Parahyangan Catholic University

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

Department of International Relations

Accredited Superior

SK BAN-PT NO. 2579/SK/BAN-PT/AK-ISK/S/IV/2022

The Politics of Citizenship and Security:

The Case of Stateless and Refugee Communities

in Indonesia during the Covid-19 Pandemic

Undergraduate Thesis

By

Jade Annabelle Wallace

6091901102

Supervisor

Vrameswari Omega Wati, S. IP., M. Si. (Han)

Bandung

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Thesis Approval

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Title   : The Politics of Citizenship and Security: The Case of Stateless and
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Has been examined on the Undergraduate Thesis Defense
on Friday, June 30th 2023
And thereby declared **GRADUATED**

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Declaration of Responsibility

I, the undersigned,

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Hereby declare that this research is an original work and not a work that was ever proposed previously by others to obtain an academic degree. All third-party ideas and information used in this research are properly cited in accordance with formal academic writing guidelines.

I make this statement with full responsibility and I am willing to accept the academic consequences from the university party, should in the future it is proven that this statement is false.

Bandung, 17 May 2023

Jade Annabelle Wallace

6091901102

Abstract

Name   :   Jade Annabelle Wallace
Student ID   :   6091901102
Title   :   The Politics of Citizenship and Security: The Case of Stateless
                       and Refugee Communities in Indonesia during the Covid-19
                       Pandemic

This paper explores the interconnection between the politics of citizenship and security, specifically in the case of stateless and refugee communities in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic. When the rights of individuals are dependent on the citizenship they hold as they do in our current state society system, a lack of a functioning citizenship becomes a fundamental problem to their human security. The current system we have regarding citizenship unintentionally undermines human rights as the politics of citizenship create a group of people who are citizens therefore with rights, and a group of people who are not citizens and therefore without rights. The key finding of this research is that the politics of citizenship was proven to provide grounds for exclusion in the security protection of refugees in Indonesia during the pandemic. The country is a non-signatory state of the international conventions and protocols on stateless persons and refugees, therefore under no obligation to provide stateless persons and refugees with the same set of rights and treatment as their own citizens. This suggests that as long as stateless persons and refugees still exist, the current system should be analyzed further to prevent the lack of a citizenship becoming a source of threat and grounds for exclusion of the protection of this vulnerable population.

Keyword: Citizenship, Security, Stateless Persons and Refugees, Indonesia, Covid-19 Pandemic

Abstrak

Nama   : Jade Annabelle Wallace
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Judul   : Politik Kewarganegaraan dan Keamanan: Kasus Masyarakat Tanpa Kewarganegaraan dan Pengungsi di Indonesia pada Masa Pandemi Covid-19

Tulisan ini membahas interkoneksi antara politik kewarganegaraan dan keamanan, khususnya dalam kasus masyarakat tanpa kewarganegaraan dan pengungsi di Indonesia selama pandemi Covid-19. Ketika hak-hak individu bergantung pada kewarganegaraan yang mereka pegang, ketiadaan kewarganegaraan menjadi masalah fundamental untuk keamanan manusia mereka. Sistem kewarganegaraan yang kita miliki saat ini secara tidak sengaja mengancam hak asasi manusia karena politik kewarganegaraan menciptakan sekelompok orang yang menjadi warga negara dengan hak, dan sekelompok orang yang bukan warga negara dan karenanya tidak memiliki hak. Temuan kunci dari penelitian ini adalah bahwa politik kewarganegaraan terbukti memberikan landasan inklusi dan eksklusi dalam perlindungan keamanan pengungsi di Indonesia pada masa pandemi. Indonesia merupakan salah satu negara yang tidak meratifikasi konvensi dan protokol internasional tentang masyarakat tanpa kewarganegaraan dan pengungsi, oleh karena itu negara tersebut tidak berkewajiban untuk memberikan hak dan perlakuan yang sama kepada masyarakat tanpa kewarganegaraan dan pengungsi selayaknya terhadap warga negara Indonesia. Selama masyarakat tanpa kewarganegaraan dan pengungsi masih ada, sistem kewarganegaraan yang ada saat ini harus dianalisis lebih lanjut untuk mencegah ketiadaan kewarganegaraan menjadi sumber ancaman dan alasan untuk inklusi dan eksklusi perlindungan populasi rentan.

Kata Kunci: Kewarganegaraan, Keamanan, Masyarakat Tanpa Kewarganegaraan dan Pengungsi, Indonesia, Pandemi Covid-19

Foreword

It is with both humility and pride that I present this thesis, the embodiment of my research and academic journey thus far. My studies in international relations – especially on the subject of non-traditional security – had inspired me to look into the security of stateless and refugee communities in Indonesia during the pandemic. It is my hope that the findings presented within this piece could contribute in some miniscule way to the broader body of knowledge in the international relations field.

Throughout the process of writing this piece I have been fortunate to receive invaluable guidance from my supervisor and mentors. Their counsel and constructive feedback have shaped the course of this thesis, and I am deeply grateful for their contributions. My gratitude extends to the academic community and scholars for providing me with the foundation in which this piece was built upon.

To my loved ones, I owe the deepest gratitude for constantly supporting me from start to finish. I would not have made it this far without the unwavering encouragement, comfort, and strength my favorite people have provided without fail. For all of you, I am forever grateful.

Bandung, 13 June 2023

Jade Wallace

Contents

Tables

Chapter I

Introduction

1.1. Background

The interconnection between citizenship and security is evergrowing. Citizenship itself can be understood in several ways but in its traditional definition, it marks the identity a person holds in relation to the role they play in their political community.[1] Alternatively, it is also defined as a political membership of individuals in a nation state which binds them to duties, rights, and privileges.[2] Citizenship can be viewed as an expansive set of rights which citizens as nationals claim from states, yet it can also be viewed as 'authoritarian,' stressing submission to authority and valuing obligations over rights.[3]

The authoritative perspective of citizenship in the context of Covid-19 has enabled governments to obligate their citizens into following the health protocols and regulations that the state has established. Citizens are compelled to obey instructions of lockdown, mandatory vaccination, national curfew, and many other forms of order made by the government in an attempt to protect their nation from the threat presented by the pandemic. The government can only do so because they have power and jurisdiction over their citizens who are subject

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[1] William Safran, "Citizenship and Nationality in Democratic Systems: Approaches to Defining and Acquiring Membership in the Political Community," *International Political Science Review* 18, no. 3 (1997): pp. 313-335, https://doi.org/10.1177/019251297018003006.
[2] David Thunder, "Correction to: The Ethics of Citizenship in the 21st Century," *The Ethics of Citizenship in the 21st Century*, 2021, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-50415-5_10.
[3] Trevor Stack and Rose Luminiello, "Chapter 1: Citizenship and Political Community in Four Questions," in *Engaging Authority: Citizenship and Political Community* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2021).

to their authority. In this case, the politics of citizenship is utilized to protect the security of states and its citizens from all sorts of threats during the pandemic.

We can also look at citizenship as a set of rights entitled to citizens which they can claim from their states. In this context, it is in every government's interest and responsibility to protect and provide for their citizens during the current global health crisis, and it is in every citizen's right to demand said protection and provision. Therefore in this case we could see how most states provide government-funded vaccinations, public access to healthcare, public Covid-19 resources, and other forms of protection and countermeasures to protect and provide for their people in the fight against the pandemic. Again, these provisions could be viewed as the rights and benefits that citizens are entitled to receive from their government.

In our current state society system, the politics of citizenship is crucial in every individual's life. To put it in the very most simple way as Lasswell defined, politics concerns who gets what, when, and how.[4] It is then presumable that the politics of citizenship decides who gets what, when, and how according to the citizenship of the subject. Citizenship decides what kinds of rights and protection subjects get, where both would vary depending on what citizenship they hold.

For example, in response to the pandemic, the rights and responsibilities that an Indonesian citizen is bound to might differ from the ones a Malaysian citizen

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[4] Harold Dwight Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1970).

would. Despite being in such close proximity from one another and even sharing land in Kalimantan, being born on one side of the border rather than the other would result in a very different experience in facing the pandemic.

It also means that the politics of citizenship not only defines who gets what in terms of rights, it also defines who gets to decide how citizenship is given. Sovereign states possess a fundamental right to determine who counts as a member or citizen.[5] Most state governments have nationality laws which rule that citizenship can be acquired by descent (jus sanguinis), and by birth within a particular territory or jurisdiction (jus soli).[6] Most individuals acquire their citizenship through jus sanguinis and jus soli at birth, but another way to acquire citizenship is through the process of naturalization where an individual actively chooses to change (or add) citizenship to a different nationality.

Either way, all forms of citizenship acquisition are regulated and must be determined by each state. A person cannot simply declare citizenship or change it at their own will, but it must be at the determination and approval of the state. Several loopholes exist in our current state society which results in the existence of non-citizens which make up stateless communities and refugees.

A stateless person according to the Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1954 – is anyone who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law, which means that the person does not possess the primary legal

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[5] Mira L. Siegelberg, *Statelessness: A Modern History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020).
[6] Alfred Michael Boll, *Multiple Nationality and International Law* (Leiden: M. Nijhoff, 2007).

affiliation that defines formal membership in any one of the world's 195 recognized states.[7]

Statelessness itself represents a phenomenon related to debates regarding the fundamental nature of law, politics, and modern statehood.[8] Conflicting nationality laws as mentioned previously would result in de jure statelessness, and it is only one of many causes of statelessness due to technical issues in international and nationality laws. Another common cause historically is the event of state successions, transfer of territory, and transfer of sovereignty which occurred especially throughout the world wars which became another major cause of statelessness. Arbitrary deprivation of citizenship is another cause, where individuals or groups are denied citizenship. One of its most popular cases is the Rohingya people, which make up one of the largest stateless communities today.

Refugees according to The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees are people who have fled war, violence, conflict or persecution and have crossed an international border to find safety in another country.[9] Under international law, refugees are defined as someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their home country due to fear of persecution. Individuals seek refuge when they undergo mistreatment, discrimination, and oppression from society and even from their own state government. Refugees are not necessarily stateless as they

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[7] Hugh Massey, *UNHCR and "De Facto" Statelessness* (Geneva: UNHCR, Division of International Protection, 2010).

[8] Mira L. Siegelberg, *Statelessness: A Modern History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020).

[9] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "What Is a Refugee?," UNHCR, n.d., accessed April 18, 2022.

are legally acknowledged as citizens of their country of origin, but they do not possess the same rights and protections that a normal citizen would.

Indonesia is one of the few non-signatory states of the 1951 Refugee Convention, a legally binding international instrument responsible for defining standards for the treatment of refugees. This agreement dictates the level of rights and protections that non-citizens possess in their country of asylum. This is especially unique when you consider that by the end of 2020, UNHCR found 13.745 refugees from 50 different countries seeking asylum in Indonesia. Some of these cases are refugees and displaced people, while several others are minorities and low-wage labor born in a foreign country. It is also important to note that this data is likely an underestimate, since most cases of statelessness go undocumented, undetected, and not reported while cases of refugeehood are difficult to keep track of.

1.2. Research Problem

The writer is arguing that both stateless and refugee communities do not possess what Kingston calls a functioning citizenship. When the rights of individuals are dependent on the citizenship they hold as they do in our current state society system, a lack of a functioning citizenship becomes a fundamental problem. The current world order where sovereign states have full control over citizenship means that any person without membership to a state is effectively devoid of rights.[10] This also means that statelessness and refugeehood is an internal non-military human security issue, in which the source of insecurity comes from

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[10] Mira L. Siegelberg, *Statelessness: A Modern History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020).

the state and from the politics of citizenship itself. Without any citizenship, stateless persons do not receive protection, agency, and basic rights that most people do.

This issue is especially crucial during the current global pandemic. Before it, the conditions in which stateless communities and refugees live in are already not ideal to begin with. They live in cramped refugee camps and have reported having minimum access to basic needs including healthcare and education.[11] Diarrhoeal diseases and malnutrition are the main health issues they face, and their inability to have clean and sufficient space further increases their vulnerability.[12] The pandemic further worsened their condition. With even more limited access to healthcare and non-ideal living conditions, they reported difficulties in staying safe during the pandemic.

The stateless are not under the authority nor protection of any state, while the refugees are somewhat under the protection of their host state where they are almost always placed last in the government's priority list. Both groups are deprived of basic rights and therefore one of the most vulnerable communities during the Covid-19 Pandemic. Protections and provisions offered by most countries to their citizens such as vaccinations and access to healthcare are vital, and any individual without a functioning citizenship is most likely incapable of receiving these rights. In this case, the lack of a functioning citizenship becomes

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[11] The Jakarta Post, "Silent Struggle of Refugees in Indonesia," The Jakarta Post, accessed July 9, 2023, https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2019/10/31/the-silent-struggle-of-refugees-in-indonesia.html .

[12] Ibid.

a security issue in which the lack of rights and protections becomes a threat towards the security and wellbeing of the stateless and the refugees.

UNHCR data shows that Indonesia houses a large number of stateless persons and refugees. This number mainly consists of asylum seekers, Chinese-Indonesians without legal documents to prove their Indonesian citizenship, Indonesian migrant workers who did not meet the requirements to be considered an Indonesian citizenship under the new Citizenship Law, and foreign migrants who do not have documents to prove their citizenship. Indonesia also has a number of ex-ISIS members who revoked their Indonesian citizenship and became stateless due to their affiliations with the group.

Despite the fact that Indonesia did not ratify the international convention on refugees, they are still becoming an asylum. Data also shows that Indonesia houses stateless communities. This creates a question on what guidelines they look to when treating these vulnerable communities. The short answer is that Indonesia declared a Presidential Decree regarding refugees in 2016. Indonesia also gave a mandate for certain bodies such as the UNHCR to help deal with the delicate situation. But as mentioned earlier, it is not legally bound to the international mandate, and does not have a system in place to protect persons with no proof of nationality and identity, which creates a barrier between them and human rights.

1.2.1. Research Scope and Limitations

This research is limited to the time frame of two years starting from 2020 up until 2022. Considering that the writer is familiar with Indonesia and considering the research gap in regards to the region, this research focuses specifically on stateless and refugee communities located in Indonesia.

1.2.2. Research Question

The heart of this research is summarized into a research question that is: "How is the politics of citizenship affecting the security of stateless and refugee communities in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic?"

1.3. Research Aim and Purposes

1.3.1. Research Aim

This research was conducted in order to provide a detailed understanding of how the lack of functioning citizenship is affecting the security of stateless and refugee communities in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic. This research aims to observe and evaluate the significance of citizenship to human security, especially during the current global health crisis.

1.3.2. Research Purposes

For the academic community, the purpose of this research is to contribute to the existing studies on human security, stateless communities, refugee communities, and the Covid-19 pandemic. Human

security during the pandemic can be analyzed in various ways, but this research aims to focus on the security of stateless and refugee communities as one of the most marginalized and vulnerable groups that is still scarcely discussed and explored in this context. This research attempts to shine light on this issue and offer additional insights to contribute to current knowledge and future research.

This research also highlights the conditions of stateless persons and refugees in Indonesia during the pandemic. As vulnerable groups, it is important to look further into their situation and wellbeing. This research provides insight on how the global health crisis affects these communities especially in a transit country that does not ratify conventions for their protection.

For readers, the purpose of this research is to provide data and conclusions that could assist in achieving a deeper understanding of statelessness and refugeehood in relation to security during the Covid-19 pandemic. Although this writing would not be eligible to use as reference, it is capable of providing basic information gained from results of the research for personal knowledge.

1.4. Literature review

This research is supported by various literature reviews from academics around the world discussing statelessness and its relation with security during the Covid-19 Pandemic. First, Van Waas and Spearman discuss the contrast between

state-given welfare support towards citizens compared to the stateless.[13] They point out how in any crisis, states will prioritize their own citizens over anyone else. They almost always become the first to be addressed, served, and protected.

When this is achieved by restricting non-citizens from receiving their right (such as obligating all citizens to get vaccinated first before non-citizens can do so as well), it is devastating for the stateless. Unequal exclusive treatment and provision of rights will not only endanger the safety of the stateless but it will also endanger regular citizens in the territory. Public health and human rights should not be available exclusively for citizens only, because such exclusion will only result in insecurity for all parties.

Talha Burki discusses how Covid-19 has impacted the stateless populations from various regions around the world. Although he uses the term stateless, he clarifies that refugees, displaced populations, and asylum seekers are also presumed to be in the same category within this context. He opened his argument by underlining the fact that statelessness guarantees vulnerability, and this vulnerability would only increase along with crises such as the pandemic. His research shows that almost 50% of his respondents, who were stateless individuals, were refused health care services because they did not possess identification.[14] Even a larger percentage are scared to access health care

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[13] Laura van Waas and Ottoline Spearman, "The Life-or-Death Cost of Being Stateless in a Global Pandemic," *International Journal of Refugee Law* 32, no. 3 (January 2020): pp. 498-501, https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eeaa029.

[14] Talha Burki, "Statelessness in the COVID-19 Pandemic," *The Lancet* 397, no. 10284 (2021): pp. 1529-1530, https://doi.org/10.1016/s0140-6736(21)00901-6.

services because of fear that they will be reported to immigration offices. This shows barriers not only visible in legislation but also on a social level.

Burki's research also shows that various states have varying treatment towards the stateless in the current situation. Several states such as Sudan and 25 out of 45 European countries have created policies to assist non-citizens in current conditions. But policies of several countries such as India, the Dominican Republic, and multiple European states have been found to be exclusive to citizens only. In some places such as Malaysia, there are reports of discriminatory policies not only by the state but also from native citizens towards non-citizens. Again this shows that the source of insecurity comes not only from the state (government) but also from a social level within the society. In summary, Burki truly highlights the discriminatory side of statelessness and refugeehood, particularly during the pandemic.

The nexus between statelessness and health is highlighted by Van Hout, Bigland, and Murray. They put an emphasis on statelessness, human rights, health rights and right to nationality during the COVID-19 pandemic, especially in Europe. They found that the three main themes most respondents voiced their concerns about are the environmental factors that affect their health, difficulty in accessing health care, and discrimination.[15]

Several major points from these themes are (1) how difficult it is to follow social distancing and health protocols in refugee camps, (2) how they cannot

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[15] Marie Claire Van Hout, Charlotte Bigland, and Nina Murray, "Scoping the Impact of Covid-19 on the Nexus of Statelessness and Health in Council of Europe Member States," *Journal of Migration and Health* 4 (2021): p. 100053, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jmh.2021.100053.

afford the additional costs that come with the pandemic such as expensive PCR tests, masks, and medicine, (3) how most of their informal jobs have shut down because of the pandemic resulting in involuntary unemployment and an economic crisis for the community, (4) how those who are lucky enough to still be employed cannot afford to stay home or work from home, which means they are exposed to additional risks every day, and (5) how during the pandemic, discrimination have increased and continue to become a barrier between them and human rights.

Kaneti (2022) examined the concept of semi-citizenship and its implications during the COVID-19 pandemic. using a cross-national lens. They argue that semi-citizenship worsened existing inequalities and vulnerabilities, leaving marginalized populations at a higher risk of health and socioeconomic challenges.[16] By highlighting the disparities in pandemic-related policies across countries, this study emphasizes the need for more inclusive and equitable approaches to citizenship, ensuring that all individuals, regardless of their legal status, can access essential resources and protections during times of crisis.

Özvarış, Kay, Mardin, Sakarya, Ekzayez, Meagher, and Patel discuss the specific case of Turkey. They discuss how it is difficult for the government to provide support for non-citizens. Language and information barrier becomes the primary source of this. Despite having government funded programs and legislations to protect these refugees, these barriers are slowing their efforts

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[16] Marina Kaneti, "Seeing Citizenship: Singularity, Multiplicity, Complexity in Times of Crisis," *Citizenship Studies* 26, no. 4–5 (2022): 512–24, https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2022.2091233.

down.[17] The writers suggest several recommendations. (1) address issues regarding social and cultural barriers, (2) increase reliable information on the subjects to increase policy effectiveness, (3) refugees, migrants, and non-citizens need additional economic and health support which should be provided. (4) inclusivity is key. In summary, this writing focuses not only on the barriers presented by citizenship and the pandemic but also on the strategies to mitigate the issue.

From the literature analyzed above, there are several key points that can be made. First, citizens and non-citizens do not possess the same set of rights, and the pandemic has significantly increased the vulnerability of the stateless and refugee communities in which they are not receiving the rights and protection they need due to their lack of citizenship. Second, varying states have varying treatment and protection towards the stateless and the refugees at this time, therefore the experience and conditions of the stateless and refugees would differ according to where they are situated. There is a prominent research gap in this topic, which is most likely due to the novelness of the situation. Although research on statelessness and refugehood during Covid-19 has been conducted in many countries and regions, there is little to none in Indonesia. Therefore this research is aimed to explore, provide new knowledge, and partially fill the current gap.

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[17] Şevkat Bahar Özvarış et al., "Covid-19 Barriers and Response Strategies for Refugees and Undocumented Migrants in Turkey," *Journal of Migration and Health* 1-2 (2020): p. 100012, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jmh.2020.100012.

1.5. Theoretical Framework

This research is guided by the critical international relations theory, critical security studies, as well as the human security concept. Scholar views such as Arendt's concept of 'right to rights', Cohen's concept of 'semi-citizenship', and Kingston's concept of 'lack of functioning citizenship' are also used. All theories and concepts used are deemed relevant and applicable and analyzing the complex issue of citizenship and security, in which the way individuals are acknowledged and provided human rights depending on their citizenship should be critically analyzed.

Critical theory can be understood as a theory that questions the prevailing order, and attempts to reorganize society by addressing issues from its roots.[18] It integrates various approaches in effort to realize human emancipation from the modern state and system. Linklater defines critical theory as a paradigm that delves into issues of inclusion and exclusion on the domestic, transnational, and international level.[19] He further argues that it is necessary to create a fair and inclusive system based on moral principles.[20] Critical theory also involves criticizing social circumstances and seeking to understand how things came to be.

Critical security studies on the other hand is an approach towards security that uses critical theory as its basis. Critical theory and critical security studies both recognize how security threats in our global anarchy come not only externally

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[18] Richard Wyn Jones, *Security, Strategy, and Critical Theory* (Boulder, Col.: Rienner, 2009).
[19]   Andrew   Linklater,   "Critical   Theory   and   World   Politics,"   December   2007, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203960905.
[20] Ibid.

from foreign states, be it foreign citizens or governments, but threats can also come internally from their very own state. Scholars such as Ayoob and Krause have pointed out that on numerous occasions, the state does not only act as a provider and sponsor for security, it can also become the biggest security threat to its citizens.[21]

According to the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, Human Security can be defined as (1) safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression, as well as (2) protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life.[22] Unlike state-centric security concepts, Human Security focuses on the basic safety on the individual level. Duffield and Waddell on Human Security suggests that the main referent object of security should not be the state only, but should rather be individual where the people are prioritized.[23] Norris and Inglehart point out that the main issue concerned under the Human Security lens is not the main sources of insecurity towards states such as military threats, but rather environmental threats, health threats, poverty, and such.[24]

Buzan highlights how Human Security focuses on freedom from want and freedom from fear.[25] The two general strategies to achieve this are protection and empowerment.[26] Protection is done to shield referent objects from threats.

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[21] Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Strategies* (London: Routledge, 2016).

[22] "Human Development Reports | United Nations Development ...," n.d., accessed April 18, 2022.

[23] Mark Duffield and Nicholas Waddell, "Securing Humans in a Dangerous World," *International Politics* 43, no. 1 (2006): pp. 1-23, https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.ip.8800129.

[24] Ronald F. Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Understanding Human Security," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 35, no. 1 (February 2012): pp. 71-96, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2011.00281.x.

[25] Waisová, Šárka. "Human Security — the Contemporary Paradigm?" *Perspectives*, no. 20 (2003): 58–72. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23615865.

[26] Ibid.

To do this, sources of insecurity must be deeply analyzed and addressed. Empowerment on the other hand is done to enable referent objects to have the freedom of making their own choices and develop their full potential without security barriers. Protection and empowerment work hand in hand to achieve human security. Without the two, it is not possible to achieve human security.

Stateless and refugee communities face particular threats to their human security and they do not always benefit from national security initiatives because of their citizenship status (or lack of status). As discussed earlier, the lack of attachment to and citizenship of an adopted or asylum state often places non-citizens in a situation different to that of nationals. A framework of human security is needed, one that considers the safety and security of individuals irrespective of their attachment to, or status within, a state.

Next is the concept of right to rights. In her writings about totalitarianism, Arendt defines human rights as the right to have rights. She notes that citizenship is necessary in order to achieve human rights and therefore human security. She points out how state membership is required to access rights, where otherwise universal human rights would be non-existent. She underlines how stateless humans are without rights, which means they are without agency or the ability to decide for themselves. The state system which is responsible for establishing citizens rights sabotages the rights for individuals who do not have citizenship. She argues that legal citizenship unintentionally undermines human rights as the politics of citizenship create a group of people who are citizens

therefore with rights, and a group of people who are not citizens therefore without rights.

Another concept relevant to this research is Cohen's concept of semi-citizenship. She argues that citizenship and political membership exists along a spectrum.[27] Individuals who do not enjoy the full rights and function of citizenship can be referred to as semi-citizens. Categorizing is done by evaluating their autonomous rights and relative rights. Semi-citizens include minority groups, children, migrants, undocumented migrants, refugees, and stateless persons. They all belong in a spectrum of citizenship in which each possess varying political recognition and rights. This concept helps understand how stateless persons become the most vulnerable in the citizenship spectrum, and how refugees are also vulnerable despite technically having a citizenship.

Lastly, Kingston's concept of functioning citizenship provides another basis for this research. Kingston defines functioning citizenship as a mutually beneficial contract between states and their citizens.[28] Individuals with a functioning citizenship are regarded as members of a political community, where obedience and support towards state governance is given in exchange for security and service. Individuals with a lack of functioning citizenship do not hold political membership and are not entitled to the security and service that individuals with functioning citizenships would.

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[27] Elizabeth F. Cohen, *Semi-Citizenship in Democratic Politics* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
[28] Lindsey Kingston, *Fully Human: Personhood, Citizenship, and Rights* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019).

1.6. Research Methodology

1.6.1. Research Method

The research method applied is the qualitative method. Given that this study seeks to examine the implications of a lack of citizenship towards the security of stateless persons and refugees located in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic, a qualitative method would be the right fit for analyzing this non-numeric and interpretive topic. Thus, the security of the stateless and refugees in this situation can be studied better and in depth. Since the topic to be studied is knowledge that requires interpretation and understanding of the experiences of the subjects which cannot be measured and cannot be analyzed completely objectively, quantitative methods are not used or combined for this research.[29]

1.6.2. Data collection

Data for this research is composed from secondary data that is obtained from credible sources including published books, academic papers from reputable journals, news articles from internationally respected newspapers, and quantitative data from trusted government and international organization databases. The writer ensures that noncredible sources are not included in the research to maintain its quality and accuracy. The credible data collected would then be presented and analyzed to achieve a conclusive argument and conclusion.

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[29] John W. Creswell and John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches* (SAGE Publications, 2013).

1.7. Research Framework

This research is divided into four chapters. Chapter 1 consists of the introduction, which discusses the research background, research problem, research scope and limitations, and research question. It is followed by descriptions of the research aim and purposes, literature review, theoretical framework, research methodology, and research framework.

Chapter 2 discusses 'Statelessness and Refugeehood as a Lack of a Functioning Citizenship'. First we discuss citizenship as a Right to Rights as Arendt puts it, analyzing how citizenship can be seen as a key factor of security through the critical security studies perspective. Followed by a review on statelessness and refugeehood, discussing how it happens and what implications it holds. Then we discuss both conditions as a concept, where it can be understood as a form of semi-citizenship and simultaneously lack of a functioning citizenship.

Chapter 3 discusses the case study and analyzes the security implications of the Lack of Functioning citizenship of stateless persons and refugees located in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic. This involves data collected from accounts of refugees and stateless people in Indonesia to provide recollection of stateless and refugee experience during this crisis.

Chapter 4 consists of the key points and conclusion achieved from this research.