159

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Assessing Non Traditional Security Issues between Indonesia and Australia Case Study: Food Security

Third Year from Three Years Planning

Principal: Sartika Soesilowati, Dra, MA. Ph.D 0030076404
Member : I. Basis Susilo, Drs, M.A. 0008085405
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ABSTRACT

This final year research evaluates the relationships between Indonesia and Australia, particularly to examine the issue of non traditional security issues which is considered become increasing significant in understanding the comprehensive character of the bilateral relations between the two countries recently. In order to explain more comprehensive nature of current type of relationship in non traditional securities, this research examines the issue of refuges and asylum seeker between the two countries. This particularly aims to assess an effort of collaborative action conducted between Indonesia and Australia in handling the in flux of refuges and asylum seekers who are currently mostly coming from some prolonged conflict area in Middle East, Africa and Asia. The two countries has managed the refugees and asylum seekers in various level, directly and indirectly. There is significance for Indonesia and Australia to cooperate in handling refugees and asylum seeker who are intensively coming to both neighboring countries. Currently, due to prolonged conflicts in various parts of the world particularly from Middle East, asylum seeker are overflowing into the territory of Indonesia and Australia which are bordered by each other. The arrival of refugees or asylum seekers in Indonesia aim to go Australia as the destination country or to stay in Indonesia contemporary as a transit country have made disputes for both countries such as: who has most responsible and how to treat them correspond to the national interest and security. Australia firmly refuses to accommodate those who come in significant numbers in their territory. Whereas most of the asylum seekers aim to go to Australia as their destination. In fact, most of the asylum seekers and refugees are living in temporary shelters in Indonesia as a transit country, while Indonesia is not the main destination for them. In addition, Indonesia also did not feel obliged to significantly look after the asylum seeker or refugees because Indonesia did not sign the Vienna Convention on state obligations to assist and provide a place for the asylum seekers. In this context, this study demonstrates both the extent and the limits of Indonesia and Australia in border control cooperation. It also examines bilateral policies to respond the issue of asylum seeker and refugees. This analyses related issue through several questions namely: 1) What are the differences on policies and action that the two countries are responding to the issues of asylum seekers and refugees ? 3) How do Australia and Indonesia create bilateral outcomes with respect to its national security?; 2) What and how do collaboration between Indonesia and Australia accommodate the solution of asylum seeker and refugees problems? In order to explain the issue, this research examines Indonesian and Australian policies in handling the arrival of asylum seeker in the territorial waters of Indonesia or Australia; 2) This study also collect necessary data from some important transit area of asylum seeker and refugees in Makasar, South Sulawesi and Bangil, East Java Province, Indonesia. This research employs descriptive and qualitative methods. It combines *tracing study* method for examining chronological events. It also applies combination of structural interview techniques and in dept interview.Through the various method, this study aims not only to examine thoroughly the problems and issues of refugees between Indonesia and Australia, but it also to discover a model or modification concept for sustainable bilateral relations between Indonesia and Australia.

Key words: conflict, collaborative, asylum seekers, refugees, Indonesia-Australia Relationships

PREFACE

This research can be held with contribution funding from many parties particularly : 1) *Direktorat Riset dan Pengabdian Masyarakat Kementrian Riset, Teknologi dan Pendidikan Tinggi* , based on *Nomor Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Penguatan Riset dan Pengembangan in Pasal 1 dalam Kontrak Penelitian TA 2018 antara PPK DRPM dengan LP/LPPM/UPPM/Kopertis;* 2) Airlangga University based on the decision from the chancellor of Airlangga University no 597/UN3.14/LT/2017. Many persons and institutions has given the assistance for this research project running well namely: 1) *Lembaga Penelitian dan Inovasi*, Airlangga University, particularly, Prof. H Henry Purnobasuki, MSi, Ph.D, and his 2). The Dean of Faculty of Social and Political Science and his staff 3). The Western Australia University, 4) Rumah Detention Imigrasi, Bangil, East Java Province, 5) International Organisation for migration (IOM), 5) UNHCR, 6) and all volunteer, who gather the information and the interview For all the these parties who contribute to this research, we would like to thank you very much.

It may be necessary to inform that the result of this research has been presented in numerous seminars. Some of the finding from this research project had been and would be presented at some conferences namely: (1) "*International Conference on International Conference on development and Gender, held by* Association of Women Studies Center Indonesia (ASWGI) and University of Hassanudin, Makasar, Indonesia, 9-12 July, 201; *.(2) Gender Studies Workshop* held at the University of Western Australia, 17-23 July 2018; (3), *25 th IPSA World Congress of Political Science* organized by International Political Science Association (IPSA) held from July 21 to 25, 2018 in Brisbane (Australia); 4 th International Conference on Contemporary Social and Political Affairs, August 13 th, 2018, in Surabaya, Indonesia. *National Convention IX, Association of International Relations, Asosiasi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional* 22-25 October 2018 at Tj Pinang; *International Workshop on Gender and International Relations* at 22-24 November 2018 at Batu, Malang. From this seminar we have received some valuable comment and critics that are necessary to rise the quality of the research projects and further academic journal writings.

Surabaya, 15 November 2018

Research Team

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2. *Document* , Photo, Paper *Presented at the.(2) Gender Studies Workshop* held at the University of Western Australia, 17-23 July 2018;
3. Document, Photo, Paper Presented at the (3), *25 th IPSA World Congress of Political Science* organized by International Political Science Association (IPSA) held from July 21 to 25, 2018 in Brisbane (Australia).
4. Document , Photo, Paper Presented at 4 th International Conference on Contemporary Social and Political Affairs, August 13 th, 2018, in Surabaya, Indonesia.
5. Document , Photo, Paper Presented at *Konvensi Nasional IX Asosiasi Imu Hubungan Internasional Indonesia (AIHI) at Tanjung Pinang, 22 – 25 Oktober 2018.* Paper Presented:
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Significance of Indonesia and Australia Bilateral Relationships

Australia is one of the most close and significant neighbor for Indonesia. Among various bilateral relationships of Indonesia with some countries, it can not be denied that relationships with Australia is one of the most important relationships for Indonesia. As well as, for Australia, Indonesia is one of the most strategic and significant neighbor. Both countries have national interest to maintain secure and stable relationship to maintain states legitimacy, authorities and national interest in international arena. They also need each other to support its national economic and political stability.

Traditionally, the issue of high politics such as security, military, and sovereignty has dominated the trajectory relationships between Indonesia and Australia. Although these issue still arguably dominate the tension between the two countries, however, recently a non traditional securities such as terrorism, asylum seekers, and food which in the previously have been treated as more national domain, become increasingly influence the tension between them. This trend corresponds with current important questions of security in the world that were not geopolitical nor related to issues of balance of military powers. Instead, the moments of insecurity as United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Report in 1994 arises from disease, hunger, unemployment, social conflicts, crime, political repression, etc. This report locates the security and insecurity within personal, and smaller group level. Security no longer concerns mainly matters pertaining to the state, but other referent object, such as individuals.

Both countries have strong Interdependence in various sectors. The interdependence become stronger with increasing of non traditional issue between them. For Indonesia, Australia is not only one of the close neighbor country which share the sea border, this country has also important to support Indonesian national unity and security. Among others countries that involved to liberate East Timor, Australian is prime actor in the independence of East Timor from Indonesia. Currently, in this country, there is a lot of support for Independence of West Papua from Indonesia which

make Indonesia always curious to Australian policy in regard to the separatist movement of this province. However, Indonesia also needs to cooperate with Australia which has advance technology and information to tackle the global terrorism. Although Indonesia is considered agricultural countries, but Indonesia still heavily depend on Australia for agricultural communities such as wheat, and meat products. Indonesia also still needs Australia assistance in supporting development of national education particularly in graduate and postgraduate education.

In addition, Australia needs Indonesia to assists its national security, to contribute its national economics, and to assists regional interest. For instance, since the case of Bomb Bali where eighty eight Australian people died, this country has relied on Indonesia's assistance to tackle the problem of terrorism. This country has also depended on Indonesia to stop the flux of illegal immigrant coming from trouble areas such as Afghanistan, Iran, Middle east or North Africa who have passed Indonesian ocean. Indonesia is one of the significant destination for agricultural products, including meat products. Since meat products such as beef, lamb are the main contribution for Australian economics, therefore Indonesia consumers is significant for Australian farmers. In general, the interdependence of the two countries are significant for both.

In fact, the two countries has some concern for the actions and policies that has been implemented by others. In the past, for example Indonesia rejected intervention of Australia in East Timor to support his country Independence from Indonesia. Currently. the traditional issue of separatism and security in West Papua and border dispute between the two countries still influence the dynamic relationships between the two countries. The case of Australian spying to Indonesia under former President Susilo Yudhoyono has made the relationship between the two countries in very low degree with withdrawal of Indonesian Ambassador from his post in Canberra.

Recent dispute between the two countries has significantly developed in to non traditional issues such as different policies in regard illegal immigrant, human rights issues, terrorism and food products. These dispute has argued to create a new trajectory for the relationships between the two countries. What character does the interdependence in non traditional issue in influencing the relationship? Why does interdependence among Indonesia Australia not creating more friendly relationships? The proponent of interdependence argue that interdependence among the states will

reduce possibility to conflict, or damaging the relationship between the countries because the interdependence among the people will hamper possibilities for government to take drastic action such as withdrawal ambassador, or cutting bilateral relationship. These fact, therefore, challenge the common idea for interdependence.

One of the significant case to understand the nature of non traditional security between Indonesia and Australia is related to refugees and asylum seeker which is explained bellow.

Indonesia and Australia in Refuges and Asylum seekers

Today conflict has increased the in flux of the refugees and asylum seeker around the world. According to UNHCR, in 2017 around 68.5 millions individual were forcibly displaced world wide as a result of persecution, conflict or generalized violence. Around 28.5 million are refugees and asylum seeker and 40.0 million internally displaced people. Women and (children) refugees constitutes more than 60 % of the overall refugees. With the conflict is still occurring at this moment, this is bringing tendency to increase the refugees number when the local condition getting worst in the future.

Prolong conflict in Burma followed with forced migration to ethnic Rohingya has also intensified the refugees coming to Indonesia as a transit country or to Australia as the destination country. Both neighbor countries which has different in the nature of politics, social, economics have recently received similar impact by the in flux of the asylum seekers from the result of the civil wars happens in other parts of world.

Indonesia and Australia can not deny strong interconnected in handling refugees and asylum seekers. Geographically they particularly closed and share maritime border. Most the case of non traditional securities issues has involved countries which are close and share border maritime. The area in maritime border are become blur and object for national sovereignty challenge. The question for how countries can respond appropriately and well to handling the case of illegal person, or refuges in the maritime border territory become very important. Countries every where have different policies. And yet they have to react the similar case of refugees and asylum seekers who want to stay contemporary or permanently in their territory. In fact, countries has prioritise their

national interest rather than creating common policies that are accepted by both or supporting refugees rights.This issues can create conflict between the countries.

As of December 2016, a total of 14,405 individuals were registered with UNHCR in Indonesia including 6,578 asylum seekers and 7,827 refugees. Of these 3,821 are female and 10,584 are male. The total includes 3,768 children, 837 of whom are unaccompanied or separated children (The Asia Pacific Refugees Network, 2017). Women refugees in Indonesia constitutes about 30 %. Most of the refugees in Indonesia are coming from Afghanistan (55 %), Somalia (11 %) and Irak (6%). Interestingly, most of the refugees and asylum seekers who are passing Indonesia territory, or stay contemporary in Indonesia in general has favored to resettle in Australia (interview).

Like international and national figure of women refugees, the number of women refugees (and children) in some cities of detention center are also major. For example, in Makasar alone, where this main research projected conducted, in 2016 there are 576 women refugees and most of them, 305, are coming from Afghanistan. This number constitutes almost 45 % from the total number of refugees (KKUP3S, 2016). Women need to be recorded its existence although they have similar status as refugees or asylum seeker as male counterpart.

It is extremely significant to identify the women refugees existence in the transit country like Indonesia in order to identify women aspiration and right. Bias gender still occurred widely and commonly towards women in Indonesia which is supported by in local custom while international and national regulation to women refugees are still weak and late to protect women refugees in transit country. Therefore become important to include questioning about how and to what extent protection to women refugees and asylum seeker can be done by Indonesian government with International partner, including country resettlement like Australia.

In fact, Indonesian, from international legal perspective does not have obligation to care and protect the refugees and asylum seeker. Although not the member of signatories of Refugees convention, that means Indonesia does not have obligation to care and protect the refugees and asylum seeker has responded with some policies and action to protect them who are suffer from an experienced for forced migration and object for human rights violence. Indonesian government has responded by held detention centers and community accommodation service in several urban cities in

Indonesia i.e. Jakarta, Surabaya, Makassar, Medan, Menado, Balikpapan, Kupang, Semarang and Jayapura tof accomodate the refugees and asylum seekers. In addition, to react more significantly in managing and in coordinating refugees and asylum seeker, the Indonesian government has also issued *Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia no 125 tahun 2016 tentang Penangann Pengungsi dari Luar Negeri*. (Presidential Decree no 125 year 2016).This regulation has provided legality for enhancing cooperation across ministries in Indonesia. There are some Department have duty in handling the refugees and asylum seeker in Indonesia, including Foreign Ministry, Ministry of Social, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, Home Affairs, and Police. This regulation has also acknowledged that it is important for Indonesia to make coordination with foreign partners to deliver protection to refugees and asylum seekers including international non government organization and foreign countries particularly Australia.

Research Questions

As noted in the description above that Indonesia and Australia have faced the influx of refugees and asylum seekers that are coming to both countries. Beside they have conducted their national policies and action, they have also cooperated directly and directly to protect as well as to challenge the issue of refugees and asylum seeker. For this phenomenon, then it is necessary to examine further by following question:

1). What are the policies that had been conducted by Indonesia and Australia on the issue of Refugees and Asylum seekers?

2), What are the similarities and differences on policies and action that the two countries are responding to the issues of asylum seekers and refugees ?

3) How do Australia and Indonesia create bilateral outcomes with respect to its national security?;

4) What and how do collaboration between Indonesia and Australia accommodate the solution of asylum seeker and refugees problems?

5). What are the types of cooperation action and policies that had been conducted to protect women refugees and asylum seekers?

6). To what extent the cooperation can protect refugees?

7). What are the challenge for Australia and Indonesia to cooperate in confronting the problem of refugees and asylum seekers?

8). From Indonesian point of view, How the current problems of refugees and asylum seekers can impact on Indonesian position as a transit country?

CHAPTER II

CRITICAL REVIEW

Complex Definition of Refugees or Asylum seekers

The assumption of who are refugees and who can be granted status of refugees or asylum seeker is diverse as well as problematic. In general sense, refugees or asylum seekers are perceived as the most marginalized people in the society. The refugees have faced difficulties in just maintain basic needs for them selves.They are the people who are " in desperate need of help, people who have little, if any, chance of receiving help from their own states " (Lister 2013, 645). The refugees are described as "persons whose basic needs are unprotected by their country of origin, and who have no remaining recourse other than seek international restitution their needs" (Lister, 2013). This is because their states are failure or reluctant to guarantee them with basic needs for living. In addition, the state that should responsible to protect its citizen, is instead behaving as perpetrator to them. This condition is not convenient for people living even though they want to stay. With this condition, there is no reason for them to live in their own country, they have to choose travelling abroad to look safety place and to struggle for their live by asking helps to international community.

Some states in the world have their own authority and interpretation to decide the people who eligible to guarantee the status of refugees or asylum seekers who are coming and hoping to stay in their countries (see Wabrick, 1987). They have defined the status of refugees and asylum seeker depend on the consideration of national sensitivity, politics, economic, security or social condition of their nation.

International community embraces the definition of refugees status from United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as follow:

> Owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return. (UNHCR 1951).

This UNHCR definition has become a guidance to categorise the status of the people who cross their country to ask protection. However, some argues that UN definition has not covered to those who really needed help from international community. The core of definition to define the refugee is about the fear of persecution and weak protection of the state. Some refugees have less indication to have the core of the criteria. Furthermore they have fled asking help from community to minimize the hardship and violence they are facing. For example, in many cases groups of refugees may not fear of persecution and meeting certain minimum level of protection from the state, however they face low economic prospect and some way discriminate to them and meeting less than free political system (Lister 2013). Narrow definition will limit an effort to provide security to the people who desperate for protection. Therefore those who are actually entitle to be refugees or asylum seeker status would be excluded by strict interpretation of the definition.

Fortunately, International community has supplemented the narrow definition of refugees status with the international norm of non refoulement. This principle has applied a duty for country to not return a refugee to a country where he or she will face danger. Based on the 1951 Refugees Convention is only state that are part of signatory of the Convention actually have obligation to care and to provide protection to refugees. In fact, the principle has insisted country that are not signatories to support universal human rights by not sending them without their willing. Consequently the states has hosted them and to care by for example providing facilities.

The Dynamic of Transit Country

The image and condition of transit country is unique and complex. The transit country represents combination of "push as well pull" factor according to Ravenstein (in Dorigo and Tobler, 1983). It has been acknowledged that the widespread conflict in part of the world has increased the number of refugees and asylum seeker in transit countries. For example Turky currently rank no 1 in the world for its status as transit country for refugees and asylum seeker. The burden of transit countries to care of the refugees and asylum seeker become to escalate when the resettlement countries, like Australia, USA and European Countries closed their border or decrease or deny their acceptance to refugees and asylum seeker.

Furthermore, according to Ley and Kobashi, (2005), "As a part of global migration, transit migration has become more complex than the 'assimilation narrative in which migration is seen as a one off, more or less permanent, displacement from an origin to a single destination and the process of adjustment to that destination. In the realm of regular migration, people usually put more concern to the origins and destination countries of the migrants. This is due to short stay, not permanent, and less problematic impact to transit country as a host of travelers. People need to stop over or stay for a short waiting in the transit country on the way their journey to their destination country. This kind straight forward mobility has not usually happened to forced migration such as refugees and asylum seeker movement.

For refugees and asylum seekers, transit country is interesting place to stay contemporary for its opportunity to be resettle in the third countries. Transit country become important in the trajectory of refugees and asylum seeker. The idea of transit country in the context of force migrants like refugees and asylum seekers ideally refers to the place where they have to stay contemporary or for a short time before they finally move to the permanent country. The journey of the refugees and asylum seekers flee from their conflict country usually passing through intermediate country before disembarking to the final destination country.

In many cases, transit country attracts the refugees to visit or to stay not because this country can give protection from origin conflict countries. Instead they came to this countries in the hoping to be transferred to third countries. There is evidence that the Middle Eastern asylum seekers had no intention of staying in Indonesia for the long term. Rather they tried to use a rapidly developing people smuggling industry to reach Australia as soon as possible (Baker, 2013, Missbach and Sinanu, 20111, Munro, 2011).

However, condition of unplanned and unanticipated nature of the journey as well as unexpected circumstance has created obstacles to most of forced migrants to be able to move directly to a country of resettlement (Hugo, Tan and Napitupulu, 169, 2017). Consequently, the refugees and asylum seekers have often moved to a temporary place in which Knuz (1973) called as a 'midway to no where" condition to strengthen the precariousness, uncertainty and temporariness of their stay there. Many refugees or asylum seekers who are facing difficulties in the hope of reaching the destination countries have been forced to stay for a longer period. In many cases they feel

uncertainty or loss their hope for moving in third countries. A country of transit can be a place where irregular migrants can arrange their entry to their intended destination, but it is also one of the places where they are at risk of repatriation. Movement trajectories of refugees and asylum seekers in contemporary migration can extend over long periods of time and a number of intermediate locations before reaching a final destination (Hugo, Tan and Napitupulu, 167, 2017)

Although transit country become more significant in the forced migration due increasing conflict in the world, transit country actually still show ambiguity to treat the refugees and asylum seekers who flee from their conflict country and need the protection. This attitude can be illustrated to their policies for not being part of member states signatories of 1951 refugees convention, which means the countries does not have a formal obligation or commitment to protect and to care the refugees. Consequently, although transit country has provided sanctuary to the forced migrants, these countries usually have not strong national policies or regulations to manage them.

Transit countries has some purpose to open their territory and to protect the refugees and asylum seeker. Most of transit countries are categorized as Third World countries with their condition of economic difficulties and poverties are still profound. Thus to accept the refugees would be argued as a burden for their countries. However, these countries understand that it is necessary to show to the world community that these countries also contribute to create International peace and security and to involve in global humanitarian aid. By providing contemporary protection and shelter to the refugees and asylum seeker, countries can claim to their stand for strengthening human rights value which is something positive for diplomacy and international standing.

In order to bridge between inability to provide daily support for the refugees and necessity to protect the refugees and asylum seekers, transit countries usually manage them with funding from foreign countries and international organization. In many ways, International and local Non government organization like International Organization for Migration (IOM) has dominant and crucial position to care the refugees. These international organization have authority to manage directly the daily life of the refugees and asylum seeker in the third countries.

Transit country is not static, is diverse, complex and changing overtime. As Duvall (2014) for example argues that country like Ukrania is mostly a transit country

for migrants, but for some years during the 2000 when the economic booming the country, migrants from Africa and Asia began to stay and work or engage in business (Duval, 2014, 214). However, when economic condition deteriorate again, as occurred during the economic crisis 2009, the country returns to its position as mostly as a transit country. This changing position of country is possible and it can be influenced by economic factors of the countries concerned.

From comparing various characteristic of transit country presented by Molodikova (2009), Duvell (2009, 2014), they distinguish at least five types of countries affected by transit migration. First is countries that are predominantly receiving migrants and also some transit migration. A second category of countries seems to be simultaneously sending, receiving and transit countries. Other countries are categorized to be mostly transit countries and very few migrants do actually intend to stay. A fourth category of countries tend to be predominantly sending countries. A fifth category seems to be neither a destination nor exactly transit country, but rather a dead-end road for migrants heading toward other countries.

In many ways, category of transit country where refugees or asylum seekers can not go to settlement countries occurred in transit country of most third world countries. These countries have function more less as "deterrence country" for settlement countries (Babacan and Briskman, 2008; Biskman and Dimasi, 2010; Mainwaring; 2012; Moran, Gill and Conlon, 2013). In general, the transit countries build detention centers and some community shelters for refugees and asylum seekers where the authorities can control and manage the stateless people in their region. As a matter of fact , the potential settlement countries often "use these third world detention regimes as punitive and disciplinary to reduce further irregular movement and migration" (Babacan and Briskman, 2008; Biskman and Dimasi, 2010; Mainwaring; 2012; Moran, Gill and Conlon, 2013).The transit countries usually receive financial, and expertise assistance from third countries through international organization which cooperate with the host countries in order to manage the detention center in their territory.

The dynamics of transit country to welcome and to protect the refugees and asylum seekers has also influenced significantly by the policies of third countries. Any changing policies of asylum seeker would affect to transit countries in regard to care the refugees and asylum seekers. For example the changing policies in Australia

towards asylum seeker can influenced its neighbouring transit countries such as Papua New Guinea and Indonesia.

Refugees and Asylum seekers is important and sensitive issues in Australia. The competitive parties usually has issued policies in migrant affairs to aim halting the incoming asylum seeker in order to convince the public. In general the Republic Parties has more strict policies to asylum seekers, rather than the labour parties. The resettlement countries like Australia has implemented strong deterrence policy towards asylum seekers arriving unauthorized in Australian territory. For example, the Australia government during Abbot government had intensified politics of border security and practices of border securitization and militarization (Grewcock 2014).

Since August 2012 and the subsequent implementation of OSB under Abbot government since 2013 – 2015 applied strict policies towards asylum seekers and refugees who aims to settle in Australia travelling by boat called "boat people" in order to achieve Australian shore. This type policies conducts some action in order to hamper or to expel the asylum seeker through namely: 1) to turn boat back from transit country like Indonesia, 2) regional processing, and 3). building some asylum detention center in some transit country like Papua Guinea (Dehm and Wallen, 2016, 596). The detention Center of Nauru which is located in Papua Guinea are illustrative to show the "deterrence" policy of Australian government towards refugees and asylum seekers.

From the above discussion it is reasonable to argue that the label of particular country for being only transit country can be changed from time to time. Push and pull factor towards refugees and asylum seekers can change the reality of transit country.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH AIMS AND CONTRIBUTION

Research Aims

- To compare and to evaluate the differences on policies and action that the two countries are responding to the issues of asylum seekers and refugees ?
- To examine the migration policies particularly related to refugees and asylum seekers and how do Australia and Indonesia create bilateral outcomes with respect to its national interest, and its security consideration ?;
- To analise the type of collaboration (if exist) between the two countries and how do collaboration between Indonesia and Australia accommodate the solution of asylum seeker and refugees problems nationally and internationally?
- To examine the cooperation action and policies that had been conducted by Indonesia collaborating with Australia directly or indirectly to protect women refugees and asylum seekers.
- To evaluate the dynamics of Indonesia as a transit country.

Research Urgency and Contribution

There are several urgency to examine the dynamic of relationships between Indonesia and Australia in the issue of non traditional security through the case of refugees and asylum seekers. The reason to choose Australia because this country is closest neighbor country and maritime border to Indonesia. In flux refugees and asylum seekers pass through the water territory of the countries. The two countries, Indonesia and Australia has currently been exposed together in similar way by the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers from conflict areas in the world. Currently, due to prolonged conflicts in various parts of the world particularly from Middle East, asylum seeker are overflowing into the territory of Indonesia and Australia which are bordered by each other. There is increasing number of refugees and asylum seeker who are coming or intending to stay or to settle in the two countries. In many occasion, problem of refugees or asylum seekers who have travelled to the territory have created problem to their own national security as well as to their relationships. For example, the Australian government has turn a boat to Indonesian water to illegal boat which loaded with the refugees and asylum seeker that passing through the Australian water. The

arrival of refugees or asylum seekers in Indonesia aim to go Australia as the destination country or to stay in Indonesia contemporary as a transit country have made disputes for both countries such as: who has most responsible and how to treat them correspond to the national interest and security. It is necessary therefore to evaluate policies and action that was conducted both countries between the two countries. By analising these, Indonesia would be able to identify the Australian policies and action that will challenge Indonesian authority and eventually can create conflict between the two countries.

In addition, to react more significantly in managing and in coordinating refugees and asylum seeker, the Indonesian government has issued *Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia no 125 tahun 2016 tentang Penangann Pengungsi dari Luar Negeri.* (Presidential Decree no 125 year 2016). This priority policies that Indonesian government currently would like to implement it in order to handle the problem of refugees and asylum seekers. There is urgency to examine the impact of this policy. For example: to what extend this policy able to provide better management and coordination on refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesia. Therefore, it is very urgent to conduct research in this field due to gain understanding of problems as well as the opportunity to develop it comprehensively.

By examining the issue of refugees and asylum seeker between Australia and Indonesia, it will represent the most relevant of case study to the problem that Indonesia has to deal it. It is probably a lot of research being conducted to examine Indonesian relationship between Indonesia and Australia, but none research focusing in detailed the dynamic case of refugees and asylum seekers. By understanding complexity of refugees and asylum seekers, particularly between Indonesia and Australia, it will yield the most relevant model to suggest improvement in cooperation handling issue of refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesian.

Theoretically, by examining the case study of refugees and asylum seekers of Indonesia and Australia, it will contribute variety or modification of concept about cooperation in managing refugees and asylum seekers. It will also contribute to the development of concept in enhancing the relationships between Indonesia and Australia. Lastly it will develop a new understanding and knowledge about non traditional securities ideas.

Preliminary Research Argument and Contribution

The basic argument of this study is as a noted in the chapter outset, the current influx of refugee and asylum seeker form overseas recently has influenced significantly the relation between Indonesia and Australia. There were conflict as well as collaborative action conducted both directly and indirectly. The way Indonesian and Australia in handling their own national issue of refugees and asylum seeker shape significantly the policies that had been conducted by each other. This will eventually influence the character of bilateral relationship between Indonesia and Australia. Close relationships between the two countries would be occurred as a result of significant cooperation between the two countries in the refugees issues. Furthermore bilateral relations would significantly enhanced between the two through its interdependence in handle the refugees issues. Refugees issue is one of the significant issue which is become concern to both countries. In contrast, any differences and more nuance to prioritize national interest without understanding other state interest will damage the relationships between the two quickly. This is because refugees issue is common problems in the world today. Country alone can not solve the problem by them selves.

Moreover, refugees issue today has changed the country status and image. A country would have a good reputation and can be part of a "good" state if they welcome and treat the refugees nicely, properly, and follow the human right rules. In order to be assume as a good state and a responsible to contribute solving world insecurity caused by the influx of refugees in the world, Indonesia need to show that this country is hosting the refugees.However, Indonesia current position has changed due to its open policy to receive refugees as well as its collaboration with Australia although Indonesia is not part of 1951 Refugees Convention. At this moment, particularly for the Indonesia position, the current policies and action conducted by Australia has transformed its mainstream position of Indonesian as a transit country for refugees and asylum seeker. Indonesia become the supporter of deterrence policy of Australia in refugees case.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Type of Research

This research employs descriptive and qualitative methods. It also combines tracing method for examining chronological events. Through the various method, this study aims not only to examine thoroughly the problems and issues of refugees and asylum seeker between Indonesia and Australia, but it also to discover a model or modification concept for bilateral relations (trade) between Indonesia and Australia. Through observing the research subject, this study will describe and explain in detailed the conflict and cooperation between the two countries.

Research Subject and Social Setting

This study project use bilateral policies and issues particularly in migration conducted between Indonesia and Australia as the main focus of the research. It primarily examine the dynamics of Indonesian and Australian policies in handling the arrival of asylum seeker in the territorial waters of Indonesia or Australia (boat people) and people who are already stay contemporary in detention centers in Indonesia. In order to get information and data, some resources of the decision makers such as from Australian Consulate n Surabaya and Indonesian Consulate in Perth also be the subject for deep interview. To get more understanding in the ground comprehensively, this research will also gather information from the authorities at the Detention centers also directly to asylum seekers and refugees at detention centers in Bangil and Makassar. .

Data Collection

This study collect two types of data, namely primary and secondary data. Primary data would be collected through in depth interview individually (asylum seekers and refugees) or through Focus Discussion Group (FGD) to some stake holders and policy makers from detention centers. To collect information through interview, this research applies *unstructured* interview and using *snow ball effect* . This research has collected secondary data from books, journals, newspaper, and officials releases to support the argument.

Data Analysis

This research will analyze data through descriptive, qualitative and tracing methods. 1) The secondary data will be analyzed and presented in descriptive through examining the trends. 2) Primary data taken from depth interview and FGD will also be evaluated and presented in descriptive using analyzing trend. Tracing method will employ historical research through analyzing past events and phenomenon in order to discover general of patterns or model as well as continuity and discontinuity.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH ACHIEVEMENT

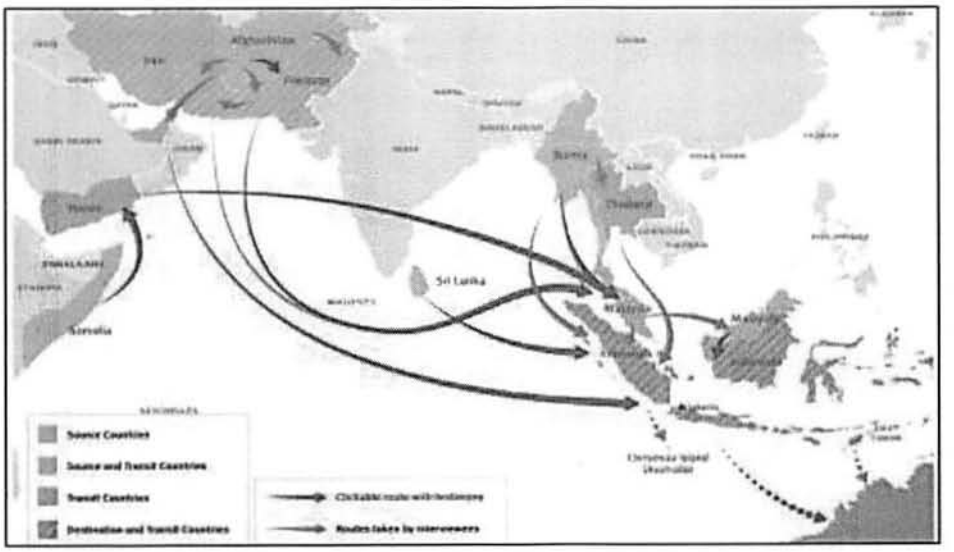
The Refugees and Asylum Seekers Record

Today conflict has increased the flood of the refugees and asylum seeker around the world. According to UNHCR, in 2017 around 68.5 millions individual were forcibly displaced world wide as a result of persecution, conflict or generalized violence. Around 28.5 million are refugees and asylum seeker and 40.0 million internally displaced people. Women and (children) refugees constitutes more than 60 % of the overall refugees. With the conflict is still occurring at this moment, this is bringing tendency to increase the refugees number when the local condition getting worst in the future.

Prolong conflict in Burma followed with forced migration to ethnic Rohingya has also intensified the refugees coming to Indonesia as a transit country or to Australia as the destination country. Both neighbor countries which has different in the nature of politics, social, economics have recently received similar impact by the in flux of the asylum seekers from the result of the civil wars happens in other parts of world.

As of December 2016, a total of 14,405 individuals were registered with UNHCR in Indonesia including 6,578 asylum seekers and 7,827 refugees. Of these 3,821 are female and 10,584 are male. The total includes 3,768 children, 837 of whom are unaccompanied or separated children (The Asia Pacific Refugees Network, 2017). Women refugees in Indonesia constitutes about 30 %. Most of the refugees in Indonesia are coming from Afghanistan (55 %), Somalia (11 %) and Irak (6%). Interestingly, most of the refugees and asylum seekers who are passing Indonesia territory, or stay contemporary in Indonesia in general has favored to resettle in Australia (interview).

Picture 1: Route of asylum seeker or refugees to Indonesia



Like international and national figure of women refugees, the number of women refugees (and children) in some cities of detention center are also major. For example, in Makasar alone, where this main research projected conducted, in 2016 there are 576 women refugees and most of them, 305, are coming from Afghanistan. This number constitutes almost 45 % from the total number of refugees (KKUP3S, 2016). Women need to be recorded its existence although they have similar status as refugees or asylum seeker as male counterpart.

Comparing Indonesian and Australia: Regulations, Aspiration and Actions

Indonesia

There are some obvious differences between Indonesia and Australia in how the countries to agree upon and to implement the international agreement on Refugees. Indonesia is not a state party to the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees or its 1967 Protocol. Therefore this country has no responsibility to look after refugees that are coming to this country. The main reason for Indonesia being not to be part of the signatory party is because Indonesia is considered not capable to look after refugees. The Indonesian government argues that it will be a burden for this country to

take responsibility to accept and to care the refugees while there is still a lot of poverty and lack of minimum social service among Indonesian people. There is perception that responsibility to look after refugees will drain the domestic resources, which is still limited to be allocated to the refugees.

In fact, since 1979, during the impact of Vietnam, Indonesia together with international community has helped Vietnam refugees and accommodate them in Galang Island. The government of Indonesia has also uphold the customary international law principle of *non refoulement* continuing detention of asylum seekers and refugees (especially children) in particular concern (Asia Pacific Refugees Network, 2017). According to this principle, refugees must not be expelled or returned to situation where their life or freedom would be in under threat. States bear the primary responsibility for this protection. In the reality, the Indonesian government can not return them UNHCR works closely with governments; advising and supporting them as needed, to implement their responsibilities. Based on this Indonesia has obligation not to deport the refugees back to their countries which are still conflict and their life are still threatened. Indonesia, therefore, let the international counterpart like UNHCR, IOM or other countries to provide social service to care the refugees in Indonesia.

On December 2016, Indonesia issued Presidential Regulation Number 125 on handling of Refugees from Abroad. This regulation is claimed as the first comprehensive regulation for refugees in Indonesia. Recognition of how significance cooperation in handling the refugees mentioned in the article 2 that;

(1) Handling of Refugees is carried out pursuant to a cooperation arrangement between the national government and the United Nations through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Indonesian and /or an International organization.

(2) The international organization as referenced in paragraph (1) is an international organization engaged in the area of migration affairs operating under an agreement with the national government.

This regulation has stated that the domain for refugees not only the sovereign of Indonesia government. The regulation stated that managing refugees can be done with support from international community. With this regulation, the Indonesian government has acknowledged significance of issues of refugees and asylum seekers to be managed

by involving the international partners, International states organization and International Non government Organisation.

Nature, Aim and Mission of Australia as a Resettlement Country

There is dynamic in Australian policy to receive refugees or asylum seekers. The political consideration for example the political party platform for migration has shaped the policy toward the refugees or asylum seekers. Some policies apply strict action to deter refugees coming to the land. In fact, Australia is one of most favorite destination for refugees. The Australian government claim that the aim of Australia to receive asylum seekers are including: (1)it would serve Australian national interests and international engagement, (2) it would enhance the scope of cooperation with regional partners, (3) it would give greater hope and confidence to asylum seekers in the region that regular migration pathways and international protection arrangements provide a practical, realistic and better alternative to dangerous boat voyages to Australia, (3) it would enable Australia to assist in meeting growing humanitarian needs in the region in a fair and timely way, (4) it would support Australian strategies to encourage other international resettlement countries to assist in more expansive ways, and (it would contribute to the strengthening of regional cooperation on asylum seeker.

And Australia like other settlement country has adopted the International legal framework for assistance to refugees. Australia adopted the Refugee Convention of 1951and the Refugee Protocol of 1967 being major instruments, with the 1950 Statute of the office of the UN High Commissioner for refugee (UNHCR) and some important resolutions of the general Assembly of the United.

The Nature of Australia and Indonesia Relationships in Handling Refugees and Asylum Seeker Issues .

Indonesia and Australia are strongly connected and interdependence relating to the problem of the influx of refugees and asylum seeker that are currently swapping the world because of the prolong conflict, particularly in Middle East, Africa and Myanmar. Geographically, both countries are next door neighbor and sharing maritime border. For Australia, Indonesia has strategic position in Australian policy of migration. Indonesia

is an "entrance" for illegal immigrant or asylum seeker using boat called "*Boat People*" to harbour in Australian territory in order to find a better life. Many desperate "*Boat People*" passing through Indonesian territory before they are aiming to enter Australian territory. Because of its sharing maritime border between Indonesia and Australia, Indonesia can be argued as the final gate before the asylum seeker passing in to Australian.

Indonesia is considered the closed country to Australia during the journey of the refugees and asylum seeker mostly coming from Middle East, Africa, and Asia. Geographical proximity between the two countries, particularly at the West part and North part of Australia, such as Christmas Island, Darwin and Indonesian territories such as Sumatra, Java and West Timor have attracted asylum seeker to land contemporary in Indonesia before they finally continue heading their journey towards Australia. Traffickers are usually using opportunity of its porous archipelago around Indonesia territory as a launch point to smuggle asylum seeker who wants to settle in Australia (Roberts, 2014; Asri and Kasim, 2015). Many asylum seekers aim to settle in Australia using Indonesia as the last transit country before they enter to Australia because of this proximity.

Beside geographically Indonesia as known as an "passage" for asylum seekers to Australia, Indonesia can also played as the "deterrence" country for Australian. Indonesia play a part to authority can assist Australia to halt boat people when entering to Indonesian territory. The Indonesian authority can intercept the boat people whom Australian believed not only consist of asylum seeker who has right to get protection but also illegal immigrant. The involvement of Indonesia authorities, particularly Indonesian navy is significant to stop or to deny the 'boat people' who risk their life to board in Australia. Indonesia usually

In many occasion Australian authority turn back the boat people intercepted in to Indonesian territory (Roberts, 2014). This policies has created tension between Indonesia and Australia. In other words, because of its geographic position, Australia can use Indonesia as a barrier to discourage asylum seeker coming to Australia. To some extend, Australia is significantly depended on Indonesia to halt unwanted asylum seeker and to deny illegal immigrant who intends to enter to Australia.

As the closed neighbor country, Indonesia has attracted asylum seeker to get their status as refugees. Some of the refugees coming from some conflict area flew by airline and using their tourist visa to stay temporary. When finally their visa is expired, they apply for asylum seeker or refugees status to UNHCR. Indonesia has no right to deport them, instead it has to protect as refugee when they can prove that they are coming from the conflict country. Many of them have to stay longer than they are expected in some detention center in Indonesia before they can go to Australia. For some who did not resettle may choose to repatriate back to their home countries

Interdependence between Indonesia and Australia relating to the issue of refugees and asylum seeker has also derived from the differences of country status as well as perception among the refugees and asylum seeker in regard to the *destination* or *resettlement* country for Australia vis as vis Indonesia as a *transit* country. Australia is traditionally identified as one of the most favorite country for resettling the refugees, while Indonesia perceived as a transit country. Although Australia is currently falling outside the top ten countries that recognize and resettle refugees, but this country still rank third overall in permanent global resettlement, falling behind the US and Canada (Refuge Council of Australia, 2018). Most of the refugees and asylum seekers, particularly in detention centers or alternative accommodation for refugees in Indonesia are hoping to be resettled in Australia. This country is the final destination for the refugees and asylum seeker to make " a new life", "peaceful life", or "surviving" after their dangerous experience in their home country and along the journey to escape from the war and conflict. Australia, by virtue of their ability to provide protection and live hood opportunity, is considered desirable destination countries for asylum seeker (Asylum Insight 2017).

Indonesia is one of major transit countries in Southeast Asia, as people move from conflicts in the Middle East i.e. Syria, Afghanistan and Asia, particularly Myanmar, towards Australia. People are traveling by air, sea, land to Indonesia for temporary sanctuary and protection before they are granted to go to Australia. Indonesia is considered as the "last stepping stone" (Misbach, 2017) for the refugees before continuing their journey to settle permanently in Australia. As of December 2016, a total of 14,405 individuals were registered with UNHCR in Indonesia including 6,578 asylum seekers and 7,827 refugees. Of these 3,821 are female and 10,584 are male. The

total includes 3,768 children, 837 of whom are unaccompanied or separated children (The Asia Pacific Refugees Network, 2017)

Like other transit countries in Southeast Asia, Malaysia or Thailand, Indonesia is not a state party to the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees or its 1967 Protocol. Therefore this country has claimed no responsibility to look after refugees that are coming to this country. Instead, the government of Indonesia upholds the customary international law principle of *non refoulement* continuing detention of asylum seekers and refugees in particular concern .(Asia Pacific Refugees Network, 2017). Indonesia can not deport the refugees back to their countries which are still conflict and the life of refugees are still threatening.

The differences of countries status for Australia as permanent settlement and Indonesia as transit country has actually created strongly interdependence. The changing policy of immigration regulation from one country can impact directly to the other. This is because most of the refugees in Indonesia are hoping to be resettled in Australia. For example, Australian strict policy relating to resettlement which is currently trying to reduce the quota of asylum seekers have an impact to the several problems directly that has to be tackled by Indonesia. One of this problem would be increased of the number refugees and asylum seeker live in Indonesia because there would be more refugees stay longer in Indonesia waiting to be resettle in Australia. Consequently, this will give an additional burden for Indonesia to manage the refugees. The refugees has already suffered and most of them become stress because of their condition as refugees during the journey leaving home country and in the transit country like Indonesia. With cutting policy of quota from Australian government the refugees become more depress, restless, angry, and feel deny by the authorities. When these biological and psychological illness happened to the refugees, there would be an issue for health, economic and security.

It is very often that as a result of frustration and disappointment, they refugees conduct demonstration, violence, or protest aim to draw attention from public, Indonesian authorities and related institutions like UNHCR and IOM. Indonesia may not necessary to be offended by the asylum seeker protest because instead of Indonesian government, the UNHCR or IOM which are the parties that are actually mostly in charge to care the refugees and asylum seeker. However, for Indonesia, protest or

demonstration from refugees would be very sensitive for the sake of national interest, especially during this globalization information, although Indonesian government has maintained freedom of speech and adopted democratic style. From Indonesian view, the protest from refuges would denounced Indonesian stand to build reputation for country in sustaining Human Rights and contributing to international peace and security. Indonesian constitution has mentioned about its contribution role.

Similar impact of how changing Indonesian policy in regard to asylum seekers can influence directly to Australia interest. Australian coast guard would be in very dilemmatic position when Indonesia has decided not to intercept asylum seeker who are sailing by boat passing Indonesian water in order to go to Australian water. Indonesia authorities sometimes has tried to turn it in to Australian water. Similar action has also conducted by Australian authorities. In addition, Australia has accused Indonesian to sponsor people smuggling or trafficking as the result of Indonesian ignorance for trafficking person from Indonesian territory. Consequently, political row between the two countries occurred as a result their decision to "turn a boat" in to other maritime territory.

Furthermore, migration issue is very sensitive issue in Australia domestic politics. The opposition parties can use sensitive migration issue to attack government policy which are unable to stop the influx of refugees or asylum seekers. Reputation of Australian government is significantly depended on the capacity to handle asylum seekers or refugees nationally and internationally. Once, Australian reputation in sustaining human rights had been tarnished with the incident of Tampa, when Australian has rejected to help the sank of this ship with its passenger.

For Indonesia, local politician has not yet interested to interfere at the issue of refugees and asylum seekers. As a transit country, Indonesian have interest to show to the world that Indonesia as the leader of ASEAN has also contributed to protect refugees and asylum seekers although Indonesia has not yet signatory of 1951 Convention on Refugees Status. However, Indonesia has also reluctant to allocate the fund to the refugees and asylum seeker. As the developing country with many people still living in poverty, supporting refugees or asylum seeker which is suitable to international standard would be sensitive issue. Therefore, Indonesia need to cooperate with Australia and International organization through various mechanism to care the refugees or

asylum seeker who come at the Indonesia in order to go Australia or other third countries.

To conclude there is undeniable reliance between Indonesia and Australia in handling the refugees and asylum seekers because of geographical proximity and its main position in accommodate the refugees and asylum seekers. The decision of Australia will strongly influence Indonesia and *vice versa*. Therefore, cooperation between the country, particularly in manage the influx of asylum seekers and refuges is necessary. How this cooperation works is explained below.

Level and type cooperation between Indonesia and Australia

Indonesia and Australia held engagement or cooperation in handling refugees and asylum seeker in various level, directly and indirectly. In the bilateral level between Indonesia and Austraia, the Lombok treaty become the guidance to develop the bilateral security a in handling the refugees and asylum seeker issues. The two countries has conducted collaborative action to manage the flow of migrants who aims to go to Australia and making Indonesia as a transit country. under Regional Cooperation Agreement, Indonesian police and immigration officials would intercept refugees and asylum seekers thought to be intent on traveling irregularly to Australia. The asylum seeker then to be detained in Indonesia, before they probable would be resettle in Australia if they qualified with Australian . In other words, Indonesian based on the cooperation has duty to deter the people who tried to enter Australian territory

The two countries has also engaged in multilateral relationship such as Bali Democracy forum. Beside that, each country cooperates two countries cooperation with UNHCR and international agencies to accommodate the asylum seeker and refugees to live temporary in Indonesia. With granting of UNHCR for the status of asylum seeker and refugees, Indonesia is then hosting them.

Australian has a privilege position as a resettlement country. In its policy regarding offshore resettlement, Australia maintains its position to work together with United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), international partner and community organization to provide assistance to refugees in other countries (Australian home affairs). UNHCR has worked on shas conducted administration activities in

Indonesia to give asylum seekers and refuges status. The Australian government has the main authorithy in term of the amount and the person who are eligible for the resettlement.This UN agency for refugees has used some criteria for resettlement people such as: Legal and/physical Protection Needs, Survivor of Torture and/ or violence, Medical Needs, Women and Girls at Risk, Family Reunification, Children and Adolescents at Risk. Though UNHCR in Jakarta may recommend and refers people for settlement, but the ultimate decision rests on the Australia's Immigration Department. Only Australia has authority to select or deny the refugees who are still living or staying in Indonesia and purpose to move in to Australian land. the Australian government has the main authorithy in term of the amount and the person who are eligible for the resettlement.

The involvement of Australia in Indonesia in managing refugees and asylum seeker in Indonesia is conducted mostly indirectly through UNHCR or IOM. There are 13 detention centers for refugees and asylum seekers. Local staff of IOM has involved to manage deeply in refugees an asylum seeker in Indonesia. In 13 detention centers across the Indonesian archipelago, IOM provides "migrant care management" to those detained They support the refugees and asylum seekers daily needs regarding their food, health, education, and housing in Indonesia. Together with UNHCR, IOM has also participated in giving information about the refugees and asylum seeker for the process of selection of refugees or asylum seekers in Indonesia.

International organization like IOM can operated in Indonesia because they receive fund from international communities. And this funding is very crucial for organization like IOM to be able to operate in countries like Indonesia. It is admitted by IOM Indonesia that they receive most of the fund from Australian government (interview). It is unlikely organization like IOM able to operate without fund from international community like Australia. Therefore, it can not be denied that through IOM, country like Australia can monitor, and as well as to intervene the issue of refugees in Indonesia.

Problems in Handling the Refugees

Refugees is the most marginalized group in the world. According to international norm, they deserve protection from international community. International norms demand host countries to protect and to look after the refugees and not repatriating them by non voluntary. In fact, they become the most unwelcome community by country in the world. This is because in general they are coming to the countries with almost nothing and carried physical as well as emotional traumatic being forced to leave their homeland. Their daily life including food, accommodation, health should be supported by host countries together with international community. For host countries particularly like developing country, Indonesia, where poverty is still rampant, and social gap between very rich and poor is still high, the treatment to the refugees become the burden as well as it can escalate social, cultural tension as well as political issues in the future.

Difficulty in Dealing with Refugees Problem. One of the issues that should be faced by host country like Indonesia and the agent is to handle the refugees problem that they are bringing from their home country. In general, like other condition of refugees in other world, refugees who are coming to Indonesia have similarity of experienced difficulties and hardship. Most of them are being marginalized and treated unfair ranging from lost properties, assault, violence, fraud, rape, and killing. Instead protecting their citizens, their government has forced them to migrate from their homeland. They become victim as a result of their domestic conflict. During their flee to reach other countries in order to have protection, it is often that they lost their live or losing their family, or relative family. Most of the refugee in Indonesia, for example from Afghanistan, mention that the ultimate reason to force them leaving their country are saving their life that are threatened by rebellion group of Taliban (interview). If they have lucky enough to save their life, unfortunately they still faced hardship by losing their identity, belonging, citizenship and property (interview). Furthermore, their past difficulty experienced of the refugees has not been erased when they arrive to host countries. They are still be haunting by their memory and they are still suffer with physical and emotional illness. Women refugees are very often suffer a lot. They are vulnerable to rape, kidnapping, sexual abuse during their journey to get protection and to flee to unfamiliar environment. In addition, it has often been reported that these

women were forced to engage in sexual relations in return for obtaining relief goods or documentation.

Country like Indonesia which is position as a transit country have to deal with the refugees problems occurred in the past. It is one of the challenge for Indonesia to be able to minimise the past problems and particularly, reduce its impact on their current condition during their stay in this country. In fact, it is not easy for Indonesian to deal with this problem when the problem of them rooted on their home country. Moreover, community in Indonesia are not knowing well social and cultural background of the refugees. Moreover, Indonesia is lack capacity and authority to deal with the refugees problem in own country.

Hidden Cost and Economic Burden. Indonesian as sovereign country which has authority to manage their territory and people inside their territory is not working alone to look after the refugees who are coming to this territory. The government has conducted a collaborative with foreign countries, such as Australia, and International organization such as United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), and International for Migration (IOM). These organization have opened some branches where refuges and asylum seeker have been detained in some cities in Indonesia and considered have significant position to support refugees and asylum seeker life. These international organisation guarantee food, health, and to cooperate with Local government to provide accommodation to refugees and asylum seekers. While the contribution from International organization is usually identified and measured, for example in amount of money they donate to support their activities in protecting the refugees, the hidden cost which Indonesia have to carry is missed identified and not acknowledged.

For instance, the government has to distribute their limited resources particularly in Department of immigration to concentrate protecting the refugees which should met the international criteria while the national regulation has not fully supported to conduct such action. In many cases, international standard is higher than national standard. This create certain challenge for Indonesian authority to comply with this requirement. Furthermore, country at least has still pay substantial salaries for government officials and security services related to the refugees. For their part of commitment to protect the right of refugees, especially children, the local government where refugees situated

provide free education. Although the international organization help to provide accommodation, but significant cost is still bear by host countries in choosing the location, build the detention center, and housing communities for the refugees and asylum seekers. Being a country with still category as a developing country and poverty is still rampant, it can not been denied that hosting refugees can be burden.

Economic Jealous. As a part of world community and a responsible country in the world, it is necessary for Indonesia to show its support for humanitarian activity by accepting and protecting refugees who has fled from their conflict country. In fact, Indonesian government has still lack of economic resources and capacity to look after the refugees. In some areas where the detention centers or community housing located, people in neighborhood is still living in poverty and modest condition of accommodation, health, education, and sanitation. Even unemployment is still rampant in the surrounding area or cities where detention centers are located.

Therefore, the involvement of organisation international like IOM, UNHCR, and Australia has helped Indonesia to manage the problem of refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesia. These organisastion with most of funding from Australia provide food, money, facilities for accommodation, and health treatment. The international partner has followed the international standard for refugees treatment and protection. However, in many cases people surrounding the detention center see that the refugee are living much better than average people in Indonesia which are still a lot of being living in poverty. The local perceived that refugees as a "stranger", " alien" are not deserved living better than the average local people. How come a stranger receive better treatment than local? This kind unsatisfaction from local people to refugees can spark conflict and further can destabilize domestic insecurity.

Social stereotype. Indonesia is so diverse with different sub ethnic and religion. In fact, Indonesian claims to maintain its unity by diversity. However, an effort to maintain this unity are not easy. In many cities where detention center are located, many people tend to maintain the level of prejudice to particular culture or religion. Or in many cases, they are still intolerance to other culture or religion. The local people can feel insecure with existence of refugees who has different type of religion. For example, most of Afghan refugees who are majority group among other group that are coming to Indonesia have been perceived to embrace Syiah Sect while most of Indonesia are

Sunni. Indonesia believe that Syiah Sect would degrade the existence of Sunni in Indonesia. In many cases, local people took extreme action by for example rejecting children refugees from Afghanistan to study at local school (interview). Consequently, many children refugees has grew up without formal education in Indonesia although the government has claimed to guarantee education for children refugees in local school.

Security issues. To host refugees now days can be "Trojan Horse". Most of the terrorist cells have been indicated coming from Middle East or Africa countries particularly the conflict countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Lybia or Sudan. By chance, most of refugees in Indonesia come from the area. For example, 55 % of refugees in Indonesia is originally come from Afghanistan. In this case, the Indonesian government is concerned that these refugees are actually terrorists who have sneaked in refugees status.

These kind problems are not easy to be solved by Indonesia and international partners. So far there is very limited effort to prevent or to deal with the problems among refugees or stereotype of local people. Therefore it will create resentment and conflict among Indonesian people about refugees existence.

Collaboration: To Challenge the National Sovereignty?

It can not be denied that Indonesia need international partner to support refugees life in Indonesia. This is because Indonesia is not formally having obligation to look after international refugees. This country has also lack of resources and capacity to sustain the lives of refugees in Indonesia land. In fact, international support to refugees can a challenge to the national sovereignty.

Under current agreement, the international partners has to some extend freedom as well as authority to refugees while Indonesia has limited authority to deal with the refugees and asylum seekers. The international organization is dealing with refugees daily life, including the important decision to grant people as a asylum seekers, a refugee. With the consideration of third country like Australia, the UNHCR selects refugee moving to third party without consent Indonesian government necessarily. The question is raised for example is this kind work division between Indonesia as a host

country is the best for the national interest? Do the type work division can challenge Indonesian reputation and authority in the eye of domestic public?

In some cases the treatment of international organization to the refugees can create conflict with local community. It may not congruent with local culture and government policies. For example, the international organization like IOM has delivered refugees needs based on International standard that has been decided by international community. However, for the local people, they argue that this kind support which has delivered by international organization like IOM seems too much and unfair. The local people who are still living in modest condition and poverty do not receive the support. This situation will eventually can create accusation that Indonesian government is giving more attention to refugees than local people. This type respond of local people in Indonesia can damage the reputation of government in managing their people.

The latest condition in existing refugee governance have forced Indonesia to change Indonesian's position and policy from the previous one. For instance, at this moment Australia and third countries have issued policies to reduce drastically the amount of resettlement to their countries. Australia has conducted the policies to reject, to delay or to deny the granted status for settlement. The refugees and asylum seeker has to stay longer than their expectation. It has been reported that while in the past the majority of refugees had to stay in average 2 or 3 years, at this moment they have to wait double, more than 5 year or 7 year without certainty where they finally move to Australia or the third country. Longer period of stay for refugees, means that they are not living temporary in this country. This changing situation has transformed Indonesia not merely as a transit country. This situation can create resentment and conflict. Therefore it's a challenge for Indonesia to reposition its self in the realm of world refugees issues.

Lastly, the collaborative action has indeed accommodated to some extent the state interest in effort to manage the issue of refugee and asylum seekers, however, this cooperation has also raised the questions about the sustainability of the collaborative action. The collaborative action conducted by countries has enhanced the relationships between the countries. However practice of collaborative need to some extent coordination and trust. And this is not easy to develop, with country used to raise their

interest above others and not share their common interest or prioritise the human rights of the refugees and asylum seekers.

VI

FURTHER RESEARCH PLAN

In term of the responsibility for the outcome of the research, although the scheduled of Third Year Research Program will end on November 2018, but we are going to continue our unfinished work such as finishing article for international journals and publishing books. We are going to fix and to improve the paper until it published. Therefore we plan to submit the article to international journal at the middle of December 2018. We also will finalize to publish book about non traditional issues between Indonesia and Australia on February 2019

In the long run we still going to o continue to do work on the research related about relationships between Indonesia and Australia and also to develop our research interest about non traditional secures issues.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION AND RESEARCH SUGGESTION

It is noticed that the issue of non traditional security become important to influence the character relations between the countries. It is has been discussed in previous chapter that the issue in handling the refugees and asylum seekers particularly in Indonesia territory become important issue between Indonesia and Australia. Some conflict and cooperation occurred in managing the refugees case. Conflict happened because there is some differences opinion and policies raging from the idea of threat posed by refugees to the state or how best to manage the refugee and asylum seeker.

In fact the problem in handling the issue of refugees has additional factor to enhance the cooperation between the countries. This is because the two countries understand that they can not challenge the issue and threat coming from refugees issue alone. They need close cooperation. In other words, they need significant collaboration.

There is interdependence, mutual benefit, as well as complement in the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Australia in handling refugees and asylum seekers although Indonesia most depend on international organization in handling the daily life of the refugees in Indonesia. For Indonesia, Australian domination contribution to IOM as the organization which deeply involve in managing refugees in Indonesia give more problematic. The Australian support of funding can assists Indonesia to strengthen Indonesian management in refugees and asylum seeker issue. However, in the same time it potentially undermines the sovereignty of Indonesian. Indonesian authority can be challenged by the international organization.

Overall, there is contradictive situation that now Indonesia has to face *vis a vis* Australia as the main important contributor for funding in managing refugees and asylum seeker. In one side Indonesian has to receive reality that Indonesia still much relies on Australia and there is no possibility to reduce dramatically this dependency without bringing instability of Indonesian security, particularly in refugees case, in other side, there is also intense problem for refugees that can not be handled by international organization with help of Australia.. Consequently, this contradictive situation will contribute up and down the relations between Indonesia and Australia.

Research Suggestion

From the result of this project, there are several suggestion that it is necessary to be implemented by the decision makers and stake holders who are involved in managing refugees in Indonesia as follow:

As the member of international community, it is obligation for Indonesia to continue giving support to world humanitarian activities, particularly in helping and protecting refugees. This action can build Indonesia reputation in the world. Indonesia current ambition to increase its number of UN peace keeping force need an action that Indonesia is really care to sustain human rights and to conduct humanitarian activities in domestic realm.

While Indonesia still lacks resources and capacity to deal with refugees problem, it is also necessary to rely on other countries, namely Australia and UN international Organization such as UNHCR and IOM. For Indonesia to continue its collaboration with International partners, including Australia as the greatest donor country is the most rational solution to deal with the influx of refugees.

However, it is necessary for Indonesia to evaluate the division of work among the parties that are involving in helping the refugees at this moment. International organization has more authority above Indonesian government in term of sustaining refugees life. Indonesia need to be involved more deeply and to have more authority for the refugees life in Indonesia land.

Although Indonesia has issued the Presidential Decree on 2916 as a formal guidance in handling the refugees, however, it has been noticed that Indonesian authority is still lack of understanding about their duty in handling the refugee and proper action in dealing with refugees. There are problem of coordination among the ministries that are dealing with refugees issues although the new regulations has been issued. Therefore, it is necessary for the government officials who involve in refugees issues not only to build their capacities and expertise but also to enhance its coordination among them.

The study case of cooperation between Indonesia and Australia in handling the refugees from Australia is illustrative to show how the collaboration between the two countries occurred. The two countries is actually depend on each other to solve the problem of the influx of refugee who are coming to their countries. They can not work alone, particularly this is because both countries are closed neighboring. Australia depend on Indonesia to deter or to reduce the number of refugees coming to this countries. Indonesia is also depend on third parties like Australia to deal with refugees.

Therefore, close cooperation between Indonesia and Australia should be continued in order to build proper protection for refugee as well as to protect its national interest. This might be not easy, because countries tend to prioritize national interest above the implementation of human rights for refugees. And there is contradictive policies between the two in handling the refugees. It is , therefore necessary to enhance sustainable relationships between the two . These need political will and serious effort between the two to eradicate mistrust between two.

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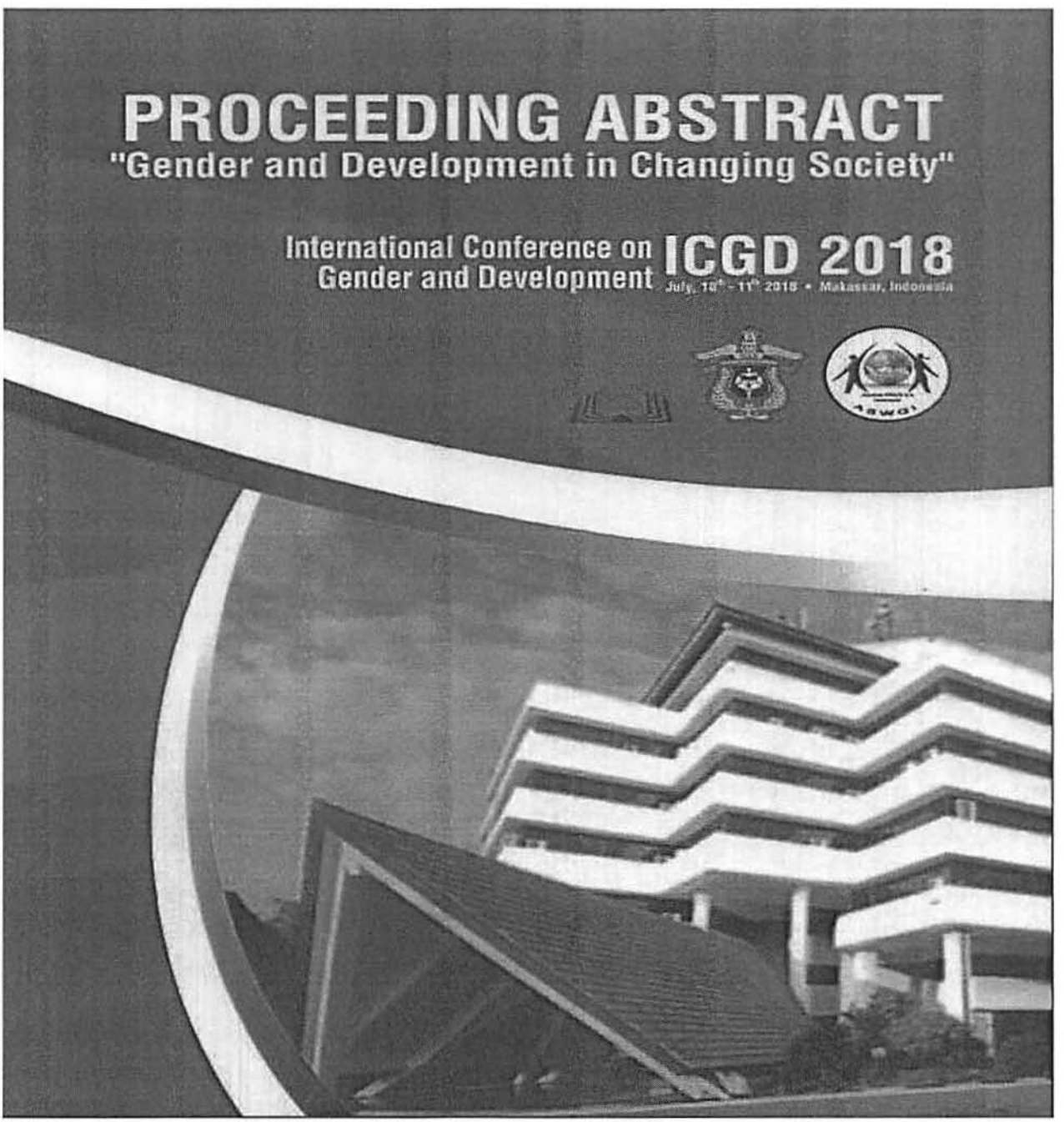
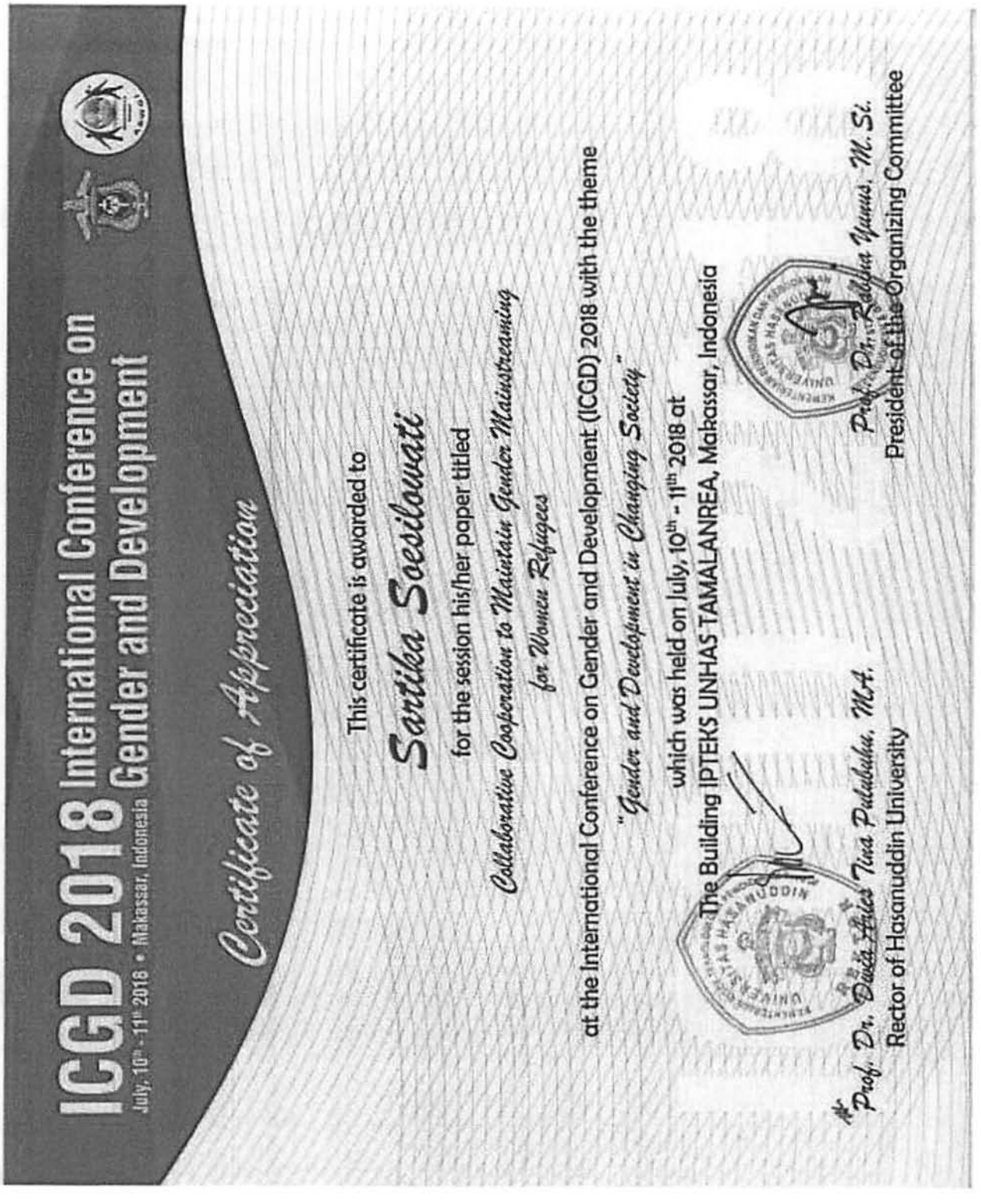
Attachment

1. Document, Photo, Paper, presented at the *International Conference on International Conference on development and Gender, held by* Association of Women Studies Center Indonesia (ASWGI) and University of Hassanudin, Makasar, Indonesia, 9-12 July, 2018;





ICGD 2018 International Conference on Gender and Development

July, 10th - 11th 2018 • Makassar, Indonesia

Certificate of Appreciation

This certificate is awarded to

Sartika Soesilowati

for the session his/her paper titled

Collaborative Cooperation to Maintain Gender Mainstreaming for Women Refugees

at the International Conference on Gender and Development (ICGD) 2018 with the theme

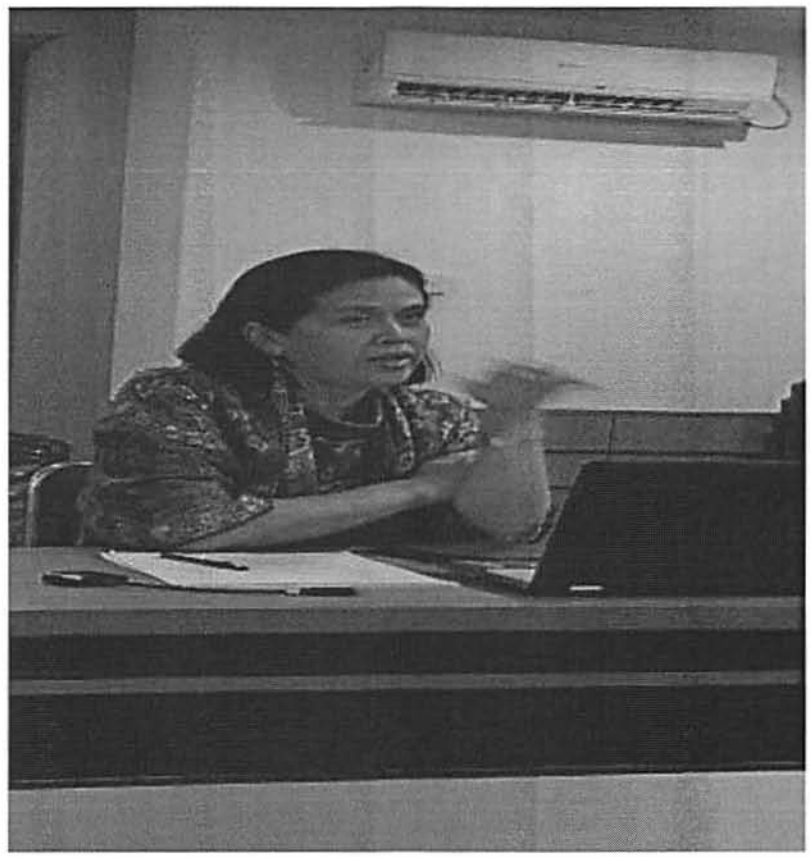
"Gender and Development in Changing Society"

which was held on July, 10th - 11th 2018 at

The Building IPTEKS UNHAS TAMALANREA, Makassar, Indonesia

Prof. Dr. Dwia Aries Tina Pulubuhu, M.A.
Rector of Hasanuddin University

Prof. Dr. Rahma Yunus, M. Si.
President of the Organizing Committee




ICGD
2018


RAKORNAS IV

Collaborative Cooperation to Maintain Gender Mainstreaming for Women Refugees

Sartika Soesilowati, PhD [1]

Airlangga University, Surabaya

Abstract

This paper is assessing the effort of Indonesian government collaborating with international partner i.e. United Nations High Commission For Refugees (UNHCR), International Organization for Migration(IOM) and the third countries, like Australia to protect women refugees in Indonesia. Having a refugee status is generally and consequently marginalized in the community. This burden would be more carried by women with their status as refugees because of the perception of bias gender as well as the hardship that they have to confront it during the journey as asylum seeker or refugees. Women fleeing violence and persecution are generally facing distress and vulnerability in the terms seeking of protection. Countries like Indonesia, as a transit country, provides contemporary protection for them although most of refugees do not aim to live permanently in this country. And yet, there is growing concern has been expressed over the issue of women's situation in an immigration detention center around the world. Some critics argue that refugee detentions and its policies to protect women refugees are still inappropriate to provide women's safety and well-being. For example, such gender-based violence and deprivation of freedom and rights are still exist and it consequently might severely places women at heightened risks if the detention's situation and facilities not enforcing gender-sensitive approach. It is very significant, therefore, to evaluate and to analyse thoroughly what kind of problems and issues that are facing by women refugees in the Indonesian detention center? To what extend transit country like Indonesia cooperating with international partner is able to deal and to confront the problem? In order to understand the nature of the problem and the issue, this study is collecting primary and secondary data and conducting field research at several detention centers in East Java and Makassar.

Key Words: Detention Center, Collaborative Cooperation, Refugees, Gender Mainstreaming

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The Data of Refugees

Today conflict has increase the flood of the refugees and asylum seeker around the world. According to UNHCR, in 2017 around 68.5 millions individual were forcibly displaced world wide as a result of persecution, conflict or generalized violence. Around 28.5 million are refugees and asylum seeker and 40.0 million internally displaced people. Women and (children) refugees constitutes more than 60 % of the overall refugees. With the conflict is still occurring at this moment, this is bringing tendency to increase the refugees number when the local condition getting worst in the future. Prolong conflict in Burma followed with forced migration to ethnic Rohingya, the number of refugees in Indonesia is increasing

As of December 2016, a total of 14,405 individuals were registered with UNHCR in Indonesia including 6,578 asylum seekers and 7,827 refugees. Of these 3,821 are female and 10,584 are male. The total includes 3,768 children, 837 of whom are unaccompanied or separated children (The Asia Pacific Refugees Network, 2017). Women refugees in Indonesia constitutes about 30 %. Most of the refugees in Indonesia are coming from Afghanistan (55 %), Somalia (11 %) and Irak (6%). The refugees are placed in 13 detention centers and community accommodation service in several urban cities in Indonesia i.e. Jakarta, Surabaya, Makassar, Medan, Menado, Balikpapan, Kupang, Semarang and Jayapura.

Like international and national figure of women refugees, the number of women refugees (and children) in some cities of detention center are also major. For example, in Makasar alone, where this main research projected conducted, in 2016 there are 576 women refugees and most of them, 305, are coming from Afghanistan. This number constitutes almost 45 % from the total number of refugees (KKUP3S, 2016). Women need to be recorded its existence although they have similar status as refugees or asylum seeker as male counterpart.

It is extremely significant to identify the women refugees existence in the transit country like Indonesia in order to identify women aspiration and right. Massive bias gender still apply in local custom while international and national regulation to women refugees are still weak and late to protect women refugees in transit country. This issue is going to explain below.

Women Refugees: International and National recognition.

The definition of refugees usually refers to the main international legal document, the 1951 Refugee Convention stating that a refuge' as ':

> a person who is outside his country nationality or habitual residence has a well founded fear of persecution because of his race, religion, nationality, membership in particular social group or political opinion and is unable or unwilling to avail

> himself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution. (1951 Refugee Convention)

While this definition has mentioned the obligation of international communities to protect refugees, this 1951 convention as the main guidance to protect refuges did not mention to pay attention to women refugees.

It is argued that women refugees has not having adequate protection. International refugee instruments make no distinction between male and female refugees, but tend to maintain gender biases. Despite the fact that women and girls make up more than half the world refugees. For example under the 1951 convention and its 1967 Protocol, it does not address the core issue of discrimination on refugees of sex as a violation of fundamental rights, or with the problems of violence specifically directed against women as women (Johnson, 1989). Such violence is often endemic in most, if not all, societies, women refugees, because of their flight in to aliens environment, become additionally vulnerable to rape, abduction, sexual harassment, physical violence and the not infrequent obligation to grant 'sexual favor' in return for documentation and/or relief goods.

The concern for women refugees received strong attention in 1991, when the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) adopted Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women. In keeping with the 1990 UNHCR Policy on Refugee Women, the Guidelines called for "integrating the resources and needs of refugee women into all aspects of programming so as to assure equitable protection and assistance activities." This guidance give recognition to assist women refuges' who has need a protection which is different compared to men and boys. In addition, UNHCR's Executive Committee has also acknowledged the significance to address the difficulty of women to be able to exercise their rights compared to men and boys:

> "while forcibly displaced men and boys also ace protection problems, women and girls can be exposed to particular protection problems related to their gender, their cultural and socio-economic position, and their legal status"

Although international community has recognized the right of women refugees to get protection however this is not easy to apply it. Transit country where refugees receiving protection has often maintained it's "a massive culture of neglect and denial about violence against women and girls" (Wahra, 1994). This means it requires an effort to change the local attitude to promote equality for women and men so the women refugees right can be recognized as equal as men.

Women Refugees: the Hardship Condition

It can not be denied most of the refugees had bad experienced that threatening their life and their dignity as well as wellbeing when they had been forced to leave their countries. Most of refuges who flee to Indonesia like Afghanistan, Iraq are running from the civil war to save their life which are caused by religion or ethnic conflict. In addition, the political and cultural system that govern the citizen in their country are also relatively

bias gender. For example in Afghanistan, it has been reported that women has been marginalized and targeted for sexual harassment, abduction under Taliban regime. Fleeing from the condition where women had been suppressed mostly under the name of religion or custom , therefore would be a hope that they will face a better life. In fact when the women has to leave the countries the are facing uncertainty, and easy target for crime, persecution and sexual harassment. During the journey to go the land that can save them and offer protection, women are target for trafficking, and various crime.

Many of women refugees arrived in the transit country with history of violence, and sexual harassment. When they are able to confront their unpredictable and dangerous journey, and they are able to harbor in a transit country, unfortunately their sorrow has not yet overcome. It is true that they have not faced life threatening like in their home country where conflict are still occurred, but the trauma from the journey, and difficulties to adjust with the new condition in transit country like Indonesia is not easy for them.

Women refugees in Indonesia are placed in some detention centers and some 'alternative detention' (Misbach) in several urban cities in Indonesia i.e. Jakarta, Surabaya, Makassar, Medan, Menado, Balikpapan, Jayapura and Semarang. They receive some basic needs such as food, accommodation, health service and money. However, in general, from the refugees point of view the facilities that they receive in detention center is still insufficient or not correspond with their needs and want. For example, they still have got difficulties to adjust with local food, whereas it is not easy to find the local ingredient that are suitable to their need. In addition, the women refugees with her burden to look after family has complained for difficulties to conduct their domestic job because the facilities are not properly support them (interview). Women put a lot of concern for their family wellbeing and lack of children education. Although Indonesian government has allowed children refugees to go to Indonesian school, but the stereotype to the children refugees and their families have hampered this opportunity (interview). Instead, they finally conduct school for their children. Unfortunately the facilities, teachers and the lesson system are very insufficient for the development of children. Regarding the health issue, though Indonesia has claimed to provide health system to the women refugees, but they reluctant to visit local health institutions for various reasons (interview). This situation has made them become more depression. When women become stress, it will affect to the children and the family significantly.

The story of one of women refugees (initials MJ) has illustrate how difficulty she has faced in the transit country:

> " We came here to save our life and make better future for our children.. Although IOM help us a lot but there are a lot of problems in here such as a lack of educations for children. It is a biggest concern that ....before when we came here my older daughter turns to 7 and she should start school but right now she is 12 and there one is 10. Both of them lose the best part of their life in failed of education."

Apart of the facilities, health and daily intake that has been claimed still insufficient for the women refugees, they have also faced their biggest concern for its uncertainty for their future living permanently in third country. The third country like Australia, where most of the refugees in Makassar want to resettle, has reduced drastically its quota. The UNHCR recently has made the list to prioritize women and children to be resettled to Australia, but so far there is no guarantee that women and children would be its priority.

In many cases, in order trying to improve the condition of the refugees, or to draw attention of public, they are conducting protest or demonstration to the Indonesian authorities or UNHCR. Strike or violence has ever broke out at the some detention center. However, it seems difficult to improve the life of refugees in transit country like Indonesia as well as making solution comprehensively and able to satisfy all parties involved.

Collaborative Action and Its Problem

It is common that Indonesian government are usually blamed to be the most responsible for its sufficient condition of the refugees in Indonesia. In fact Indonesia has cooperation with various international organization such as the two biggest, UNHCR, IOM and the third countries for settlement to deal with the refugees. In 2017 President Jokowi has signed *Presidential Decree (Perpre) no 125 year of 2016,* regarding the treatment on refugees and asylum seeker. This Presidential Decree has highlighted the significance of Indonesian government to cooperate with international organization. In the Article 2 (1) mentions:

(1) Penanganan Pengungsi dilakukan berdasarkan kerjasama antara pemerintah pusat dengan Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa melalui Komisariat Tinggi Urusan Pengungi di Indonesia dan/atau organisasi Internasional

(2) *Organisasi internasional sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) merupakan organisasi di bidang urusan imigrasi atau di bidang kemanusiaan yang memiliki perjanjian dengan pemerintah pusat.*

Actually there is a clear job division and distribution among Indonesian authorities, UNHCR, and IOM to look after the refugees. Most of the UNHCR task are dealing with registration and administration process for giving the status for asylum seeker and refugees. This institution has also authorized cooperating with the third countries to resettle or to repatriate the refugees in their home countries. IOM has mostly deal to provide daily care including accommodation, food, health, including support activities of the refugees.

Interestingly, in reality, the duty of Indonesian is not much relating with the well being or looking after the refugees. The Indonesian authority are mostly dealing with the issue of securities that probable occurred among the refugees or outside of the detention center. The local authorities watch out the mobility of the refugees. The local government

working with IOM provide accommodation for refugees in detention center or alternative detention center, but the local government or the immigration has no authority to deal with the demand of the refugees for the daily need. Indonesia has also no responsible or capacities to force or deny the resettlement.

The illustration of division duties for looking after the refugees in Indonesia seems so far has created burden sharing between Indonesia with international community. This is because, formally, Indonesia is not a state party to the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees or its 1967 Protocol. Therefore this country has no responsible to look after refugees that are coming to this country. Instead, the government of Indonesia upholds the customary international law principle of *non refoulement* continuing detention of asylum seekers and refugees (especially children)in particular concern .(Asia Pacific Refugees Network, 2017) That means that Indonesia can not deport the refugees back to their countries which are still conflict and the life of refugees are still threatening.

Indonesia has a reason not to be part of the signatory party because economically, Indonesia considered not capable to look after refugees. The Indonesian government argues that it will be a burden for this country to take responsibility to accept and to care the refugees while there is still a lot of poverty and lack of minimum social service among Indonesian people. There is perception that responsibility to look after refugees will drain the domestic resources, which is still limited to be allocated to the refugees. Indonesia, therefore, let the international counterpart like IOM or UNHCR to provide social service to the refugees.

However, this division for caring the refugees has also created problem. IOM as international organization that has responsible to deal with the refugees has a limitation. No secret that IOM in Indonesia received most of funding from the third country, Australia which is aimed to control and to limit the number of permanent settlement who coming to this country. However, this organization has still lack resources to guarantee basic right such as education for children or youth refugees who are still need education while they are living in Indonesia. IOM has also no capacity to deal with stereotype that exist from local community to the refugee while the Indonesian government which has authority to convince the local community to be more moderate and tolerance to accept the refugees tends to reluctant in handling this issue.

Indonesia has ratified Convention in the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) on 24 Juli 1984. According to Indonesian Law no 7, 1984, Indonesian government has adopted this convention in order to eliminate all discrimination to the women. This law mentions that discrimination to women means violence activities to the women or violence based on gender bias. Logically, therefore, the Indonesian authority can respond discrimination to the women refugees through this national law, however, this is not happened.

In addition, beside of the perception that the problem relating with the refugees should be handled by IOM or UNHCR, the Indonesian government has more intention to maintain its position to protect local community interest and custom rather than to bridge the difference, and to protect refugee rights from stereotype and persecution. The case study of religion division between most majority local people whom believe that they adopt Sunni version while most of refuges who is coming from Afghanistan are perceived as Syiah is illustrative. Women and children refugees are being object of suspicious to bring a bad impact to the community because of their religion believe.

The refugees in the transit country has also put a lot of concern to be resettled in the third country, Australia. Most of them has got depression, ill, angry because of uncertainty not being resettle. Many of them has to wait for more than 5 years without any news about their status as a refugees. Currently with Australian policies to halt or to reduce the quota of resettlement for refugees in Indonesia, the refugees gets more confuse, stress and lack confidence. Instead of aiming to come to Indonesia to stay permanently, they are using Indonesia as 'stepping stone' before going to Australia.

The issue of resettlement has so far never been able to solve by Indonesia as a host country for refugees or UNHCR and IOM. Indeed, the parties that the most responsible to look after the refugees, Indonesia government, UNHCR or IOM, have no authority to select, to choose or to send the refugees to the third countries. Instead, the third countries like Australia has its ultimate authority to choose and decide the people who are appropriate to be resettle in the country. Unfortunately, most of refugees believe that Indonesia can push Australia to be more acceptable and predictable in accepting the refuges in their land. This intents friction potentially to create issue.

Last but not least, there is problem of coordination among the parties that involve to care and to protect the refuges. Indonesian has involved various ministries (Ministry of Human Rights and Law, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Social, and Ministry of Home Affairs) in dealing with refugees issue which some how difficult to link and to coordinate among the ministries. Their priorities and the ministries background are different and making them difficult to suggest unity of policy. IOM as the international civil organization which is more flexible to move has faced difficulties to rely in the government policies which tend to use strict bureaucratic style, when they need to respond the refugees problems quickly.

Conclusion

Women refugees in detention center in Indonesia still have faced some difficulties to adjust and to confront with the realities living in this country. The local community has certain stereotype that hindered an effort to guarantee the basic right of women refugees. Indonesia government has cooperated with international parties to provide

protection to them, however division of works and lack of appropriate coordination has reduced this effectiveness.

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2. *Document* , Photo, Paper *Presented at the.(2) Gender Studies Workshop* held at the University of Western Australia, 17-23 July 2018;

THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

ASWGI

This is to certify that

Sartika Soesilowati

Participated for 40 hours in the

Gender Studies Workshop

held at

The University of Western Australia

17-23 July 2018

Professor Lyn Parker
Asian Studies
School of Social Science
The University of Western Australia

PROGRAM

Day One: Tuesday 17th July, 2018 – History of Women's Movements and Feminist Theory

Room 1.49 Social Sciences Building

Session	Name of Presenter	Affiliation	Subject
Session 1/2 11:00 - 13:00	Opening Dr Chantal Bourgault Du Coudray	UWA	Introductions History of feminist movement, social theory and philosophy: First Wave, e.g. Wollstonecraft, de Beauvoir; Second Wave, e.g. Friedan, Greer, Daly.
13.00 – 13.30			Lunch Break
Session 3 13:30 - 15:30	Dr Chantal Bourgault Du Coudray	UWA	Trends and camps in feminist theory, e.g. liberal feminist theory, Marxist/socialist theory, radical feminist theory Third Wave feminism; post-feminism; Recent/contemporary gender theory, e.g. postcolonial and subaltern theorists eg Spivak, Bell Hooks, Haraway; performativity (Butler)
15.30-16.00	Assoc. Prof. Ja Ellving-Hwang	UWA	French Post-structural feminist theory

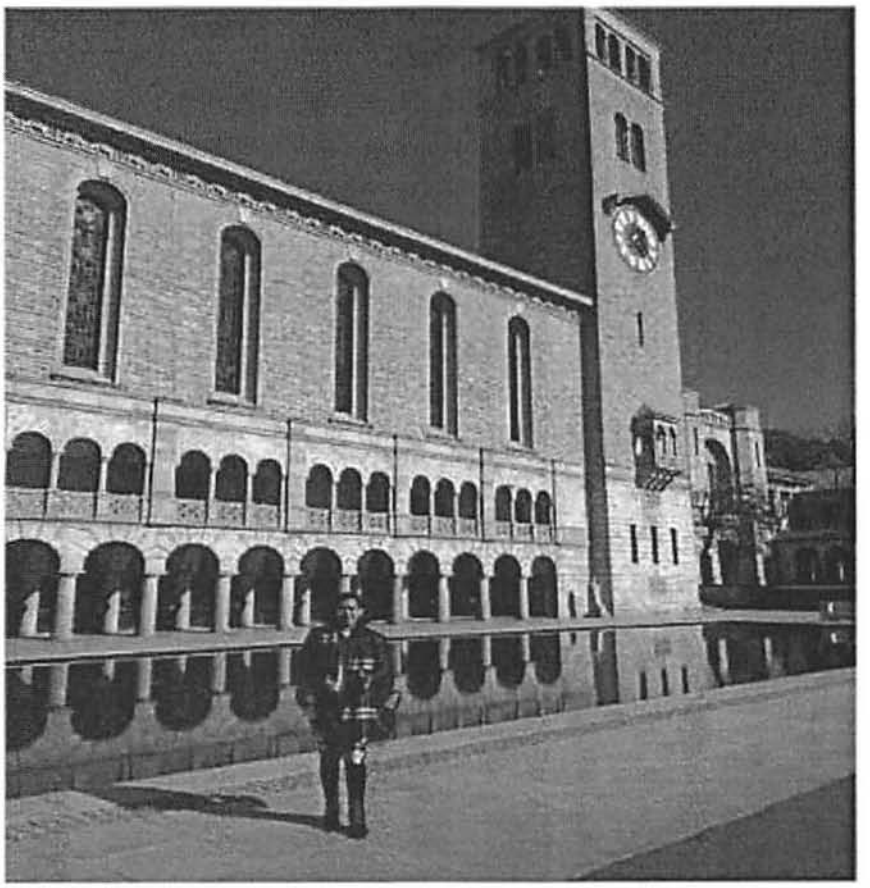
One-on-One Discussion of Papers, Sessions 11 and 12, Thursday 19th July, 2018

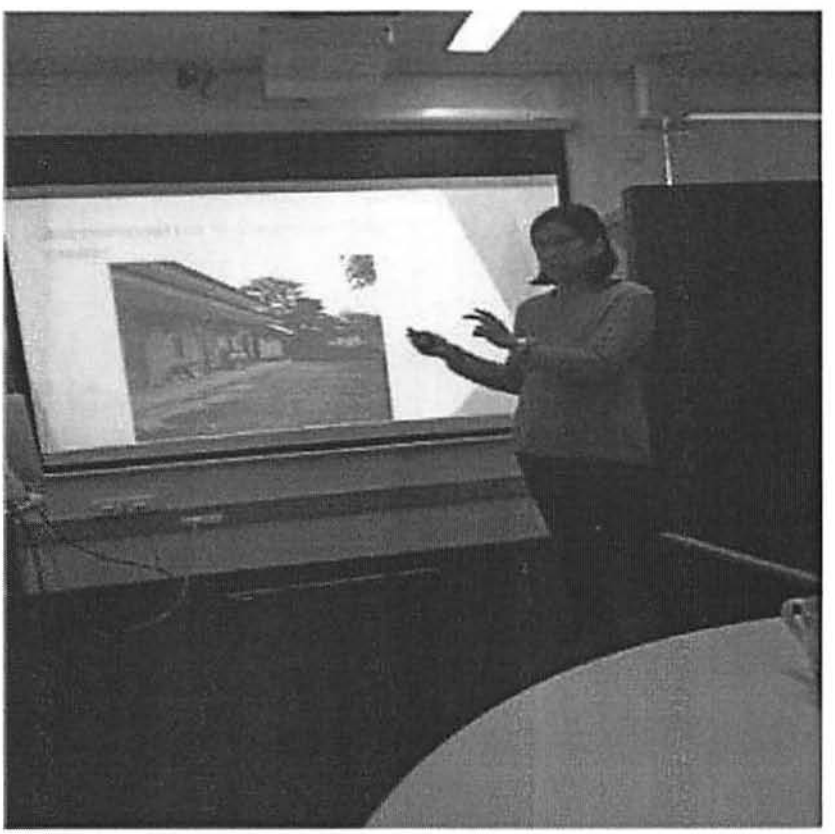
SESSION 11 13.30-15.00

Nazio	Jendriat	Changing Gender Relations in Minangkabau Family
	Satiti Kuntari	Models of Empowerment of Pregnant Women To Optimize Growth And Development of Tooth And Oral Cavity of C
	Siti Nurbayani	The role of women as mothers in protecting children victims of sexual abuse
	Mirsja Ratoe Oedjoe	Women and Climate Change in Kupang district
Katherine	Sudiroh	When Women and Children Trafficking is increasing
	Grace	WOMEN TRAFFICKING PREVENTION BASED ON ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT
	Anis Farida	Legal Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers : Dreams and Tears
	Hilmi Fatimah Dalimunthe	The Development Model of Social Entrepreneur for Posyandu in Medan City
Lan	Tri Soesmiati	Reading Access: For Women and From Women
	Tri Winarni Soenarto Putri	Community-Based Elimination of Domestic Violence
	Thoira Hamid	Facial Appearance and Dental Health: Awareness and Perspective of Mothers toward their Children
	Lanny Ramli	Sending Undocumented Indonesian Man Power Abroad as Illegal Activity & Human Trafficking

SESSION 12 15.30 - 17.00

Sartika	Rina Martina Haryanti	Relation Stakeholders in The Pmgram of Economic Empowering Women's Disabilities in Indonesia
	Koppi Sutesi	The Economic Empowerment of Return Migrant Women Based On Local Potential : Studies in East Java Indonesia
	Sartika Soesilowati	Evaluating Gender Mainstream Approach in Managing Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Indonesia
	Rajiyem	Marketing Communication with social media by women in small medium entrepreneurs
Katherine	Elly Malihah	Why There is Zero Women Candidate for Governor Election in West Java, Indonesia?
	Siti Hamidah	Perception of the job based on Gender of Fashion Design Students at Yogyakarta State University
	Tuti Budirahayu	The Ability of Rural Women to Manage Constraints and Opportunity to Develop Their Small Businesses through Wi
Lan	Emy Sulianti	Patriarchal System and Vulnerability of Women at Traditional Batik Home-based Industry
	Kosim Komariah	Problem based learning : Alternative Gender Responsive Learning Model for Vocational High School
	Soerjantini Rahaju	Profiling Her Commitment to Marriage. Description of Wives' commitment to Marriage in Indonesia
	Ishlayati Dalimoenthe	Psycho-social Education Model on the Family of Urban Eviction Victim

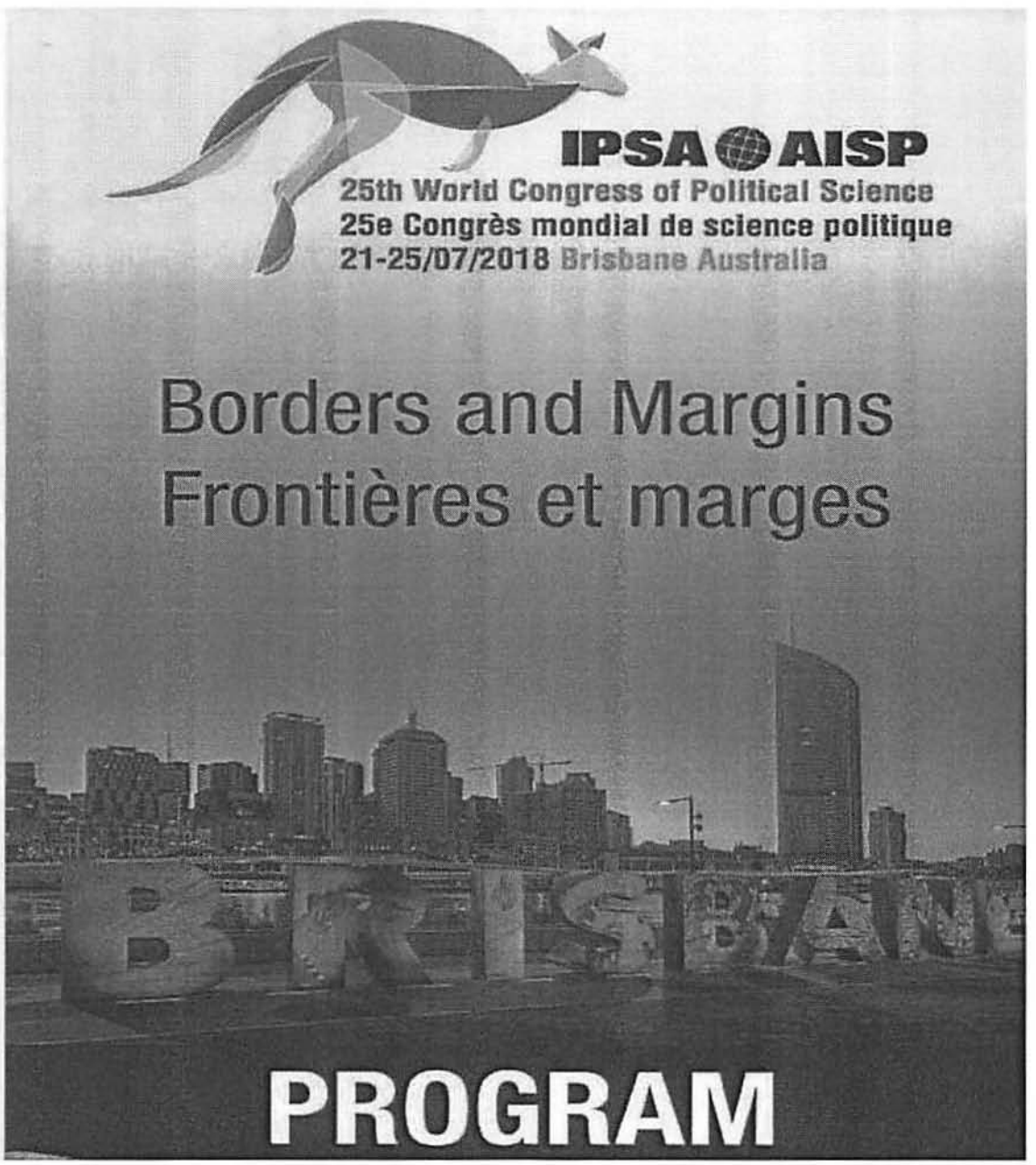




To present paper in front of the audience

Meeting situation

3. Document, Photo, Paper Presented at the (3), *25 th IPSA World Congress of Political Science* organized by International Political Science Association (IPSA) held from July 21 to 25, 2018 in Brisbane (Australia)



IPSA AISP

International Political Science Association

Association internationale de science politique

www.ipsa.org

Montreal, July 24, 2018

Sartika Soesilowati
Puri Asri P2 no 33, Pakuwon City,
Surabaya, East Java,, 60112
Indonesia

To whom it may concern,

This letter is to officially confirm the participation of Dr. Sartika Soesilowati at the **25th IPSA World Congress of Political Science** organized by the International Political Science Association (IPSA), to be held from July 21 to 25, 2018 in Brisbane (Australia) with the theme **Borders and Margins.** The Congress will take place at the Brisbane Convention & Exhibition Centre (BCEC) located at the corner of Merivale & Glenelg Streets in South Bank, Brisbane.

The International Political Science Association (IPSA) is registered under the Australian Business Number (ABN) 75 685 662 630.

Dr. Soesilowati is a member of IPSA in good standing and has registered and paid in full ($400.00 USD + 10% GST) to participate at the 25th IPSA World Congress of Political Science.

Dr. Soesilowati has been accepted to participate in the following role:

- Paper Author and oral presenter of
  Australia and Indonesia Relationships: Conflict and Collaborative Actions in Managing Asylum Seekers and Refugees

Congress participants are responsible for covering all congress and travel expenses such as plane tickets, accommodations, transfer from and to the airport, food, conference fees, etc.

Participants are required to apply for a visa to enter Australia. We highly recommend that delegates allow at least three (3) months to apply for their visa before arriving in Australia. Visit wc2018.ipsa.org/events/congress/wc2018/visa-information for details.

Do not hesitate to contact us at wc2018@ipsa.org if you require more information.

Best regards,

Roksolana Bobyk (Mrs.)
World Congress and Event Coordinator

International Political Science Association (IPSA)
Montréal (QC) Canada H3G 1C3
Tel: +1 (514) 848 8748
Fax: +1 (514) 848 4095
E-mail: wc2018@ipsa.org

Katharine Gelber (Prof.)
Local Organizing Committee (LOC) Chair

School of Political Science and International Studies
University of Queensland
St Lucia, QLD 4101
Australia
T: +61 7 3365 2910

Genealogy in Contemporary Political Theory
Ivison, Duncan – University of Sydney, Australia, duncan.ivison@sydney.edu.au

Borders: The Individual and the Community in Analytic and Continental Philosophy
Chamberlain, James – Mississippi State University, United States, jac1287@msstate.edu

Recognition across French-German-English Borders: Axel Honneth's Philosophical Practise and the Analytic-Continental Divide
Bankovsky, Miriam – La Trobe University, Australia, m.bankovsky@latrobe.edu.au

GS03.03 Stopping the Bomb: The Future of Non-Proliferation

Sunday, July 22 | 11:00-12:45 | Room Plaza / P1

Chair **Unni, Saraswathi** – University of Mumbai, India, saraunni228@gmail.com

Co-Chair **McDougall, Derek** – The University of Melbourne, Australia, d.mcdougall@unimelb.edu.au

Discussant(s) **Abe, Hiroaki** – Columbia University, United States, ha2233@columbia.edu

Papers Assurance rather than Sanction: The Establishment of the IAEA Nuclear Fuel Bank and the New Approach to Amplify the NPT Regime
Tseng, Yea Jen – Southern Taiwan University of Technology, Taiwan, tsengyeajen@yahoo.com.tw

Towards a Third Nuclear Age? Advanced Conventional Weapons and the Future of the Global Nuclear Order
Zala, Benjamin – Australian National University, Australia, benjamin.zala@anu.edu.au

A Role-Based Approach to Iran Nuclear Deal
Solhdoost, Mohsen – University of Queensland, Australia, m.solhdoost@uq.edu.au

North Korea's Emerging Nuclear Strategy
Lee, Dong Sun – Korea University, South Korea, ds0306@korea.ac.kr

Confirming the Impossible? Nuclear Weapons Free Zones in the Third World, the Latin American Case
Puga Alvarez, Cristina Valeria – Corvinus University, Hungary, valeria.puga.alvarez@gmail.com

GS03.33 Ontological Security, Borders and Margins

Sunday, July 22 | 11:00-12:45 | Room Plaza / P2

Chair **Steele, Brent** – University of Utah, United States, brent.steele@utah.edu

Discussant(s) **Manners, Ian** – University of Copenhagen, Denmark, ima@ifs.ku.dk

Papers Ontological Security, Bordering and Internal Margins of Transformation
Cash, John – The University of Melbourne, Australia, johncd@unimelb.edu.au

Masculine States and Feminine Nations: The Securitization of Gendered Borders
Agius, Christine – Swinburne University of Technology, Australia, cagius@swin.edu.au
Kinnvall, Catarina – Lund Universitet, Sweden, catarina.kinnvall@svet.lu.se

Who Heeds the Call? Bordering, Ontological Security and Russia's Global Mission of Traditional Values
Edenborg, Emil – The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Sweden, emil.edenborg@gmail.com

Ontological in(Security): The Political Psychology of European Borders
Mitzen, Jennifer – Ohio State University, United States, mitzen.1@osu.edu

GS03.37 From Humanitarian Negotiations to R2P: Practice, Norms and Force

Sunday, July 22 | 11:00-12:45 | Room Plaza / P3

Chair **O'Hagan, Jacinta** – University of Queensland, Australia, uqjohaga@uq.edu.au

Discussant(s) **Crossley, Noele** – University College London, United Kingdom, noele.crossley@ucl.ac.uk

Papers Emotions and the Transformation of International Humanitarianism
Hutchison, Emma – University of Queensland, Australia, e.hutchison@uq.edu.au

Drawing a Line between Humanitarian and Political Negotiations in Syria
Dieckhoff, Milena – Sciences Po Paris, France, milena.dieckhoff@sciencespo.fr

Securing the Frontlines in Protracted Conflicts: De-escalation, Stabilization and other "Tranquility Zones" as Alternatives to Political Reconciliation Processes
Bruderlein, Claude – Harvard University, United States, cbruderl@hsph.harvard.edu

How Prevention Can Be Improved Through Assistance under the Second Pillar of the Responsibility to Protect: A Constitutive Theory Approach
Csortea, Krisztina – King's College London, United Kingdom, krisztina.csortea@kcl.ac.uk

Third-Party Interventions in Armed Conflicts: a Closer Look at Dynamics and Dependencies
Leib, Julia – Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany, leib@soz.uni-frankfurt.de

GS03.38 Refugees and Forced Migration in International Relations

Sunday, July 22 | 11:00-12:45 | Room Plaza / P4

Chair **Gurzel, Aylin** – Eastern Mediterranean University, Turkey, aygurzel@gmail.com

Discussant(s) **Gurzel, Aylin** – Eastern Mediterranean University, Turkey, aygurzel@gmail.com

Papers Demographic Engineering and International Conflict: Evidence from China and the Former USSR
McNamee, Lachlan – Stanford University, United States, lmcnamee@stanford.edu
Zhang, Ruxi – Stanford University, United States, ruxiz@stanford.edu

Temporary Workers from Democratic People's Republic of Korea in Mongolia
Mimura, Mitsuhiro – Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia, Japan, mimura@erina.or.jp

How States Decide: Durable Solutions, International Norms and Protracted Refugee Situations
Tuckfield, Hugh – University of Sydney, Australia, hugh.tuckfield@sydney.edu.au

European Security and Syrian Refugee Crisis: Can Erdoğan's Wall Protect Europe and Uphold Western Values and Institutions?
Gurzel, Aylin – Eastern Mediterranean University, Turkey, aygurzel@gmail.com

Australia and Indonesia Relationships: Conflict and Collaborative Actions in Managing Asylum Seekers and Refugees
Soesilowati, Sartika – Airlangga University, Indonesia, sartika.soesilowati@gmail.com

G504.01 Bringing the State Back In (Again): Private Authority, Transnational Governance and the State

Sunday, July 22 | 11:00-12:45 | Room Plaza / P5

Chair **Pegram, Thomas** – University College London, United Kingdom, t.pegram@ucl.ac.uk

Discussant(s) **Sell, Susan** – Australian National University, Australia, susan.sell@anu.edu.au
Cerny, Philip G. – University of Manchester, United Kingdom, pgcerny@gmail.com

Papers From the Margins to the Core of Double-Edged Diplomacy: State-to-Firm Relations in International Economic Negotiations
Duchesne, Erick – Université Laval, Canada, erick.duchesne@pol.ulaval.ca
Cimon, Yan – Université Laval, Canada, yan.cimon@fsa.ulaval.ca
Ouellet, Richard – Université Laval, Canada, richard.ouellet@fd.ulaval.ca

Global Governance in the Age of Fragmentation: The Promise and Limitations of State Transformation
Pegram, Thomas – University College London, United Kingdom, t.pegram@ucl.ac.uk
Hameiri, Shahar – University of Queensland, Australia, s.hameiri@uq.edu.au

China Challenges Global Governance? The Case of Chinese International Development Finance and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
Hameiri, Shahar – University of Queensland, Australia, s.hameiri@uq.edu.au
Jones, Lee – Queen Mary, University of London, United Kingdom, l.c.jones@qmul.ac.uk

Regulating the Human Rights Practices of Transnational Business: Contested Interactions between Market-driven Regulation and State Authority
Macdonald, Kate – The University of Melbourne, Australia, kmac@unimelb.edu.au

The Global Governance of the Internet: The Case of Social Media Platforms
Masson, Tristan – Concordia University, Canada, tristan.masson@sympatico.ca
Bloodgood, Elizabeth – Concordia University, Canada, eabloodg@alcor.concordia.ca

G507.01 Comparative Explorations of Religious, Ethnic Minorities and Gender Dynamics

Sunday, July 22 | 11:00-12:45 | Room Mezzanine / M9

Chair **Travis, Toni-Michelle** – George Mason University, United States, ttravis@gmu.edu

Discussant(s) **Gelber, Katharine** – University of Queensland, Australia, k.gelber@uq.edu.au
Morris, Lorenzo – Howard University, United States, lmorris@howard.edu

Papers Analyzing Social Media as a War Fare Tool in non-kinetic area. A study on Pakistani youth instigation against Government of Burma
Jehanzaib, Faheem – University of the Punjab, Pakistan, fjzaib@yahoo.com

Marginalization of Muslims in Higher Education: An Indian Perspective
Iqbal, Saima – University of Delhi, India, saimaiqbal19@gmail.com

Identity Crisis: Supporting Social Integration and Psychological Health in New Arrivals to Australia
Ulichny, Jen – Democracy by MiVote, Australia, jen.ulichny@mivote.org.au
Cooper, Nichola – Swinburne University of Technology, Australia, nicholacooper@protonmail.com

Christian Women Empowerment for Shaping the Future In Pakistan (A Case Study of Christian Women of Lahore District)
Khatoon, Sahera – Minhaj University Lahore, Pakistan, roshni5786@gmail.com
Liaqat, Rana Waseem – Lahore Garrison University, Pakistan, waseemliaqat@gmail.com

Socioeconomic Attainments of Indian Immigrants in Developed Democracies in Australia and the United States: Exploring the Interplay between Individual Characteristics and Immigration Policies
Kulkarni, Veena – Arkansas State University, United States, vkulkarni@astate.edu

The Paradoxical Outcomes of Gender Self-determination Laws under Neoliberalism
Vasconcelos, Pedro – Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal, pedro.vasconcelos@iscte.pt

G507.04 Intersectional Explorations of Immigration: Sources of Conflict, Assimilation and Accommodation within Nations in the Americas, Europe and Australia

Sunday, July 22 | 11:00-12:45 | Room Foyer / Door 1/4-T22

Chair **Tessler, Mark** – University of Michigan, United States, tessler@umich.edu

Discussant(s) **Gurbakhshani, Neha** – Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Institute of Sciences and Technology, Pakistan, nehagurbakshani@gmail.com
Fossati, Diego – Griffith University, Australia, d.fossati@griffith.edu.au

Papers Being "Latino" in a "Latin Province": The Experience of Discrimination of Spanish-speaking Immigrants Living Among a French-speaking Majority in Quebec, Canada
Armony, Victor – Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), Canada, armony.victor@uqam.ca

Whiteness and Australian Refugee Politics
Huynh, Kim – Australian National University, Australia, kim.huynh@anu.edu.au

Political Participation of Ethnic Minorities in Canada: A Study of Sikh and Muslims in Canada
Mann, Inderjeet Singh – Jawaharlal Nehru University, India, inder.maan18@gmail.com
Mann, Veerpal – Punjabi University, India, sidhuveerpal46@gmail.com

FIFA's post-political view and the unequal allocation of World Cup slots
Escobedo, Luis – University of the Free State, South Africa, danglesle@ufs.ac.za

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE

This certifies that: / Ceci certifie que :

Sartika Soesilowati

has participated at the 2018 IPSA World Congress of Political Science as / a participé au Congrès mondial de science politique de l'AISP 2018 en tant que

Paper Author and Oral Presenter

Ilter Turan
President / *Président*
IPSA / *AISP*

IPSA AISP
25th World Congress of Political Science
25e Congrès mondial de science politique
21-25/07/2018 Brisbane Australia

Guy Lachapelle
Secretary General / *Secrétaire général*
IPSA / *AISP*

9/12/2018

Australia and Indonesia Relationships: Conflict and Collaborative Actions in Managing Asylum Seeker and Refugees

Sartika Soesilowati, Airlangga University

Presented at International Conference on Border and Margins, 23 in PSA-ASIR, World Congress of Political Science, July 21- 25, 2018, Brisbane, Australia

Topic Problem:

Aims:

To assess an effort of collaborative action conducted between Indonesia and Australia in managing refuges and asylum seekers in Indonesia

Back ground Problems

- In flux of refugees and asylum seeker around the world. In 2017 : 68.5 m forcible displaced persons.
- In Indonesia currently a total of 19.000 individuals were registered with UNHCR in Indonesia as asylum seekers and refugees.(UNHCR)
- Most of the refugees in Indonesia are coming from Afghanistan (65 %)
- They are placed in Community Centers and 13 detention centers in Indonesia e.g. Jakarta, Surabaya, Makassar, Manado.

Accommodation in Community Detention Center inn Makassar South Sulawesi

Detention Center in Surabaya, East Java

Problems for Indonesia as a Transit Country

- not signatories party of Refugees convention.
- No budget for treating and giving protection
- refugees Problems (health, children, violence etc)
- Social and cultural tension
- Political tension (potential)
- Security Issues

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Welcomes the
25th IPSA World Congress
of Political Science 2018
IPSA @ AISP


Lift
Welcomes the
25th IPSA World Congress
of Political Science 2018
IPSA @ AISP

4. Document , Photo, Paper Presented at 4 th International Conference on Contemporary Social and Political Affairs, August 13 th, 2018, in Surabaya, Indonesia.

ICoCSPA
4th International Conference on Contemporary Social and Political Affairs
August 13th, 2018 | Surabaya, Indonesia

Certificate

Given to:

Sartika Soesilowati, Dra., MA., Ph.D.

as: Presenter

4th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE on CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS (ICoCSPA) 2018
"Empowerment vs Impairment in the Global Digital Age"

Santika Premiere Hotel Surabaya
August, 13th 2018

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences - *Universitas Airlangga*
Dean,

Dr. Falih Suaedi
NIP. 196302261988101001

9/12/2018

Indonesia is a transit country for refugees: Problems and Potential Conflicts

Sartika Soesilowati, Airlangga University

Paper presented at the 6 th International Conference on Contemporary Social and Political Affairs, August 11th, 2018, Surabaya, Indonesia.

Aims

- To evaluate and to analyse contemporary problem facing by Indonesia as a transit country for refugees and asylum seeker :
- What kinds of problems or issue of refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesia?
- How the Indonesian's contemporary politics and conditions towards refugees and asylum seeker has transformed its general status of Indonesia as a "transit" country?

Argument

- The problem of refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesia is not based significantly on economic burden or benefits that it directly from refugees but it more occurred on tension of state security and stereotype among the community

Methodology

- 1. Using secondary research : news paper, resources, journals, reports.
- 2. Conducting field trip to Detention center in Bangil, Surabaya and Makassar (2 hotspots refugees and asylum seekers location in Indonesia), UNHCR, IOM. : Interview.

Introduction

- In face of refugees and asylum seeker around the world. UNHCR, in 2017 : 18.5 m forcibly displaced persons.
- In Indonesia 2018, a total of 13,000 individuals were registered with UNHCR in Indonesia as asylum seekers and refugees.
- Women refugees in Indonesia constitute about 30 %. Most of the refugees in Indonesia are coming from Afghanistan (55 %). They are placed in 13 detention centers in Indonesia e.g. Jakarta, Surabaya, Makassar, Manado.
- In Makassar: 45 % the refugees and asylum seekers are women

Indonesia as a Transit Country

- not signatory of Refugee convention.
- Restricted budgetary matching and giving protection
- 2017 President Jokowi has signed Presidential Decree (Perpres) no 125 year of 2016 regarding the treatment to refugees and asylum seeker.
- Indonesia is in cooperation international organization, UNHCR provide facilities and daily needs. There is a lack of work, education.
- Refugees/asylum seekers have rights such as food, accommodation, health service and money. However, in general, from the refugees point of view the facilities that they receive in detention center is still insufficient or not correspond with their needs and wish.

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9/12/2018

Accommodation in Community Detention Center in Makassar South Sulawesi

Detention Center in Surabaya, East Java

The Issues in caring the Refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesia. (from Inds perspectives)

- Issues of sovereignty : IOM and UNHCR have most authority to look after the refugees.
- Indonesian standing in international community : negative accusation, demonstration, tension.
- Economic jealousy. The Indonesian community sees the refugees have better support compared to many poor Indonesian people,
- Social stereotype. For example: Afghanistan perceives as Syiah. This assumption has created "threat" to Indonesian community

Issue for Waiting List

- The refugees and asylum seeker are staying in Indonesia increasing a longer period of time.
- Most of the refugees or asylum seekers aims to go to third countries, however they reject, or deny the resettlement.
- Indonesia became detain, settlement, or deterrence country for settlement country ?

Questioning Indonesia as a Transit Country

- **Current issues of refugees or asylum seekers in Indonesia and its management has transformed Indonesia became detain, settlement, or deterrence country for settlement country**

To Conclude

- Instead of economic burden and the securities threat, the existence of refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesia has created challenge to state sovereignty and social and economics tension among the communities.
- The idea of transit country is complex and changing overtime
- It is necessary for Indonesia to reconsider its position for protection the refugees and asylum seekers.:
- "Is this the best way to care, them?"
- "Is this the best choice for national interest?"

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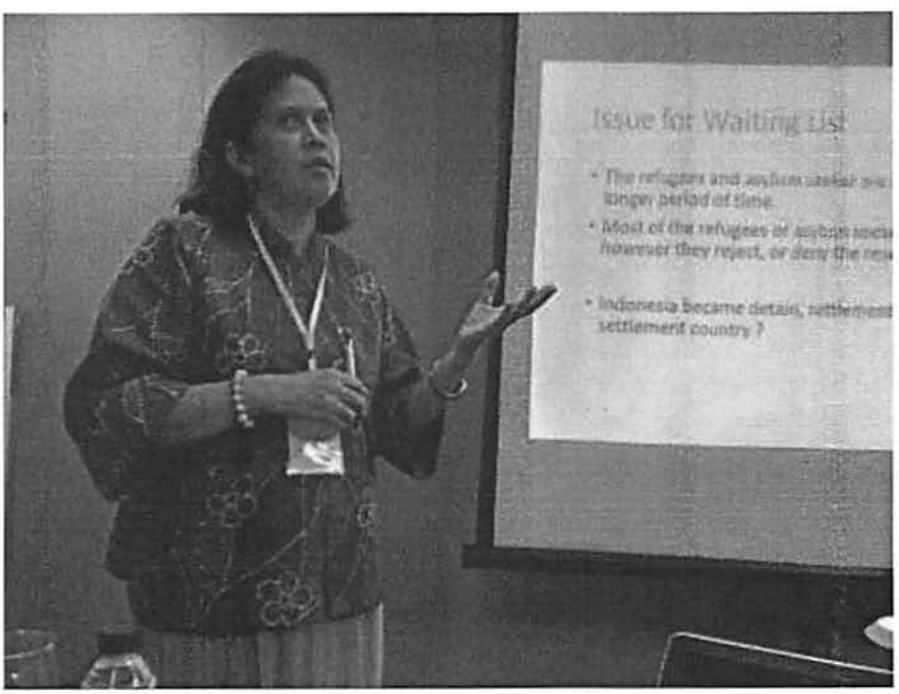
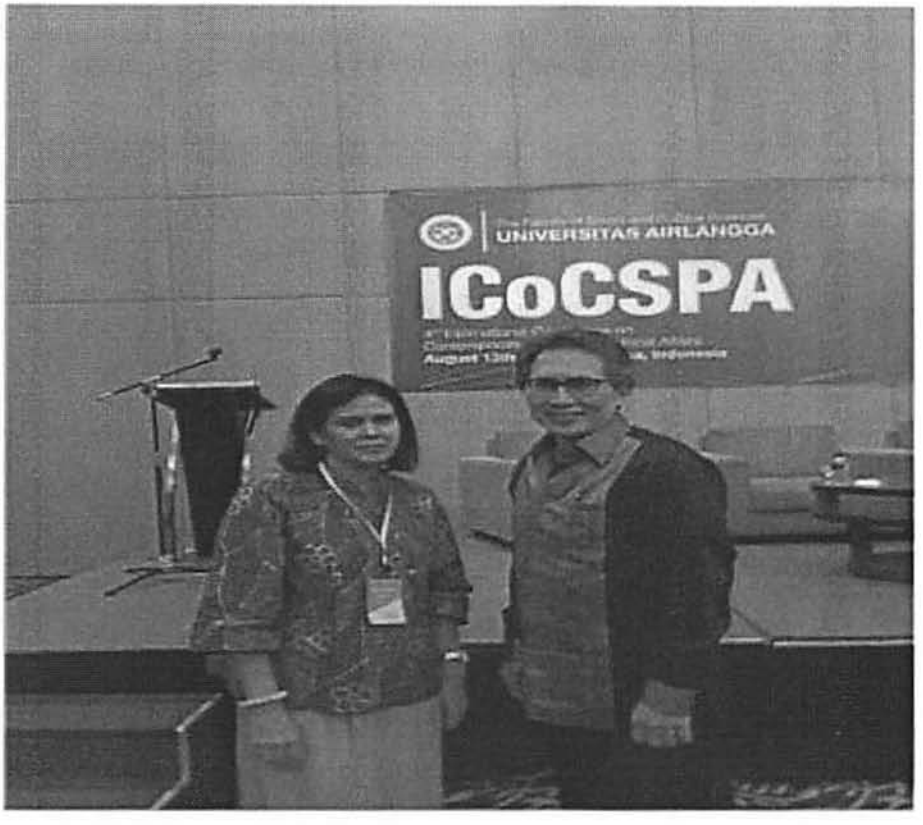

Issue for Waiting List
settlement country ?

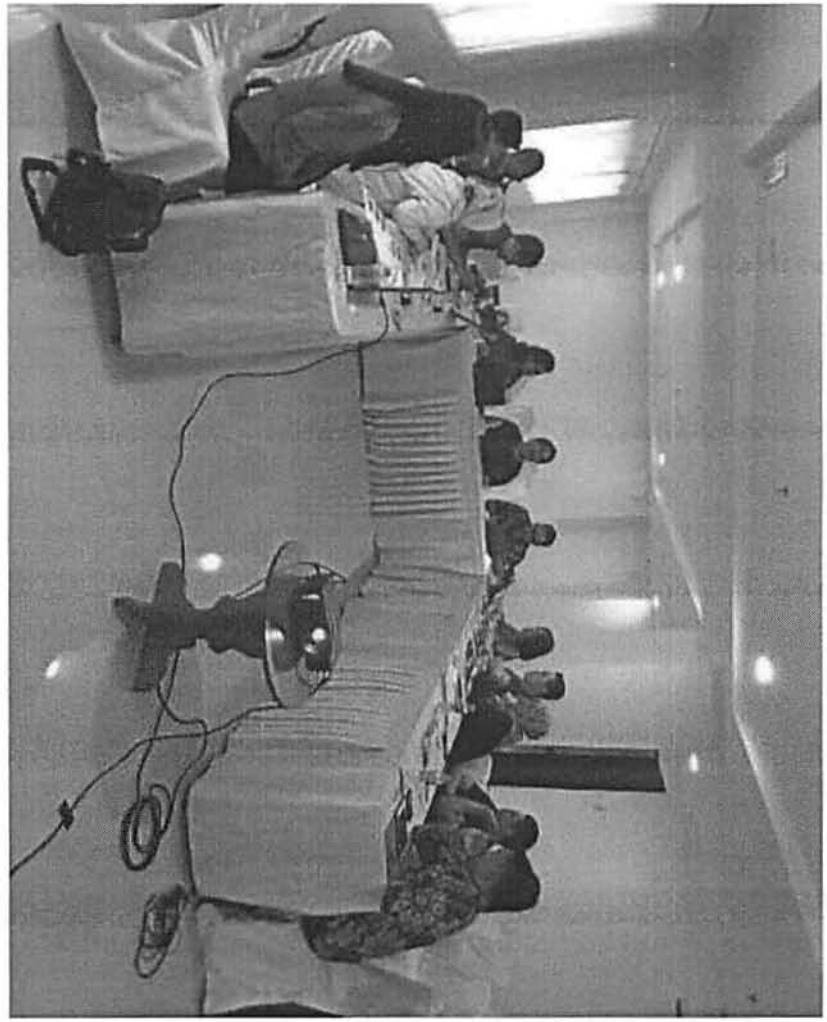

UNIVERSITAS AIRLANGGA
ICoCSPA

Document , Photo, Paper Presented at *Konvensi Nasional IX Asosiasi Imu Hubungan Internasional Indonesia (AIHI) at Tanjung Pinang, 22 – 25 Oktober 2018.* Paper Presented:

1).The Role of International Partners in Supporting Indonesian Government to Protect Women Refugees and Asylum Seeker.

2). Indonesian Position Towards Australia in Managing Refugees and Asylum Seekers: Transit or Deterrence Country.


KONVENSI NASIONAL IX
PERTEMUAN EPISTEMIC COMMUNITY



Konvensi Nasional IX
Asosiasi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Indonesia

Sertifikat

Diberikan kepada:

Dra. Sartika Soesilowati, MA., Ph.D

Atas partisipasinya sebagai:

Pemakalah Pada Pertemuan Akademik Dan Forum Komunitas

"Masyarakat Transnasional Dan Isu-Isu Non Tradisional"

dalam Rangkaian Kegiatan Konvensi Nasional IX Asosiasi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Indonesia (AIHII) yang dilaksanakan di Tanjungpinang, pada tanggal 22-25 Oktober 2018

Ketua Umum
Pengurus Pusat AIHII

Dr. Yusran, M.Si

Rektor
Universitas Maritim Raja Ali Haji

REKTOR

Prof. Dr. Syafsir Akhlus, M.Sc

Konvensi Nasional IX
Asosiasi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Indonesia

Sertifikat

Diberikan kepada:

Dra. Sartika Soesilowati, MA., Ph.D

Atas partisipasinya sebagai:

PESERTA

dalam Rangkaian Kegiatan Konvensi Nasional IX Asosiasi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Indonesia (AIHII) yang dilaksanakan di Tanjungpinang, pada tanggal 22-25 Oktober 2018

Ketua Umum
Pengurus Pusat AIHII

Dr. Yusran, M.Si

Rektor
Universitas Maritim Raja Ali Haji

Prof. Dr. Syafsir Akhlus, M.Sc

Konvensi Nasional IX

Asosiasi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Indonesia

Sertifikat

Diberikan kepada:

Dra. Sartika Soesilowati, MA., Ph.D

Atas partisipasinya sebagai:

Peserta Workshop

"Pengenalan Instrumen Akreditasi Berbasis Outcome"

dalam Rangkaian Kegiatan Konvensi Nasional IX Asosiasi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Indonesia (AIHII) yang dilaksanakan di Tanjungpinang, pada tanggal 22-25 Oktober 2018

Ketua Umum
Pengurus Pusat AIHII

Dr. Yusran, M.Si

Rektor
Universitas Maritim Raja Ali Haji

Prof. Dr. Syafsir Akhlus, M.Sc

Konvensi Nasional IX
Asosiasi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Indonesia

Sertifikat

Diberikan kepada:

Dra. Sartika Soesilowati, MA., Ph.D

Atas partisipasinya sebagai:

Chairperson Pertemuan Akademik dan Forum Komunitas

"Gender dan ASEAN"

dalam Rangkaian Kegiatan Konvensi Nasional IX Asosiasi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Indonesia (AIHII) yang dilaksanakan di Tanjungpinang, pada tanggal 22-25 Oktober 2018

Ketua Umum
Pengurus Pusat AIHII

Dr. Yusran, M.Si

Rektor
Universitas Maritim Raja Ali Haji

Prof. Dr. Syafsir Akhlus, M.Sc

19/11/2018

Indonesian Position towards Australian in Managing Refugees and Asylum Seekers: Transit or Deterrence Country?

[illegible]

Paper presented at the 9th Biennial Conference of ASAA 2018, 29-01 Gholdina Rhodes Hotel.

Aims

- To evaluate and to analyze contemporary position being by Indonesia as a transit country for refugees and asylum seeker ?
- What kind of problems or issue of refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesia?
- How the Indonesian's contemporary policies and conditions towards refugees and asylum seeker as transit in Indonesia in collaborative action with Australia has transformed its geo-political status of Indonesia as a "transit" country?

Argument

- Instead of being transit country for refugees, Indonesia's effort to manage Asylum refugees and asylum seekers and its collaborative action with Australia and tends its position as a supporter of deterrence for Australian policy

Methodology

- 1. Using secondary research: media, books, journals, journals, reports.
- 2. Conducting field trip to Detention centers in Bogor, Tanjung and Makassar (3 of biggest refugees and asylum seekers location in Indonesia), UNHCR, IOM : interviews.
- 3. Field trip to Western Australia

Introduction

- In flux of refugees and asylum seeker around the world. UNHCR, in 2017 : 68,5 to ten the displaced persons.
- In Indonesia 2016, a total of 13.000 individuals were registered with UNHCR in Indonesia as asylum seekers and refugees.
- Women refugees in Indonesia constitute about 80 %. Most of the refugees in Indonesia are coming from Afghanistan (58 %). They are placed in 13 detention centers in Indonesia e.g. Jakarta, Tanjungpinang, Makassar, Manado.
- In Makassar: 45 % the refugees and asylum seekers are women

Indonesia as a Transit Country

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible] President Joko Widodo (Presidential Decree/Perpres) on 11th June of 2016, regarding the handling of refugees and asylum seekers.
- Indonesia still [illegible] transportation, [illegible] penalty [illegible] are very [illegible] [illegible]
- [illegible]

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19/11/2018

Accommodation in Community Detention Center in Makassar South Sulawesi

Detention Center in Surabaya, East Java

The issues in caring the Refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesia. (from Inds perspectives)

- Issues of sovereignty : IOM and UNHCR have most authority to look after the refugees.
- Indonesian standing in international community. negative occupation., demonstration, tension.
- Economic jealousy. The Indonesian community sees the refugees have better support compared to many poor Indonesian people.
- Social stereotype. For example: Afghanistan perceived as Syiah. This assumption has created "threat" to Indonesian community

Issue for Waiting List

- The refugees and asylum seeker are staying in Indonesia increasing a longer period of time.
- Most of the refugees or asylum seekers aims to go to third countries , however they reject, or delay the resettlement.

Australia Condition to refugees.

- Being member of signatory party of 1951 Convention for Refugees
- The top Resettlement Country among the refugees and Asylum seeker in Indonesia
- Funding country for Refugees and Asylum seeker organization, IOM in Indonesia
- But
- Australia has intention to reduce/deny resettlement for the refugees
- Domestic political sensitivity
- Have been pointed out to violate Human rights by International community and national/human rights activities.

Australian Concern

- Security, economic, social concern
- linking security with terrorism

2

19/11/2018

Level and type cooperation between Indonesia and Australia

- Bilateral :
- - Lombok treaty: the guidance
- - Regional Cooperation Agreement: Indonesian and Australia police and immigration officials are conducting border patrol, intercept the boat people, then they return them in Indonesia.
- Multilateral
- - Status : Bali Consultancy
- - Status and PNGO: Australia and Indonesia are handling with IOM, UNHCR.

To evaluate Collaborative

- Australia and Indonesia has managed conflict and type of collaborative action is bilateral/multilateral collaborative action :
- They is need Regional work, policy, circumstances, and, state among the refugees and asylum seekers
- There are state obligation to conduct the collaborative action in protecting refugees and asylum seekers :
- - Action of UNHCR that coordinated or Cooperation action like Collaboration
- - to protection refugees/asylum
- - the difference in the action of each government policies to refugees complementary to each a coordinator
- - conclusion, to end

Finding

- The action have been conducted by Australia and Indonesia through a Collaborative action to still limited and fragile.
- The type of collaborative action has not contribute:
- - to build sustainable relations between Indonesia and Australia to non traditional security
- - to build more protective model for refugees and asylum seeker
- - not guarantee to overcome potential conflict, violence among refugees and between refugees and local individual.

Finding

- Indonesia has changed not simply a transit country but also acting as a supporter of detainment policy of Australia

To Conclude

- The risk of transit security is complex and changing overtime
- It is necessary for Indonesia to reconsider its position for protection the refugees and asylum seekers.
- "Is this the best way to save, them?"
- "Is this the best choice for national interest?"

The end

- Thank you.

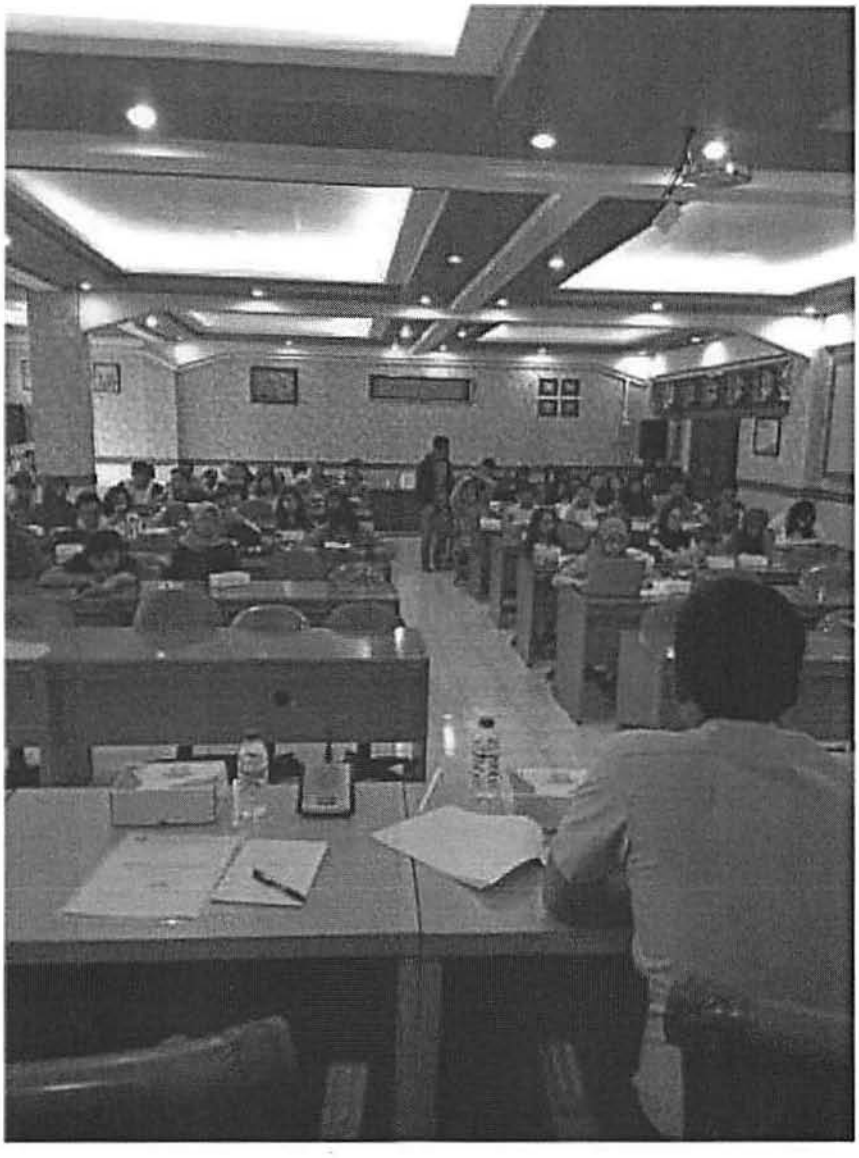
3

NETWORKING DEVELOPMENT

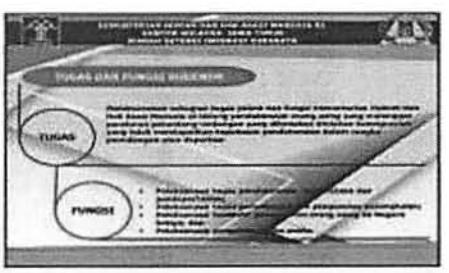
- **With East Java Immigration : Guest Lecture and Community Outreach**

Seminar and Guest lecture at Unair with topic:

"Pengelolaan Pengungsi di Indonesia dan Kerjasama dengan Pihak Internasional"



Presentation of Guest Lecture



1


Pencari Suaka


PENGUNGSI


FAKTOR PENDORONG TERJADINYA PENGUNGSI


FAKTOR PENARIK IMIGRAN ILEGAL
MASUK WILAYAH INDONESIA

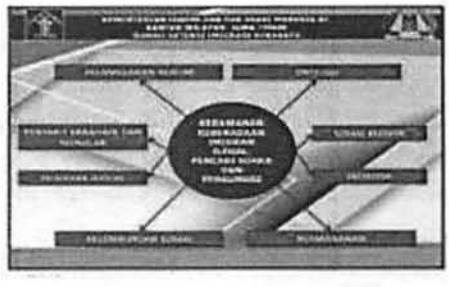

Modus

2


POSISI INDONESIA


PERMASALAHAN


HAMBATAN




NEGARA ASAL ILEGAL MIGRAN YANG MASUK SECARA LEGAL
MAUPUN ILEGAL KE INDONESIA MELALUI JALUR UDARA / LAUT

3


JALUR PERLINTASAN ILEGAL IMIGRAN MELALUI LAUT/ DARAT


JALUR PERLINTASAN ILEGAL IMIGRAN MELALUI UDARA


JALUR PERLINTASAN ILEGAL IMIGRAN MELALUI
PERBATASAN DARAT
(KUALA LUMPUR – SARAWAK - KALBAR)


JALUR KELUAR (LAUT)

4

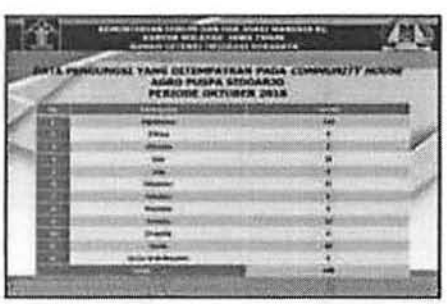

PENANGANAN PENGUNGSI DAN PENCARI SUAKA DI COMMUNITY HOUSE PUSPA AGRO DAN HOTEL GREEN BAMBOO YANG MENJADI TANGGUNG JAWAB RUMAH DETENSI IMIGRASI SURABAYA


HAMBATAN PENANGANAN PENGUNGSI DAN PENCARI SUAKA DI COMMUNITY HOUSE PUSPA AGRO DAN HOTEL GREEN BAMBOO YANG MENJADI TANGGUNG JAWAB RUMAH DETENSI IMIGRASI SURABAYA
1. Belum adanya tata tertib pengungsi
2. Jumlah Petugas Rumah Detensi Imigrasi Surabaya yang terbatas.
3. Jarak Community House Puspa Agro dan Green Bamboo yang cukup jauh dari Rumah Detensi Imigrasi Surabaya.
4. Tidak semua pengungsi / pencari suaka dapat berbahasa Inggris.
5. Di Community House Puspa Agro , tidak
posisi / tempat yang strategis termonitor oleh CCTV
6. Belum adanya CCTV di Hotel Green
7. Dalam sisi pengawasan tidak
pengungsi / pencari suaka dapat diawasi keberadaan


Rumah Detensi Imigrasi Surabaya
Jl. Raya, Km. Bangil
Kabupaten Pasuruan


DATA DETENI PADA RUMAH DETENSI IMIGRASI SURABAYA
DI BANGIL PASURUAN
PERIODE OKTOBER 2018
Jumlah


Community Housing Puspa Agro
Sidoarjo


DATA PENGUNGSI YANG DITEMPATKAN PADA COMMUNITY HOUSE
AGRO PUSPA SIDOARJO
PERIODE OKTOBER 2018

5


Hotel Green Bambu Juanda


DATA PENGUNGSI YANG DITEMPATKAN PADA
GREEN BAMBOO
PERIODE OKTOBER 2018


TERIMA KASIH

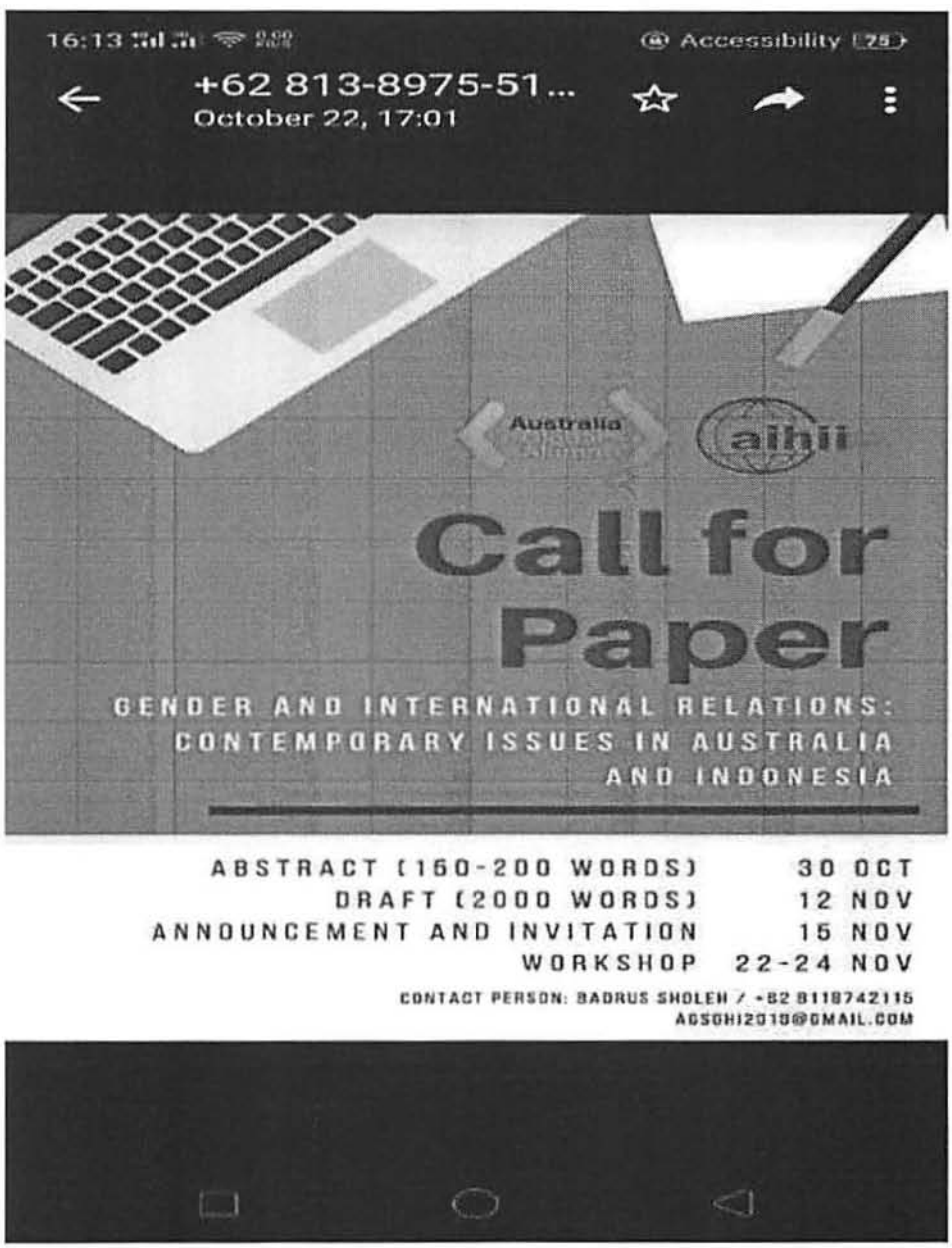
6

Development of Networking: with:

- **Komunitas Gender dalam HI**
- **Australian Alumny**
- **Australian Government**

Theme of Meetings: : International Workshop on Gender in International Relations, 22- 24 November 2018, Batu, Malang,

Paper presented: " Kerjasama Pemerintah Indonesia dan Australia dalam Penanganan Pengungsi Wanita."



KOMUNITAS EPISTEMIK "GENDER DALAM HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL"

Rundown Acara Workshop Penulisan Buku "Gender dalam Hubungan Internasional: Perspektif Indonesia dan Australia"

Malang, 22-24 November 2018

Thursday, 22 November 2018

13.00 – 14.00	Registration & Check in
14.00 – 14.30	Opening by Australian Alumni Grant Scheme Deans of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Brawijaya University and Airlangga University
14.30 – 15.30	Introduction and Discussion on technical matters
15.30 – 16.00	Coffee break
16.00 – 18.00	Session 1
18.00 – 19.00	Dinner

Friday, 23 November 2018

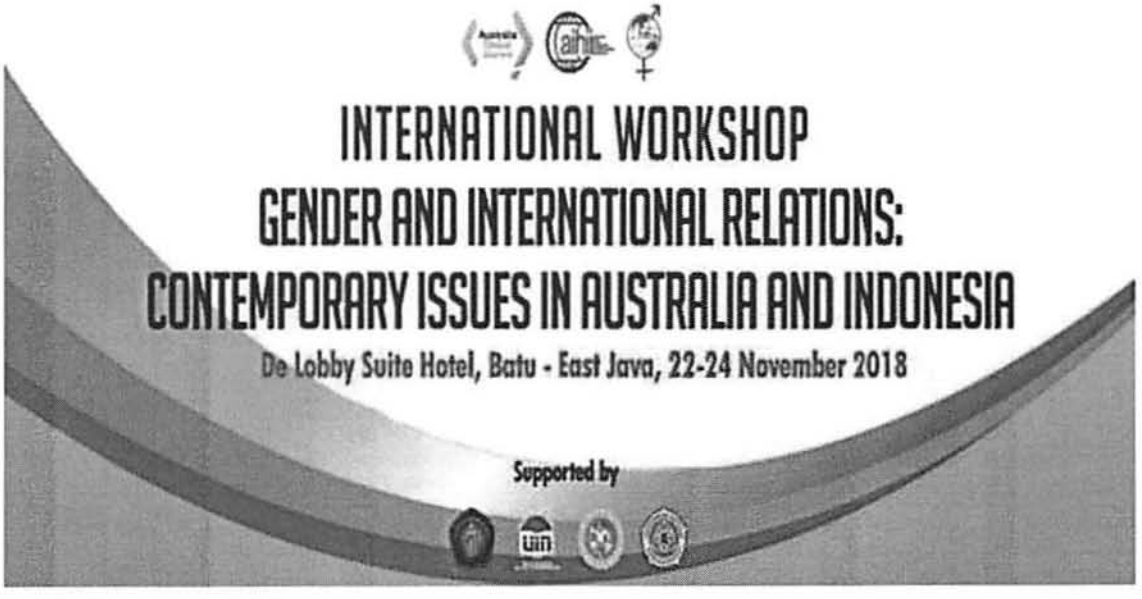
08.30 – 09.30	Session 2
09.30 – 10.00	Morning coffee
10.00 – 11.00	Session 3
11.00 – 13.00	Lunch & Friday Prayer
13.00 – 14.00	Sesi 4
14.00 – 15.00	Sesi 5
15.00 – 15.30	Afternoon coffee
15.30 – 16.30	Sesi 6
16.30 – 18.00	Writing workshop
18.00 – 19.00	Dinner
19.00 – 20.30	Review

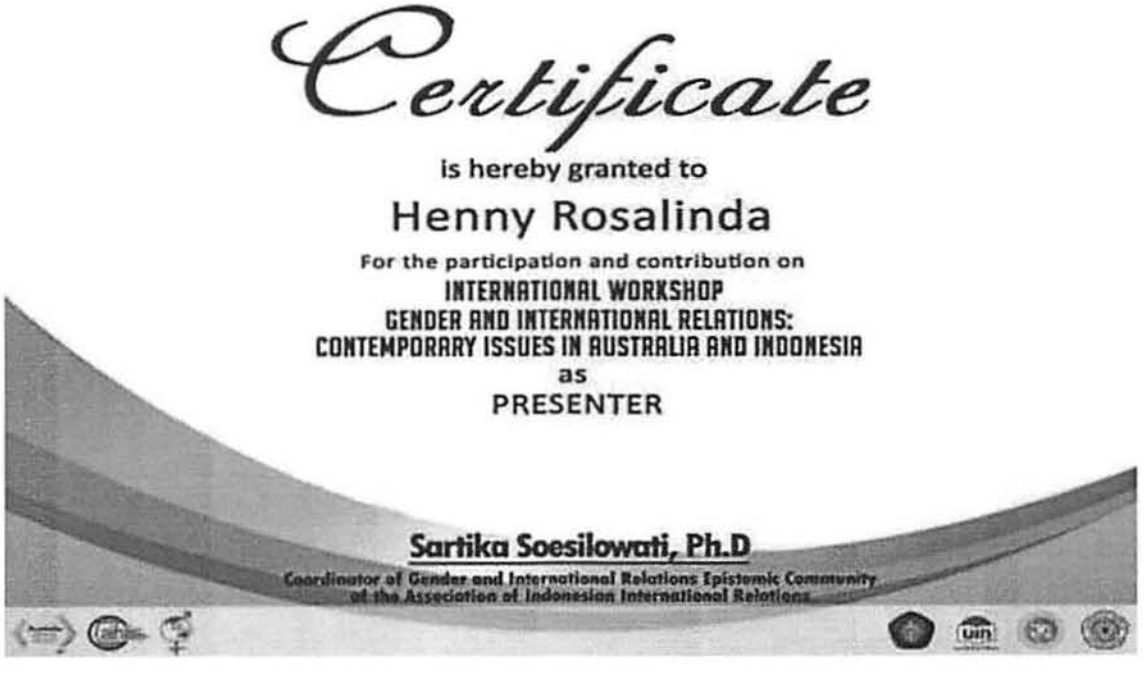
Saturday, 24 November 2018

10.00 – 12.00	Community Outreach
12.00 – …	To airport/train station

Ketua Komunitas,

Sartika Soesilawati, Ph.D.


INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP
GENDER AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:
CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA
De Lobby Suite Hotel, Batu - East Java, 22-24 November 2018
Supported by


Certificate
is hereby granted to
Henny Rosalinda
For the participation and contribution on
INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP
GENDER AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:
CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA
as
PRESENTER
Sartika Soesilowati, Ph.D
Coordinator of Gender and International Relations Epistemic Community
of the Association of Indonesian International Relations

FIELD TRIP

Photo of Field trip at Detention Center at Bangil

With the Head of Bangil Detention Center for Refugees

Seeing the Afghanistan dealing with the Officials asking for permit to settle in Australia.

FGD and interview at Bangil detention Centers

In front of Bangil Detention Centers for Refugees and Asylum seekers

Field Trip at Detention Center Makassar

In front of Detention Center Makassar

Interview with Marjan, A women Refugee from Afghanistan

Living condition at Community Housing for Refugees at Makasar

Afghan Refugee and its accommodation at MakasarDe

Photo of Field trip at Western Australia (Perth) : demonstration of Refugees and asylum seeker at Hay Street, Perth, Western Australia


20
MILLION
TRAVEL MONEY


TRAVEL MONEY

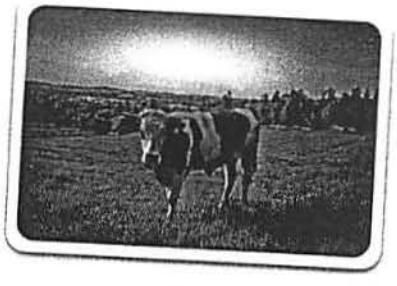
Indonesia – Australia Relationships

DOES IT MATTER ?

Australia – Indonesia Relationships: in Non Traditional Issues

3 B's : Beef, Bean, and Boat

How is significance of the relationships?

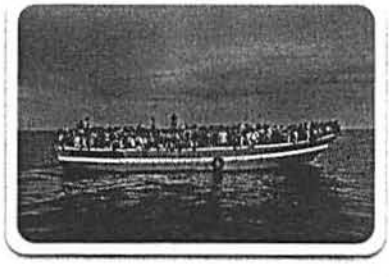


1.Beef :

- Indonesia heavily depend on Australian's meat import.
- Australia is the major supplier of imported beef to Indonesia with 80 % of the share market.
- Indonesia is the largest importing markets of Australia live beef cattle with taking 61.4% of all Australia's beef cattle exports.
- Australian farmer depend on Indonesian consumers.

2.Bean : *Wheat*

- Indonesian is fully reliant on wheat imports to fulfill demand for wheat flour based food.
- Australia holds the largest market share for wheat importation to Indonesia at 60 percent in value annually.
- Indonesian is the biggest market for Australian wheat exports.
- It has accounted for 21 percent of Australian wheat exports



3. Boat : *Refugees*

- Indonesia is the last transit country for refugees prior to Australia
- Australia supports Indonesia in handling the refugees significantly.
- Australia needs Indonesia to implement its deterrence policy towards refugees.