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# The Dilemma of Asylum Seekers in Indonesia: Between National Security and Human Security

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***Abstract***
*This paper aims to examine Indonesia's attitude towards refugees from several countries. This phenomenon is interesting because it is seen from Indonesia's attitude that does not ratify the international immigrant convention, on the other hand Indonesia is trying to fulfill international norms related to human rights. This paper uses the conceptual/theoretical framework of national security and human security. The method used in this paper is a qualitative method with a literature study approach. Indonesia has no obligation to accept immigrants under the international immigrant convention. However, Indonesia chooses to accept immigrants from some countries based on the value of human rights. Thus, Indonesia's prioritization between national security and human security of refugees should prioritize national security if it is threatened by the arrival of immigrants from several countries. The hypothesis in this paper is that the priority level of national security and human security can be determined based on the urgency of the threat to the intended security object. Furthermore, this paper tries to position the state in the implementation of human security.*
***Keywords*****:** *Immigrants, National Security, Human Security, Indonesia*

**Abstrak**
Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji sikap Indonesia terhadap pengungsi dari beberapa negara. Fenomena ini menarik karena terlihat dari sikap Indonesia yang tidak meratifikasi konvensi imigran internasional, di sisi lain Indonesia berupaya memenuhi norma-norma internasional terkait hak asasi manusia. Tulisan ini menggunakan kerangka konseptual/teoritis keamanan nasional dan keamanan manusia. Metode yang digunakan dalam tulisan ini adalah metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi pustaka. Indonesia tidak memiliki kewajiban untuk menerima imigran berdasarkan konvensi imigran internasional. Akan tetapi, Indonesia memilih untuk menerima imigran dari beberapa negara berdasarkan nilai hak asasi manusia. Dengan demikian, prioritas Indonesia antara keamanan nasional dan keamanan manusia pengungsi seharusnya lebih mengutamakan keamanan nasional jika terancam oleh kedatangan imigran dari beberapa negara. Hipotesis dalam tulisan ini adalah bahwa tingkat prioritas keamanan nasional dan keamanan manusia dapat ditentukan berdasarkan urgensi ancaman terhadap objek keamanan yang dituju. Lebih jauh, tulisan ini mencoba memposisikan negara dalam implementasi keamanan manusia.
**Kata Kunci:** *Imigran, Keamanan Nasional, Keamanan Manusia, Indonesia*

**Introduction**

The immigrant phenomenon is an interesting thing to study in the perspective of International Relations. This refers to several phenomena that occur, especially in transit countries that receive refugees or asylum seekers. In the perspective of International Relations, the immigrant phenomenon can be studied in various perspectives such as National Security, Human Rights, Transnationalism Studies, Human Security, and others. In addition, the immigrant phenomenon also produces several different impacts on various countries. This impact can be seen from the political aspect to the socio-cultural aspect.

In this paper, we will focus more on individuals with refugee and *asylum seeker* status. Referring to UNHCR data, the number of individuals who have to leave their countries due to various forms of violence is estimated at 117.3 million people by the end of 2023. Then, it is estimated to increase in 2024 to 120 million people. As for the total number, those who have refugee status by the end of 2023 are 43.4 million people globally. Meanwhile, 1.1 million people returned to their countries in 2023. According to UNHCR, the number of refugees has tripled over the past few years (UNHCR, 2024). In Indonesia, the total number of refugees is 12,295 people. Of this number, 29% are refugees in the category of children, of which 227 people who came alone or separated from their families. Of the total number, 48% came from Afghanistan, 16% from Myanmar, and 9% from Somalia (Rahayu et al., 2020)..This number shows that the level of *emergency* refugees is quite high and must be responded to in accordance with humanitarian values.

The 1967 Protocol which is a continuation of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (Rahayu et al., 2020). This international agreement is a reference and legal umbrella for immigrants seeking asylum to obtain legality for their status of existence. However, the problem is that some countries do not ratify the convention. In particular, transit countries have not ratified the convention. Indonesia is one of these countries including Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and several other countries. Therefore, under international law referring to the convention, there is no obligation for Indonesia to accept incoming asylum-seeking immigrants. However, on the other hand, Indonesia has an obligation to implement the law based on the *Universal Human Rights Declaration* in guaranteeing the basic human rights of every asylum seeker who arrives (Pramesti et al., 2023) This is then derived in national regulations in Presidential Regulation Number 125 of 2016. The regulation specifically regulates the status and legal enforcement of asylum seekers and refugees who enter Indonesia.

There are several writings that examine the issue of refugees and asylum seekers that also provide diverse perspectives. The studies have two broad categories, namely Human Rights and National Security. In the Human Rights perspective category, there is an article entitled Protection of Human Rights of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Indonesia written by Rahayu and friends, which states that the fulfillment of Human Rights of asylum seekers and refugees in Indonesia has different conditions. This is influenced by the procedures implemented in Indonesia regarding the refugee status of asylum seekers. In refugee protection, Indonesia refers to the regulation of Presidential Regulation 125/2016. Meanwhile, the determination of refugee status for asylum seekers is decided by UNHCR. This is because Indonesia has not yet ratified the 1951 Convention on Refugees (Rahayu et al., 2020). Having the same perspective regarding the fulfillment of human rights, a paper entitled Challenges and Prospects for Legal Protection and Human Rights for Rohingya Refugees in Indonesia from a Community Perspective. This paper has the view that the presence of Rohingya refugees in Indonesia has experienced several challenges, especially in the social aspect. These challenges are reflected in the acceptance of the surrounding community regarding the placement of Rohingya refugees in several areas. However, the truth is that their emergence is not completely rejected but most of them also accept. Thus, the role of the media in informing this matter is important to shape the perception of the wider community. Therefore, the fulfillment of the Human Rights of refugees from Rohingya requires further touches from policy makers to take more contextual actions and support broader social aspects in maintaining and fulfilling the value of the Human Rights of refugees in Indonesia (Bintarawati, 2023).When referring to the two writings above, the fulfillment of the Human Rights of refugees in Indonesia can be carried out and realized by coordinating between the government aspect in the application of applicable laws and the social aspect in realizing acceptance by the community where the refugees are located.

A different view regarding the existence of refugees in Indonesia is presented in the article entitled The Position of Taliban Refugees in Indonesia. The article explains that the principle of *non-refoulment* is not an obligation for Indonesia. However, as a transit country, Indonesia should maintain the humanitarian aspects of every incoming refugee. Referring to the law relating to the fulfillment of human rights in the Universal Human Rights Declaration. Thus, in the context of refusing refugees by Indonesia, it can actually be done if it poses a threat to national security (Brilianto et al., 2022). This has the same perspective as the article entitled *Contrasting Humanitarian and Security Consideration in Refugee Protection in Indonesia*. The article

states that the presence of refugees in Indonesia has various consequences from all aspects. Such as economic, social, and political aspects which are derivative aspects of national security. This is the basis that under international law Indonesia has no obligation to accept asylum seekers who come. But from the humanitarian aspect, Indonesia can continue to help uphold humanitarian values. This contribution can be seen by controlling asylum seekers who come as transit countries before they proceed to their destination countries (Puspasari and Handayani, 2024).

From these various perspectives, this paper attempts to examine the phenomenon of refugees and asylum seekers by comparing human security and national security. This is due to the different perspectives in assessing the presence of refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesia from both perspectives. Thus, this paper tries to prioritize policies when there are two phenomena with certain urgency. In addition, determining the state's position is also important in understanding and facilitating to realize ideal conditions in the context of human security. Therefore, this paper will use the conceptual framework of national security and human security in understanding the refugee phenomenon in Indonesia.

**Theoretical Approach**

By definition, national security is understood as a form of sovereignty that must be guarded against physical threats coming from outside its territory. In social studies, understanding the context of national security in several aspects. First, national security is a concept that shows the existence of a state as a political community, existence as a nation, and physical defense of its population. Second, the protection of territory as a form of basic rights of a state. Third, maintaining the independence of a region as a form of recognition of the sovereignty of the country. Fourth, ensuring the quality of social life of its population. Fifth, maintaining and harmonizing the main concept of national interest as the goal of national security (Grizzold, 1994). The concept of National Security is a concept that has diverse meanings in the development of security studies and international relations. The development of the definition and scope of national security is influenced by the development of actors and the phenomenon of international relations. Thus, understanding national security requires further understanding in the implementation of certain situations.

In a different perspective, national security is defined as a complex concept in describing the relationship between political, economic, social, ideological aspects, internal and external factors in realizing the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and existence of a country's territory. In line with Hewedy, national security is a state

activity that harmonizes with its national capabilities based on global phenomena with the aim of integrity, security, and existence of the state (Grizzold, 1994).. In the context of actors, the state is an actor with a certain area of sovereignty in carrying out economic activities through policy authority that is prioritized on protection from incoming threats. This gives the view that the concept of national security is the main object of a state when compared to other aspects (Sussex, 2022). The definition of national security with a protective perspective on physical territorial aspects needs to be defined more broadly. This is in consideration of global phenomena that involve non-state actors and produce phenomena that are not only territorial in nature.

When referring to the definition of national security, some literature defines it as a concept that focuses on the territorial, sovereignty and independence aspects of a country. This definition will refer to protection with militaristic instruments of national power. However, the development of global and domestic phenomena brings the notion of national security that must be achieved not only by military force. However, there are several aspects that refer to non-militaristic approaches, especially in social and individual aspects. This then triggers the meaning of national security to prioritize individual aspects. Or trying to shift the *referent object* from the state to the individual (society). The development of this study is then known as the *human security* approach. Which tries to identify specifically related to potential threats and threatened objects.

This concept is something that arises due to the expansion or even shifting meaning in understanding security. The shift of the *referent* object1 from the state to the individual makes the understanding of security grow. As said by Buzan, when you want to achieve national security, you must start by protecting the basic rights of human beings from threats. If human security is achieved, national security will also be achieved. However, if national security with a territorial understanding is prioritized, human security may not be achieved (Buzzan et al., 1998). This concept was developed by the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) in 1994 to develop an understanding of security that is not dominated by a *state-centric* perspective. Thus, the emergence of the concept of human security tries to shift the *referent object of* security to individual security. However, the shifting of the referent object does not mean eliminating territorial sources of threats but rather trying to add non-territorial aspects. Thus, the definition of human security can be seen in two major aspects, namely *"freedom from fear"* and *"freedom from want"*. These two broad aspects are related to understanding human security from a "narrow" aspect and a "broad" aspect (Peoples & Williams, 2014).

"*Freedom from Fear*" is defined as the condition of individuals who must be free from fear caused by conflict or war that endangers their lives. Meanwhile, "*Freedom from Wants*" is defined as the condition of individuals who are able to meet and fulfill the basic needs of their lives. This includes the aspect of access to these basic needs such as health and education (Peoples & Williams, 2014). Thus, the notion of human security refers more to the protection of the basic rights of a human being from threats that endanger them (Shepherd, 2013). It is clear from this definition that security in its "narrow" sense refers to the traditional understanding of security. Whereas, in a broader aspect, it refers to a non-traditional understanding of security.

UNDP 1994 then divided human security into seven basic aspects of human needs. These seven aspects include personal security, economic security, health security, environmental security, food security, group security and political security. These aspects are interrelated with each other (United Nation Trust Fund for Human Security, 2016).

The connection is seen in that one threat phenomenon can have an impact on more than one aspect of security. Thus, in determining priority objects to be secured requires a securitization process that is very subjective in understanding the security. This securitization process was introduced by Buzan in his book Security: A new Analysis Framework. Securitization, according to Buzan, is an effort to make a phenomenon that was previously not a security issue into a security issue and needs to be dealt with further. Thus, the securitization process requires an understanding of the "*existential threat*". In the definition presented by Buzan, *existential threat* is a phenomenon that poses a direct danger to the secured object and requires *emergency* action to handle it. Furthermore, this process requires a broader understanding for the community in realizing this form of threat (Buzzan, 1998). Indirectly, this statement explains that the securitization process is a process of prioritizing the aspects to be secured through an understanding of the form of threat faced.

In this paper, we will focus on the aspects of personal security, group security, and political security for refugees in Indonesia. When referring to personal security, the potentially threatening phenomena are all forms of physical violence against refugees such as *human trafficking* and child labor. Group security has potentially threatening phenomena such as identity conflicts, crime, and terrorism. Meanwhile, the political security aspect has threatening phenomena such as political discrimination, human rights violations, and legal injustice (United Nation Trust Fund for Human Security, 2016). The determination of these aspects is based on the consideration of the dominant aspects studied in the urgency of refugees in transit countries.

This paper attempts to examine the refugee phenomenon from the aspects of national security and human security. The concept of national security is used to measure the refugee phenomenon as a threat to national security. Meanwhile, human security is used to measure the level of security of individual refugees in transit countries, especially Indonesia. From these two concepts, a comparison of the threat phenomenon between refugees as a threat to national security and the security of individual refugees in transit countries is made. The comparison of the level of urgency between the two phenomena will then produce a form of policy priorities that should be taken in dealing with the refugee phenomenon in Indonesia. This paper hypothesizes that the refugee phenomenon in Indonesia is not a threat to national security. However, it has the potential to become a threat to national security if it is not regulated with a good mechanism. Conversely, the security of individual refugees is not threatened in the political, personal, and group aspects in Indonesia with the foundation of refugee protection as stipulated in Presidential Regulation 125 of 2016. If refugees are a threat to national security, then Indonesia should prioritize national security policies with consideration of social aspects which are part of national security with a broader definition.

## Methods

### The Refugee Phenomenon in the Context of International Relations

Within the concept of migration, there are several concepts with different definitions in understanding the status of each individual. Some of these include the status of immigrants, refugees, and *asylum seekers*. Immigrants by definition according to Amnesty International are individuals who choose to leave their country due to several aspects. Factors that drive immigrants include finding work, discrimination, poverty, and acts of violence. Furthermore, a refugee is an individual who leaves their country due to acts of violence and whose life is threatened in their country. Refugees have the right to international protection. *As for* the concept of *an asylum seeker*, it is an individual who has left their country due to violence and whose life is threatened but does not yet have legal status as a refugee. Thus, it sometimes takes time with certain procedures until they get refugee status legally/officially (Amnesty International, 2024). It is necessary to be able to distinguish between these three concepts in understanding the displacement of individuals based on the status and reasons faced by each individual.

When looking at this definition, migration is a more general concept when compared to refugees and asylum seekers. Immigrant is a condition of individuals outside the country that is divided into two types, namely legal and illegal. They are

said to be legal when they have permits, documents, and follow the procedures of the country of origin and destination. In this case, refugees are one of the categories of legal immigrants. Whereas illegal refers to the condition of not having permits, documents, and not going through the proper procedures. In this case, asylum seekers are one of the categories of illegal immigrants. Although in the end, the goal of asylum seekers is to obtain legal refugee status from the destination country.
In the context of international relations, the phenomenon of migration and specifically refugees have occurred since long ago. Especially in the phenomenon of the first World War which gave rise to a high number of refugees. This number was caused by the conditions they experienced due to the war. Thus, every individual and group must leave the war area to seek protection in an area that is considered safer Click or tap here to enter text.. This is then growing in number due to the phenomenon of conflict that continues to develop in several regions. Thus, the phenomenon of refugees is an object of writing in the study of International Relations seen from the phenomenon of movement across state territories and also as a result of wars that occur between countries.

The development of the refugee phenomenon and the number internationally is also shown based on data submitted by the *International Organization of Migration* (IOM). According to IOM, the number of refugees globally is 35.3 million which is divided into two organizations. Those under the mandate of UNHCR are 29.4 million people and under the mandate of the *United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees* (UNRWA) are 5.9 million people. This will continue to grow given the high number of asylum seekers in 2022 at 2.9 million. This number is still waiting for refugee status and waiting for acceptance status from the destination country. The country with the highest number of destinations for asylum seekers is the United States with 730,000 requests, followed by Germany with 217,800 requests (IOM UN Migrations, 2024).

Of this total, there are several countries with a high number of refugees. For example, Syria, Ukraine, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar, Congo, Sudan, and Somalia. The number of refugees from these countries makes up 87% of the total refugees globally in 2022. Some of the countries mentioned are countries with refugees from previous years such as Syria, South Sudan, and Sudan. Meanwhile, Ukraine is the second largest refugee origin country after Syria in 2022. This is due to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. The conflict resulted in approximately 5.7 million people who had to leave the region to seek asylum and protection. Of these, 27.000 people were categorized as refugees in 2022. On the other hand, there are several countries with a large number of refugees in the destination or recipient

category. Some of these countries such as Turkey with 3.6 million are dominated by refugees from Syria. Then Pakistan with 1.7 million and Iran with 3.4 million, dominated by refugees from Afghanistan. Aside from these countries, there are Uganda, Russia, Germany, Sudan, Poland, and Bangladesh (IOM UN Migrations, 2024).

From this number, it explains that the phenomenon of refugees occurs due to the phenomenon of internal conflict and conflict between regions. The spread of refugees then brings each individual to seek asylum and protection to the nearest area. This is due to the condition of refugees who must leave by force and with the fastest time. Thus, the closest region then becomes a stopover target or destination country. This is interesting when viewed from the willingness of transit and destination countries to accept incoming refugees. Because when referring to the 1957 Convention, the destination country is based on the country that ratified the agreement. Meanwhile, transit countries are dominated by developing countries that have areas bordering or adjacent to conflict areas. The condition of refugees in transit countries and the social dynamics in the region are phenomena that produce new debates in dealing with refugees. The debate is seen from the level of priority between national security and human security.

Some of the dynamics of refugee problems in host countries pose a real threat to host communities. Conflicts that occur in some regions can migrate to other regions brought by refugees fleeing from those regions. For example, what happens in some host countries or refugee destination countries in Africa results in the displacement of conflicts between the ruling government and rebel groups. This phenomenon is more prevalent especially in border areas such as Guinea (from Sierra Leone), Zambia (from Angola), Tanzania (from Burundi), and Uganda (from Sudan). The form of threat that comes later is caused by physical violence sent by the government of the country of origin to search for refugees who are categorized as rebels in their territory. Thus, there is an overlapping status of individuals coming from the region of origin as refugees and rebels. This is what will more or less bring the conflict to the destination region or other countries (Jacobsen, 2002).

From the statements of several phenomena and studies above, it explains that the refugee phenomenon cannot only be studied in one aspect. Discussions related to refugees are dominated by studies in the perspective of refugee protection and the fulfillment of refugees' basic rights. However, there are several phenomena that should be the focus, namely the problems that can arise with the arrival of refugees to transit and destination countries. Therefore, this paper tries to look at the refugee

phenomenon from the aspect of refugee human security without putting aside the aspect of national security.

**The Dynamics of Refugees in Indonesia**

The phenomenon of refugees in Indonesia is not a new thing, where Indonesia has received refugees from other countries starting in 1975. The arrival of refugees is dominated by refugees from Vietnam who use sea routes to enter Indonesia. The main factors that led to the emergence of these refugees were caused by conflicts and violence that occurred in their home countries. The mechanism for accepting refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesia is carried out in coordination with UNHCR. This is because Indonesia did not ratify the 1957 Convention or Protocol on refugee status (Setiyono, 2018) . This then led to several debates regarding Indonesia's position in dealing with the phenomenon of refugees who came. The arrival of refugees in Indonesia has a spread of placement areas at several points. Among others, such as in Aceh, Jabodetabek, Pontianak, and Makassar. The number of refugees in Indonesia if referring to UNHCR data as of 2023 is 12,295 people. The total number is divided into several categories based on the country of origin of the refugees:

**Table 1: Number of refugees in Indonesia by Country of Origin**

| Country of Origin | Number of Refugees |
|---|---|
| Rohingya | 1.752 |
| Afghanistan | 5.980 |
| Myanmar | 2.063 |
| Somalia | 1.170 |
| Iraq | 536 |
| Yemen | 449 |

Source: *https://www.unhcr.org/id/sekilas-data*

The handling of refugees in Indonesia is based on Presidential Regulation No. 125/2016 which is in accordance with the protection of the basic rights of refugees. This is an alternative step for Indonesia in handling refugees despite not ratifying the 1957 Convention related to refugees. Presidential Regulation 125/2016 regulates several matters regarding the existence of refugees in Indonesia.

**Table 2. Some Articles in Presidential Regulation 125/2016**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Article 2** | Explain the coordination of refugee handling involving states, and international organizations. |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Article 5** | Explaining the handling of refugees in emergency conditions in Indonesian waters is the authority of Indonesia. |
| **Article 9** | Explained the forms of assistance that Indonesia can provide to refugees such as medical assistance and temporary shelter in the IDC. |
| **Article 29** | Explains that the determination of asylum seeker status is determined by UNHCR and Indonesia has the right to take voluntary repatriation measures if it does not get refugee status. |

Source: *Presidential Regulation No. 125/2016*

In determining refugee status, asylum seekers are fully determined through a mechanism carried out by UNHCR. Meanwhile, Indonesia has the authority to temporarily accept refugees until it gets the approval of the destination country. This is then carried out based on Presidential Regulation Number 125 of 2016 which is explained in certain articles such as the table above. However, the implementation of the Presidential Regulation has certain challenges. Some of these challenges include the lack of access to education, employment, and education, and the health aspects of refugees (Ridhart, 2021). In this case, these basic aspects are aspects of basic needs for each individual. Thus, more comprehensive cooperation is needed between the government, international institutions, and social aspects in ensuring the fulfillment of the basic individual rights of a refugee in Indonesia.

Of the many refugee placement areas in Indonesia, there are three areas with a large number of refugees such as Jakarta, Aceh, and Makassar. This area is a temporary placement for refugees until they get certainty for departure to the destination country (Anggraini, 2022). This phenomenon has also resulted in several debates such as discrimination and negative stigma of the local community towards refugees (Bintarawati et al., 2023). In the aspect of legal policy, such as the lack of consistency in legal protection, inadequate national policies, and protection policies for vulnerable asylum seekers (children) (Ridart, 2021; Pratama et al., 2021; Kristianto, 2022). As for social aspects such as cultural and identity differences that often result in skepticism from local communities towards refugees. In local economic aspects such as refugees' economic uncertainty and limited resources create a threat perspective towards local communities (Syarifuddin et al., 2023). The dynamics of refugees in Indonesia experience ups and downs related to their acceptance and rejection. Some of these phenomena explain that the arrival of refugees in Indonesia is not only studied based on the aspect of refugee security protection. Rather, some things that need to be considered are the social impacts that

arise after receiving and placing refugees in Indonesia. Or in other words, the impact that can arise with the acceptance of refugees in Indonesia is multidimensional.

**Dilemmas of National Security and Human Security in Handling Refugees in Indonesia**

The phenomenon of refugees in Indonesia is categorized into several forms of community response to the arrival of refugees. Some of these responses include accepting refugees and rejecting refugees. Some forms of acceptance have been carried out by Indonesia since the 1970s, dominated by refugees from the Vietnam and Cambodia conflicts. Then Indonesia returned to accepting refugees on a temporary basis in 1996 due to the conflict in Afghanistan. This then continued in accepting refugees from Rohingya in 2009 until now (Farhanditya, 2024). This shows Indonesia's temporary acceptance of refugees, while waiting for departure to the destination country. This temporary acceptance is based on Indonesia's attitude that has not ratified the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol. Thus, Indonesia is not a destination country and is not obliged to accept any asylum seekers. Indonesia's attitude is widely interpreted as a form of responsibility in maintaining universal human values. Like the human values stated in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* where Indonesia is one of the countries that ratified the convention.

The form of acceptance by Indonesia can be interpreted as a form of realizing human security that is universally embraced. This form of human security is then addressed with an individual *referent object*, namely refugees. In this context, the human security of a refugee is threatened from the aspects of political violence, injustice, and group discrimination from their home country. This form of threat is caused by internal conflict factors, inter-state wars, and several violent acts that occur in their home countries. Due to the pressure of these conditions and phenomena, there is no choice for every victim but to leave the region to seek protection. There are several forms of protection that can be obtained, including applying for refugee status to the destination country or requesting temporary protection to a transit country. Indonesia, in this case, is a transit country that provides temporary protection to asylum seekers and refugees. This action can be analyzed with several aspects in the human security approach. First, putting the referent object on the individual aspect (UNHCR, 2024). Indonesia's attitude in accepting refugees is based on the aspect of protecting individuals from threats in their home countries. Second, the actions taken are collaborative with the connection of several actors (UNHCR, 2016). In this case, Indonesia coordinates with IOM and UNHCR in determining the status of asylum seekers and funding management procedures for refugees while in

Indonesia until departure to the destination country. Third, measures that are preventive or temporary handling (UNHCR, 2016). Indonesia provides temporary protection by issuing Presidential Regulation 125/2016 to protect the basic rights of refugees while they are in Indonesia.

In the context of rejection, the presence of refugees then began to get a different response than in previous years. The forms of rejection that are carried out also vary. As a response from the people of the region to the phenomenon of refugee arrivals. For example, the rejection that occurred in Jakarta at several points of the area (Andayani, 2019). The rejection that occurred in Jakarta was related to the placement of refugees in several housing estates. Thus, several groups protested against the placement. Another form of rejection occurred in Aceh against Rohingya refugees. The rejection that occurred in Aceh was one of the rejections that caught the attention of the Indonesian people. This rejection was carried out by several student groups who held demonstrations at several points in the Aceh region. The demands they conveyed were related to the presence of more and more refugees in the Aceh region. In addition, their demands also pointed to several forms of criminality brought by refugees such as human trafficking (Mahyuddin, 2023). Referring to criminal acts, several news reports stated that some forms of refugee criminality in Aceh include human smuggling, trafficking, and narcotics. Some of these actions were accumulated with a total of 17 cases from 2015-2023. Of the total number of cases involved 32 suspects who came from refugees (Yusma, 2023). Some other forms of expression were conveyed by installing rejection banners in certain areas. Some of the reasons given are related to the security and health sectors (Wijaya, 2017).

From a broader national security perspective, which includes aspects of social stability, the arrival of refugees is a factor of vulnerability to social stability in Indonesia. The *vulnerability* in question is in line with what Buzan said that vulnerable phenomena have a tendency to be between threatening and non-threatening. It will be non-threatening when preventive measures are taken. And it will be threatening when it is unable to be handled with preventive measures (Buzzan et al., 1998). From a traditional national security perspective, refugees entering Indonesia do not pose a threat because they do not have a significant impact on territorial violations and do not result in specific military attacks against Indonesia. The arrival of refugees in Indonesia goes through a procedure of screening by the Indonesian government in cooperation with UNHCR and IOM in determining the status of asylum seekers.

As for measuring the level of Indonesia's security priorities, it can be assessed from the securitization process carried out. According to Buzan, securitization is the

process of constructing a phenomenon that is considered capable of threatening the protected *referent object* (Buzzan et al., 1998). In the context of refugees, Indonesia did not ratify the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol. This can be seen in the aspect of prioritizing Indonesia's national security to prevent the phenomenon of refugees who are vulnerable to aspects of social stability. Furthermore, some forms of prevention carried out by Indonesia are by issuing Presidential Regulation 125/2016 related to the management mechanism of temporary refugees in Indonesia. This regulation serves to limit and legally protect the existence of refugees in Indonesia. The regulation explains that every refugee and asylum seeker in Indonesia will be legally bound under the Indonesian government. Thus, if there is an act of violation of the law by refugees, Indonesia has the right to take action under Indonesian national law. This is based on the principle of sovereignty and maintaining national security in the aspect of social stability.

When referring to the phenomenon of refugee acceptance and rejection in Indonesia, some actions can be categorized as a form of securitization. First, the rejection of refugees that occurred in several regions in Indonesia tried to construct a form of threat arising from the presence of refugees in Indonesia. However, this construction is still at the social level which is trying to be raised to the level of national policy. Second, Presidential Regulation 125/2016 is an attempt to create human security in the social aspect as well as in the refugee security aspect. From this, the author considers that Indonesia's actions towards national security do not mean that it must put aside the human security of refugees. In this context, the protection of national security will be prioritized over the human security of refugees, if national security experiences an *existential* threat from refugees. Some of the phenomena that occur as reasons for refusal are still in the *vulnerability* category. Thus, there are several alternatives that Indonesia can take in response to this. Such as, enforcing the applicable law, placing in areas that can be controlled, *screening the* granting of refugee status by IOM and UNHCR, voluntary return for asylum seekers who do not meet the criteria of refugees, and departure to the territory of the destination country.

However, the implementation of Presidential Regulation 125/2016 still needs improvement in several aspects. One of them is the involvement of the wider community and international aspects in determining actions against refugees in the region. In addition, an interesting statement from Jacobsen that, several mechanisms and agreements related to refugee protection at the international level are often carried out, but there is no mechanism that talks about the handling mechanism in

case of problems by refugees in destination countries or transit countries (Jacobsen, 2002).

## CONCLUSION

The refugee phenomenon is something that can be studied in the context of International Relations in several aspects. Some interesting aspects are national security and human security. In the context of Indonesia, the refugee phenomenon has received several forms of response such as rejection and acceptance of refugees. The rejection of refugees is based on aspects of national security involving social stability. Meanwhile, the acceptance of refugees is based on human security aspects based on the protection of refugees' basic rights. In this paper, we see that maintaining national security with a broader definition can be done without having to put aside the basic rights of refugees in Indonesia. This is shown in several alternative forms of action such as Presidential Regulation 125/2016. Achieving national security can be done while maintaining human security aspects. Thus, the concept of national security cannot be seen only in territorial sovereignty but is seen in a broader aspect including maintaining social stability within the country. The demand for refugee protection internationally is urgent, but handling the problems caused by refugees in destination or transit countries is equally important.

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