

THE INSECURITY OF AFGHAN REFUGEES IN INDONESIA: AN OVERVIEW FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF HUMAN SECURITY

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyse the security conditions of Afghan refugees in Indonesia which specifically considers human security, and analyses why the insecurity conditions of refugees occur. Afghanistan's domestic political crisis has resulted in humanitarian crisis which led to many civilians fleeing abroad to obtain security. As of June 2021, the number of Afghan refugees had reached 7,460 (57 percent) of the total refugees in Indonesia. Many news reports state that although Afghan refugees are 'safe' from repression and conflict in Indonesia, their condition is not good or to be desired - which the author concludes as unsafe. Thus, this paper focuses on addressing the question as to 'why are the conditions of Afghan refugees in Indonesia unsafe?'. This study uses a qualitative method of an explanatory type. Data are obtained through literature study. The analytical framework uses Human Security concept to explain the intended "unsafe conditions". The author argues that, (1) Afghan refugees experience economic, food, health, individual, community and environmental security problems which are identified as insecurity conditions. (2) These conditions are caused by the status of Afghan refugees in Indonesia as illegal immigrants as the UNHCR has not been maximal in seeking comprehensive long-term solutions, in addition to the complexity of the resettlement process and limited funds for handling refugees.

Keywords: human security, Afghan refugees, UNHCR Indonesia, IOM

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to examine the security condition of Afghan refugees in Indonesia. Refugee is one of the issues that arise with high intensity of intra-state conflicts in the midst of globalisation which facilitates mass movement supported by technological sophistication. Although there are many factors that cause a person to move from the origin country through the transit country to the destination country, this study looks at refugees from the forced migration perspective. By not denying the others, refugees here refer more to people who cross international borders when fleeing from conflict to save themselves. They aim to obtain security for themselves, and they need protection because of their inability to live in a country that is not conducive in terms of security conditions (Sukma, Nurlukman, Amiluddin, & Ahmad, 2021, p. 185). Based on data from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) representative office in Indonesia, in the midst of the global refugee crisis, at least 79.5 million people have been forced to move, out of which 13,745 people have migrated to Indonesia (UNHCR Indonesia, 2022). This is an increase in number, as based on a 2021 UNHCR

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report, as of April-June 2021, the number of refugees registered with UNHCR Indonesia was at 13,416 from various countries (Javier, 2021).

Based on UNHCR Indonesia data as per June 2021, most of the refugees in Indonesia came from Afghanistan with a total of 7,467 refugees – which is 57 percent of the total number of refugees in Indonesia. In the Asia-Pacific region, Indonesia is the 4th country with the largest total number of refugees (13,175) after Thailand (around 96,000 refugees), Malaysia (178,000) and Bangladesh (864,000) (Sekilas Data, 2022). The high number of refugees from Afghanistan in Indonesia is inseparable from the decades of domestic conflict that has caused political and humanitarian crises in Afghanistan. As a result, many Afghans have fled to escape the brutal Taliban regime in the hope of getting better life conditions, especially the feeling of security and the reality of security in transit and destination countries (Ihsanuddin, 2021). In Indonesia, Afghan refugees are placed in various areas such as Jakarta, Aceh, Medan, Tanjung Pinang, Pekanbaru, Makassar and several other places independently or abandoned on the road (Sekilas Data, 2022). Afghan refugees living in Indonesia varied from 2010, 2013 and continue to grow every year.

Although there are many refugees in Indonesia, Indonesia is not a party to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol which are the main international legal basis regarding refugees. In addition, Indonesia does not currently have a formal legal system regarding the determination of refugee status. Thus, in principle, Indonesia does not have the authority to determine and grant refugee status to international migrants who come to its territory seeking asylum. The consequence is that refugees do not get specific rights as regulated and stated in the refugee convention as would those in signatory states of the convention. However, Indonesia still accepts refugees as part of compliance with the non-refoulement principle as part of international norms. This means that the state is not allowed to repatriate or expel asylum seekers and refugees from its territory which happens to be a transit country. In the name of humanitarianism, based on this principle, states are prohibited from carrying out expulsion of refugees, and have an obligation to protect and grant them the right to seek asylum by not extraditing them. This is because extradition to countries where their lives or safety are in danger due to conflicts, life-threatening discrimination or natural disasters is not permitted under humanitarian norms (Primadasa, Kurnia, & Erawaty, 2021, pp. 45, 47).

Therefore, it is not surprising that Indonesia often becomes a transit country and hosts many refugees from abroad even though it has not ratified the refugee convention. This is also supported by strategic geographical factors - being close to refugee destination countries such as Australia. However, as Indonesia does not have the obligation and authority in terms of regulating refugees in its country, especially regarding the fulfillment of rights and obligations for refugees as countries that ratify the convention (Biro Humas Kemenkumham, 2022), refugees in Indonesia become the main mandate of UNHCR representatives in Indonesia. So, it is necessary to examine the real condition of refugees, in this case Afghans, in Indonesia. Several national news highlights the plights of these refugees by describing their living condition and situation that are not good, or even bad. Meanwhile, the refugees expect security and a decent life so they bravely leave their homeland. For this reason, the researcher considers to further analyse the 'bad' condition Afghan refugees are in while waiting in Indonesia because in general the waiting period for determining the best solution from the

UNHCR for them is not short. Several Afghan refugees have been living in Indonesia awaiting the UNHCR's decision for eight to eleven years (Arbi, Kompas.com , 2021). Thus, the researcher uses the concept of human security to analyse this condition because the security of refugees as humans in a country that has no obligation to guarantee and fulfill their rights needs to be reviewed. In addition, at least 13 Afghan refugees have committed suicide during the last three years as a form of ironic condition of refugees coupled with the fact that various demonstrations by Afghan refugees show real conditions of insecurity (Arbi, 2021). Researchers chose to focus on Afghan refugees because they are the majority with more than half of the total refugees scattered in Indonesia.

There had been several studies in various fields, not limited to international relations, which discussed refugees in Indonesia. The focus of these research was diverse, ranging from generally discussing refugees in Indonesia, as well as handling policies and problems faced by the actors involved. There was also a specific study that discussed Afghan refugees in Indonesia. In addition, there were several works that specifically discussed refugees in Indonesia with case studies in shelter camps such as in Jakarta, Pekanbaru and Batam. However, based on the author's analysis, there has been no specific study looking at Afghan refugees by examining their position as the most vulnerable object to be considered from the perspective of human security. So, this study will analyse the insecurity of Afghan refugees in Indonesia by referring to the new security concept in the study of international relations, namely human security.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Based on the research background stated above, the focus of this research will be to answer the question, "Why is the condition of Afghan refugees in Indonesia insecure in terms of human security?". Through this research question, the author will explore on how these insecurity conditions are described in the context of six of the seven types of human security according to UNDP 1994 and why they can occur. Answering the research question above, the author argues that: (1) Afghan refugees in Indonesia are not safe because they face threats in several aspects of human security such as economic security; food security; health security; individual security; community security and environmental security. (2) This condition is caused by the status of Afghan refugees in Indonesia as illegal immigrants. In addition, the UNHCR has not been maximal in finding a comprehensive long-term solution for the refugees. Besides, the complexity of the resettlement process is accompanied by a reduction in the third country revenue quota and limited funds for handling refugees. Each of these will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. A framework of thinking is given which is used as a reference to explain each of the arguments above.

This paper is the result of a study using a qualitative method. Qualitative research is part of an effort to construct reality and understand meaning, so that it pays great attention to processes, events and authenticity (Neuman, 2014, p. 26). Qualitative design refers to the research process to understand social phenomena by providing a comprehensive explanation which is then presented using sentences in the form of reports related to detailed views obtained from informants and various sources based on natural settings (Fadli, 2021, p. 35). Therefore, from the general understanding of the qualitative method above, this study seeks to deeply understand the issue of Afghan

refugees in Indonesia with a focus on human security. Thus, this research is very suitable if it is designed with a qualitative method.

Based on the research objectives, this work falls under explanatory research type, which is more than just providing an overview of the problem, but also an explanatory study which looks for causes and reasons for its occurrence. Addressing and answering “why” questions is the goal of explanatory research built on exploration and description methods, then proceeds to identify the reasons for something to happen (Neuman, 2014, p. 40). So, referring to the formulation of the problem and the purpose of this research, it can be concluded that this research is an explanatory type that seeks to uncover the reasons for the question why the insecurity of Afghan refugees in this case study occurred. Meanwhile, the technique of collecting data is through library research with secondary data sources obtained through books, journals, official websites, national and international news and working papers.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To further analyse this case study, the author uses the concept of human security according to the research focus on the security conditions of Afghan refugees in Indonesia. This concept can explain the unfavorable conditions of Afghan refugees more precisely and systematically which is concluded as insecurity in this context. This concept focuses on the individual as the most vulnerable object and all dimensions associated with it. More specifically, the concept of human security is divided into 7 dimensions. In this case study, the author tries to evaluate several related dimensions that are suitable with the conditions of Afghan refugees in Indonesia.

Human Security

The first international document covering the concept of human security was introduced through the UNDP-Human Development Report in 1994 - covering human security which is closely related to the ideas of Mahbub Ul-Haq, former Pakistani Finance Minister and consultant to the UNDP. ‘New Imperatives of Human Security’ published in 1994 provides a theoretical explanation of human security while paving the way for global acceptance of this concept. According to Haq, human security focuses on individuals as the object of security, not the nation state. In this new conception, security will be equated with the security of individuals or people, not just the security of their country or the region (Menon & Sudha, 2007, p. 8).

According to this report, the concept of security has for too long been narrowly interpreted to focus on and limited to regional security from external aggression, or as the protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear disaster. The report also notes that what has been neglected in the conception of security so far are the legitimate concerns of ordinary people seeking security in their daily lives (Paris, 2001). Human security emerged as a critical perspective on security that was previously very rigid and saw the state as the main subject and object of security (Listiarani, 2020, p. 23). Human security of individuals who are in the state as actors who run the state is basically also important like the state, where this is less ogled to be explained by the realism approach that makes the state a unitary actor (Akhmady, 2020).

In summary, the human security referred to in the report includes two important elements (UNDP 1994, 23). First, safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression. Second, protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life. It can be concluded that according to the UNDP, human security includes three important components, namely freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom to live in dignity (Alkire, 2003, p. 14).

The UNDP divides human security into seven (7) types, as well as threats or inability to access them indicating an unsafe situation for humans. First, economic security which includes freedom from poverty and being able to meet the daily cost of living and needs. Thus, it can be categorised that security threats for this dimension are poverty, unemployment, lack of income that supports the human economy and all matters related to limited access to the economy. Second, food security, namely having the ability to access food and basic daily needs. Thus, hunger and limited access to daily staple foods or non-fulfillment of consumption for physical health are security threats in this dimension. Third, health security, namely access to health and protection from various diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. Health security includes human health, both physically and psychologically. In other words, various conditions that interfere with physical and mental health such as illness, lack of access to health services and an unhealthy lifestyle are the main threats to this security dimension (Paris, 2001, p. 90)

Fourth, environmental security, namely easy access to clean sanitation and a healthy physical environment. All environmental conditions that do not support security, such as environmental degradation, natural disasters, pollution and extreme climates, are among the main security threats in this dimension. Fifth, individual security includes freedom from threats and physical violence such as torture, war, criminal attacks, domestic violence, drug use, suicide, and even traffic accidents, etc. Sixth, community security which includes security of cultural and cultural identity as well as being safe as members of certain groups in society, survival of traditional cultures and ethnic groups as well as physical security of groups. Seventh, political security, namely having protection of human rights and being free from political pressure (Listiarani, 2020, pp. 23-24).

In this context, even though Indonesia is only a transit country for refugees, refugees generally wait for five to ten years, and in extreme cases in East Java, refugees have even waited for 12 years for a comprehensive and long-term solution offered by the UNHCR. The UNHCR will generally carry out repatriation, integration, or resettlement as a solution for those who have refugee status. However, this process is not 'instant' and takes a long time resulting in Afghan refugees having to stay in Indonesia during this waiting period. Meanwhile, as a non-signatory state to the 1951 Convention, Indonesia does not have the obligations as provided in the convention regarding the fulfillment of the rights of refugees. Thus, even though Afghan refugees in Indonesia are safe from conflict and repression of the Taliban regime, they in fact experience new security problems arising from the 7 types of human security as stated by the UNDP above. The national media and news highlight the condition of these refugees by describing their plight and experience relating to several security problems during their waiting period due to the lack of freedom to live like other refugees in countries that ratify the refugee convention. The lack of access to jobs, education and health makes the life of refugees unsafe. Refugees become frustrated and stressed, and some even attempted suicide as a tangible manifestation of the new security problems

they face. This will be presented in more detail in the next section which will also explain the reasons for these conditions. However, before that, the author will provide a general overview of Indonesia's domestic framework regarding asylum seekers or refugees in collaboration with UNHCR Indonesia.

INDONESIA'S DOMESTIC FRAMEWORK ON ASYLUM SEEKERS/REFUGEES

A refugee is someone who has been recognised as a “refugee” under the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. This convention defines the term refugee to be a reference to whether a person deserves refugee status or not. In short, a refugee is every person who crosses the border of his country and flees from his country because of various matters related to insecurity in his country that threaten his life and lead to him losing his citizenship. Thereafter, based on the process established by the UNHCR, he gets the status as a refugee through the Refugee Status Determination (RSD). The determination of refugee status is determined by the country where the person is located, and in collaboration with the UNHCR (Primadasa, Kurnia & Erawaty, 2021, p. 46) Meanwhile, for countries that are not parties to the 1951 Convention, the main policy and determination of refugee status is under the mandate of the UNHCR. Therefore, asylum seekers who come to Indonesia must apply to UNHCR Indonesia for legal recognition of their refugee status.

UNHCR Indonesia has attempted to carry out the process of determining refugee status (RSD) for asylum seekers. The RSD mechanism goes through several stages of a long process, whereby immigrant asylum seekers must first register with UNHCR Indonesia to take part in the RSD process, with a series of requirements that must be met. Furthermore, the data validation process will be carried out by the UNHCR through individual interviews with immigrants assisted by an expert and professional translator in accordance with the refugees’ national language. This is done to validate the eligibility of each immigrant to obtain refugee status from the UNHCR. Through this stage, the UNHCR will then decide whether to grant refugee status or not (UNHCR Indonesia, 2022). If the specified criteria are met, the individual will be provided with a refugee certificate granting him refugee status which brings with it the rights and obligations of a refugee. However, if he is declared ineligible according to the rules, the asylum-seeking immigrant is given one last chance to file an appeal to reapply (Setyono, 2017, p. 279).

Meanwhile, as a non-party to the Refugee Convention, Indonesia does not have laws that specifically regulate all matters relating to refugees or foreign asylum seekers who land on Indonesian territory. However, Indonesia does have a reference in the form of Law No. 37 of 1999 on foreign relations which implicitly gives the authority to the president to grant asylum. This is implemented through a presidential decree. On this basis, Joko Widodo issued Presidential Regulation No. 125 of 2016 concerning the handling of foreign refugees which covers several points in terms of discovery, security, immigration control and funding. This Presidential Regulation is the only formal legal reference for the government and related institutions in handling refugees in Indonesia. As a non-signatory state to the Refugee Convention, Indonesia fully cooperates with the UNHCR and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in the implementation of this Presidential Regulation (Oktaviana & Gaol, 2020, p. 164).

Immigration officers carry out the tasks of receiving and collecting data after asylum seekers obtain refugee status from UNHCR Indonesia. After going through the administrative process, immigration officers will move the refugees to places that had been accommodated by the UNHCR and the Indonesian government as temporary migration detention centres, such as Semarang, Jakarta, Denpasar, Surabaya and several refugee camps outside local government facilities provided by the UNHCR. Refugees are under the supervision of immigration officers to ensure 'security'. Meanwhile, in terms of funding, it is fully the responsibility of the IOM and the UNHCR. The Indonesian government does not contribute much and is only limited to providing humanitarian assistance in an emergency. This fund is sourced from the Ministry of Social Affairs by taking part of the postal fund for the disaster management programme. However, the role of the relevant regional or provincial government is generally very limited and focuses more on funding allocations for handling domestic disasters than handling refugees. This is of course because the fund is indeed an allocation for the country, not focusing on addressing the refugee problem (Oktaviana & Gaol, 2020, p. 168).

In essence, the Indonesian government cannot contribute much to handling refugees, even with the issuance of this Presidential Regulation. In addition, this Presidential Regulation is not detailed and there are some points that are not clear in handling refugees. This is assumed because domestic matters are more important and Indonesia has yet to decide to become a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention or the 1967 Protocol. Thus, it is very possible that various problems and unsafe conditions will occur for Afghan refugees, who are the majority in Indonesia.

ANALYSIS OF HUMAN SECURITY OF AFGHAN REFUGEES IN INDONESIA

This section is the discussion that answers the key question - "Why is the condition of Afghan refugees in Indonesia not safe from a human security perspective?". For this reason, this section will explore the insecurity conditions in the context of the 7 types of human security provided by the UNDP and why they can occur. First, the author argues that in referring to the above 7 dimensions of Human Security categorised by the UNDP, the condition of Afghan refugees faces threats to economic security, food security, health security, individual security, community security and environmental security, respectively. In addition, it strengthens the author's argument that the insecurity of Afghan refugees is caused by two important elements of human security which can then be summarised into 3 main components where all of these categories have not been fulfilled as mentioned in the conceptual framework. The author's second argument is that the insecurity of the Afghan refugees from the point of view of human security is caused by several things. Further elaboration of these two arguments is discussed in each of the following sub-headings.

Five Dimensions of Human Insecurity on Afghan Refugees in Indonesia

The first dimension is economic security. This includes freedom from poverty and being able to meet the cost of living for daily needs. So based on this category, the inability to fulfill basic daily needs and being still below the poverty line are a definition of insecurity and a real security threat for every individual. The main way to meet all

basic daily needs is to work and earn a permanent or temporary income, so the absence of work or unemployment is an unsafe condition in this category. Meanwhile, the reality is that Indonesia is not a party to the 1951 Convention and there is no legal law or legal regulation that gives refugees in this transit country the right to find work. As a result, Afghan refugees do not have access to jobs in both the formal and informal sectors. This means that all refugees live for years in waiting as unemployed because there is no freedom to get the right to work even if it is only to support the basic needs of daily life (Oktaviana & Gaol, 2020, p. 169). Several news reports and interviews with Afghan refugees show that these conditions are very bad and affect their lives and economy. From CNN Indonesia, Tohir, an Afghan refugee stated that there is no right for refugees to get jobs, but in Afghanistan there is no security in workspace, but here is worse. Other refugees' statements are similar as explained in various national media. In essence, they want to emphasise that economically their condition is not safe and is threatened (CNN Indonesia, 2022)

In addition, Afghan refugees who are scattered in East Java, with the majority in the Sidoarjo camp, admit that they often try to earn income simply by selling goods, however this is not allowed. They are also forbidden to be involved as workers in mini shops, markets or other private informal sectors. Besides, the mobilisation and movement of Afghan refugees are very limited and are closely guarded by the immigration authorities. This limited condition of course greatly affects them, especially in the aspect of meeting basic economic needs. During the 12 years living in Indonesia, there is no economic activity and development of economic potential that can be carried out. Their activities are only limited to simple eating and then resting which they call an 'inhuman activity' (Goa, 2022). Naturally, Afghan refugees need economic activities to show their existence and self-actualisation, but in non-signatory states to the Convention like Indonesia there is no regulation that legalises refugees to get access to work. This condition clearly shows the real threat faced by Afghan refugees on the dimension of economic security, meaning that this condition is human insecurity on the economic dimension.

The second dimension is food security - namely having the ability to access food and consume basic daily needs. This means that as long as individuals, in this case refugees, have access to food for their daily needs, they can be categorised as secure. On the other hand, insecurity can be identified if there is lack of food, especially when the basic needs to obtain life-supporting energy is limited. The main threats in this dimension are hunger and limited access to daily staple foods, limited consumption for physical health and consumption of unhealthy foods that does not meet standard nutrition. In the case of Afghan refugees in Indonesia where refugees do not have the right and freedom to work, the funds for meeting daily consumption needs only rely on 'pocket money' received from the IOM and the UNHCR.

The amount of money received varies according to the vulnerability criteria set by the IOM. The allowance given should be sufficient to meet all needs including food, clothing, medicine and other basic daily needs. For example, Afghan refugees in Batam based on Fareso's confession, received an amount of Rp.1,250,000 per month (Nainggolan, 2021). In addition, more than 250 Afghan refugees in Sidoarjo, Surabaya admitted that they only received Rp.1,200,000 per month (Goa, 2022). This is based on the decision of the Governor of East Java province regarding the district/city minimum wage (Upah Minimum Kabupaten - UMK), which is the lowest monthly wage paid to

all workers in the region. The amount of UMK payment is adjusted to the price of basic needs, inflation rate, standard of living, and other variables (Idris, 2020). In the Sidoarjo area, the government has set the UMK in 2022 at Rp. 4,368,581 (Wikanto, 2021). This means, based on this description, it can be explained that the amount of pocket money received by Afghan refugees is very small compared to the cost of living needs that must be borne for one month. The UMK has always been a reference for the lowest standard of living income, so if a person's income is far below that, it shows poverty which results in the inability to get food for daily consumption. This condition clearly emphasises the real threat to the food security dimension for Afghan refugees in Indonesia.

The third dimension is environmental security, namely easy access to clean sanitation and a healthy physical environment. For this type, the operational definition of insecurity is concluded when the environment for everyday life is not healthy and comfortable. The high number of Afghan refugees has resulted in the refugee camps facilitated by the UNHCR and the IOM not adequately accommodating according to their capacity. So, based on the cooperation with Indonesia, the government has transferred the functions of several detention centres belonging to the immigration office as shelters for Afghan refugees. In addition, refugees also complained about inadequate facilities at the detention centre, for example clean water and limited electricity. In addition, it also included poor environmental and sanitation conditions in the detention centre. The location of the detention centre is often a shelter for animals such as rats, cockroaches and even snakes at night - disturbing the night rest of Afghan refugees in Kalideres-Jakarta (Madrin, 2019).

This problem certainly illustrates the insecurity experienced by Afghan refugees. Another problem is the limited capacity of the detention centre which is not proportional to the number of refugees, resulting in some refugees having to set up tents on the sidewalks. In addition to the lack of allowances received to meet needs, it is not enough to rent a more decent place to live in. The scorching heat, cold night weather and disturbance of animals at night are a threat to this type. In a worse condition, some Afghan refugees, as stated by Mukhtar, say that it is not uncommon for them to have to pay just to use the bathroom (Maulana, 2021). Some general descriptions of these conditions show an unhealthy and unsafe environment occupied by most of the Afghan refugees in Indonesia. This is mainly due to the increasing number of Afghan refugees which is not accompanied by adequate assistance from related parties.

The fourth dimension - health security, relates to access to health and protection from various diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. For this type, security is determined by freedom of access to health facilities because it is a basic need for life, including a healthy lifestyle and environment. So based on this operational definition, it can be concluded that the insecurity or threat to security in this type would be illness, lack of access to health facilities and the absence of a healthy environment that directly affects individual health. Other than the lack of money to pay for health costs, Afghan refugees also experience limited access to public health facilities. In addition, they live in unhealthy environment whereby in some cases refugee camps are self-made by them in the form of tents. The conditions of the Indonesian government's detention centres were also not proper nor good enough. This condition makes refugees vulnerable to diseases, especially children and women (Maulid, 2021, p. 1). This condition was exacerbated during the pandemic. Although several doses of vaccine were provided, these were only

a small part, and the majority were focused on the most vulnerable clusters. Regarding this condition, as experienced by Javet Ali, he stated that he was suffering not only because of corona, but also because there was no medicine available. This clearly shows that they were actually threatened by health insecurity and were not safe in health security (BBC News, 2021, p. 1).

The refugees acknowledged that access to medical services during the pandemic was difficult for them. The risk of transmission for refugees is the same level as other Indonesian citizens. In fact, a real form of insecurity could be seen when some of the refugees infected with COVID-19 did not get medical services, which caused them to have to take care of themselves. In addition, the UNHCR also experienced limitations in providing health services, especially in advocating for refugee vaccinations. They acknowledged that the UNHCR had asked COVID-19 positive patients to undergo self-isolation in refugee camps which resulted in several other refugees being exposed. The refugees are also powerless to pay for the covid test (swab, PCR). Until the end of 2021, based on the recognition of the UNHCR Communication Associate staff, at least 600 refugees have received vaccinations spread across several points such as Pekanbaru, Aceh, and Kupang. The UNHCR itself admits that the procurement of vaccinations is still a problem (BBC News, 2021, p. 2). Besides, psychological health is a central issue experienced by Afghan refugees. According to the confession of refugee representative Muhammadin, 99 per cent of them experience psychological problems such as stress, severe depression, hopelessness, fear, anxiety and loss of hope for life and the future. This is due to them being in a complex condition in terms of insecurity for a long period of almost 12 years. They have made various efforts to demand that placement in the third world be carried out, but this could not be realised. Demonstrations by Afghan refugees often occur in various strategic government positions (Admin, 2022). This shows that their mental health is very disturbed and insecure.

The fifth dimension - personal or individual security, includes freedom from threats and physical violence such as torture, war, criminal attacks, domestic violence, drug use, suicide, and even traffic accidents, etc. From this definition, it can be concluded that the limit of personal insecurity lies if there is any violence or action that endangers the physical and mental health of Afghan refugees. The hardships of life as a refugee in a transit country also threatens personal security such as, in extreme cases, suicide. Hakmat, a representative of Afghan refugees who was involved in mediation with the UNHCR stated that at least 14 Afghan refugees had committed suicide due to excessive stress. Personally, the refugees are mentally disturbed by the complexity of the human security problems that are found in Indonesia because their basic needs are not met and they never get clarity on placement in a third country (A & Puspita, 2021, p. 1). Some Afghan refugees claim to have trouble sleeping at night because of stress and not a few took antidepressant drugs to be able to rest temporarily at night. They admit that during their stay in Indonesia as refugees for 8-10 years, their activities were limited to eating and sleeping in minimal conditions. Although there were 14 people who committed suicide, Ishak said that several other Afghan refugees often attempted suicide but failed (Maulana, 2021, p. 1). Some said that Afghan refugees have no hope of life and the future for themselves and their children (VOA, 2021). This condition clearly illustrates the insecurity of Afghan refugees in terms of individual security.

The sixth dimension is community security, which includes security of cultural and cultural identity as well as being safe as members of certain groups in society,

survival of traditional cultures and ethnic groups as well as physical security of groups. From a social perspective, refugees often receive insults and negative views from local people feeling disturbed by their presence. In fact, they also receive unfavorable treatment such as attacks or beatings, not because they are disturbing, but because of the stigma and negative sentiments of the local community towards refugees who become a burden on the state. In several cases, similar treatment also came from workers who were at the UNHCR representative office in Jakarta when they wanted to submit their aspirations without even discriminating between children and women (CNN Indonesia, 2021, p. 2). In addition, the stigma that develops in ordinary people, including many who consider these Afghan refugees as a network or members of a terrorist group from that country. These conditions indicate that their community identity is threatened and insecure. This is especially true for refugees who live in foreign countries with far different cultures, languages, and ethnicities. The facts presented show a new security problem faced by the Afghan refugee group. In addition, conflicts between refugees sometimes do occur and pose the same threat with regard to community security.

BEHIND THE INSECURITY OF AFGHAN REFUGEES IN INDONESIA

This section explains the second argument regarding the reasons for the insecurity of the Afghan refugees from a human security perspective as explained above.

First and foremost, the insecurity is due to the status of Afghan refugees in Indonesia as illegal immigrants, as Indonesia is not a signatory party to the 1951 Convention. So, it is natural that their condition is not favourable as they do not get their basic rights as refugees. This is also supported by the absence of a legal framework related to refugee status by Indonesia (Nathanael & Puspita, 2021, p. 316). Indonesia thus, has no responsibility to ensure their basic needs are fulfilled including providing jobs, education, health services and other assistance. Although Presidential Regulation No. 125/2016 has been issued, and one of which is to regulate matters regarding funding, it is still not detailed in nature, nor can it be implemented maximally by the relevant agencies. So, in practice, even though Indonesia also provides assistance via the local government which is coordinated by the Social Service of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government, the Indonesian government does not fully provide these funds to handle the majority of Afghan refugees. This is because these funds were natural disaster funds to deal with domestic problems. The Indonesian government, of course, prioritises domestic issues rather than dealing with the majority of Afghan refugees, even though the number continues to increase in its sovereign territory (Oktaviana & Gaol, 2020, p. 168).

In addition, UNHCR Indonesia as the main stakeholder responsible for Afghan refugees in the working area of its representatives is still not optimal in seeking a comprehensive long-term solution as agreed by the international community, namely resettlement, repatriation or integration. Placement in a third country (resettlement) is the solution that most refugees hope for, even from the beginning when they made the decision to flee their homeland. However, this solution is not easy to realise because the acceptance of Afghan refugees in the third country is the right of that country. The increase in the number of refugees in Indonesia which is not supported by the availability of housing access is due to the decrease in the number of quotas for

placement in third countries. To quote Anisa (Communication Associate for UNHCR Indonesia), "20 million refugees worldwide are under the mandate of the UNHCR, but every year less than 1 percent of refugees worldwide are accepted by third countries and go to destination countries". As a result, the number of refugees piled up was not in line with the number of refugees who were repatriated, resettled, or integrated especially with the flow of refugees who came after the control of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan (Arbi, 2021). After obtaining refugee status, the UNHCR promised to seek a comprehensive solution in the form of resettlement within three years. However, the unexpected situation with various efforts made has not been able to agree on a more adequate placement quota.

Repatriation to Afghanistan is not the right solution because the country's situation is still not conducive. In addition, Afghan refugees do not want to return to a country controlled by a regime that jeopardises their safety and security. Therefore, Afghan refugees often hold demonstrations at the UNHCR office, the Immigration Office, and the Indonesian Ministry of Law and Human Rights to demand clarity on their status and placement in a signatory country to the Convention so that they can live freely like humans whose human rights attached to them are fulfilled (Admin, 2022). Meanwhile, local integration efforts as other alternatives have not yet been implemented in Indonesia. The Indonesian government has not shown any efforts to lead discussions on the local integration of refugees. This is due to several domestic factors and politicians' fears of turmoil in the community if they take integration steps. Integration is a solution that is quite risky with various aspects that must be considered (Alamari, 2020, p. 269). Therefore, until now the integration solution is not possible.

One of the countries that are parties to the Convention and is the destination for Afghan refugees who are transiting in Indonesia is Australia. However, in reality, Australia has implemented at least five policies in terms of handling refugees and asylum seekers who have entered the country since the leadership of Tony Abbot (2013-2015). In essence, the policy is a limitation and even rejection of refugees who will stay or be placed in the resettlement process in Australia (Oktaviana & Gaol, 2020, p. 170). In addition, during the pandemic, Australia again reduced the refugee acceptance quota which was submitted based on the exposure of the 2020-2021 state budget. The number of refugees received was 13,750 people as compared to previously received 18,750 refugees. It was evident that Australia had reduced the number by 5,000 refugees. Observers say this reduction will save ABN as much as AU\$ 1 billion. However, the Australian Refugee Council and ASRC denied this, and instead insisted that this reduction is allocated to increase costs for holding refugees outside Australia so that budget savings will not occur (ABC, 2020, p. 1).

Lastly, the lack of funds allocated for handling refugees is also the cause of the insecurity of Afghan refugees. Most of the funding for the handling of refugees is the responsibility of the UNHCR and the IOM, and comes from Australia and several other countries, as well as international NGOs. However, since 2018, the IOM and the UNHCR have experienced limited funds, and this has resulted in the programmes carried out starting to be reduced, and in some other cases they were even terminated. This includes a reduction in the provision of pocket money. This limited funding is not in line with the increasing number of refugees, majority of whom from Afghanistan, while dealing with the complexity of the resettlement process to third countries (Oktaviana & Gaol, 2020, p. 169). This lack of funds directly affects most of Afghan

refugees who depend on the allowance provided by the IOM. As they do not have a source of income, they expect help from non-governmental social institutions or compassionate and kind citizens (Masita, 2021, p. 1).

CONCLUSION

Afghan refugees are the largest refugee population in Indonesia, and are experiencing problems regarding human security. The decision to flee from the homeland hoping to reach the destination country with a decent life has not yet been fulfilled. Instead, they have to live in a transit country, Indonesia, for many years – with Indonesia not having the obligation to guarantee their rights. Afghan refugees are insecure while waiting for a comprehensive, long-term solution from the UNHCR, the main mandate holder of responsibility for them. Despite being 'Secure' from the conflict and repression of the cruel Taliban regime, they face new security problems in Indonesia. The reasons why the insecurity condition of Afghan refugees occurred have been explained based on the dimension of human security. In addition to Indonesia not being a signatory country to the 1951 Refugee Convention, other reasons for their insecure condition, based on a human security view, are due to the lack of handling funds, the complexity of resettlement solutions and integrating with the locals, and the lack of quotas available for placement in third countries.

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