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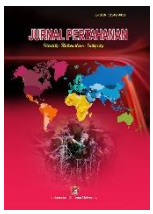

SECURING NATIONAL AND REGIONAL ENERGY: INDONESIA'S POLICY IN THE TRANS-ASEAN GAS PIPELINE PROJECT

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Abstract

The regional cooperation policy for the development of the Trans-ASEAN Gas Pipeline (TAGP) megaproject is one of Indonesia's efforts to secure national energy sources. The purpose of this study is to analyze the effectiveness of the policies that have been implemented by the Indonesian Government in responding to various problems of energy insecurity in the gas sector. Indonesia's policy to actively participate in the TAGP project is believed to be one of the solutions to overcoming the national and regional gas energy crisis, besides, energy security caused many various other security issues. This article uses a non-traditional security perspective to see why and how energy security become a huge issue today. The result that we found, in this case, is that the effectiveness of the policy cannot be assessed optimally, for example, the guaranteed stability of natural gas energy security at the national level and regional, both in terms of availability, distribution, and affordability that still needs continuous improvement.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, the global security environment has experienced drastic changes. As the risk of triggering armed conflict and war between nations decreases, the global community is faced with the emergence of new security challenges, known as non-traditional security, in the form of threats that originate from non-military local and transnational nature and also involve acts of state-sponsored violence against its people, as well as the emergence of non-state armed actors.

These non-traditional security challenges prove to be more dangerous than conventional threats from conflict and war between nations (Caballero-Anthony & Cook, 2013). These conditions force policymakers around the world to redesign the security agenda and find the right solution to react. One of their concerns is the issue of energy. Until now, there was no general definition agreed upon in interpreting energy security. Energy security is subjective and will apply differently to each country, time, and place, and is very dependent on the level of economic development.

The increasingly competitive global economic competition simultaneously encourages all countries to compete in securing energy sources. The availability of affordable and sustainable energy is useful to meet the needs of industry, business, and households. Problems then arise when most countries in the world depend on petroleum as a source of main energy, even though the availability of petroleum is decreasing. Meanwhile, alternative energy sources are available but have not been utilized maximally.

Indonesia is one of the countries whose consumption of fuel oil still dominates, in the middle of declining production conditions and domestic oil reserves and the average import dependency ratio from 35% in 2007 to 44% in 2015 (Abdurrahman, 2016). The government has developed the idea of optimizing alternative primary energy sources namely natural gas. This is reinforced by the fact that Indonesia is one of the countries in the world that has the largest natural gas reserves in the world International Energy Agency (IEA). This fact then pushed the Indonesian Government to produce various policy instruments related to natural gas as a national energy source besides petroleum and other alternative sources (new and renewable energy, law No. 30 of 2007 concerning Energy, Government Regulation No. 79 of 2014 concerning National Energy Policy, and Presidential Regulation No. 22 of 2017 concerning the National Energy General Plan. (Government Regulation No.79, 2014). Specific regulations of procedures for the utilization of Indonesia's natural gas are set by the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Regulation No. 3 of 2010 (ESDM Ministerial Regulation). The utilization of natural gas in Indonesia itself is divided into three groups, first as an energy source, natural gas is used for power generation fuels, industrial fuels, transportation fuels, and household materials. Second, natural gas is an industrial raw material such as fertilizer, methanol, and plastic. Finally natural gas is an export commodity in the form of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) (Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral Republik Indonesia, 2014).

Both government data and efforts through the policy instrument show that on one side the natural gas sector is vital to the Indonesian energy sector, on the other hand, it creates a paradox because abundant reserves are available and policy instruments in reality still cannot change Indonesia's energy consumption patterns that still depend on crude oil. This paradox can be seen from the Final Energy Consumption data by type in Indonesia (Figure 1) and the following Disparity in Supply and Natural Gas (Table 1) (Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral Republik Indonesia, 2014).

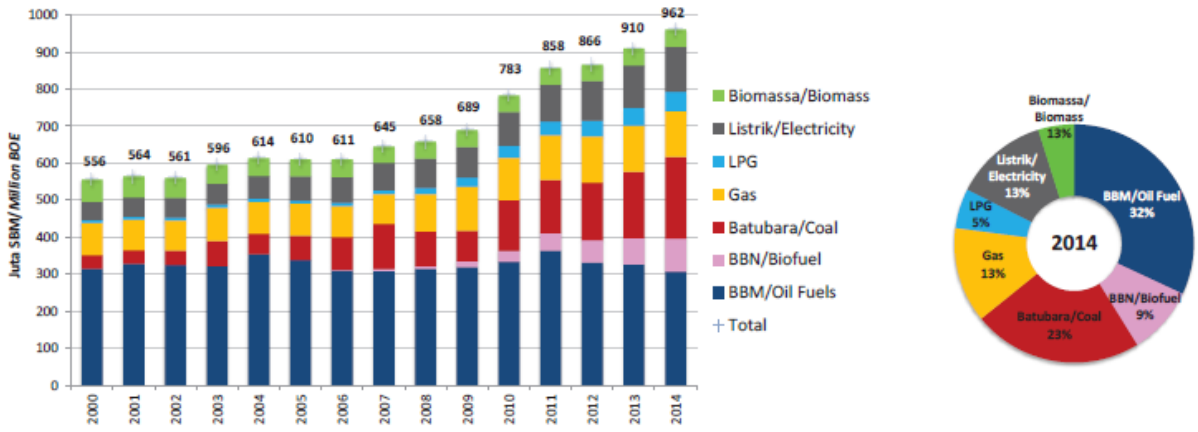


Figure 1. Final Energy Consumption by Type in Indonesia
Source: BPPT, 2016

Table 1. Data on the Difference in Supply and Demand for Natural Gas in a matter of million standard cubic feet per day

Year	Supply	Need	Difference
2014	6.970	9.494	2.524
2015	7.569	9.613	2.004
2016	7.904	9.455	1.551
2017	7.966	9.808	1.842
2018	8.382	10.150	1.768
2019	8.445	10.553	2.108
2020	7.914	10.894	2.980
2025	5.747	10.577	4.830
2030	3.338	11.144	7.806

Source: Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral Republik Indonesia, 2014

Figure 1 explains that Indonesia's energy consumption over the last few years has increased significantly, especially in the use of coal and crude oil energy (2000-2014). There are seven types of energy sources used by the Indonesian people to supply their daily needs, based on data from the Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology (BPPT) that Indonesia still relies on fuel oil, coal, natural gas, and electricity as energy sources. The efforts of the Indonesian Government in optimizing the use of natural gas are not only carried out in the domestic sphere. Recognizing the potential of natural gas reserves owned and the lack of production supply (which makes Indonesia have to import ready-to-use gas) as well as low domestic consumption (compared to petroleum), a cooperation policy in the region was explored by playing an active role in the development of the Trans-ASEAN Gas Pipeline (TAGP) mega project.

From the facts that have been explained, it can be identified that the main problem related to the use of natural gas is the ability to supply products that are not optimal. Some literature states that this is constrained by the slow development of infrastructure. The other factor is the very large and varied Indonesian geographical conditions so that which affected the distribution of natural gas. From a financial perspective, natural gas exploration is still dominated and funded by foreign companies and is intended for exporting commodities to foreign countries. In addition, there are also factors regarding the concept of the decision making, procedures, and regulations on the use of Indonesia's

natural gas, where the policy on the use of Indonesia's natural gas is still dominated by export commodities so that the use of natural gas as alternative domestic energy has not been well implemented (Setiawan, Shahroom, Huang, & Zahidah, 2016).

Traditionally, energy security has focused on securing the flow of energy supplies, from extraction, processing, and transportation, to distribution between these stages. Therefore, the energy security framework focuses on three things namely; supply security, distribution security, and security of affordability (access) related to the ability of the state to provide energy at affordable prices for domestic consumption at a price level that is considered not to endanger national security or economic growth (Chang & Putra, 2010). Complexity energy security involves and influences many other aspects (security). The process of exploration and exploitation carried out continuously ultimately adversely affects the environment around the exploration land and also has implications for the population of the area, which is the livelihood of many people. The disruption of living places and sources of livelihood will reduce the level of community affordability for energy materials. In the end, policymakers are faced with the challenge of the demands of economic development from international trade while still ensuring the sustainability of the environment which is the source of energy and the source of life for their citizens. For this reason, in non-traditional security, human/individual security and society is an important elements that must be a concern.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the extent of the effectiveness of the policies that have been carried out by the Government of Indonesia in responding to various problems of energy insecurity in the natural gas sector, especially Indonesia's policy to actively participate in the TAGP project which is believed to be one of the solutions in overcoming the national gas energy crisis and regional, using a non-traditional security perspective. The research question that seeks to be answered through this analysis is, what is the effectiveness of Indonesia's policies in the TAGP Project on the stability of energy security at national and regional levels?

METHODS

Securitization of Energy Issues

Why is the energy issue relevant to security studies? Under what conditions does this issue become part of a security study? To what extent is the energy issue affiliated with security studies in theoretical or conceptual contexts? In government regulation number 79 of 2014 concerning national energy policy, energy security is based on fair, sustainable, and environmentally sound principles that support environmental protection. This then explains that security and energy issues are related to the development process. Some of these questions were raised to re-examine the interrelationship between the two variables as a theoretical demand as well as an effort to revise discourse that was considered vague but instead developed in the public arena and its policies.

Guidance on the discourse on energy security seems to be a major concern in non-traditional security studies-not because traditional security studies have not been able to answer this issue as part of their attention or energy issues are considered contemporary, but the issue of energy and its complexity deserves a deeper analysis that is not only analyzed like the state issued a policy package in providing energy sector resilience but why is the issue of energy concern in security studies? The answer is quite clear the energy issue has an existential threat to individuals and communities who can link to other dimensions such as food, economy, environment, and so on.

As a policy problem, energy security came to the fore in the early 20th century which had connections to oil supplies for military needs (Daniel Yergin, 1991). Then it received the attention of the world

community, especially in the different nations when the world experienced the oil crisis in the 1970s. In the past 3 decades of the 1980s and 1990s - academics began to be interested in energy security followed by the postulation of the idea that this issue was related to the stability of oil prices and efforts to avoid the threat of political embargo. Then, the decade has now reappeared more to increasing demand in Asia because the region experienced a massive economic growth rate, gas supply disruption in Europe, and pressure to carbonize the energy system (Yergin, 2006; Hughes & Lipscy, 2013; Hancock & Vivoda, 2014).

This means that in the 1980-the 1990s the issue of energy security meant the supply of oil at affordable and stable prices amid the threats of embargo and price manipulation by exporters. Furthermore - the classic energy security discourse was expanded in its identification including fair energy access and mitigation of climate change (Goldthau, 2011). Thus, getting attention to whether it is necessary to review the discourse on energy security that took place previously. Of course, this study does not merely fill the debate on energy issues classified in the non-traditional security but also reawakens that energy discourses and their relationship with safety studies should be listened to or thoroughly examined.

Energy policy has published various ideas about the concept of energy security, this unique prescription comes from a particular body which is then used by a country. For the non-traditional security study, it is seen as framing securitization that cannot be separated from actors other than the state in forming and managing the policy process. Some of these publications later mention four energy safeguards namely availability, accessibility, affordability, and acceptability - which were introduced by the Asia Pacific Energy Research Center (Asia Pacific Energy Research Centre, 2007). These four instruments are almost the same as those proposed by Roy Penchansky and J. William Thomas in offering five concepts of health care namely availability, acceptability, accountability, acceptability, and accommodation (Penchansky & Thomas, 1981). This then shows that the strangeness of the developing concept does not originate from academic reflection on the energy security approach and its instruments. This problem then explains why the study of security and energy should be explored even more complex.

In general observations, energy security means involving different things in different situations and different people. Variations in policy will later be dynamized in each condition such as the country as an energy exporter with an energy importing country. In addition, the expansion of energy security even penetrates the understanding of the basis which had been shackled on the issue of prices and access - but now began to be shaded by energy poverty and changes in energy due to climate and environment (Chester, 2010). This feels ambiguous if the energy security instrument used by the agency is practiced in a country so that it has consequences for policy and discourse bias. Energy security can be absorbed by the meaning of justice and inclusiveness which, although their meanings are different, develop through conceptual and policy contestation that takes place. The parity of interpretations regarding energy security may also be caused by the use of the term by those who seek to improve the priorities of other policy agendas by calling them part of the energy security issue.

Meanwhile, the complexity of the literature and its contestation has not yet found a bright spot about the relationship between energy and security itself. A theoretical conversation about what is meant by energy security is still outside the mainstream in the ongoing discussion. Though this is considered fundamental because classifying energy issues into the security dimension will affect how energy policies will be implemented and have the

potential to substantially influence the construction of thinking of policy actors and academics regarding security in general. This criticism is simultaneously present through the observation of Felix Ciută who assesses that energy security studies are felt to have jumped so far that are influenced by the real problems that frame it, but the literature gap on energy security has not been systematically analyzed through the lens of securitization theory which partly reflects the conceptual attentions that are still lacking in acceptance energy security until now (Ciută, 2010). In contrast to existential threats such as environmental degradation and climate change that began to get theoretical attention first, rather than in the policy arena - giving rise to support and interest attention that this issue has become a relevant study for security studies scientists (Balzacq, Léonard, & Ruzicka, 2015).

Ciută then assessed that three factors make up the relationship between energy and security, namely 1) the totality dimension of energy itself. Energy is seen as a prime mover - no one thing is not influenced by energy and intertwined with other dimensions; 2) energy is essentially contextual, such as policies and seminal works on energy with security issues are still described very differently. This dimension shows a theoretical expansion into the realm of security policy-making. Related to this proliferation, the next test point is security ambiguity as a category between theory and practice; 3) the breadth of the concept of energy security has implications for the presence of skepticism about the usefulness and depth of meaning of the concept. Furthermore, Ciută assesses the redefinition of energy and security as natural and the lack of reflexivity related to this issue can indicate a banalization of security issues (Ciută, 2010).

Ciută considers energy security to mean the security of everything referring to resources, places of production and processing, transportation networks, and even patterns of consumption; everywhere refers to oil fields, pipes, power plants, and people's homes; everything includes depletion of resource reserves, global warming, terrorism and so on (Ciută, 2010). This has the potential to bring security issues to permeate the most micro, banal, and intimate aspects of our daily lives. David Campbell assessed that it is possible for a family not to feel the impact of energy security, but from another angle, they can also produce energy vulnerabilities such as the consumption patterns used wastefully (Campbell, 2007). Therefore, energy issues can be included in security issues as long as they contain aspects that threaten the existence of an actor. Then, it is also important to "desecuritize" aspects outside the definition as criticized by Ciută and Balzacq that energy issues are too far analyzed - but in security studies, it is considered new. To achieve this goal, we should know what is called the securitization process and how the issue of energy security is in the vortex of securitization.

The process of securitization is often meaningful to the efforts of leaders in their capacity as a country's leader or supreme leader in understanding and shaping a world that depends on the ability of a society or community to reconfigure a fair and good way of life (Huysmans, 1998). In-depth, the purpose of securitization theory is to understand why and how something happens and has an impact on the life process or political order of a community (Balzacq, 2009). One definition of securitization that is often cited in the literature is - when a securitization actor uses rhetoric about the conditions of existential threats and thus addresses the issue in a normal political activity - we automatically realize that we have a securitized issue (Buzan, Waever, & de Wilde, 1998). Meanwhile, other understandings deny that securitization is not explained through normal or exceptional political divisions which underlie this definition.

For Balzaqk, mentioning securitization is a set of practices articulated through heuristic artifacts in the form of metamorphosis, policy tools, analogies, stereotypes, emotions, and so on - and coherently mobilized by legitimate actors namely the government working to encourage the audience (community) to build a coherent network (feelings, sensations, thoughts, and intuition) about the critical vulnerability of the referent object, which is in line with the reason of the securitization actor for the action by involving the subject of the referent as never before. This then creates a process of threat and then responds through policies that are adjusted and immediately carried out in overcoming these (Balzacq, 2010). The fundamental idea underlying securitization is that a given issue is sufficiently salient to get approval from an audience - which allows them to have the authority to handle whatever issues they deem most appropriate and relevant. Balzac then assumes that a securitization process is an event that combines political activities in the form of threat design with threat management (Balzacq et al., 2015).

Securitization theory is considered relevant in elaborating through the study of governance - that is, an analysis of the specific conditions in which certain entities appear, exist, and undergo modification or change - that allows scientists to discover how security practices can operate (Dean, 2010). This then forms four dimensions, namely 1) the shape of the characteristics of visibility, perspective, and perception; 2) ways of thinking and asking questions that are distinctive-depending on the vocabulary and certain procedures in producing discourse; 3) distinctive ways of acting, intervening and directing which consist of certain types of practical rationality (expertise and knowledge) and depend on the available mechanisms, techniques and even technology; and 4) distinctive ways of forming a subject, person, actor or agent

Meanwhile, Mely Caballero-Antony and Alistair D.B. Cook offer a framework for evaluating nontraditional security policies involving government apparatus. Both of these analyzes assess the deepening of energy security and its securitization should be illustrated through a more comprehensive approach - involving the analysis of approaches that measure how and why certain policies are securitized. Furthermore, this approach is useful in determining whether the policy response taken by a government is considered successful or vice versa. The author considers the approach offered to be relevant to this article.

Just like Bazackq's view, the process of securitization means the process of government policy. The concept of government is considered to exist which is not only in the arena of political discourse, but also extends to the study of security and especially in international relations. Government is defined as the process of decision-making and is implemented (or not) into the rite of relations between government and society. Perhaps, the point of difference between Government Science and non-traditional security studies sees securitization activities do not stop at the state that frames an issue, but move and invite actors outside the wheels of government such as business groups, NGOs, political parties, and so on. This means that good governance through a process of securitization ultimately leads to an open paradigm of active civil society. Of course, this phenomenon resides in a democratic system. Civil society activities open space for deliberative interaction that not only brings together domestic groups - but is profound by the presence of external factors such as in the region and the participation of the international community.

The non-traditional security policy evaluation approach offered by Cabellero and Cook originates from the UN's elaboration in assessing good governance and looks normative. The following approach, are (Caballero-Anthony & Cook, 2013):

1. Participation - this brings the subject as an essential factor in the decision-making process. This participation can be through direct or legitimate representation. When evaluating participation the level of information availability must be accounted for.
2. A legal framework that is fair and easily accessible - by enforcing it impartially
3. Transparency, namely the ease of knowing the decision-making process so that those affected by the decision can understand that a particular policy process has taken place and who made it
4. Responsiveness, namely the ability of institutions to respond promptly to issues of fundamental concern
5. Orientation consensus which is to ensure involving many stakeholders with available opinions can be considered when making a decision
6. Inclusiveness and equality involve the whole community to create shared ownership related to the decision-making process and have equal access to it
7. Effectiveness and effectiveness refer to the ability of decision-makers to make the best use of available resources
8. Accountability means harmony with the words and actions of decision-makers. This goes hand in hand with the transparency and available legal regulations.

The analytical framework above is considered relevant for use in helping to analyze energy issues and the securitization processes that take place in Indonesia and the region. Framework. Starting the case analysis will be presented an analysis of 5 securitization indicators of the energy security issue of the Indonesian natural gas sector at the national and regional level (ASEAN) to see whether the securitization process has been carried out, even if there are any discrepancies with the concepts used and whether the discrepancies are related to various problems and challenges faced. The next stage is an analysis of Indonesia's policy evaluation, specifically related to its role and participation in TAGP, complete with projections of challenges in the future.

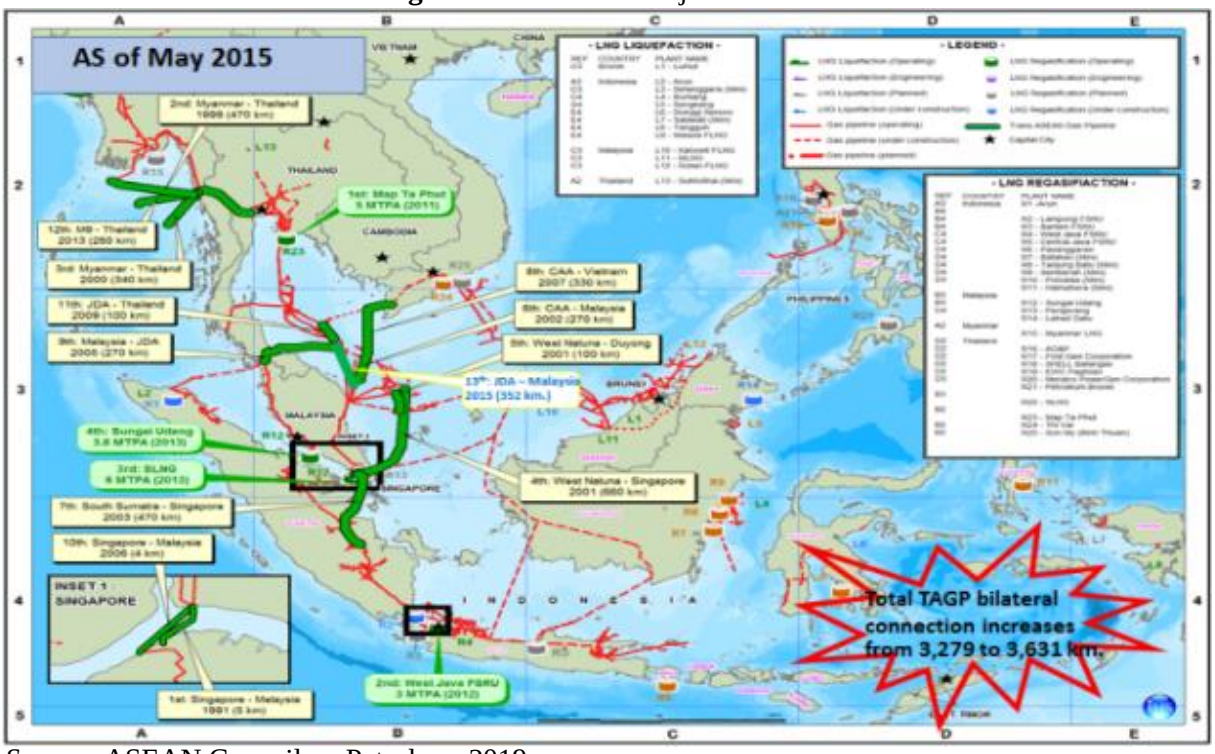
Understanding about TAGP

The Trans-ASEAN Gas Pipeline (TAGP) is an ASEAN cooperation project based on the ASEAN VISION 2020. TAGP aims to connect the gas pipeline infrastructure among ASEAN countries. The gas pipeline network is useful for transporting gas across regional boundaries to ensure gas safety and availability. ASEAN Council on Petroleum (ASCOPE) is the organization responsible for the effective implementation of the TAGP project. In 2002 the ministers of ASEAN countries signed an ASEAN MoU related to the TAGP project. In the MoU, a cooperation framework was established for partnership and collaboration between the government and the private sector in implementing TAGP (ASEAN Council on Petroleum, 2019).

Based on the updated Masterplan in 2015, TAGP aims to build a pipeline of approximately 7,000 kilometers. Most of the pipeline is offshore and underwater. By May 2015 (Table 2), an estimated 3,631 kilometers of pipelines have been built and operated under thirteen cross-border projects.

In addition, there are four projects with around 4,4000 kilometers and are currently in the feasibility study (see Table 2). There are also other proposed pipeline projects from East Natuna (Indonesia) to Palawan (Philippines) that have been suspended due to commercial and economic considerations.

Figure 2. The TAGP Project Scenario



Source: ASEAN Council on Petrolum, 2019

Table 2. TAGP Network Progress in May 2015

Years	Projects	Length (Kilometers)
1991	Singapore – Malaysia	5
1999	Yadana (Myanmar) - Ratchaburi (Thailand)	470
2000	Yetagun (Myanmar) - Ratchaburi (Thailand)	340
2001	Natuna Barat (Indonesia) – Singapore	660
2001	Natuna Barat (Indonesia) - Duyong (Malaysia)	100
2002	CAA – Malaysia	270
2003	Sumatera Selatan (Indonesia) – Singapore	470
2005	Malaysia-JDA	270
2006	Malaysia ke Singapore	4
2007	CAA – Vietnam	330
2009	JDA – Thailand	100
2013	M9 – Thailand	260
2015	JDA – MALAYSIA	352

Source: ASEAN Council on Petrolum, 2019

Table 3. Proposed TAGP Project

Projects	Length (Kilometers)
Natuna Timur (Indonesia) To Erawan (Thailand)	1,500
Natuna Timur (Indonesia) To Kerteh (Malaysia)	600
Natuna Timur (Indonesia) To Jawa (Indonesia)	1,400
Natuna Timur (Indonesia) To Vietnam	900

Source: Setiawan et al., 2016

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of Securitization of Gas Sector Energy Issues

Before evaluating Indonesia's policy in the Trans-ASEAN Trans-ASEAN Gas Pipeline (TAGP) Mega Pipeline project, the author considers it necessary to analyze whether the energy issue of the gas sector can be categorized as a securitized issue or even desecularization in non-traditional security. This analysis will be operationalized using the securitization analysis indicators proposed by Caballero-Anthony & Cook (2013).

Area or Scope of Issues

There is a consensus process among actors stating that the issue of vulnerability in the natural gas sector can be a threat to energy security. Both the government and non-state actors are aware of the need to change the direction of policies related to the energy sector (including gas) from an exploratory nature and prioritizing state revenue through exports, to an efficient and sustainable management nature to meet domestic needs. If this is not done, Indonesia will be threatened to become an importer of gas as final energy even though it has abundant natural gas reserves.

The TAGP policy is a form of securitization by institutionalizing the regional level. This policy has been agreed upon by ASEAN members as part of the ASEAN Vision 2020. The basis of this policy is the fact that regional gas potentials have not been optimally utilized to meet regional needs amid the risk of being targeted by other countries' energy markets with great interest in the potential of the gas sector in the ASEAN region. For this reason, this policy aims to secure the supply, transportation, and distribution of gas across regional borders (Roberts & Cull, 2003).

Actors Securitizing: Identity which actors are securitizing. Is the State the dominant actor, and are the interests of marginalized groups voiced in the discussion of this issue?

The state is still the dominant securitization actor because it is closely related to regulation-making. Ideally, the interests of marginalized groups are guaranteed by the state, although in practice the implementation is not as simple as the level of idea/policy text. Non-state actors can securitize by raising this issue to a level above the state (boomerang effect). In regional, ASEAN is an actor carrying out securitization at the regional level followed by its member countries at the national level.

The concept of securitization: Identity what/who is a threat and who is the object that is threatened. What is the interaction between actors and possible contestation between them?

What is threatened is national security (any object that is under state sovereignty, including individuals/communities). The interaction between state and non-state actors may lead to contestation if there are interests at the individual/community level being sacrificed in the name of national interests. Besides, the regional security of ASEAN is threatened, which the ASEAN community/public is part of. Opportunities and challenges of contestation in the TAGP project will be related to the principle of non-intervention sovereignty among its members.

Process: The importance of a speech act in securitization. This applies to both government elites and non-state and international actors.

The state, through the President and his staff, has carried out a speech act that shows that the natural gas sector is important in securitization by announcing to the public any new policies that have been produced, such as those carried out in the kerosene to LPG conversion policy, the gas price regulation policy, or the gas import policy by industry.

The speech acts at the ASEAN level are carried out by the Heads of Government of ASEAN member countries and their staff (Ministers and/or Ministerial representatives) through regional and global meetings as a statement that ASEAN is committed to building energy security in its region, one of which is through TAGP. The speech acts at the elite level become the basis for non-state actors (industry, academics/epistemic community, NGOs) in their speech acts to their respective authorities.

Another variable to analyze the Securitization of Gas Sector Energy Issues with the Intervening variables, the factors that affect the level of securitization/desecuritization, which consist of:

1. Another interplay of security concepts, the issue of vulnerability in the gas sector does not only involve national and regional security but also affects individual security and global security where both Indonesia and ASEAN are one of the largest storage areas for natural gas reserves in the world, disruption to these reserves will hurt energy security at the global level.
2. Linkage issue; The ability of the Indonesian Government in this matter is still limited to finding and predicting obstacles or challenges from implementing policies, knowing and finding options that can be solutions, but not responsive enough in resolving them, also in regional capability, which ASEAN's ability is also still limited by finding obstacles and predicting solution options, while the response to completion in the field is still not optimal. The majority of findings of policy constraints/challenges are still produced by the epistemic community as input for the country and ASEAN.
3. The role of stakeholders, industry, and civil society, especially the epistemic community, is quite persuasive in encouraging countries or ASEAN to produce policy instruments that can advance energy security in the gas sector. TAGP is one result of the role of these various stakeholders. However, the network between stakeholders remains dominated by the state
4. The domestic political system, and government policies in TAGP have not been followed by other policies that can support TAGP practices in meeting domestic needs, or policies already exist but their implementation is not yet running or not optimal. Such as the readiness of supporting TAGP infrastructure in the territory of Indonesia, the readiness of the community in areas where infrastructure is built, the policy of preparing the community (education) to save energy and not depend on fuel (utilizing alternative energy sources using gas or renewable energy).

The TAGP master plan contains the division of tasks and authorities for each country related to the technicality of the work through a technical arrangement. However, ASEAN will still face obstacles related to the domestic political system in the form of sovereignty issues (TAC principles) which could trigger possible diplomatic tensions. This problem requires a protection instrument for each element of the TAGP builder and manager to keep it running according to its initial mission.

This instrument can be provided through regulation, and the sustainability of regulation will require a leader (especially at the domestic level of member countries) who can maintain the sustainability of the TAGP project as well as the idea of securing regional energy in general (Sovacool, 2009a).

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that both Indonesia and ASEAN have carried out a process of securitization of the issue of energy security in the gas sector as a national and regional security issue that can affect energy security conditions (national, regional and global). However, in the securitization analysis conducted by the author, both the

Indonesian and ASEAN governments have not succeeded in responding to intervening variables, especially in terms of issue linkage and the domestic political system. Errors or negligence in anticipating these two things could potentially make the TAGP project merely sell the idea of 'easy and cheap energy access across ASEAN regional borders', but in practice, it underestimates the governance and construction that should pay attention to aspects of gas availability, gas affordability, gas efficiency, and environmental and social management (Sovacool, 2009b).

The vacancy anticipation of the intervening variable also shows that the securitization undertaken is still dominated by traditional security perspectives, even though it is transboundary, which is one of the characteristics of non-traditional security, but the response to various complexities of other non-traditional security issues (environment, health, demographics, involvement of non-state armed actors such as terrorist and separatist groups) and issue linkages have not been fulfilled. In this case, the authors argue that a non-traditional security issue that only responds with traditional perspectives risks failing to realize good security governance. Thus, both Indonesia and ASEAN must comprehensively involve both perspectives in the development and management of the TAGP project. at the domestic and regional level.

A country's policy on the issue of energy security often considers two main factors, namely internal and external. Internal is related to the interests of the national economy and the fulfillment of domestic market needs so that a variety of ways will be done both to explore domestic sources and import from foreign countries. While externally related to the security conditions and global energy markets that can be influenced by other countries policies. So, then that these two become important.

In the context of Indonesia, economic growth and population are increasingly pushing the government to provide affordable and sustainable energy needs. Currently, Indonesia is still dependent on the use of imported petroleum as an energy source, this dependency is very vulnerable if there is turmoil in the global market, therefore it is necessary diversification of energy by utilizing natural gas resources which are quite abundant in the country. But an interesting fact is Indonesia's natural gas production is still very slow, the demand between supply and demand is not balanced. TAGP) as an alternative to meeting domestic and regional gas management.

Furthermore, to analyze natural gas governance policies in Indonesia through the Trans ASEAN Gas Pipeline, this study will use a policy analysis from Caballero Anthony. Caballero explained that a non-traditional security policy can be analyzed using the following indicators (Caballero-Anthony & Cook, 2013).

Indonesian Energy Policy Analysis – Gas Sector

1. Participation. The involvement of actors who have legitimacy and capacity in policymaking. In the process of making natural gas governance policies in Indonesia, the actors involved are state agencies such as relevant ministries (Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, Trade, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Transportation, Economy, etc.), agencies below the level, and below ministries (National Energy Council, Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology, National Development Agency, SKK Migas, and BPH Migas), State-Owned Enterprises (Perusahaan Gas Negara, Pertamina, State Fertilizer Company, and State Electricity Company) (Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral Republik Indonesia, 2014).

   Based on the above facts, it can be understood that the policies for the use and management of natural gas in Indonesia are dominated by the state as policymakers, and the participation of

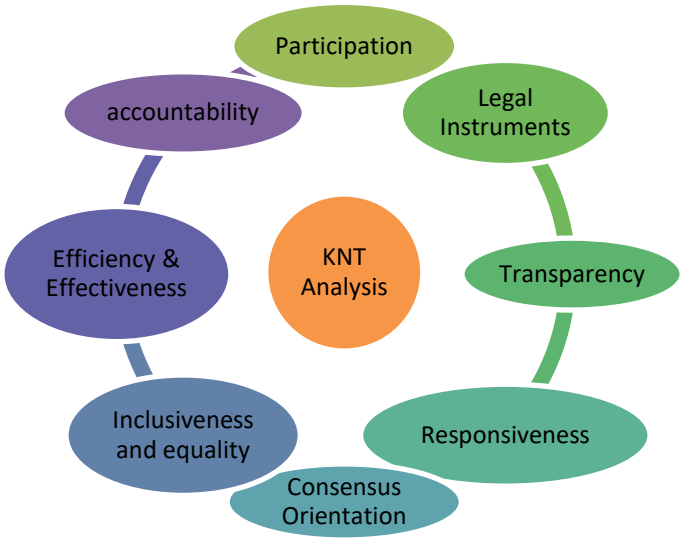


Figure 3. The Non-Traditional Security Policy Evaluation Approach
Source: Caballero-Anthony & Cook, 2013

non-state actors is still minimal as a source of information. In the formulation of the Trans ASEAN Gas Pipeline (TAGP) policy, the actors involved are various, not only the main actor but also participating in other actors such as multinational companies, banks, and financial organizations, as well as regional organizations such as ASEAN and ASCOPE (Sovacool, 2010).

The diversity of actors in the formulation of the TAGP shows that energy security is an issue of concern for all ASEAN member countries, therefore good governance is needed. In the context of Indonesia's interests, TAGP is expected to be a way to create sustainable energy security.

2. Policy regulation. Fair regulations that accommodate the interests of various parties. The regulations that form the basis of policy formulation are the laws formulated by the relevant ministries. Examples of these regulations are PP No. 42 of 2020 concerning the Executive Agency for Upstream Oil and Gas Business Activities, PP No. 42 of 2020 concerning the Executive Agency for Upstream Oil and Gas Business Activities, Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas, Law No. 3 of 2002 concerning State Resilience, ESDM Ministry Regulation No. 3 of 2010 which explains that natural gas security must be utilized and managed.

Based on the above regulations, the formulation of natural gas governance policies in Indonesia has taken into account the interests and relationships of various parties, ranging from the state as the main regulator, multinational companies as investors, and other cooperative actors that support natural gas governance in Indonesia. In these government regulations, it is also possible to work with other parties in the scope of bilateral and multilateral energy management.

The TAGP governance policy regulations can be seen in the Memorandum of Understanding on the Trans ASEAN Gas Pipeline and the Master Plan of TAGP. The master plan itself continues to be upgraded periodically from time to time according to the development of TAGP. In these documents, it is explained in general the regulations that must be owned by each stakeholder involved in TAGP cooperation.

Based on the facts that have been found, the regulations regarding natural

gas governance policies are still general. Each country has the flexibility to determine its regulations between the state and other stakeholders in the domestic context

3. Transparency. Openness in the policy-making process, so it can be seen how the policy was made and who contributed. Regarding the transparency of the making and implementation of Indonesia's natural gas governance policies, it can be seen through reports from related agencies, such as the National Natural Gas Policy Map Report issued by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, Indonesia's Energy Outlook reported by the Secretariat General of the Energy Council National.

   These reports show the conditions, efforts, projections, and challenges faced in natural gas governance in Indonesia. Based on the above facts, the transparency of the formulation and implementation of policies on the utilization and management of Indonesian natural gas is quite open, it can be seen through documents provided by relevant agencies and academic studies.

   The process of policymaking and implementation of TAGP is still ongoing, infrastructure development is still ongoing in various countries, and each country has its targets that must be achieved by the capabilities of the country. Documents related to the policymaking process and TAGP implementation can be accessed from the official ASEAN website, ASCOPE, ASEAN for Energy Center, etc.
4. Responsiveness. The ability of an institution to respond to all issues related to policies. Natural gas governance policies in Indonesia are held by government agencies. These policies are made based on internal and external considerations. In the management of natural gas, Indonesia can be said to be late in utilizing it as alternative energy, whereas in Law No. 3/2010 the basic principle of using natural gas is to fulfill domestic needs, however, this system is still often used as an export commodity.

   The TAGP policy is a cross-national policy and involves many stakeholders. Responding to the dynamics of regional and global energy security is progressing slowly. For example, in response to the fact that ASEAN's economic and population growth is increasing, ASEAN countries are still slow in implementing TAGP policies in terms of regulatory, financial, and infrastructure development.
5. The consensus in the Policy-Making Process. The policy-making process involves a wide variety of stakeholders and is decided by consensus. The formulation of natural gas governance policies in Indonesia, as previously stated, is still very much centered on the government, so the consensus that occurs is only among state institutions and companies. The role of stakeholders is still limited in decision makings, such as NGOs and multinational companies. They only function as informants and considerations in policymaking.

   The decision-making and policy-making process in TAGP involves a wide variety of stakeholders, ASEAN countries, in general, have influence, especially countries that have the largest natural gas reserves, such as Indonesia, Thailand, and Myanmar. Others include multinational companies, banks and financial organizations, and regional organizations of ASEAN and ASCOPE.
6. Justice and Inclusion. Opportunities for all people to contribute to the policy-making process and have equal access. Sustainable natural gas management requires contributions from various parties because it covers various aspects of life. The Indonesian government tends to be exclusive in policy-making, but regarding information and advice, Indonesia considers various parties such as multinational companies, researchers, professionals, and environmental NGOs.

All stakeholders involved in TAGP have equal opportunities in the policymaking process TAGP. As a large megaproject, that crosses national borders, and requires a lot of finance, ASEAN countries are open to opening access for all parties who want to contribute to the TAGP cooperation, so that it is hoped that sustainable natural gas governance can be realized.

7. Effectiveness and Efficiency. The ability of policymakers to utilize the available resources. Natural gas governance policies in Indonesia can be said to be less effective and efficient, this can be seen from the slow development of infrastructure, and in the end, it has an impact on production and distribution to industries and communities in need. Effectiveness and efficiency are very important because they will affect the economic growth and socio-political life of the community.

   Regional natural gas governance through TAGP can be said to be running slowly, even though this program was first discussed in 1988, but only started in 2002. Until now, the development of infrastructure development has not been maximized. This is due to the complexity of the project itself which involves many stakeholders, making it prone to conflicts of interest.
8. Accountability. Policymakers are actors who have capability, and responsibility and can be trusted. The actors involved in the formulation and implementation of natural gas governance policies in Indonesia are competent and accountable because they are state agencies, institutions, and companies that directly become the main motor of natural gas governance in Indonesia.

Natural gas governance through the TAGP collaboration is formed from the thoughts and agreements of various stakeholders, not only ASEAN countries but multinational companies, national companies, banks, and financial organizations that have accountability in energy governance, but accountability can be disrupted due to interests - interests that these stakeholders want to achieve. Based on the above analysis, there are several weaknesses and advantages of Indonesian policies in the energy management of the gas sector both in policy formulation and cooperation through TAGP. Related to the weaknesses and strengths of Indonesia's domestic policy, a visible weakness in the direction of Indonesia's policy is that prioritizes gas as an export commodity, even though it should be by the regulation of the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources.

This must be changed immediately to reduce dependence on oil imports. Secondly, in practice Indonesia is still constrained by infrastructure development, this is due to Indonesia's geographical conditions which cause difficulties in exploration and distribution. While the advantage is that regulations owned by the government are quite comprehensive in facilitating gas sector energy management, the problem is that the implementation of policies in the field has not been maximized. Furthermore, Indonesia's policy advantage in TAGP cooperation is to integrate the regional gas market, so that Indonesia can import natural gas at low and affordable prices. Collaboration can be an energy diversification solution to meet Indonesia's domestic needs. Then what needs to be stressed is that TAGP is not a container or network for exporting natural gas but rather a system that will sustain Indonesia's growing and developing energy needs. While the weakness is that the involvement of diverse actors raises different interests, it is feared that in the future disputes or differences in views can disrupt ASEAN regional stability.

In addition, regulations related to TAGP are still few and too common, so they are prone to abuse and irregularities. Therefore, TAGP cooperation can benefit Indonesia, on the other hand, it also creates obstacles and challenges that must be resolved.

Indonesia must be able to oversee and ensure TAGP runs according to the agreement and can benefit the ASEAN community in general and Indonesia in particular.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

After analyzing and evaluating the energy policy of the natural gas sector at the national and regional levels through the TAGP framework, the authors can conclude that the effectiveness of the policy cannot be assessed optimally when compared to the desired achievement targets, namely the guaranteed stability of natural gas energy security at the national level and regional, both in terms of availability, distribution, and affordability. Therefore, the following authors provide several recommendations related to the formulation and implementation of Indonesian policies in the TAGP collaboration;

Recommended Level of Discourse

This study considers the issue of energy as an issue that is often associated with security issues - but the studies that there is only a little literature that discusses energy security conceptually and theoretically. Almost most of the developing literature tends to describe in terms of practical level or from the perspective of the taker's policy (securitization actor). The study found that the security study to the energy issue experienced delays in terms of assessment - so it is not uncommon for policies to be present or formed as biases from policies outside of energy itself. The literature in exploring the relationship between energy and security conceptually seems minimal.

The term security that is linked to the issue of energy needs to be reviewed because energy is the security of everything and depends on its context, even this issue is often aligned with a geopolitical orientation. The author offers a desecuritization effort on aspects beyond the evolving definition - that the energy issue is too far analyzed - but in security studies it is considered new. Dececuritization in this case can be interpreted as an exceptional security issue that becomes the normal political sphere. For example, in integrated development related to energy sustainability by involving the technological dimension - it is left to the authority of his thinking or efficiency aspects-this should not be included in security studies, but remains an arena of academics who are concerned in the field of energy efficiency. In addition, efforts to expand the discourse through the involvement of full participation not only between the state, and business groups, but civil society such as epistemic groups in the transnational dimension.

Recommendations at the Domestic Policy Level

1. Indonesia's gas sector policy is still oriented towards export commodities. The Indonesian government should change this orientation into a strategic commodity. The impact of energy security is not related to economic issues but will have an impact on other aspects such as politics, a social, environment which will ultimately have an impact on national security.
2. The government of Indonesia needs to ensure and adjust gas sector policy regulations with practice and implementation in the field. This mismatch is reflected in the making of policies that tend to be oriented towards export markets rather than domestic consumption.
3. The Indonesian government needs to recalculate the roles of other actors besides government agencies such as the community epistemic, non-governmental organizations, and national companies that are directly involved in the energy sector.
4. The Indonesian government must increase infrastructure development because this will ultimately affect

exploration, production, distribution, and transportation to the community.

Recommendations at the Regional Policy Level

1. TAGP policy is a policy that has been discussed and planned but was only agreed upon in 2002. This shows that TAGP is a requirement for the interests of stakeholders. Therefore, the policy implementation process must be monitored by all parties, including the state, NGOs, civil society, and other actors.
2. Today, regulations regarding TAGP are still very limited and do not cover technical matters. Therefore, regional organizations such as ASCOPE must play their role more effectively for implementation to be effective
3. TAGP policy is a megaproject that requires a large number of funds; therefore, all ASEAN countries must be able to ensure investment in infrastructure development continues to run well. In addition to policies related to capital withdrawal, it must also be prepared as early as possible because it will affect the achievements and targets set in the TAGP master plan
4. Regarding market control, the collaboration between all stakeholders is needed so that future disputes can be reduced and avoided
5. ASEAN which prioritizes consensus in making decisions will have an impact on responses to situations that will be faced. This must be taken into account by all stakeholders because energy security is easily affected by global markets
6. Openness and transparency are often problems in the issue of energy security because energy is one of the fields of profit for stakeholders. The presence of regional leaders who can control and have bargaining power among stakeholders is needed. Here the role of ASCOPE is needed.
7. Regarding infrastructure development, attention is needed to environmental issues, because the role of NGOs is needed to provide information regarding environmental conditions and conditions that will be used
8. In addition to the threats coming from the region itself, it is important to pay attention to all policymakers, especially ASEAN countries, the response from foreign countries, because indirectly when the regional gas market has formed, the consumption of ASEAN countries on imports will decrease. This needs to be examined more closely so that market conditions occur to the expectations of the ASEAN community.

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