

## *The Discourse of Humanity in COVID-19 Pandemic: Study Case of Refugees in Indonesia*

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### Abstract

Indonesia is one of the countries that are willing to accept the arrival of refugees to its territory. Although it has not yet ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Indonesia has issued Peraturan Presiden Nomor 125/2016 on international refugees. In addition, the Indonesian Government, especially President Joko Widodo, issued various statements which mainly emphasised fulfilling rights and upholding humanity for refugees demonstrating Indonesia's commitment to carrying out the human values contained in the Preamble of Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 and Pancasila as a dominant discourse of Indonesia's strategic culture. However, the discourse seems to have shifted after the COVID-19 pandemic. It also potentially changed the Indonesian Government's treatment of refugees. The negative impacts in various sectors made Indonesia prioritise its citizens' safety and potentially neglect the fulfilment of the rights of refugees. Indonesia's burden in handling refugees during the pandemic is exacerbated by the unresponsiveness of UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), which should be responsible for handling refugees. This problem leaves groups of refugees vulnerable because the Indonesian Government neglects them at the central and regional levels. This paper tries to analyse aspects behind the shift in the Indonesian Government's policy regarding foreign refugees using strategic cultural discourse. Moreover, provide advice to the Indonesian Government for handling refugees during and after the pandemic without forgetting the humanitarian aspect of refugees.

**Keywords:** Humanity, Strategic Culture, COVID-19, Refugees, Indonesian Government.



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## I. INTRODUCTION

Refugees are part of the problems that Indonesia must solve. Since the 1970s, Indonesia has become a transit country for refugees, especially after Indonesia opened its doors to the flow of refugees from Indo-China affected by the Vietnam War. The latest data in 2020 shows that the number of refugees in Indonesia under the mandate of UNHCR is 10,121 people from more than 50 countries, dominated by refugees from Afghanistan, Somalia and Myanmar.<sup>2</sup> However, Indonesia's refugee data is limited to the number registered in UNHCR. This data does not include the presence of independent refugees who are not found stranded on land or at sea and are not registered in UNHCR. In 2017 alone, around 6,000 asylum seekers and refugees lived independently in Indonesia at their own expense.

Although not yet incorporated into the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 UNHCR Protocol, Indonesia has issued *Peraturan Presiden* No. 125/2016 so that it has a legal basis for accommodating refugees until they get a safe place by UNHCR and IOM. This regulation was issued as a choice taken by Indonesia due to several considerations, including the political and economic costs of ratification, which are too large, concerns that it will attract a more significant number of asylum seekers, the risk of transnational drug trafficking and health risks.<sup>3</sup> However, in its implementation this regulation often overlaps with regional regulations. It is because of the existence of a regional autonomy system that makes the handling of refugees in the regions is very dependent on the regional/local political context. Hence, the community's response to refugees dramatically affects the handling and assistance of local governments to refugees.

Prior to the issuance of *Peraturan Presiden* No. 125/2016, the role of the Government of Indonesia in handling refugees was limited, and asylum seekers were referred to UNHCR to process their claims and to IOM for primary care. However, Indonesia expressed its extraordinary commitment to paying attention to the rights of these refugees. Not only did President Joko Widodo visit various countries such as India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, which are host countries for Rohingya refugees, Indonesia has also hosted many Rohingya refugees, which President Joko Widodo later called "the best assistance" that Indonesia could provide.<sup>4</sup>

Handling refugees by UNHCR takes a long process; it can take approximately two years. The length of the resettlement process has led to many demonstrations by refugees in various areas such as Pekanbaru, Makassar, Tanjung Pinang and several other places to ask for clarity on departure to the reference country. Some refugees claim to have been in Indonesia since 2013, and until today many refugees, including children,

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<sup>2</sup> UNHCR Indonesia, 'UNHCR in Indonesia', n.d., <https://www.unhcr.org/id/en/unhcr-in-indonesia>.

<sup>3</sup> Antje Missbach et al., 'Stalemate: Refugees in Indonesia — Presidential Regulation No 125 of 2016', CILIS Policy Paper Series (University of Melbourne: Centre for Indonesia Law, Islam and Society, 2018), 6.

<sup>4</sup> BBC News Indonesia, 'Presiden Jokowi Meminta Pemerintah Myanmar "Hentikan Dan Cegah Kekerasan"', 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-41140890>; BBC News Indonesia, 'Presiden Jokowi akan ke kamp pengungsi Rohingya di Bangladesh', 25 January 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-42815803>.

have problems accessing education because of their citizenship status.<sup>5</sup> Previously, receiving countries received an average of 1000 refugees per year from Indonesia, but in 2017, only 500 refugees were accepted due to the dynamics of the international world. The impact can be felt by refugees, as for 2020, out of a total of 13,743 refugees and asylum seekers registered with UNHCR, only 430 of them were successfully accepted and left for third countries. Of the 430 refugees, 403 went through resettlement, while 27 went through personal sponsors.<sup>6</sup>

The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic at the end of 2019 made it increasingly difficult for Indonesia to handle refugees because of the Government's new priority, namely the issue of national security due to the current pandemic. The COVID-19 virus spread, the magnitude of its impact on the national economy, and the threat to the health of citizens made the government focus on handling the pandemic. This situation can be seen from the policies such as the lockdown implementation, government assistance programs and foreign diplomacy for cooperation focused on the pandemic. With the fourth largest population in the world, handling the pandemic in Indonesia requires enormous funds. The Indonesian Government has issued a policy by implementing social protection programs and has prepared a fund of One hundred ten trillion rupiahs for social safety net programs.<sup>7</sup> The limited Indonesian authority in handling refugees, limited sources of funds, the slow process of handling refugees by UNHCR and IOM and further exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic have caused handling refugees to become a severe problem for Indonesia. Therefore, this paper will examine the aspects behind the shift in the Indonesian Government's policy regarding foreign refugees using strategic cultural discourse and advise the Indonesian Government for handling refugees during and after the pandemic without forgetting the humanitarian aspect for refugees.

In this paper, we try to analyse the discourse that made the Indonesian Government change its attitude towards foreign refugees during the pandemic. We use a strategic cultural approach by looking at cultural aspects that have the potential to become the central discourse that influences the Indonesian Government in taking action regarding foreign refugees. Several academics have discussed the handling of refugees by Indonesia. Nurul Azizah Zayzda, Maiza Hazrina Ash-Shafikh and Ayusia Sabhita Kusuma in "Securitization and Desecuritization of Migration in Indonesia: Its Implication to Refugee Rights in the Southeast Asian Region" examine the nexus between the securitisation of migration and refugee protection by Indonesia within a regional context by employing an analysis of the securitisation of migration. Atikah Rahmi, Ummi Salamah and Faradila Umayya Nasution in "The UNHCR Roles for

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<sup>5</sup> Kornelis Kaha, 'Puluhan Pengungsi Asal Afganistan Demonstrasi Di Kantor IOM Kupang', *Antara News*, 28 April 2021, sec. Indonesia, <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/2127070/puluhan-pengungsi-asal-afganistan-demonstrasi-di-kantor-iom-kupang>.

<sup>6</sup> UNHCR Indonesia, 'Sekilas Data', UNHCR Indonesia, n.d., <https://www.unhcr.org/id/figures-at-a-glance>.

<sup>7</sup> Darmin Tuwu et al., 'Dinamika Kebijakan Penanganan Pandemi COVID-19 Dalam Perspektif Kesejahteraan Sosial', *Sosio Konsepsia: Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pengembangan Kesejahteraan Sosial* 10, no. 2 (2021): 98.

Increasing Refugees' Tenacity on The Pandemic COVID-19 Era" examine the response and problem solving of the pandemic situation to the refugees by UNHCR, IOM and Government through the normative law studies with qualitative data and previous studies. From the articles above, no writing has discussed handling refugees in Indonesia from a strategic cultural point of view. Therefore, our discussion in this paper seeks to analyse aspects behind the shift in the Indonesian Government's policy regarding foreign refugees using strategic cultural discourse. We argue that the shift in Indonesian government policy regarding foreign refugees is related to a change in the country's strategic culture, especially before and after the hit of the COVID-19 pandemic. The first and second sections will examine the research background and the methodology used in analysing aspects behind the shift in the Indonesian Government's policy regarding foreign refugees. Building on this, the subsequent section examines aspects behind the shift in the Indonesian Government's policy regarding foreign refugees using strategic cultural discourse analysis. The last section will be the conclusion and advice of the research and possible gaps that can be used for further research related to the issue.

## II. DISCUSSION

### A. Indonesia's Strategic Culture

Jack Snyder first coined the study of strategic culture in 1977 as a critique of US strategists and policymakers who failed to predict the Soviet Union's response which did not show the expected response to the United States' nuclear weapons limitation strategy. According to Snyder, the neorealism logic used by the United States in provoking the Soviet Union failed because of its inability to see aspects of "strategic culture", which was a cultural uniqueness of the Soviet Union and greatly influenced its actions in the international system.<sup>8</sup> Studies on this subject have continued to develop over several generations. One of the most influential strategic cultural thinkers after Snyder<sup>9</sup> was Iain Alstair Johnston.<sup>10</sup> In his writing entitled "Thinking About Strategic Culture", Johnston<sup>11</sup> states that strategic culture is an "integrated system of symbols" in which symbols that are formed internally and widely trusted by the country then influence the strategic preferences of policymakers.

The symbols in Johnston's<sup>12</sup> explanation are closely related to the concept of "national thinking culture" which includes military culture, political culture, collective

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<sup>8</sup> Jack L. Snyder, 'The Soviet Strategic Culture : Implications for Limited Nuclear Operations.' (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 1 January 1977).

<sup>9</sup> Snyder.

<sup>10</sup> A.I. Johnston, 'Thinking about Strategic Culture', , Vol. 19, No. 4, p.32-6.', *International Security* 19, no. 4 (1995).

<sup>11</sup> Johnston.

<sup>12</sup> A.I. Johnston, 'Thinking about Strategic Culture', , Vol. 19, No. 4, p.32-6.', *International Security* 19, no. 4 (1995).

memory, national identity, developed traditions and beliefs, and other domestic aspects.<sup>13</sup> Strategic culture thinkers agree that the elements of strategic culture come from two sources, namely, the historical uniqueness and the unique situation of a country. The historical uniqueness in question is the country's experience in the past, internally and related to the country's experience in dealing with other countries or nations. Then the uniqueness of the situation leads to geographical uniqueness, where the perception of geographical conditions forms a strategic cultural element. In this case, strategic culture is unique for each country because each country has historical experiences and unique situations that are different from one another. So it can be assumed that based on its strategic cultural elements, each country has a different and unique approach to responding to an international phenomenon.<sup>14</sup>

However, strategic culture is not a single thing; every country can have several strategic cultures at once. In addition, because strategic culture is closely related to sociological and psychological aspects, each policymaker will likely have different interpretations regarding elements of a country's strategic culture. Therefore, an analysis of how strategic culture influences a country's policy on a matter must be carried out carefully by looking at the context of what phenomenon the country is responding to so that it can be seen which elements of strategic culture are likely to have the most influence, and how policymakers responsible for interpreting the strategic cultural elements in question. In this case, to analyse strategic culture as a discourse that influences the mind of a policy maker to act in such a way, explained by Johnston<sup>15</sup> through the cognitive mapping method. This method's essence is to determine what strategic cultural discourse influences policymakers' thinking in formulating their policies. This method can be seen in documents, speeches, and various official statements issued by the government and related authorities. Then what must be seen are the words, sentences, or language used repeatedly in the document or official statement. Looking at the words, sentences, or language used repeatedly can lead to how the policy makers think and then it will be seen what strategic cultural elements influence and how they interpret these strategic cultural elements.

Concerning Indonesia, strategic culture, in this case, is strongly influenced by the events of the struggle for independence and what happened after independence.<sup>16</sup> The

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<sup>13</sup> Snyder, 'The Soviet Strategic Culture : Implications for Limited Nuclear Operations.'; Nayef Al-Rodhan, 'Strategic Culture and Pragmatic National Interest', *Global Policy*, 2015, <https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/22/07/2015/strategic-culture-and-pragmatic-national-interest>.

<sup>14</sup> Snyder, 'The Soviet Strategic Culture : Implications for Limited Nuclear Operations.'; David R. Jones, 'Soviet Strategic Culture', in *Strategic Power: USA/USSR*, ed. Carl G. Jacobsen (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1990), 35–49; Yitzhak Klein, 'A Theory of Strategic Culture', *Comparative Strategy* 10, no. 1 (1 January 1991): 3–23; Johnston, 'Thinking about Strategic Culture', , Vol. 19, No. 4, p.32-6.'

<sup>15</sup> Johnston, 'Thinking about Strategic Culture', , Vol. 19, No. 4, p.32-6.'

<sup>16</sup> Dewi Fortuna Anwar, *Indonesia's Strategic Culture: Ketahanan Nasional, Wawasan Nusantara, and Hankamrata*, Australia-Asia Papers, no. 75 (Australia: Griffith University, 1996); Yohanes Sulaiman, 'Indonesia's Strategic Culture: The Legacy of Independence', in *Strategic Asia 2016–17: Understanding Strategic Cultures in the Asia-Pacific*, ed. Ashley J. Tellis, Alison Szalwinski, and Michael Wills (Seattle: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2016).

event of a struggle for independence, in this case, unites the Indonesian people who initially did not have a common identity. The common destinies of colonialism that took place throughout the archipelago made these different communities unite and form solidarity, eventually becoming an Indonesian national identity that, although different from each other, remained one unit. Then the colonial experience also formed a spirit of togetherness and cooperation in responding to a threat by dealing with it hand in hand to create a "pertahanan keamanan rakyat semesta" or universal people's security (Hankamrata) as a strategic culture. In addition, bad experiences with other countries such as the Netherlands and Japan, which have oppressed Indonesia for more than three centuries, have caused their trauma to foreign parties, thus creating a strategic culture of Indonesia that is self-reliant and does not want to depend on any foreign powers.<sup>17</sup>

One of this self-reliance is seen from the principle of a free and active foreign policy as one of Indonesia's strategic cultures. The principle of free and active allows Indonesia to fulfil its interests to gain recognition in the early era of independence or to participate actively in international politics in the era after it while at the same time meeting the needs of the domestic economy and national development without having to be tied to the influence of certain foreign parties. In addition to self-reliance, the colonial experience has also formed a culture of thinking that is strongly anti-colonial and imperialism, based on the experience of the Indonesian people, which has caused suffering for centuries. Therefore, Indonesia seeks to actively abolish all forms of colonialism on the face of the earth and uphold humanity, as is written in the preamble to the Undang-Undang Dasar (UUD) 1945.<sup>18</sup>

Before analysing the strategic culture discourse to see the shift in Indonesian government policy regarding foreign refugees, we will first discuss Indonesia's unique history and uniqueness. It is essential to see how these historical and identity factors can influence Indonesia's strategic culture in issuing policies related to the handling of foreign refugees. In addition, it is essential to discuss as a basis for seeing changes in discourse before and after the pandemic.

As a country that was once colonised, Indonesia has a unique historical experience. The prolonged and intensely oppressive colonial period triggered the awareness of the Indonesian people, who were previously divided into tribes and regions to unite as one unit. Referring to Anwar<sup>19</sup>, the long colonial experience of Indonesia gave its bitter memories of colonialism and oppression and shaped Indonesia's strategic culture, which is very anti-colonial and oppressive in any form. This experience also made Indonesia not want any other nation to experience the same thing that Indonesia experienced in the past. The unification of the Indonesian nation was pledged through the declaration of the Sumpah Pemuda, in which youth representatives from each region

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<sup>17</sup> Anwar, *Indonesia's Strategic Culture: Ketahanan Nasional, Wawasan Nusantara, and Hankamrata*.

<sup>18</sup> Radityo Dharmaputra, Agastya Wardhana, and M. Anugrah Pratama, 'Strategic Culture and Foreign Policy: Assessing Indonesian Foreign Policy under Yudhoyono (2004-2014)', in *Proceedings of Airlangga Conference on International Relations (Politics, Economy, and Security in Changing Indo-Pacific Region, Surabaya, Indonesia: SCITEPRESS - Science and Technology Publications, 2018)*, 9–20.

<sup>19</sup> Anwar, *Indonesia's Strategic Culture: Ketahanan Nasional, Wawasan Nusantara, and Hankamrata*.

pledged that they had their homeland, nation and one language, Indonesia.<sup>20</sup> The sense of humanity often leads the Indonesian people to collective actions for the sake of common interests; even with the spirit of divinity, the Indonesian people always struggle to live and help each other in terms of cooperation. The life of gotong royong and deliberation are the basic things that shape the behaviour patterns of Indonesian leaders and people, so if it is associated with the case of refugees in Indonesia, it is not strange when the issuance of Peraturan Presiden No. 125/2016. Indonesia's unique history and situation, implemented in a collective spirit to fight colonialism, oppression and discrimination from the Dutch and Japanese, gave birth to a spirit of humanity and peace with greater scope. This spirit can accommodate the humanist thoughts contained in the Preamble of the UUD 1945 and Pancasila.

As a former colony, the history of independence is significant. The process of achieving independence is filled with things that shape the identity of the Indonesian nation. Pancasila and the UUD 1945 are the identity of the Indonesian people, whose presence is proof that Indonesia is a country that highly upholds the human aspect. The struggle for Indonesian independence was not only initiated by one figure, so the founders of Indonesia were not only one person. Some of them are Ir. Soekarno, Moh. Hatta, Muhammad Yamin and Soetan Sjahrir sought independence through cooperation. It means that the collective spirit is the basis of Indonesian independence. The active role of each individual to continue to help one another is maintained to this day. The sense of help that is instilled regardless of differences is the foundation that makes the Government of Indonesia often involved in humanitarian actions nationally and internationally.

Based on this historical background has also shaped Indonesia's identity and goals to not only maintain the integrity of the country and its nation but also play an active role in maintaining world peace.<sup>21</sup> This is reflected in Indonesia's foreign policy, namely Free and Active policy. According to Undang-undang No. 37 of 1999, Indonesia is free to determine its attitude and policy towards international issues and does not bind itself prior to any world powers.<sup>22</sup> Departing from this foundation, Indonesia often issues foreign policies that refer to anti-discrimination, colonialism, imperialism and seeking world peace.

Indonesia's foreign policy policies since the early days of independence, such as the Djuanda Declaration, can be seen. The Djuanda Declaration is an effort to unite the entire territory of Indonesia with the legitimacy of national and international law. This step was taken by the Prime Minister of Indonesia, Ir. Juanda Kartawijaya, on December

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<sup>20</sup> Iswara N. Raditya, 'Isi, Makna, & Sejarah Hari Sumpah Pemuda 28 Oktober 1928', *tirto.id*, 2019, <https://tirto.id/isi-makna-sejarah-hari-sumpah-pemuda-28-oktober-1928-eku2>.

<sup>21</sup> Susanto Zuhdi, 'Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa Sebagai Modalitas', *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara* 4, no. 1 (5 August 2018): 36.

<sup>22</sup> Yonada Nancy, 'Pengertian Politik Bebas Aktif, Sejarah Dan Landasannya', *tirto.id*, 7 June 2021, <https://tirto.id/pengertian-politik-luar-negeri-bebas-aktif-sejarah-dan-landasannya-ggDq>.

13 1957, as an effort to fight against Dutch imperialism.<sup>23</sup> The Djuanda Declaration not only accommodates the interests of Indonesia but also of archipelagic countries around the world. At that time, the archipelagic countries did not have sufficient strength, so a collective movement was needed to fight for their rights, even though it had to take more than two decades.<sup>24</sup> Finally, after a long struggle, UNCLOS was presented on December 10, 1982.<sup>25</sup> This international agreement is in line with Indonesia's foreign policy, namely free and active policy.

Indonesia is also active in guarding the issue of Palestinian independence, both in humanitarian aid and UN sessions, which strengthens the statement that Indonesia is a country that highly upholds human values and strives to maintain world peace. From President Soekarno to President Joko Widodo, support for Palestine has never stopped. During President Jokowi's, Indonesia also continued to support Palestine, one of which was through President Jokowi's official statement at the UN Session.<sup>26</sup> Jokowi said, "Indonesia continues to consistently provide support for Palestine to get their rights"<sup>27</sup>

Efforts to uphold human values and justice are characteristics that have been built since the colonial period, which emphasises that history has an important role in the representation of values and the formation of the identity of a country. Based on the statement above, the policy taken by the Government of Indonesia in the form of Peraturan Presiden (presidential decree) No. 125/2016 concerning refugees is following the identity of the Indonesian nation. If we refer to various statements from President Jokowi and related officials, the narrative repeatedly appears to be about stopping violence and caring for humanity. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Government's decision to help foreign refugees despite not ratifying the refugee convention is strongly driven by Indonesia's strategic cultural discourse, which is very anti-colonial and upholds humanity as stated in the preamble of the UUD 1945.

It comes from its unique history, and Indonesia's strategic culture is also formed by its geographical uniqueness. As the largest archipelagic country in the world, most of Indonesia's territory consists of water. With a total area of around 7.81 million Km<sup>2</sup>, only about 25% of Indonesia's territory is land, while 3.25 million Km<sup>2</sup> is ocean with 2.55 million Km<sup>2</sup> is the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). As the most crucial economic pathway vital for the global economy connecting energy-producing countries such as the Middle East and Africa to significant economies in Northeast Asia, the sea has a vital role in promoting Indonesia's national interests. The existence of the Djuanda Declaration also has an impact on the wider waters that are part of Indonesia's sovereignty which makes Indonesia geographically have a high bargaining position in the global economy,

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<sup>23</sup> Anugerah Nontji, 'Deklarasi Djuanda: Menuju Keutuhan Tanah Air Indonesia', *Oceanografi.lipo.go.id*, 12 November 2017, <http://www.oceanografi.lipi.go.id/datakolom/39%20Juanda.pdf>.

<sup>24</sup> Nontji.

<sup>25</sup> Nontji.

<sup>26</sup> Pingit Aria and Rizky Alike, 'Berbahasa Indonesia, Jokowi Dukung Kemerdekaan Palestina Di Sidang PBB', *katadata.id*, 23 September 2020, <https://katadata.co.id/pingitaria/berita/5f6b21520c7e7/berbahasa-indonesia-jokowi-dukung-kemerdekaan-palestina-di-sidang-pbb>.

<sup>27</sup> Aria and Alike.



especially because of its very strategic location. Indonesia's strategic location is depicted geographically where it is located between the intersection of two continents, the Asian continent and the Australian continent, as well as two oceans, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean.

Along with the many benefits Indonesia can obtain from its vast sea area, the sea is also a source of the emergence of problems that Indonesia must face. The strategic geographical location and long coastline make it easier for refugees to reach Indonesia before going to the destination country. As is well known, Australia is one of the destination countries for refugees from Middle Eastern and South Asian countries located close to Indonesia. As a result, Indonesia has become a significant transit country for refugees seeking asylum in Australia.

Considering Indonesia's vast territorial waters, which allow more and more foreign refugees to come, Indonesia then conducts international lobbies to raise the issue of refugees through international cooperation. With the large number of refugees who came to Indonesia due to the conflict in Vietnam in 1975-1979, Indonesia and other ASEAN countries held a meeting to discuss temporary assistance for refugees in 1979. The result of the meeting between foreign ministers was the Bangkok Statement containing the agreement of member countries ASEAN to provide as much assistance as possible to refugees. In the same year, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Indonesia's foreign minister, visited Geneva to meet UNHCR representatives to discuss handling refugees in Indonesia. The result of this meeting was the opening of a UNHCR representative office to assist in handling refugees in Indonesia through the agreement between the Indonesian Government and UNHCR.

Furthermore, in 2000, cooperation was attempted between Indonesia and IOM. In addition to its focus on handling refugees, it also included other migration-related issues through the Cooperation Arrangement between the Government of Indonesia and the IOM. In the administration of President Joko Widodo himself, in 2016, the Bali Process series co-chaired by Indonesia and Australia, attended by 49 members including UNHCR and IOM, succeeded in producing the Bali Declaration on People Smuggling, Human Trafficking and Other Transnational Crimes. This declaration is Indonesia's highest achievement in international cooperation efforts in dealing with the handling of people smuggling and the protection of refugees across borders.

Various historical experiences and the uniqueness of these situations shape the elements of Indonesia's strategic culture, such as collective memory, national identity, and political culture. In this case, collective memory and national identity are two things that are interrelated. Indonesia's experience of being colonised for more than three centuries and occurring in all areas currently referred to as the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia has created a collective memory that leads to bad memories of the Indonesian people. This collective memory then creates an imaginary bond between communities throughout Indonesia, where in the past they both experienced terrible colonialism, then united against colonialism and gained independence through a struggle carried out in cooperation. Then unites various ethnic and regional identities into one

Indonesian identity under the imaginary bond of sharing the same fate in experiencing and resisting colonialism.<sup>28</sup> It also formed an Indonesian identity which views Indonesia as an independent country with its efforts. Therefore, as a country that managed to escape the shackles of colonialism through struggle, it became a country that strongly opposed all forms of colonialism and did not want any other country to experience something similar. Based on its identity, Indonesia is responsible for abolishing colonialism and upholding humanity on earth, as stated in the UUD 1945.

Several elements have influenced Indonesia's foreign policy since the beginning of independence until now. These elements are part of the national identity and collective memory described previously. Historical experience and the unique situation Indonesia has have also greatly influenced Indonesian political culture, especially in foreign policy culture. Indonesian identity, as explained above, creates a grand design for Indonesia's foreign policy, which is reluctant to depend on or be tied to any power bloc in the context of the Cold War, or the so-called principle of free and active foreign policy. As an independent country, it still has the freedom to cooperate with any country without having to be politically bound to that country.<sup>29</sup> It is implemented in Indonesia's decision to realise the spirit of humanity and peace without taking sides in accepting refugees. Indonesia's decision not to ratify and issue *Peraturan Presiden* No. 125/2016 was also taken without compulsion from any party.

According to Snyder<sup>30</sup> to Johnston<sup>31</sup> the various elements of strategic culture determine how a country responds to threats and makes policies related to a problem, especially within the scope of the international system. Policymakers can apply the features of strategic culture owned by a nation by being selected based on their suitability or relevance to managing the situation. By tracing government statements in official documents, speeches, and mass media reports as a strategy to present the cognitive mapping method, this research is trying to determine elements of strategic culture that influence President Joko Widodo and his staff in responding to the problem of foreign refugees, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic.

### B. *Indonesian Government Official Statement*

Indonesia's seriousness in dealing with the issue of refugees is influenced by the Indonesian nation's history, culture and ideology, as it wants to be active in maintaining and creating world peace. It affects the culture, mindset, and direction of the Indonesian people, which can be seen or represented by various political and legal policies related to humanity, one of which is about refugees. The principle of humanity plays the most prominent role in the Indonesian Government's policies. Armed with a dark history as a once colonised nation, the Indonesian people understand very well that independence,

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<sup>28</sup> Anwar, *Indonesia's Strategic Culture: Ketahanan Nasional, Wawasan Nusantara, and Hankamrata*.

<sup>29</sup> Anwar.

<sup>30</sup> Snyder, 'The Soviet Strategic Culture : Implications for Limited Nuclear Operations.'

<sup>31</sup> Johnston, 'Thinking about Strategic Culture', , Vol. 19, No. 4, p.32-6.'

freedom and everyday life are things that must be fulfilled and owned by every human being.

One of the policies that further demonstrates the strength of the humanitarian spirit of Indonesia is the issuance of *Peraturan Presiden* No. 125 of 2016 concerning Refugees. The concern shown by Indonesia regarding refugees is seen in the articles contained therein. Some of them are Article 8, paragraph 2, that community who find refugees in an emergency report to the institution that organises affairs in the field of search and rescue. This article explicitly fosters a sense of humanity for all Indonesian people regarding the existence of refugees. Refugees are expected to be adequately handled by regulations and human values. It does not stop there. It turns out that Article 9 provides further and detailed instructions regarding the handling of refugees who are in an emergency condition; refugees who are found in an emergency immediately take action in the form of transferring refugees to a rescue ship if the ship is about to sink, bringing them to the nearest port or land if the safety of refugee's life is in danger, identify refugees who need emergency medical assistance, hand over foreigners suspected of refugees to the Immigration Detention Center at the nearest port or mainland.

The Government of Indonesia's concern regarding the presence of refugees does not only stop at the beginning of their arrival but also regulates decent housing as described in Article 14 (b) that the Ministry, which carries out government affairs in the field of law and human rights through the Immigration Detention Center to collect the data. In order to support the optimisation and effectiveness of providing security for refugees, the Government explains in detail the main tasks of local governments in providing shelter, security and basic needs for refugees in article 26, family members as regulated in Article 28 (1) that refugees can be transferred from one shelter to another in the context of family integration, treatment at a hospital, and placement in a third country. Finally, the Government of Indonesia also allocates funds to meet the needs of refugees in accordance with the provisions contained in Article 40 of *Peraturan Presiden* No. 125/2016. The regulation above represents the nation's ideology, namely Pancasila, especially in the second precept, just and civilised humanity. The spirit of humanity is a hallmark, a reflection of the self and identity of the Indonesian nation, so it is not surprising that policies related to refugee issues always contain human values.

Policymakers represent Indonesia's existence in supporting human values. We can find some of them in the narratives delivered by officials at both the central and regional levels. At the central level, the narratives contained about humanity come from President Jokowi when he delivered a speech in Ambon.<sup>32</sup> President Jokowi said, "I was the first head of state to visit Cox's Bazar. This is our commitment to humanity, our commitment to world peace, and our commitment to our Muslim brothers and sisters."

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<sup>32</sup> Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 'Presiden Jokowi: Saya Kepala Negara Pertama Yang Kunjungi Pengungsi Rohingya Di Cox's Bazar', Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 14 February 2018, <https://setkab.go.id/presiden-jokowi-saya-kepala-negara-pertama-yang-kunjungi-pengungsi-rohingya-di-coxs-bazar/>.

Simply, President Jokowi emphasises the importance of peace, tolerance, brotherhood and unity.<sup>33</sup>

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Retno Marsudi, is concerned about humanitarian and refugee issues. This can be seen from Mrs Retno's policy and statement: "We have collaborated with UNHCR and IOM; we have taken care of them in providing shelter, food and necessary medicines. She added that refugees are a regional problem, so every country should address the cause and work together to solve this problem.<sup>34</sup> Working hand in hand for handling refugee issues comes from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Law and Human Rights with international organizations. These two ministries are collaborating with UNHCR and IOM to draft an MoU on Data Sharing so that the Government of Indonesia and International Organizations can more easily control the inflow and outflow of refugees in order to minimize the possibility of crime.<sup>35</sup> The National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) and UNHCR on July 5 2019, at the meeting, the Chairman of the National Human Rights Commission, Ahmad Taufan Damanik, emphasised that he would act quickly and initiate communication with the Philippine Government in dealing with this refugee problem. Taufan said, "We need to encourage the Government of Myanmar to think about the fate and survival of the Rohingya refugees in Indonesia."<sup>36</sup> Foreign Minister Retno said, "Indonesia also encourages all parties to immediately stop acts of violence, contribute to the restoration of security, and respect the human rights of the people in Rakhine State, including the Muslim community." Furthermore, She emphasised Indonesia's commitment to assisting the reconciliation process, that "Indonesia will continue to cooperate with Myanmar in the process of reconciliation, democratisation, and inclusive development, including efforts to implement the recommendations of Kofi Annan's report."<sup>37</sup> In a press statement released on September 3, 2017, by the Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, President Jokowi said that he would move with the Indonesian through various concrete actions to solve problems in Rakhine State.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia.

<sup>34</sup> Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 'Tampung 11.941 Pengungsi, Menlu Sebut Yang Dilakukan Indonesia Sudah Extra Mile', Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 19 May 2015, <https://setkab.go.id/tampung-11-941-pengungsi-menlu-sebut-yang-dilakukan-indonesia-sudah-extra-mile/>.

<sup>35</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 'Pengungsi Dan Pencari Suaka', Kemlu.go.id, 6 April 2019, [https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/88/halaman\\_list\\_lainnya/isu-isu-kemanusiaan](https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/88/halaman_list_lainnya/isu-isu-kemanusiaan).

<sup>36</sup> Latuharhary, 'Suarakan Nasib Pengungsi, Komnas HAM-UNHCR Tandatangani Nota Kesepahaman', Komnas HAM, 8 July 2019, <https://www.komnasham.go.id/index.php/news/2019/7/8/902/suarakan-nasib-pengungsi-komnas-ham-unhcr-tandatangani-nota-kesepahaman.html>.

<sup>37</sup> Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 'Menlu Retno: Indonesia Terus Upayakan Semua Pihak Hentikan Kekerasan Di Rakhine State', Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 2 September 2017, <https://setkab.go.id/menlu-retno-indonesia-terus-upayakan-semua-pihak-hentikan-kekerasan-di-rakhine-state/>.

<sup>38</sup> Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 'Keterangan Pers Presiden Joko Widodo Mengenai Perkembangan Situasi Di Rakhine State, 3 September 2017, Di Istana Merdeka, Jakarta', Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 3 September 2017, <https://setkab.go.id/keterangan-pers-presiden-joko-widodo-mengenai-perkembangan-situasi-di-rakhine-state-3-september-2017-di-istana-merdeka-jakarta/>.

From all of the explanations, it can be concluded that Indonesia is very concerned with humanitarian issues as refugees. In general, the dominant narrative that emerged in Indonesia regarding the issue of refugees is the spirit of humanity represented through various words and sentences that support the implementation of humanitarian matters. Words such as peace, freedom, humanity, and the abolition of oppression and colonialism are the dominant narratives that can be seen from the expressions of the Indonesian Government both orally and in writing. Although Indonesia has not ratified the 1961 Refugee Convention and the 1971 UNHCR Protocol, the various steps and strategies taken by the Government of Indonesia determine the direction of Indonesia regarding the refugee issue. It can be seen that Indonesia is entirely against various things that violate human values and strives for a safe and peaceful life nationally and internationally.

The pandemic condition forces all countries of the world to focus on handling efforts in their respective regions. Especially in Indonesia, with a total population of more than 270 million people, making handling both in the form of government assistance and vaccination efforts a formidable challenge for the Government. Indirectly, this condition affects the Government's discourse in dealing with foreign refugees in Indonesia. Changes in discourse that occurred after the COVID-19 pandemic broke out in Indonesia can be seen from the various policies and regulations issued by the Indonesian Government. However, Indonesia's concern regarding the issue of refugees is quite challenging to maintain during the pandemic.

On its official website, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia publishes policies related to crossing people from and to Indonesia, where sixteen points discuss the crossing rules in detail. Although it is only temporary, none of the policies discusses foreigners who come to Indonesian territory with the status of refugees. The policy is burdensome to the administrative requirements that must be owned by foreign immigrants, along with information on countries whose access to Indonesia is closed. This policy makes the possibility of refugees reaching Indonesian territory during the pandemic, especially after the implementation of the policy on March 20, 2020, not being supported by a legal basis that is in accordance with the current pandemic conditions.<sup>39</sup>

In addition to not including foreign refugees residing in Indonesia in implementing pandemic control policies, refugees are also not involved in policies to deal with the pandemic. This is reflected in the efforts to protect foreigners in Indonesia during the pandemic, both those who are and will enter Indonesia as stated by the Director General of Protocol and Consular Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Andy Rachmianto, that foreigners who wish to enter Indonesia are limited and must have special requirements and apply health protocols. Although it is stated that the state bears the cost of treating foreigners who are detected positive for COVID-19, the special

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<sup>39</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 'Kebijakan Tambahan Pemerintah Indonesia Terkait Perlintasan Orang Dari Dan Ke Indonesia', Kemlu.go.id, 17 March 2020, [https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/1135/siaran\\_pers/kebijakan-tambahan-pemerintah-Indonesia-terkait-perlintasan-orang-dari-dan-ke-Indonesia](https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/1135/siaran_pers/kebijakan-tambahan-pemerintah-Indonesia-terkait-perlintasan-orang-dari-dan-ke-Indonesia).

requirements required of them have eliminated refugees from the policy.<sup>40</sup> The legal basis for the residence permit for foreigners uses the Peraturan Menteri Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia No. 11 Thn. 2020 which also does not mention refugees in it.<sup>41</sup>

Apart from not being specifically discussed in handling and preventing the spread of the pandemic, refugees are also limited in getting pandemic assistance from the Government of Indonesia. The disbursed assistance, including basic food assistance, cash social assistance, village fund BLT, PLN electricity subsidies and employee salaries, and pre-employment cards to micro and small business BLT, did not specifically involve refugees.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, to access assistance, an identity card is required to show an Indonesian citizen so that the refugees with their status as foreigners are not touched by the assistance program provided by the Government to ease the burden during the pandemic. In addition, considering that the social assistance provided by the Government applies the principles of accountability, which are usually carried out by referring to population data, these assistants are less likely to reach refugees who are not registered as Indonesian residents. The child protection program affected by the pandemic promoted by the Ministry of Social Affairs has also marginalised refugee children in Indonesia because they are hindered by administrative requirements, namely that their resident identity is appropriately recorded on the family identity card.<sup>43</sup>

In addition, in the health aspect, refugees have the same risk of being exposed to COVID-19 as Indonesian citizens, but so far, the Indonesian Government does not have a health protection guarantee applied explicitly to refugees in the pandemic era. Efforts to control the pandemic through vaccination do not prioritise refugees, even though refugees are the ones who find it very difficult to make efforts to prevent pandemics, such as keeping a distance or increasing their immune system due to the situation and conditions in the refugee camps. This case is clearly stated by the Ministry of Health, where the focus and priority of vaccination are still on the needs of Indonesian citizens. The Spokesperson confirmed this for the Vaccination of the Ministry of Health, Siti Nadia Tarmizi, who stated that for the time being, the Government had not included groups of foreign refugees as one of Indonesia's vaccination targets. Implementing the vaccination of foreign refugees is also said to be under the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs. The refugees' efforts to get vaccines are also

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<sup>40</sup> covid19.go.id, 'Perlindungan Bagi Warga Negara Asing Di Indonesia Selama Pandemi COVID-19 - Berita Terkini', 22 July 2020, 19, <https://covid19.go.id/p/berita/perlindungan-bagi-warga-negara-asing-di-indonesia-selama-pandemi-covid-19>.

<sup>41</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 'Ketentuan Khusus Bagi Pelaku Perjalanan Internasional Yang Masuk Ke Wilayah Indonesia', Kemlu.go.id, Agustus 2021, <https://kemlu.go.id/tashkent/id/news/15233/ketentuan-khusus-bagi-pelaku-perjalanan-internasional-yang-masuk-ke-wilayah-indonesia>.

<sup>42</sup> Ihsanuddin, 'Ada 7 Bantuan Pemerintah Selama Pandemi Covid-19, Berikut Rinciannya...', KOMPAS.com, 26 August 2020, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/08/26/09222471/ada-7-bantuan-pemerintah-selama-pandemi-covid-19-berikut-rinciannya>.

<sup>43</sup> Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 'Mensos Risma: Kemensos Matangkan Skema Perlindungan Sosial Untuk Anak Terdampak Covid-19', Kemensos.go.id, 19 August 2021, <https://kemensos.go.id/mensos-risma-kemensos-matangkan-skema-perlindungan-sosial-untuk-anak-terdampak-COVID-19>.

hampered by the requirement of a National Identity Card, while the refugees only have refugee identity cards. Vaccines and the availability of medicines for handling COVID-19 are also limited and prioritises the Indonesian population. Although there is no regulation from the central Government that involves refugees in the vaccination process, as previously explained, several regions have provided vaccines to refugees. It was recorded that there were around 600 refugees in Pekanbaru, East Aceh, Lhokseumawe, and Kupang who had received the COVID-19 vaccination.<sup>44</sup>

In this study, the authors have not found any government statements regarding handling the COVID-19 pandemic that specifically explain the handling of refugees during the pandemic. In the 2021 Foreign Minister's annual press statement, the topic of refugees was discussed by mentioning Indonesia's accommodation for Rohingya refugees, but once again, the handling of refugees during the pandemic was not discussed at all in the statement. If we look at some of the explanations above, the sentences often spoken in statements from the Indonesian Government during the pandemic are "Indonesian residents" and "Indonesian citizens". This condition shows how the Government's discourse has changed during the COVID-19 pandemic, where the Government prioritises the Indonesian people in handling the pandemic, which also shows a shift in the human spirit to become more inward-looking, focusing on the Indonesian people.

### *C. Analysis of Indonesian Refugees Before and After COVID-19 Pandemic According to Its Strategic Culture*

Based on the explanation above, it can be seen that there are words or sentences that the Government of Indonesia often uses in each of its statements that represent the Government's narrative in addressing the issue of international refugees. These words and sentences can show the cause of causality because basically these words and sentences come from the cognitive or mind of the policy makers, where the cognitive is generally strongly influenced by cultural aspects, especially the strategic culture that is widely embraced in the area of the policy makers. So that the cognitive mapping method by utilising words and sentences that policymakers often use, can explain what aspects or elements of strategic culture influence the thinking of policy makers so that they decide certain policies on an issue.<sup>45</sup> Then the words and sentences used repeatedly can be an essential clue in cognitive mapping. The repeated words and sentences can show the underlying causality of why the Government takes specific policies on certain issues, in this case, the issue of international refugees.

In the pre-pandemic period, the Government of Indonesia was very concerned about the problem of international refugees both in Indonesia and abroad. As a country

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<sup>44</sup> BBC News Indonesia, 'Pengungsi Asing Di Indonesia Selama Pandemi: "Mereka Menolak Saya Dan Mengatakan Vaksin Hanya Untuk WNI"', 6 August 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-58068808>.

<sup>45</sup> Johnston, 'Thinking about Strategic Culture', , Vol. 19, No. 4, p.32-6.'

that has not ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 UNHCR Protocol, Indonesia takes refugee issues seriously, providing adequate protection and facilities at home and the Indonesian Government is also trying its best to provide the best assistance for refugees abroad. As a justification for Indonesia's policy towards international refugees, the Government issued various statements in which some words and sentences are often used. These words and sentences include humanity, peace, brotherhood, tolerance, and human rights.

Research data shows that the Government of Indonesia under President Joko Widodo sees that the issue of international refugees is about how Indonesia can play a role in upholding humanity, creating peace, and upholding human rights based on a sense of brotherhood and tolerance between fellow human beings. Based on the words and sentences that the Government often uses, it can be seen that the cognitive source that influenced the Government in determining policies related to international refugees before the COVID-19 pandemic was the strategic cultural discourse contained in the preamble of the UUD 1945. Referring to Anwar (1996), Indonesia's strategic culture was strongly influenced by the era of the struggle for independence, where the experience of facing prolonged colonialism not only united the diverse Indonesian people into one unit but also formed a culture of thinking that colonialism was a terrible thing and no country in the world can experience the same thing as Indonesia has participated in the past. This strategic cultural element is then included in the preamble of the UUD 1945 "*Bahwa sesungguhnya Kemerdekaan itu ialah hak segala bangsa dan oleh sebab itu, maka penjajahan di atas dunia harus dihapuskan, karena tidak sesuai dengan perikemanusiaan dan perikeadilan*", means that independence is the right of all nations and therefore, colonialism in the world must be abolished, because it is not in accordance with humanity and justice.

There has been a significant change in the post-COVID-19 pandemic, where these words and sentences are no longer used in addressing the issue of international refugees. It can even be said that government statements regarding international refugees are no longer found in the pandemic era. The international refugee group was not mentioned in the national COVID-19 handling program, including the vaccination program. In this case, the sentences that often appear in the statements of the Indonesian Government are "the Indonesian people" and "Indonesian citizens". This category shows a change in cognitive sources that affected the Indonesian Government's discourse of thought before and after the pandemic.

If the discourses that influenced government policy were peace, humanity, and justice in the pre-pandemic era, things would be different. Based on these two frequently used sentences, it can be seen that the discourse that influences the Government is a strategic cultural element arising from the same event as the previous discourse but viewed from a different perspective. Not only does it produce an outward-looking point of view, which means that Indonesia must actively uphold peace, humanity and justice on earth, but the struggle for independence also produces a culture of inward-looking thinking. The prolonged colonisation succeeded in growing powerful solidarity among the Indonesian people, as stated in the youth oath that various ethnic groups, languages,



religions, and cultures had decided to unite as one nation, namely the Indonesian nation. This spirit awakens the nationalism of the Indonesian nation, which has strong solidarity that will not allow its compatriots to be in trouble. So, in this case, fellow citizens will take precedence when facing a problem. As stated in the fourth paragraph of the preamble of the UUD 1945, "*Kemudian daripada itu untuk membentuk suatu Pemerintah Negara Indonesia yang melindungi segenap bangsa Indonesia dan seluruh tumpah darah Indonesia*" that means the Indonesian government have to prioritize to protect its own citizen and its blood spill.<sup>46</sup>

COVID-19 is a situation faced by all nations and countries in the world. The resulting situation became full of uncertainty, in which no country felt confident that they could resolve the pandemic with certainty. This situation also applies to Indonesia, where the uncertainty caused by COVID-19 makes the Indonesian Government more concerned about the nation's safety and also Indonesian citizens than foreign refugees. This thesis prompted a shift in strategic cultural discourse that influenced government policies regarding foreign refugees before and after the pandemic. Before the pandemic, policy discourse was strongly influenced by elements of the strategic culture of peace, humanity, and justice, while in the post-pandemic era, it was strongly influenced by elements of the strategic culture of solidarity between fellow Indonesians.

### III. CONCLUSION

Before the COVID-19 pandemic, the Indonesian Government was very concerned with the issues of refugees. In general, the dominant narrative that emerged in Indonesia regarding the issue of refugees is the spirit of humanity represented through various words such as peace, freedom, humanity, the abolition of oppression, and colonialism—driven by strategic cultural discourses dominated by elements of collective memory and national identity formed from the bad experience of colonialism and the Gotong Royong spirit. Collective memory is formed that colonialism is terrible and culture grows to think that no single nation deserves to experience the same thing. Then it also forms a national identity as a country that is anti-colonial and eager to create peace and uphold humanity and justice throughout the earth. However, the discourse has changed during the COVID-19 pandemic. The uncertain situation created by the pandemic triggered the shift in the discourse. In this case, the influencing strategic cultural elements still come from the collective memory and national identity formed by the colonial experience, only from a different point of view. The discourse that influenced the Government in the pandemic era no longer emphasised peace creation and the enforcement of humanity and justice but focused more on protecting the nation and the homeland of Indonesia as the embodiment of Indonesia's national identity. This research explains the attitude of the Indonesian Government, which tends to change toward refugees during the pandemic.

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<sup>46</sup> Maula Hudaya, 'Budaya Strategis Dalam Sikap Hati-Hati Indonesia Pada Taliban', *GEOTIMES*, 16 September 2021, sec. Opini, <https://geotimes.id/opini/budaya-strategis-dalam-sikap-hati-hati-indonesia-pada-taliban/>.

During the pandemic, the Indonesian Government almost did not mention foreign refugees in its various statements regarding the policies taken.

As a result, the rights of refugees are becoming increasingly unfulfilled. In other words, refugees are victims of changes in the Indonesian Government's discourse due to COVID-19. This finding makes refugees who had previously become victims of the conditions in their home countries again become victims due to changes in the discourse which resulted in changes in the Indonesian Government's policy towards them. Although this change in discourse is not what the Indonesian Government wants, indirectly, the Indonesian Government has placed refugees in a worse situation so that Indonesia's goal of upholding humanity and justice is also hampered. Therefore, in the future, the Indonesian Government must think of preventive measures to prevent vulnerable groups such as foreign refugees from becoming victims again when there is a sudden change in policy discourse, as happened during the COVID-19 pandemic.

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