. Third, the structural and functional approach, which argue that all political system performs input and output functions. The input functions are political socialization and recruitment, interest-articulation, interest-aggression, and political communication, while the output functions relate to policymaking and implementation.
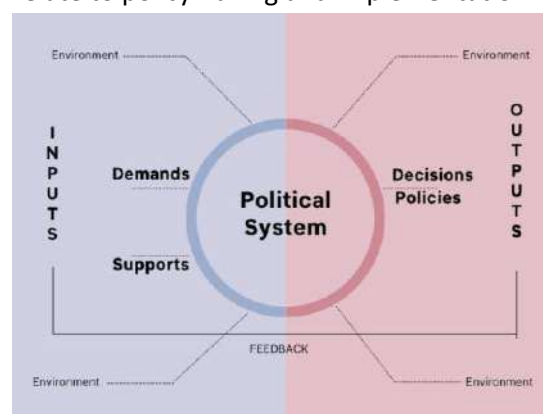
Fig. 1. David Easton's system approach
Source: authors

In the system approach, David Easton developed this approach and argued that the political system operates within an environment. The environment generates demand from various segments of society and various levels of support, which became inputs for the government. After considering some factors, the inputs are converted into outputs in the form of policies, decisions, rules, regulations, and laws. The outputs result in social change and flow back into the environment through a feedback mechanism.

The main goal of comparative politics is to encompass similarities and differences between countries which therefore advance our understanding within the field (Hague & Harrop, 2004). Using comparative politics, this research seeks to compare which country is better at mitigating the spread of COVID-19. The authors use the system approach as a tool to analyze the relationship between politics

and other two sectors in handling COVID-19: the health and economics aspects. Comparing all the similar and different environments in both Indonesia and Thailand during the period of the pandemic, this research shows which countries perform better in handling the COVID-19 pandemic through the government's 'outputs.

III. Result and Discussion

a.Health Sector

2020 was the first year of this COVID-19 pandemic that struck South-east Asia. The number gradually increased and caused an outbreak in some countries, including Indonesia and Thailand. Some people experienced mild symptoms such as sore throat, mild fever, and cough. However, some experienced middle to severe symptoms that they desperately needed a ventilator to help them breathe and get hospitalized, and some others died due to the late handling.

Thailand began fighting against the COVID-19 pandemic in January 2020, two months earlier than Indonesia. The case slightly increased in March 2020, with the highest reach of 188 people who tested positive in a day (Dechsupa & Assawakosri, 2020). The cases accumulated slowly until early 2021, before Thailand hit its second outbreak. July 2021 to November 2021 marked the second wave of COVID-19 in Thailand, as the government reported 50.000-100.000 daily cases confirmed with a high mortality rate (Thailand: WHO Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) Dashboard With Vaccination Data). Subsequently, the third wave hit in early 2022 as the omicron variant rapidly spread. As of 15 August 2022, WHO recorded cumulatively 4.639.291 confirmed cases with 32.109 deaths. The situation in Thailand remained manageable compared to other countries in the region.

The first outbreak in Thailand urged the government to take action in handling the COVID-19 pandemic, as China is experiencing uncontrollable cases. On March 22, 2020, the Thai government announced the national emergency status of COVID-19, starting their effort to control the outbreak (Tantrakarnapa, Bhopdhornangkul, & Nakhaapakorn, 2020). Subsequently, the central and local governments implemented several regulations to reduce COVID-19 cases such as the crowd restriction in public places; the obligation to use masks and hand sanitizer; support self-quarantine and quarantine for the confirmed cases, etc. The government policy was later escalated to the lockdown policy implemented throughout the country, and the closure of international borders to prevent cross-country transmission.

During the pandemic, health workers in Thailand also suffered from a high-risk infection. During the first period of the COVID-19 outbreak, health workers struggled with the shortage of Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), which protects them from the risk of infection. Some of them are also confirmed positive and required self-quarantine, causing a decrease in the number of health workers in the country. Meanwhile, during its peak period, Bangkok reported a severe shortage of bed occupancy rate as well as the need for oxygen to support severe cases (Provision of oxygen concentrators and other equipment in response to COVID-19 in Thailand and Laos - Thailand, 2021). The health sector in Thailand seems to be overwhelmed in handling the COVID-19 outbreak, however, the Thai government has succeeded in reducing the spread of COVID-19 within several months.

The prominent player in handling the COVID-19 outbreak in Thailand was their community health workers, varying from the first responders (FR) to life support (Issac, et al., 2021). The community health workers are

trained volunteers in the health sector who help to provide first aid in handling COVID-19 before the health worker takeover. They conduct several tasks in maintaining the low number of COVID-19 cases, such as door-to-door education regarding mask-wearing, and hygienic lifestyle, providing first aid and basic needs to those who are in self-quarantine period, providing an initial diagnosis and linking the residents to the health care system, etc. Therefore, the number of health workers infected with COVID-19 in Thailand is the least among other Southeast Asia Countries, owing to the volunteers as the first fore gate in COVID-19 handling.

While other countries are busy dealing with the number of people infected with COVID-19, the Thai government relies on preventive measures in handling the pandemic. Obligation to wear masks in public spaces started earlier, as well as the awareness of personal hygiene. Once the case increased, the Thai government responsively announced the lockdown policy and border closure. At their peak level of transmission, the collaboration between the Thai government response and grassroots health volunteers successfully build a considerable and hefty health system. This preventive response is proven by a sharp decrease of bed occupancy rates from 49% in May 2020 to less than 20% in March 2022. Moreover, vaccination rates in Thailand continue to rise, which up to 72% of total population got their second dose, reducing the number of severe symptoms and death caused by COVID-19 (WHO, 2022).

On the other hand, in Indonesia, the first COVID-19 case was found on March 2nd, 2020. In March 20, 2020, the government established the National Task Force for the acceleration of the COVID-19 as well as prepare the Large Scale Social Distancing (PSBB) as the case was increased significantly (Purwanto, 2020). During the pandemic, there

are at least 3 waves hit Indonesia; the first was on January-March 2021, the second wave was in July-August 2021, and the third wave happened in February-March 2022 (Indonesia COVID - Coronavirus Statistics).

The second wave of COVID-19 outbreak in Indonesia was the deadliest one.

> *"As of 3 August 2021, the Indonesian Government has announced 3,496,700 confirmed cases of COVID-19 in all 34 provinces of Indonesia, with 524,142 active cases, 98,889 deaths, and 2,873,669 people that have recovered from the illness. The government has also reported 130,628 suspected cases"* (OCHA, 2021).

At this point, the situation in Indonesia, particularly in the health sector nearly collapse. Uncontrolled cases, lack of medical equipment as well as the personnel, low vaccination rate, high demand of bed occupancy led to the high mortality rate due to COVID-19. Beside, the COVID-19 testing rate were also not proportional, as many people are afraid tested positive and required to do self-quarantine. In other word, the number of people infected COVID-19 could be more than the data presented by the government, as many of them do not undertake the PCR or antigen testing.

Regarding the policy handling of COVID-19 in Indonesia, it seemed that Indonesian government has been rather slow in responding the COVID-19, particularly compared to the Thai government. At the early stage, the government threw a joke that COVID-19 will not dare to enter Indonesia. This showed the unresponsive and lack of seriousness in preventing the pandemic COVID-19, which will hit Indonesia soon. When the virus was finally found in Indonesia, the government did not immediately close the border and took some preventive action, but

still reject the possibility that the outbreak is about to explode. The following steps were taken such as announcing the stage of endemic and emergency state, preparing the health workers as well as the emergency hospital, and preparing the preventive measures considered slow. The implementation of PSBB at the beginning of the outbreak seemed to be just a formality, without any tight security followed.

When the transmission rate was inclined, the government just started to take it seriously. The government started to announce Community Activities Restriction Enforcement (PPKM) at varying levels, massive COVID-19 tests and tracing in public spaces, and acceleration of COVID-19 vaccination. However, the policy taken seemed to be late as the cases cannot be controlled. The unresponsiveness in handling COVID-19 is disastrous, as the health workers are overwhelmed in handling COVID-19 patients and lack of bed occupation and oxygen to handle the severe symptoms. The poor COVID-19 handling was also intertwined with the weak coordination between central and local government and people's disobedience to the government's policy (Agustino, 2020). For instance, the province of Bali that refused to implement PPKM, low awareness of people using masks, implementing social distancing and maintaining a hygienic lifestyle, the anti-vaccine community who refused to undertake vaccination to create herd immunity, etc.

Until early 2022, active cases of COVID-19 in Indonesia are still high as the third wave is outbroken. However, the acceleration of COVID-19 vaccination is started to show its result. Herd immunity is formed as many people have been vaccinated. Unfortunately, many lives have already been lost due to the weak and slow handling of COVID-19 in Indonesia. Moreover, the poor handling in the health sector slowed recovery in other sectors such as the economic and social sectors.
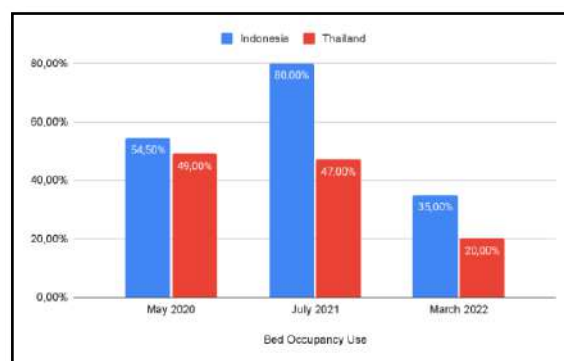

Fig. 2. Comparison of bed occupancy use in Indonesia and Thailand
Source: (WHO, 2022); (Indonesia COVID - Coronavirus Statistics)

b. Economic Sector

Pandemic COVID-19 causes some negative effects for Thailand & Indonesia, prominently because both country relies their economic on tourism sector. In Indonesia, there was an increase in foreign exchange of $5,220 billion from 2016 to 2018, which contributed to the GDP growth of 0.3% in 2019 (Kemenpar, 2019). However, COVID-19 has worsened the situation and caused a sharp decline in the tourism sector. This significant decrease was particularly due to travel restrictions, the closure of international borders, and the social distancing policy. The collapse of tourist destinations, travel businesses, hotels, and other tourist attractions causes people to lose their jobs. Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economics has reported a decrease in the total number of foreign tourists by 70.95% in September 2020 (Kemenparekraf, 2021). Roughly Rp. 20.7 billion of the total state revenue has been lost due to the decline in the tourism sector (Kemenparekraf, 2021).

The industrial sector and MSMEs are also affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. Since the pandemic, the process of export and import has been congested, transfer of goods and services was also slowing down. In addition, the social distancing policy has

impacted the sustainability of MSMEs. Thousands of MSMEs has permanently closed due to the pandemic, and most of them were unable to cover their operational cost. Research proves that 95.6% of MSME owners experienced a decrease in income, only 3.8% experienced an increase in income, and 0.6% did not experience a change in income (Utami, 2021).

Regarding the economic sector, Thailand experienced a more significant decline than Indonesia. The tourism sector in Thailand contributed more than 20% of the total national GDP (Kaendera & Leigh, 2021). In 2020, tourist arrivals declined from 40 to 6 million, resulting in a sharp decrease in the national GDP of Thailand by 8.1% due to COVID-19. The tourism sector in Thailand, which often became the main tourist destination in the South East Asia, almost completely collapsed due to the lockdown policy. Almost no tourist visit in the past two years, the souvenir sellers cannot sell their wares, most hotels, travel businesses, restaurants, and tourist attractions are forced to shut down. Tourism industry workers, which is a large number of workers in Thailand, have been affected by either they were going unpaid or losing their job (Pongsakornrungsilp, Pongsakornrungsilp, Kumar, & Maswongssa, 2021).

Not only affecting the tourism sector, COVID-19 pandemic also inevitably hit the MSMEs, including the tourism and manufacturing MSMEs. According to a survey by UNCTAD Thailand, there were 187 companies that experienced a decrease in income, roughly 50 percent of the sample of MSME companies in the manufacturing category and 119 companies (28.74%) had problems with the loan payment, staff wages, social security costs, fixed costs, invoice payments, etc during the pandemic COVID-19 (Charoenrat, 2021). Another survey conducted

by Parks (2020) shows that around 23 percent of tourism MSMEs have permanently shut down, and 21 percent of manufacturing MSMEs have closed for good. This situation makes Thailand became the worst-affected country in ASEAN during the pandemic (Parks, 2020).

In mitigating the impact of COVID-19, Indonesia and Thailand have made several economic policies. In 2020, the Indonesian government passed the Omnibus Job Creation Law, which is expected to increase investment and productivity by simplifying the labor bureaucracy, issuing business permits, and restricting investment (Asian Development Bank, 2022). The Indonesian government also implemented a stimulus policy in the National Economic Recovery program in 2020 through Law No. 2/2020 of Rp 579.8 trillion (Bank Indonesia, 2021). Indonesia increases the APBN allocation for the tourism sector in 2021 by Rp14.6 trillion with the aim of restoring the tourism sector and the creative economy and is supported by Government Incentive Assistance (Wulandari, 2021). Moreover, Indonesia also increased the budget for the National Economic Recovery Program in the 2021 State Budget by 22%, which will be used as support for MSMEs and corporations, amounting to Rp 184.83 trillion (Bank Indonesia, 2021).

On the other hand, the Thai government has approved the first stimulus package of $12.7 billion on March 10, 2020 and the subsequent stimulus package with the amount of 10% of Thailand's national GDP on April 3, 2020 (Muhibat, 2020). Then, the Thai government added another stimulus package of TB 1.9 trillion with the aim of providing financial assistance for workers, infrastructure, job investment, soft loans for MSMEs, and as a Corporate Bond Liquidity Stabilization Fund on April 7, 2020 (Muhibat, 2020). Thai government also created a new tourism

concept in 2021 called "SEXY", which stands for Safety and cleanliness; Environmental sustainability; eXtra experience; and Yield, which expected to be able to restore tourist confidence (TAT, 2021). In addition, the Thai government has also launched various kinds of campaigns about tourist travel starting from July 2021, accompanied by subsidies for various types of accommodation for tourists who come (Asian Development Bank, 2022).

The government's efforts in maintaining the economic sector amid the pandemic COVID-19 show a good result. There is a significant raised in Thailand's national GDP from 2021 onwards, after a sharp decline in 2020 due to the collapse of the tourism sector. On the other hand, there is a constant increase in the Indonesian national GDP in 2021 and 2022, particularly the tourism sector contribution on GDP. The graphic can be seen below:
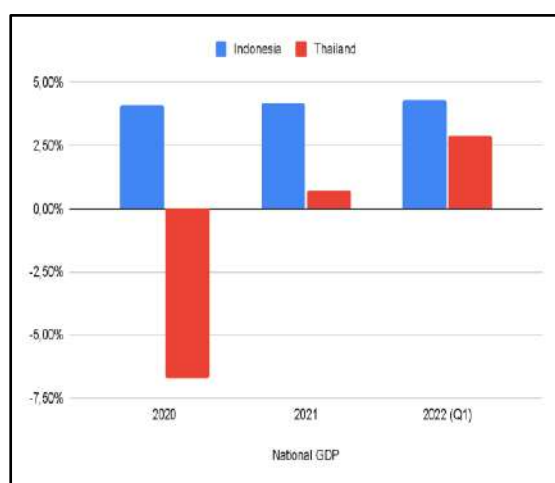

Fig. 3. Comparison of Thailand and Indonesian GDP amid COVID-19
Source: (The National Economic and Social Development Council, 2022); (Tim Publikasi Katadata, 2021); (Azzahra, 2022).

Thailand economic situation post-pandemic has rapidly increased, although has not fully recovered. Economic stimulus package was given to the highly-impacted people, such as the low-middle income family and those who losses their job or family during the pandemic. This package helped them to secure their lives during crisis. Subsequently, Thai government's quick response in mitigating the COVID-19 spread allow them to immediately revoke the lockdown policy as well as the travel restriction. The re-opening of the international border along with the strict health protocol has successfully recover the tourism sector and boost the national income post-pandemic. Moreover, the "new normal" of economic and tourism industry ensure hygiene, health and safety through their SEXY policy successfully building trust and good relationships with the investors and tourists in Thailand (Pongsakornrungsilp, Pongsakornrungsilp, Kumar, & Maswongssa, 2021). Hence, the combination of those implemented policies during pandemic has effectively recover Thailand from the economic crisis.

Compared to Thailand, Indonesian government policies was less effective in boosting the national GDP post-pandemic. From 2021, Indonesia only has a constant increase of national GDP, particularly from tourism sector, by 0.1% annually. There are at least four lessons to learn from the implementation of Indonesian government policies in maintaining economic sector during pandemic. First, the omnibus job creation law has a low impact on the labor, as only few jobs are available during the pandemic. Secondly, the late closure of International border led to a late and slow mitigation procedure in handling the spread of COVID-19. Thirdly, the poor mitigation procedure also cause a slow recovery in the tourism sector, where international visitor feeling doubt to visit Indonesia due to the uncontrolled COVID-19 cases while re-open the border. Lastly, the stimulus packages given to the people in need facing some problems, such as corruption and mistargeting.

Other than those mentioned policies, Indonesian government seems to focused on national economic recovery program through the MSMEs support. In 2020, the government allocated a specific funds in COVID-19 finance to support MSMEs of 17.75%, roughly Rp. 123.46 trillion. The funding includes the interest subsidies, placement of funds for credit restructuring, expenditures for guarantee service fees, guarantee for working capital, government borne final income tax, and investment financing to cooperatives through the Cooperative, Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (LDPB KUMKM) (Purwanto, 2020). In addition, the government also gave Direct Assistance Program (BLT) for MSMEs in the last 2020, where each business actor received IDR 2.4 million to maintain their business during the pandemic (Purwanto, 2020). The growth of MSMEs during COVID-19 pandemic can also be seen through the online marketplace. During the Stay at Home period, people tend to buy everything from MSMEs through online platform, making the MSMEs play a prominent role in maintaining national economic resilience.

IV. Conclusion

Whilst comparing the policies between Thailand and Indonesia, we can conclude that Thai government is better in handling COVID-19. The policies implemented in Thailand is more effective compared to Indonesia, thanks to the good collaboration between the local and central government together with the obedient of the people. Thailand successfully maintained the low rate of transmission and survived the economic crisis, at the same time, Indonesia tends to be slower in handling the COVID-19. In the health sector, the use of health volunteer to help handling the COVID-19 in Thailand effectively maintaining the low rate of transmission and the mortality rate. While Thailand focused on the preventive

measurement, COVID-19 handling in Indonesia considered unresponsive and lack of seriousness. The poor handling of COVID-19 in Indonesia from the central and local government as well as the people led to the prolonged endemic along with the high transmission and mortality rate in COVID-19.

On the other hand, in the economic sector, the policies implemented by both countries are slightly the same. Thailand successful effort in maintaining the low case of COVID-19 led to the re-open of the Thailand border faster than Indonesia. Beside the stimulus package for the vulnerable people affected by COVID-19, Thailand boosts its economic growth by rapidly promoting its tourism destination called a SEXY policy. This SEXY policy help Thailand suffered from the economic crisis due to the pandemic. Meanwhile, not being able to open its border, Indonesia focused on supporting the MSMEs sector to maintain the economic growth. During the pandemic, MSMEs sector played a prominent role in stabilizing Indonesian economic sector.

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Research Article

Constructivist Approach Analysis on the Boycott of the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympic

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Abstract
The 2022 Winter Olympics Beijing have drawn a lot of attention since a number of important nations have put a diplomatic boycott on the event. The United States, Britain, and Canada were among the nations that enacted a diplomatic embargo. Using a constructivism theory approach, this research will attempt to give an analytical study of the occurrence of this boycott. Instead of adopting traditional approaches like liberalism and realism, the author believes that this approach offers a fresh viewpoint on this phenomenon. From a constructivist perspective, the nation that imposed a diplomatic boycott on the Beijing 2022 Olympics was regarded as having constructive elements that encourage such behavior. Every nation has its own factors that will shift the way that nations make decisions. The main argument of this paper is that there are three main factors that construct the boycott behavior of these countries. The first is the construction of friend vs foe between the boycotting countries and China as the host country. Boycott countries that share ideological similarities construct a point of view that China is an enemy to them because of their differences. The second argument is the existence of China's construction as a country that perpetrates human rights violations. This prompted the boycotting countries to protest with the boycott. The third argument is the existence of bilateral problems between countries. Some countries, such as Canada, have bilateral problems with China, which then encourage the construction of boycott behavior that occurs.

Keywords: 2022 Winter Olympics, Boycott, Constructivism, China, the United States, Canada, Britain

I. Introduction

The Olympics, one of the largest sports occasions in the world, are held about every four years. The following two schedules are set apart from the Olympics based on the desired season: the Summer Olympic Games (held in the summer) and the Winter Olympic Games. Greece's Athens hosted the first modern Olympic Games (also known as The Olympics) in 1896. Following the seventh Olympic Games in 1920, the first Olympic Winter Games were held in Chamonix, France, in 1924 where 292 athletes came from the 16 participating countries (Grasso, 2015). The Olympics then periodically evolved into a prominent event for all nations and were alternatively staged in different places throughout the globe.

The execution of the 2022 Winter Olympics may inspire euphoria among the global community, but it is also accompanied by a few contentious events that have garnered global attention, such as the diplomatic boycott by several nations. China would have the chance to host the Olympic Winter Games in 2022, with Beijing serving as the location. A few nations, including the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada, have imposed a diplomatic boycott of the major competition due to China's role as the host of the Beijing 2022 Olympic Winter Games. All those nations sent athletes in this

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instance, but no ministers or officials were present (BBC, 2021)

Reporting from several international media such as CNN (2021), CNBC (2021), and BBC, the diplomatic boycott was carried out because of the issue of human rights violations related to the genocide that occurred to the Uighur Muslim ethnic minority in Xinjiang, China. The boycott countries condemned the violation of human rights which led to not sending their representatives to the Beijing 2022 Olympic Winter Games. In this article, the author uses the constructivism theory of international relations to investigate the phenomenon of this diplomatic boycott. The author will use this approach to try to address the issue of why there was a diplomatic boycott of the Olympic event and why do specific countries participate in boycotts?

The purpose of this article is to explain the main causes of the boycott of the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympic from the constructivist perspective. This perspective is important because it provides a comprehensive analysis than other approaches such as realism and neoliberalism. This article argues that from a constructivism perspective there are at least three social constructions behind the Beijing 2022 Olympic boycott. The first is the construction of Friends vs. Enemy, then the construction of China as a human rights violator, and the background of the bilateral conflict of the countries involved.

II. Theoretical Framework: Constructivist Approach on the Boycott of Beijing Winter Olympic 2022

An analysis of the diplomatic boycott of the 2022 Winter Olympics in Beijing will be done using constructivism theory. The growth of the study of international relations has given rise to numerous methodologies, theories, and perspectives. Mainstream theories or

approaches, such as realism, liberalism, neorealism, neoliberalism, and other similar concepts, dominate the theories that are now available in the study of IR. With the occurrence of numerous significant global phenomena, such as the start of World War II and the abrupt end of the Cold War, the mainstream approach has often failed. Reflectivists, particularly constructivism scholars, appears to be a critique of the mainstream approach. Reflectivists try to provide an alternative approach to a case so that the analysis of international relations does not only focus on the old realist and liberalism approaches which sometimes fail to explain in depth the causes behind an international relations event.

When compared to liberalism or realism, constructivism theory or methodology is still relatively fresh. The viewpoint and emphasis provided are obviously different. Contrary to the mainstream, which tends to be materialist, the constructivist approach places greater attention on social components that were previously discounted and is more non-materialist in its emphasis (Bakry, 2017). This means, there are other variables outside the state or actors that can affect the international community, such as cultural background, ethnicity, language, and thought. Constructivists also have a causality style which emphasizes that an event must occur because of a clear cause. Causality is also an adaptation of the previous perspective, namely positivism which pays attention to the reasons why an event occurs. Constructivists are then criticized and then put more emphasis on the reasons why an event occurs which means it is more objective, rather than the reason an event occurs which of course is more subjective. With that variable, IR scholars are very enthusiastic because the new variables or other variables outside the state or actors can be used as an interrogation of the tendency in

IR studies to objectify the ideas, thoughts, and interests of the subject for development in research (Hadiwinata, 2017). As we know, constructivist came after the English School and the linguistic turn. These two occurrences also provide a style in constructivist which both provide the nuances or a middle ground approach in IR studies.

Famous experts and thinkers of constructivism also continue to emerge such as Friedrich Kratochwil, Nicholas Onuf, Alexander Wendt, and other experts. From these experts developed new ideas that can provide explanations of several phenomena that cannot be resolved by liberalism or realism theories. The focus on the state or actor is further expanded by considering what influences it. Actors in doing something can be influenced by the ideas (notations) they have, then interest (interest), and how the interpretation is done (Adler, 1997). In the construction of a phenomena, what actors or other entities go through in international relations is considered. This is because the process of socialization and cultural influences are used as a strategy in constructivism (Hadiwinata, 2017). With this constructivist methodology, the boycott of the Olympic Winter Games in Beijing in 2022 might be regarded from a different angle, let alone as having a social component.

III. Discussion: Three Factors Driving the Boycott Seen from the Constructivism Approach

Undoubtedly, the world community will pay great attention to how a sporting event as important as the Olympics is conducted. In addition, the Olympics are only frequently held every four years. The Olympic Winter Games in Beijing in 2022 will follow a similar pattern. However, numerous countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada, announced a diplomatic boycott against the competition's organizers toward the end of 2021, more specifically in December. We will try to look at this topic from a variety of angles using constructivism to examine how these nations conduct diplomatic boycotts.

We contend that the constructivist approach's analysis reveals three reasons for the diplomatic boycott of the 2022 Winter Olympics in Beijing. Like the theoretical framework above, the influence of these is more based on social factors rather than only competition, as is the case with realism, or collaboration, as is the case with liberalism. In this post, we try to talk about three things that are relevant to the boycott. The creation of a friend vs. enemy classification is the first factor. In terms of philosophy and sociopolitical factors, China undoubtedly has unique traits. The ideological and socio-political backgrounds of the boycotting countries have some similarities so that the construction of a friend group is created, while China as the organizer of the Olympic has a different ideology and socio-political background, so that the construction of enemies in international relations is created.

The second cause is the alleged abuse of human rights by the nations that boycott China, particularly in the case of the Muslim Uyghur minority population in Xinjiang. These societal elements are said to have the power to shape how the global community behaves, particularly in boycotting nations that vigorously support liberalism and passionately support human rights. As a result, these nations have chosen to boycott the Beijing Olympics as a statement of attitude.

The presence of specific bilateral disputes between the nations that are boycotting is the third element. One of the example of this issue is illustrated by the case of Canada, where Canada and China have a legal dispute.

Perhaps authors are assuming that Canada is simply engaging in the boycott due to its philosophy rather than any socio-political factors, but this is not the case. This phenomenon led to the creation of the classification of "enemy" by Canada against China.

a. Friends' vs Enemy Perspective

A constructivist method depends on or advances the standards or principles chosen to guide the investigation. The construction of living together in international sphere is a learning process that can construct friends and foes through identity, interests, values, and intention (Kratochwil, 1989). According that statement, sharing similar values with others might inspire others to act in a similar way. This also holds true for nations and other international players. If two nations have the same ideologies or social political principles, they might act in the same way. In the issue of the boycott of the Beijing Olympics, there are two major ideologies that appear, namely between liberals and communist socialists.

Examining the states who boycotted the Beijing Olympics diplomatically, liberal-leaning nations are more prevalent. China is a communist socialist country that has a troubled history with liberal nations, especially America. The United States and other countries including the United Kingdom and Canada were among the first to announce a diplomatic boycott of the Beijing Olympics (BBC, 2021). These facts support Alexander Wendt's constructivism theory about the origins of rivalry and friendship. At least three primary characteristics or variables (master variables) are possible in this structure: dependency, shared destiny, and the same identity (homogeny) (Wendt, 1999). From these factors, it can be inferred that the nations that took part in the Beijing Olympics boycott have their own ties, share liberal ideologies, and exhibit cooperation that results in interdependence, as evidenced by NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Area), in which the United States and Canada are both parties. Secondly, given America's current status as a superpower, it could influence other nations, particularly those who adhere to liberal social and political ideologies. Because other liberal nations feel they are on the same team as the big powers, they are indirectly encouraged by America's influence to support and participate in American policies. From this reality, the formation of allies or coalitions in this matter starts to emerge. Furthermore, according to some, there is also a connection between China and the United States, like in COP26. One of the factors cited by Alexander Wendt above that can lead to America and China being created as allies is that the two countries are interdependent on one another. Although there is collaboration between America and China, in practice it frequently causes conflict between the two. From these preferences, western nations, who also abstained from the Beijing Olympics, are being constructed as friends, and that China is being constructed as an adversary.

b. China's Human Right Issues

Liberal ideological and sociopolitical nations place a high value on humanitarian issues. Because it relates to human rights, liberals value humanity as a valuable quality. Every person has the right to be themselves and grow as they see fit. Liberals as we know them also have a favorable opinion of human nature and reason. Liberals believe that humans have the capacity to apply rational ideas, but they also acknowledge that people have the capacity to act selfishly. However, by using the rationality principle, people can cooperate and be open to working together to achieve their individual goals. Thus, liberals

categorically reject conflict, unfair competition, and even the need to undermine one another.

The background of the Beijing 2022 Olympics boycott is the instances of human rights abuses committed by the Chinese government. The fundamental issue in this case is the genocide (genocide) committed against the Uighur Muslim minority in Xinjiang. The term "genocide" itself refers to the mass murder of an ethnic or racial group (Jones, 2016). It goes without saying that the presence of genocide and these crimes deeply incensed liberals. America and other liberal nations denounced China's conduct. In addition, there are values from societies that defend human rights and have liberal ideology and social politics.

The conflict between China and the Uighur Muslim minority group is not a recent issue. For instance, the 1997 Uighur conflict, which is alleged to have claimed the lives of nine people and injured close to 200 others. The conflict, however, is not regarded as a humanitarian crisis because China maintains that the separatist movement is to blame (Hyer, 2006). Naturally, seeing the subject of human rights in that light prompts liberal-minded nations to act. The existence of these humanitarian issues worries liberals a lot. This occurrence is thought to have undermined human dignity and to have violated the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (Bakry, 2017). This is so because liberal ideals have been supported as they have evolved (Hadiwinata, 2017). The Beijing Olympics was to be boycotted since they were being hosted in China, the country where the conflict took place, and there was support for the human rights principle.

c. Bilateral Conflict

The bilateral connection between the two nations, in this case Canada and China, is the final element in our study. At first look, Canada's decision to boycott the Olympics in Beijing seems somewhat strange. The reason is because it does not appear like Canada has a specific justification for abstaining from the Olympics in Beijing other than its liberal sociopolitical background and potentially the issue of crimes against humanity committed in China. Canada appears to grasp the liberal ideology of the United States and to follow its decisions as a superpower.

The involvement of Canada in the diplomatic boycott of the Beijing Olympics was announced after several other countries gave official statements. Indeed, the main reason for the boycott of the Beijing Olympics is related to human rights violations. However, it turns out that there are bilateral problems between China and Canada which are the reason for this decision. Reporting from CNBC on December 9, there was a conflict between Canada and China over the detention of the CFO (Chief Financial Officer) of the Huawei company and the arrest of two Canadian civilians. From this case, Canada's involvement is not only due to criticism of human rights violations, but there are other aspects of interest that motivate such involvement. This is in accordance with the assumptions of constructivist experts, where strategic culture refers to the world system related to which friends and foes are constructed by the government (Bakry, 2017). The government has the authority to build something within its borders. This is related to the earlier discussion of the concepts of friend and rival. As a result of ongoing bilateral disputes, the Canadian government has created rivals, in this case China, which ultimately served as one of the driving forces behind the decision to boycott the Beijing Olympics in 2022. There are

connections between nations, and the bilateral relationship with China cannot be disregarded because it influences how decisions are made.

The bilateral aspect that helped construct Canada's involvement in boycotting the Beijing Olympics was formed because of the inter-subjective interaction between Canada and China. In constructivism, this inter-subjective is important because it is used as the basis of the ontology (Hadiwinata, 2017). From here also later an issue can be studied through different perspectives because of other aspects or variables that construct a phenomenon. Reflectivists also believe that things do not just happen without a clear cause and reason. Like the relationship between Canada and China that gave rise to a conflict. This conflict for constructivists also underlies the decision to involve Canada in the boycott of the Beijing Olympics.

IV. Conclusion

Constructivism is one of the most relevant reflectivist theories to be applied in this increasingly complex era. The perspective provided by Constructivist theory provides a new picture regarding how to examine an issue in the study of International Relations. Things that may be difficult or even unexplained by mainstream theories such as Liberal and Realists can be answered by constructivist theories that provide a new perspective in assessing a problem. As with the above phenomenon related to the boycott of the Beijing Olympics carried out by several countries, it may be difficult if viewed from a liberal or realist perspective. This is because there is a separate impulse from the values held and there are special problems experienced by the organizers with the boycotting countries. Consideration of the impact of the norms and values adopted is an important matter that needs to be studied so

that the decision to boycott the Beijing Olympics becomes clear.

The diplomatic boycott of the Beijing 2022 Olympic Winter Games by several countries will certainly have a detrimental effect on the implementation of the competition. Moreover, those involved in the boycott are big countries like America. Of course, in addition to being detrimental to the organizers, the boycott carried out will have an impact on the sporting event itself. After analyzing it, it turns out that behind the boycott of the Beijing Olympics, there are several other factors that influence besides the criticism of human rights. The existence of the construction of rivals and friends, the principles adopted, and even bilateral relations between countries also influence the decision making of each country in carrying out a boycott.

From these aspects, it can be understood that in the international world, a phenomenon does not only focus on states or actors. Non-materialist factors that affect and are experienced by actors also have an impression on the construction of a phenomenon. Norms and values also have an important role in the international world that can determine the attitude or decision making of a country. The norms and values adopted can be a reason and cause for a country to take an action like what the countries boycotting the Beijing Olympics did. Moreover, with the development of science and technology that is increasingly rapidly, making the influencing variables also transform. So, aspects or non-material variables must be paid more attention to given the development of an increasingly complex world.

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Book Reviews

The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined. **By Steven Pinker. Penguin Publishing Group, 2012. ISBN-13: 9780143122012.**

In engaging with the debate over the decisive role that institutional processes have on human social evolution, this article questions the validity of Pinker's (2011) which holds the world is currently seeing a far more peaceful situation than it was typically in the past; owing to the importance of five major social progress: pacification process, civilizing process, humanitarian revolution, Long Peace and New Peace. In contrast to Pinker's account, this article builds on the need for contextual rather than causal analysis of warfare to explain today's prevalence of violence.

Steven Pinker sets two goals in his book. First, he aims to make the case that, far from the conventional wisdom, there has been a notable decline in different forms of violence throughout the evolutionary history of mankind, especially since the development of the nation-states. While a great deal of empirical evidence is presented in support of his thesis, this essay problematizes Pinker's lack of credibility in the use of the statistical method and, ultimately, the accompanying interpretation of empirical data presented in his book. Second, he seeks to provide explanations about the causes of this trend, which is important to know because it helps to understand whether this pattern is likely to persist. Yet again, his explanations are not only insufficiently argued but also contain a significant logical flaw, as we shall see in this essay.

Pinker: Flaws and Critique

Perhaps the most compelling pieces of evidence in Pinker's (2011) are war death and homicide rates. By comparing statistics of violent, war-driven death in pre-historic societies and the ones in the modern world, Pinker argues, one could clearly observe the decline in violence. An implied preposition in this analysis is that primitive societies were much more violent than what people tend to imagine. However, though Pinker also deploys archaeological data such as the discovery of depressed skull fracture that is typically caused by blunt objects to further estimate the risk of violent death among the primitive humans (Pinker 2011), there remains a general lack of sufficient information about the life situation in pre-state societies to make this inference. In other words, the better archaeological data is needed, for example, to tell whether the 'broken' skulls are caused by a violent act or by accident. And yet, not only such archaeological information is of varying reliability and difficult to gauge, the archaeological study of the pre-state has been largely confined to a description of materials and technologies with people's livelihood, social organization and ideologies are gradually detached from the scope of archaeological speculation (Shanks and Tilley 1987). In his book, Scott (2009) argues that even the world's most historic population 'Zomia' were the people who left their land fleeing the state-making negative externalities and continued to live in the shadow of the state for more than two millennia. In this account, we could observe the life conditions of historic stateless societies, but the social history of entire mankind outside the civilization (in the state of nature) remains inadequately available.

Similarly, Pinker's (2011) chief measure — the statistical data — has some serious issues. First, while his main purpose is to estimate the percentage of prehistory war death, he fails to distinguish the war-related mortality from the one caused by violent raid or nasty oppression. To be sure, out of the eight cases used by Pinker, the first and the third highest percentages of what he considers

as the "state of nature" war morality actually represent the killings of indigenous societies by the intruders, rather than wars between hunter-gatherers (Fry 2013). Second, Pinker's use of eight self-selected cases to present the entire primitive societies is inadequate. Notably, not only does he pick up the eight cases directly from Bowles' (2009), his samplings of those cases represent only tiny empirical realities in the remote corners of society, history and geography. In their astonishing review of Pinker, Cirillo and Taleb (2015) reveal that Pinker's (2011) data set of war fatalities occurring between 1 and 2015 AD demonstrates an extremely fat right-tail which makes him more inclined to arrive in his conclusion; since it allows him to eliminate the infiniteness of the mean which is not necessarily bounded.

More fundamentally, the problem in Pinker's (2011) is not only the lack of reliable evidence of prehistory mankind, but it is the fact that the decrease in war-induced death, though being properly estimated, is not a standardized variable. Variations in the duration of warfare, the number of fatalities including battle death and civilian casualties during a war period, the total population at the time of wars, and especially the number of indirect mortality make it extremely hard to arrive in one overarching conclusion: today's atrocity is at an all-time low (Torpey 2018, Fry 2013). What is more, Pinker deterministic approach renders him incapable of recording more complex security realities that emerge from the changing character and spaces of conflict today. More specifically, Pinker's Long Peace thesis overlooks the emerging insecurity and conflict resulting from nuclear deterrence or limited war, which leads to the absence of major warfare in the first place (Gray 2005, Galtung 1996). As such, though it is true that direct war between nuclear states is a rarity, it has become the driving force to the new period

limited and proxy wars that have been taking place in different parts of the world.

Furthermore, not only estimating the quantities of violent, war-induced death is an empirical question, it is also moral. This is partly because humans tend to confront death and dying in their own lives and the lives of others by looking at their causes and effects (Steffen and Cooley 2014). Notably, questions about life and death invoke the debate on abortion, euthanasia, capital punishment and whatnot. The risk factors, terror, structural violence, collateral damage and post-war trauma should all feature as the logical consequences of violence. By failing to acknowledge the need for providing a more inclusive assessment of war-related deaths, given that not all violence results in bloodshed and not all lethal weapons cause sudden death as Gray (2005) correctly observes, Pinker's approach is reductionist in a sense that it treats violence as a mere increase or decrease binaries. In this sense, Arquilla (2012) is right to point out that Pinker's reliance on war death statistics compels him to accept his conclusions. For Arquilla, it is wrong to concentrate vigorously on the declining war casualties since such a trend is generally implicated in the 'balance of terror': nuclear weapons have hindered industrial-type war between major powers (Arquilla 2012).

Another neglected aspect of the war in Pinker (2011) is the current prevalence of different forms of 'new war' especially around the line of civilizational and cultural violence. Crucially, not only these conflicts are rising at a greater volume and pace in across the globe today, but their conducts also blur the important distinctions between the government, the soldiers and the civilians, the latter is usually not counted towards battle death according to Pinker. Unlike conventional wars, the 'new' war combatants rely on strategies that draw the entire society and their territory into conflicts as a means of

survival (Bassiouni 2008). In such context, the demarcating line between the legitimate state actor and armed non-state actor, public and private, international and domestic, material and ideological, and even war and peace are falling apart (Kaldor 2013). The implication of these differences is a greater risk of war and the risk of fatality from wars. Whereas traditional warfare tended to be feature two sides whose primary motivation is to gain victory, new wars tend to expand and to endure or repeat as both sides benefit politically or economically from warfare itself as instead of 'victory' (Keen 2012). Similarly, the increase in intensity of new wars questions Pinker's accounts on the causal link between today's level of peace with emergence of nation-states, civilized world, globalization and democracy; since new wars typically occur in authoritarian regimes that have been incapacitated as a result of opening up to the outside world (Kaldor 2013, Maitre 2009). In this way, new wars tend to contribute to the dismantling of the state and, thereby, creating more violence: a development that was not taken into account by Pinker.

Towards a More Reliable Approach

It has been rather obvious hitherto that Pinker's empiricist approach is ill-equipped to deal with the changing nature of warfare and, ultimately, the definition of insecurity that does not fit into the winning-lose/life-death binaries. In Pinker's quest for empiricism, as I have shown earlier, the (flawed) data of war-related mortality prevails over the new realities and norms. Yet, a historical conflict and homicide research also requires looking at multiple conceptual definitions of violence that to a significant extent leads to different theoretical explanations about the traditional topics of the "Empirical Basis" and "Validation" of scientific knowledge (Koertge 2000, Monkkonen 2001). In a multifaceted security situation, thus, one

cannot rely solely on the old plain humanism to account for a much safer and happier world today than it was typically in the past. For one reason or another, it was the humanity's highly refined rational thoughts that give us the ability to overcome the intense emotional costs of killing and at the same time plan for conducts of war elaborately (Fry 2013). Even the construction of the justifications for European colonialism is deeply implicated in Enlightenment quests for unifying the mode of knowledge production and methodologies that are presented in the language of reasoning, civilization and modernity (Beier 2005, Jones 2006). As such, to move beyond an empirical assessment of violence is to acknowledge the emergent realities of violence that may not be captured merely through statistical analysis of homicide and war death rates.

Ultimately, making the case for a systematic comparison of theories would have to include some constructive analysis to be true. When it comes to the evolving conducts of war and security threats, constructivist approach is rendered productive since it offers an analytical tool to adjust theories to values and norms in order to generate visions of new realities (Galtung 1996). By locating actors and structures in a strategic continuum, constructivism sheds new understanding of war that is not centralized on strategic cost and benefit calculations (Zaman 2009). Understood in this way, countries and individuals think about violence and waged wars in different ways and with different purposes. It is these differences that create the fault-line conflict not only more often, but also 'more sustained and more violent than conflicts between groups in the same civilization' (Huntington 1997, 48). Crucially, by appealing to the constructivist mode of thought, the recognition of different purposes of war and killing would find relevance in Pinker's analysis. As such, while it may be the case that the state

full-fledged control over the use of violence has led some modern societies having falling levels of violent mortality, it is certainly the case that the modern state force has been mobilized worldwide for subjecting civilian populations into violent mass atrocities. In much of the same way, constructivist logics invite Pinker to appreciate the dark side of Enlightenment in constructing his conclusions.

In conclusion, as explained throughout, Pinker's goal to provide evidence that accounts for the falling homicide and violent combat death rates in the modern world is insufficient and, more often than not, misguided. The main issue being his failure to set up a productive analytical approach that lives up to his remarkably overarching research question: today's level of global violence is the lowest in history. While he has attempted to present the violence levels typically in the past by coupling empirical and archeological data of the prehistory mankind, he lacks the credibility to do so for mainly two reasons: the sheer limitation of archaeological evidence prior to the development of modern nation-state along with his flawed statistical analysis, and the his persistence to treat war mortalities as merely an empirical variable. Similarly, though this article makes only remote attempts to examine the actual trend in civilizational and cultural conflict over a longer time period, it has brought into attention the demand to incorporate constructivist approach into the study of violence in order to better comprehend its complexities which have been largely driven by the development in the new wars. For the reasons mentioned above, Pinker has and will continue to get the violence levels wrong, and the world is as violent as ever.

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Book Reviews

US vs China Rivalry in the Biden Era. **By Bambang Cipto.** Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009, vii + 228 pp. ISBN: 9786232362598.

America and China present a complex relationship in relations between two major countries in this modern world. America as a traditional power in international relations has the main goal of maintaining their hegemony as a superpower. The major objective of America, a longstanding global power, is to retain its hegemony as a global superpower. China, on the other hand, is a rising economic, social, and political force that aims to establish its hegemony in the Asian region before expanding to the global level. As the bearer of the previous hegemony in international relations, the United States of America, must exercise caution in dealing with China's attempt to build a new hegemony since it has developed into a distinct dynamic in modern international relations.

This book provides a thorough analysis of the dynamics of international relations between the United States and China during the first term of Joe Biden's presidency. In his book, Cipto makes the case that the United States has to be more cautious while preserving its relationship with China, particularly during the Biden administration when it is important to protect both domestic and global interests. As the subsequent president of the United States, Joe Biden exercised prudence when dealing with China in a new rivalry. Biden has specific demands to improve the role of the United States in the international world after being considered to have experienced a setback in the era of Donald Trump's leadership with his "America First" policy. In addition, Donald Trump openly launched a trade war strategy with China which increased tensions between the two countries. The efforts made by Joe Biden can

be likened to the efforts of "Rambo", a fictional character who represents United States patriotism in "cleaning up" all forms of international threats. But this time what they faced was not an ordinary threat, this special thread can be reimagined as a dragon that had just awakened and could pounce at any time and turn terrifying. Therefore, instead of using firearms blindly as the films illustrate, Rambo must be able to dance beautifully to face the rise of the dragon.

This book consists of seven chapters. In the first chapter of this book, the author discusses US strategy under Biden in dealing with China's rise and how China's response to Biden's efforts hindered China's progress. In the second chapter, the author reviews the rivalry between the US and China in the field of high technology. This chapter explains how China succeeded in dominating the advancement of Artificial Intelligence technology and how Biden's strategy is to deal with China's progress.

Chapter three in this book discusses China's economic diplomacy, in the context of the BRI (Belt Road Initiative), in Africa, Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Latin America; and how Biden responded. Chapter four discusses the US vs China rivalry in the South China Sea and Bidden's response to China's aggressiveness in the Region. The fifth chapter of this book discusses the US vs China rivalry in global vaccine distribution. Then the sixth chapter discuss the military rivalry of the two countries. This book ends with the seventh chapter which discusses the ideological rivalries of the two countries and the future of competition between the two hegemons.

The main strength of this book is the sequence of stories that comprehensively discusses the US vs China competition because in fact this book is the third part of three books written by Bambang Cipto as Professor of International Relations at the Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta which has a focus on

studies of United States studies. The first series was entitled "China's Strategy for Seizing Super Power Status"; the second "Fading Western Supremacy Amid the Rise of Asia". This third book is a more detailed description of the US vs China rivalry in the first year of US President Joe Biden's administration.

Second, this book possesses the power of novelty because it raises a number of very pertinent and current issues for observing the phenomenon of international relations in the 2020s, when the US dominant power started to falter due to both internal and external challenges, including the rise of PR China and Russia, which are thought to threaten the US global economic, political, and military dominance.

This book was written in the midst of a global social context that occurred in June 2021 after Biden's presence at the G-7 meeting in England and continued with the NATO summit in Brussels. At that time, Biden invited Europe to jointly make China the main enemy of the West. Europe also supports it, but whether all European member countries will agree to the invitation, it still needs time to prove it. But what was clear, Biden will still made China his main rival. Automatically, the world will now re-enter the second stage of the American vs China rivalry as a continuation of the trade war launched by US President Donald Trump in 2019. It is not impossible that this feud will become more complex, considering that China is also getting stronger economically, militarily, and technologically.

This book emphasizes the adage of global political realism as a fight for power to control the ways of thinking and acting of others (struggle for power). In this case, the US as the holder of the status-quo wants to show consistency in protecting the national interest. This is reflected in Biden's continued actions, making China his main rival, continuing the second stage of the American vs China rivalry as a continuation of the trade war launched by

the previous US President Donald Trump in 2019.

However, in reading international phenomena, including the US vs China rivalry, we should not get bogged down in the simplification of the conclusion that the US is hostile to China in all respects and forever from the past to the present and the future. It is important to realize this because in fact we must believe in the adage that "In politics, there are no eternal friends or personal enemies. What exists is eternal interest." We can see this, among other things, in the phenomenon of dealing with the rampant narcotics trade in Southeast Asia or the indifference of the two countries to the plight of the Rohingya Muslims who were being oppressed by the rulers of Myanmar." History has also recorded that the US and China were in the same political position during the Second World War (1939 – 1945) where both countries had a global enemy, namely Japanese expansionism.

The main weakness of this book is the absence of pictures, photographs, maps, illustrations and so on, which is necessary for readers to understand the contents of the book, as well as so that this book is not physically boring for readers. Therefore, this book will be better (if there is a revised edition) with various maps, pictures, illustrations and so on that support the explanation of the contents of the book.

This book is important for students, lecturers, writers, journalists, and decision makers working in the field of international relations, especially for those who have a focus on studies on East Asia and the United States.

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