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Diaspora Causatum: Enhancing Defense Diplomacy Through Alterations in Citizenship Laws

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Abstract. The paper aims to analyze how diasporas across the globe can become potential elements in enhancing their home country's national interest. Through social aspects such as citizenship laws, engaging diasporas can be one way to broaden a state's resources in its defense system. Comparative analysis and assessment are used to elaborate on how various countries – which possess a large number of diasporic communities along with comprehensive law systems that regulate its citizenship issues – are reflected upon and proposed for a modified model within Indonesia's scope. The paper concludes that modification of the Indonesian citizenship law in accordance with the government's strategic Defense Diplomacy is an effective way of enhancing sustainable ties with other countries. This research can be used within the government to consider diasporas as elements of national power. Other areas of study, such as defense studies and security studies, may also benefit. This research offers a unique way in altering Confidence Building Measure (CBM) mechanisms in the scope of Defense Diplomacy Studies that will enhance good relations and comprehensively establish synergies between public diplomacy and defense diplomacy en bloc.

Keywords. Citizenship Law, Defense Diplomacy, Diaspora, Transnationalism, Contemporary Warfare, Multi-track Diplomacy

1. Introduction

The impact of globalization today not only affects states as high political actors but also its non-state beings that consist of a society's cultural existence. Interconnectivity between the global populations which were previously differentiated from one another within a global scale is now changing towards a universal and monotonic interaction and interconnection (Nonini, 2005). As globalization emerges, national individualism, as well as indigenous cultures, are slowly disappearing and eventually brought to death into a shapeless muddle (Condé & Cairns, 1998).

The mobility of people across the globe, resulting in strengthened forms of migration

which later on called as diasporas are also one of the effects of a globalized world. Communities which were once diverse are now interconnected and interdependent on one another (Aikins & White, 2011). Globalization and diasporas are quite clearly related, but the relationship between the two is much higher than what it seems as it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between diasporic migrations and other forms of transnational migrations and movements (Nonini, 2005).

While previously both citizenship and political loyalty towards a specific national community was determined as one package, today the rise of multiple citizenships in the world has made countries to acknowledge dual or multiple citizenships (Faist, 2004). The connection between citizenship and membership within a bordered territory are considered necessary in regards to the boundaries national states have agreed upon (Beck, 2000, p. 23). Despite that, this relationship between society and their belonging towards a specific nation-state which is later on called citizenship are starting to dissolve in line with the intensified movement of people between borders (Castles & Davidson, 2000).

The indicated situation is considered to disrupt the idealized definition of what it means to be a member of a country and nation due to the massive volume and increase of movement across states that makes the national community being stretched out wide (Dickinson & Bailey, 2007). The escalation of second-generation diasporas that include individuals who are unable to identify themselves to the origin of their parent's homeland is the result of migration (Condé & Cairns, 1998).

Even though the importance of Diaspora and how engaging them would be beneficial for the government itself has been known for, the meaningful approach has been neglected (Aikins & White, 2011) thereupon fundamental 'paper-based schemes' and reliable policies and programs are still separated with a considerable gap, let alone acting as a solution to the issue (Franzen & Moriarty, 2009). Nonetheless, the problem exists as a consequence of how governments still see diasporas' community membership as conflicting to the country's interest in reason of doubted loyalty as they are not within the national territory of the State (Dickinson & Bailey, 2007).

Despite that, there exist states that identify diasporas in accordance with their laws, such as India and other countries, which will be brought up further in this paper. For states such as India, continuous loyalty towards the nation-state ideal can still be profound in any concepts regarding diasporas (Jain, 1998). According to Simon Atkinson's *Global Megatrends 2050*, it is stated that the world's population will rise toward a dynamic, interconnectedness, and public opinions as a revolutionary force will eventually emerge (Atkinson, 2016). Transnationalism, 'people-to-people' contact and cultural convergence have been proved to be the several outcomes of globalization, thus making diasporas as a popular community in the world today. Furthermore, acknowledgment of multiple or dual citizenships that pave the way for one's access to all the rights and benefits of national citizenship has raised critics as diasporas prove to the world how their contributions have achieved greater prominence (Dickinson & Bailey, 2007).

This article aims to analyze the practices in states around the world, including Indonesia, how states react towards the growing popularity of their diasporas. While India has succeeded in constructing policies that can favour their overseas communities, Indonesia has always been put in a halt due to its national citizenship law, which in the author's perspective, need alterations for the globalized world. It will then be analyzed in the eyes of defense diplomacy, specifically how Indonesia's intention in enhancing their CBMs with other states

can be carried out by empowering diasporas with multiple citizenships.

2. Theoretical Framework

1.1. The Nationality Law in Perspective

As a human right, nationality was considered a challenge to the traditional notion of state sovereignty that is also defined as the *Domaine reservee*, where acquiring nationality depends on the State's perception on a sense of belonging (Faist, 2004). Traditionally, a community that identify themselves to a particular nation-state is based on a shared history and culture that come together in an undivided territory with an administered population (Meel, 2017). Multiple nationalities were previously seen as a threat to most states worldwide and were considered to be avoided in the best way possible in alignment with the Hague Convention preamble in the League of Nations 1930, that says: "All persons are entitled to possess one nationality, but one nationality only" (Faist, 2004). The main argumentation on the contrast action at that time was the unjust treatment that would emanate between residents within the country and diasporas which will not be demanded substantive obligations while both sides are given the same political rights in return (Meel, 2017). This perception was rooted in how the Montevideo Convention of 1933 defines the rights and duties of states and citizens that should adhere to the almost holy trinity of territory, people and the political regime (Faist, 2004)

The increasing practice of dual nationality took place even before the large-scale labour immigration happened which made the Council of Europe ratify a convention that was intended to reduce states opening up for multiple nationalities and dual military obligations in 1963 (Hammar, 1985). During the late nineteenth century until the Cold War, the referred decision was then followed by the two rules that dominated most nation-states' laws regarding membership: First, nation-states agreed that one's nationality would automatically lose by gaining a new one. Second, by reaching a certain age that marks the start of adulthood will give a person the obligation to choose one of the two nationalities – preferring one from the other – which comes with a consequence that he or she will be expatriated if have not done so (Faist, 2004). The above notion was based on the doubts that a person would be loyal to their home country when in fact they hold two passports and nevertheless would be used as an excuse for him or her in not adjusting in their country of settlement – such conclusions provoke states to perceive dual citizenship as an ideal that would disconnect the citizen from its residence and disrupt nation-state concepts instead (Meel, 2017).

The connection between citizens of a nation and the nation's territorial borders are fundamentally important when defining nationalism that forms as a set of beliefs and practices (Schiller & Fouron, 2002). Nationalism is generally regarded by society as something that should be inherent in a citizen. Nationalism embedded in citizens can be built in 3 forms of relationships (Swastanto, 2019): First, emotional relationships where one needs to feel proud to be a citizen, feel homesick when abroad, feel offended when the State is demeaned and respect the country's philosophy. Second, as functional relations that can be interpreted as a form of responsibility in the life of the State, carrying out duties for the sake of the State and actively controlling conscious deviations of rights and obligations, and acting according to state law. Third, nationalism, in general, grows because of formal relations, such as the existence of fundamental values of the State as the foundation of state administration, which also underpins the rights and obligations of the State and citizens.

Seeing the various opportunities for the growth of nationalism, this should no longer be interpreted narrowly. It is because territory can no longer be used as a determining factor

regarding one's sense of nationalism. Globalization will gradually erode and diminish national boundaries that create what is called a borderless society. Therefore, the increasingly real influence of globalization needs to be balanced with a broader concept of nationalism. Recognition of Pancasila as an ideology of the nation, in Indonesia's case, for example, can not only be done within the country but should also be applied outside the national borders. Despite being able to embrace the Indonesian diaspora communities, this can be a chance for the Government to strengthen the country's defense system.

However, it is essential to note that human rights have come to recognize nationality as part of basic rights and this has been the primary trend of states approving dual nationality and tolerating dual citizenship hence views that see these as merely a cosmopolitan citizenship is considered a misinterpretation (Faist, 2004). Existing business associations of diasporas and their home country that continues to grow and transnational citizens that will always have permanent residences outside their homeland have slowly led countries to redefine their perception of 'community' which have long been endured (Aikins & White , 2011, p. 5).

The concept of long-distance nationalism can be a solution to embrace the Indonesian Diaspora so that they have an 'ownership' of their nation. The concept was introduced by Nina Glick Schiller and Georges Fouron (2002). In contrast to the nationalism, which has been interpreted conventionally, the concept of long-distance nationalism can be a justification for the Government to recognize the presence of a transnational community. So, this concludes how the concept of long-distance nationalism is a binding tool for the Indonesian Diaspora scattered in various countries into the concept of cross-border citizenship.

As part of Indonesian citizens, the Diaspora still has obligations that are also owned by Indonesian citizens who live in the country's territory. The obligation of citizens has a significant influence. It is a source of life for the prosperity of the community members, which among others, has the burden to defend the unity and harmony between each other and participate in maintaining the implementation of the Pancasila ideology. Regarding Indonesian citizens living outside the territory of Indonesia, based on Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution, it has an obligation to defend the national defense and security. Even though they are in a foreign country, the real form that can be done by someone who is outside the territory of Indonesia is to show their achievements, for example, in sports, education, or even successful businesses. This is reinforced by the principle of Democracy in defense of the State, which among others, means that every citizen must participate in every effort to defend the country in accordance with their respective abilities and professions. A citizen's underlying love of the homeland and awareness of his national and State life which are distinguishable through formulated, extensive, perpetual and intact actions are core values that shape the defense system of a state.

The rapid changes in global economic activities unconsciously urge countries to acknowledge the importance of their diaspora communities and consider the implementation of multiple citizenships. This article will discuss the practices of states, among them is the Indian government that has long given recognition towards their overseas population, which aims to favour the country's economic growth by engaging their diasporas abroad. By introducing regulations on citizenship classifications under the term Person of Indian Origin (PIO) for citizens abroad, many see this as a quest of the Indian government to simplify the inclusion of diasporas globally. A Person of Indian Origin includes any other citizen apart from Bangladesh, Pakistan, or Sri Lanka that either holds an Indian passport; has lineage connected to an Indian citizen, or; has marital status due to his or her marriage with an Indian citizen. This classification differs from Non-Resident Indians (NRIs), which is addressed for citizens of India that have

lives outside their homeland for over 183 days a year (Dickinson & Bailey, 2007).

1.2. Characteristics of A Territorial Defense Posture

According to Horst Menderhausen (1980) in his research sponsored by the United States Air Force, fundamentally there are four characteristics that mount to a strong defense posture, namely: Firstly, a manifested defensive system that will deter other states from conducting an attack due to the difficulty of breaching another state's borders hence will unlikely be regarded to pose a threat. Secondly, the inclusion of citizens as part of the national defense system that is designed to broaden a country's response to a particular threat which can be perceived as a latent military system. Thirdly, proprietorship of various long-range weaponry and advanced technologies that are reliable to protect the State. Lastly, impediment which a country experiences to perform alliances considering the close relationship that grows amongst the civilians and military resources. The latter hinders the government allying with other state forces without the consent of their national resources which is incorporated as the CMR (Civil-Military Relationship).

Adjusting to how today's military posture is reformed, the above characteristics are the basic needs of a strong defense system. The inclusivity of citizens that ought to be taken into consideration in the wave of globalization era is one of the critical forces of a state's defense structure. This, in Indonesia's scope, is one of the mandates constituted in Article 9 of the 2002 National Defense Law Number 3, which obliges civilians to participate in efforts to defend the country that is manifested in the implementation of national defense (Indonesian Government, 2002).

3. Result and Discussion

1.1. Comparative Citizenship Law for Indonesian Diaspora Management

The Indian Diasporas generally referred to as Overseas Indians – which are divided into two categories: Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs) who hold foreign citizenships and Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) which include Indian citizens that live outside India - are considered as one of the largest populations of transnational community in the world with an estimate of 20-25 million people today. (Constantino, 2011). There have been around 16 listed countries for PIOs to become citizens that the government has legalized based on the 2003 Dual Citizenship (Amendment) Bill which, among these countries, holds small Indian populations instead. Most are located in Europe, Australasia, and North America while at the same time excluding Africa, South-East Asia, and the Middle-East whereas the latter holds a considerable number of Indian populations. (Dickinson & Bailey, 2007).

What the Indian government implemented towards its diasporas has similarities in how Indonesia is predicted to have done in its regulations regarding alterations in citizenship laws. According to one of Indonesia's immigration expert, Mochamad Imam Santoso, implementing dual nationality for Indonesian citizens abroad is not the best option for today because the supposed political design that should be able to support it is unavailable yet (Santoso, 2014, p. 118).

The rapid growth of overseas Indian population has made the Indian government to quickly respond by announcing in 2003 that it has acknowledged dual citizenship into their nationality law for Indian descendants living in certain countries (Constantino, 2011). Indian's 2003 Dual Citizenship Bill constituted a set of rights that were given to their diasporas through granting the benefit of free-visa travel back and forth of India, advantaging from the right to

stay more than 180 days without having to register for a residence permit, are able to facilitate their children at established Indian schools, and moreover, the government eases their well-being economically by allowing Indian diasporas to invest both in the industrial, agricultural, land, and property sector (Dickinson & Bailey, 2007).

This is in line with what Dino Patti Djalal, in his four categories for Indonesian diasporas, which noted that Indonesian diasporas who have become citizens of another country and those withholding Indonesian descendant should be given Indonesian Descent Card and the ability to enter Indonesia without a visa (Santoso, 2014). Identical to the practice of Indian migration gratification, the OCI (Overseas Citizenship of India) is also given in the form of a booklet containing registration certificate that gives the holder a multiple-entry permit – which is shown through a U-visa sticker on the passport, hence limiting the applicant's right and is differentiated from the existing Indian citizenship. (Constantino, 2011).

However, it would be difficult for these types of diasporas to take part in the national election. Historical events showed that emigration done by Indians in the past was originated by the post-independence migration where people resided abroad to take educational and job opportunities in the west; this phenomenon in the present day prompts the government to only permit dual citizenship in the cost of the inability for overseas Indians to vote or hold positions both in political and governmental offices as they are regarded as indentured workers (Dickinson & Bailey, 2007).

The Indian government have intentionally reformed its domestic laws related to economic liberalization by giving ease for their diasporas to invest domestically – this was also driven by the economic recess which took place within the 1970s and the 1980s; hence transformations in the scope of FDI rules, rate of exchange, banking policies, and the government's withdrawal from personal sector investment management had to be done to boost the economy (Dickinson & Bailey, 2007). The concept for overseas Indians (OCI) that most people call as dual citizenship was actually just another type of naturalization process and those who desire to retain their foreign citizenship, thus differing it from Indian citizenship itself, and due to this Indian diasporas are unable to possess the "normal Indian passport" as they are not part of real Indian citizens (Constantino, 2011). The referred schemes have then adhered to several approaches that were intended to establish closer ties amongst the NRIs and their homeland, which resulted in the granting of multiple citizenships for Indian diasporas globally (Dickinson & Bailey, 2007).

Indonesian diasporas, on the other hand, have also undergone a long history which can be represented by the vast population of the Javanese tribe that has since resided in Suriname from the year 1890. Thenceforth, Indonesian diasporas in Suriname, which originated from indentured workers have been continuously maintaining connections with their homeland, emanating organized Javanese communities occupying lands across the Indian and Atlantic Oceans (Meel, 2017).

At present, there are around eight million Indonesian diasporas with various educational and occupational backgrounds, such as entrepreneurs, researchers, professional workers, students, household assistants and so on, which is twice the population of Singapore or equal to the population of Sweden or Austria (Cassidy, 2016, p. 420). The Indonesian government seems to have begun to realize how important the existence of the Diaspora has. This is evidenced by the implementation of the first Indonesian Diaspora Congress (KDI I) which took place in California, LA on 6th until the 8th of July in 2012 where the forum brought 87 speakers and more than 2000 Indonesian Diaspora from 21 countries and produced the "Declaration of the Indonesian Diaspora", which contained several recommendations, namely (Cassidy, 2016, p. 421):

- a. Building an Indonesian Diaspora Network;
- b. Develop dynamic partnerships and partnerships for mutual prosperity with Indonesia;
- c. Continue to believe in Indonesia's best values, such as tolerance and harmony, Unity in Diversity, pluralism, and traditions that respect the environment;
- d. Become a force for peace and progress;
- e. Promoting Indonesian culture.

Considering the extensive roles that diasporic communities can contribute to the State's well-being, Indonesia, among other countries have come to concede and prepared to find alternatives for constructing cooperation between their citizens abroad in a more institutionalized manner (Meel, 2017). In order to empower the Indonesian Diaspora, the Government can put alterations in its citizenship law. Indonesian Diaspora can be described as "thousands of unconnected dots", where the immense potential possessed by Indonesian Diaspora does not yet have connectivity (Cassidy, 2016, p. 422) thus, its empowerment is not optimal. Some things that can be done are through the improvement of the diplomacy quality with various countries occupied by most Indonesian Diaspora. One form of increased Government diplomacy in this regard can be seen from the way the Government negotiated with various Indonesian diaspora communities abroad regarding the demands they put forward.

Going further in the discussion, governments have interpreted the engagement of diasporic communities as an opportunity to call upon their overseas citizens to return back to their home country. This indicated a form of response towards the shift of economic power from European countries to Asian states instead, which were greeted by enhancing the South-South collaboration (Meel, 2017). Despite the ongoing public debt and the rising rate of unemployment, Indonesia, as part of the ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations), contrarily perceives the situation as an attractive prospect to increase its national productivity, seeing how the economic crisis has impacted the Western world severely caused by the recent recession (Meel, 2017).

Various attempts have been made by the Indonesian government for the inclusion of Indonesian diasporas in the national development so far; the first move was through the Los Angeles congress held in 2012 which was intended to gather all diaspora representatives around the globe and discuss their roles as part of Indonesian citizens (Meel, 2017). If calculated, on the whole, there are around eight million diasporas that are spread across various countries that include overseas Indonesian citizens (WNI), those who have renounced their Indonesian passport to acquired other citizenships and have been residing outside of Indonesia (WNA), and those who are considered as third-generation of Indonesian origin – which the government sees them as potential human resources due to the skills, upbringing, and networks that have the ability to stimulate economic development, social equity and advertise Indonesia's goal to become the regional leading state in Southeast Asia (Meel, 2017).

The advantages of diasporic communities are not merely just on the idea of engaging and enlarging Indonesia's influence within the international scope as data proved that the estimated remittances that Indonesian Diaspora brought to the national economy are around US\$7 billion per year in total and have constantly been rising ever since (Meel, 2017). As an effort to empower and pay special attention to the Indonesian Diaspora, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has established some concrete support or commitment to the promotion of the Indonesian Diaspora. This is done by issuing the Indonesian Diaspora Card and the establishment of a special unit that handles the issue of the Diaspora (Cassidy, 2016, p. 422). The card is an attempt by the Government to map data on information about the Indonesian

Diaspora abroad (Jazuli, 2017). The Indonesian government, in exchange for the ongoing hesitation towards implementing dual citizenship policies in the present administration, have come about the idea to ease travel plans for diasporas to and fro from Indonesia using a specific visa intended for Indonesian diasporas (Meel, 2017).

It is clear to argue that the Indonesian government, under the MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) signed with the Indonesian Diaspora Business Council (Meel, 2017), are principally seeking economic benefits from their citizens abroad. However, in contrast with the previous policies under the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the present policy implemented by Joko Widodo are perceived to be more friendly towards Indonesian diaspora communities by granting them political rights in order to get a considerable number of remittances in return (Meel, 2017).

The inadequate relationship between Indonesian diasporas and stakeholders has been one of the critical discussions in the third Indonesian Diaspora Network congress; hence socialization was indeed one of the homework for the government to put effort on (Meel, 2017). Notions in changing the citizenship law were since often discussed both within the congress and government. Reciprocal actions from the country of residence of Indonesian diasporas were also one of the crucial things to note as this will concern constitutional rights that must be given for every citizen.

The mentioned step was already undertaken by the Indian government, in this case, coordinated by the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs during the early twenty-first century where PIOs were granted legal rights (Meel, 2017). Moreover, the Overseas Koreans Foundations which was established by the South Korean government has continuously urged international engagement through student exchange programs which at the same time promotes cultural education and research for Overseas Koreans which was viewed as a more effective form of 'reaching out to the world' than mere marketing communications in terms of nation branding (Dinnie, 2008). The above policies have been put into consideration by the Indonesian overseas community to argue the importance of granting prerogative rights as a means of diaspora recognition by the government.

Seeing how other countries respond to the growing popularity of diaspora empowerment, Indonesia became determined to compete in a particular field. Due to this, the government have strived to engage their overseas population in various ways through their embassies abroad, one of them by enabling free-visa schemes as an approach to maintain sustainable connections with Indonesian diasporas (Meel, 2017)

Ius sanguinis have been the main principle implemented by the government of China in terms of citizenship laws (Low, 2016, p. 1). Aiming to get hold of their overseas citizens and disrupt the notion of foreign countries in claiming Chinese residents as part of their population, the Qing dynasty demanded amendments on its nationality law (Pina-Guerassimoff & Guerassimoff, 2007). The Qing dynasty, in this case, was setting up a strategy to prevent Chinese emigrants in naturalizing in foreign countries, rather than creating inclusiveness of immigrants into China (Shao, 2009).

Nevertheless, the Qing dynasty's policy that restricts expatriation over its citizens affects its diplomatic relations with other states. In order to normalize the affected relations with neighbouring states due to the prolonged international isolation, the People's Republic of China (PRC) initiated bilateral treaties concerning dual nationality for its citizens. A bilateral treaty approach was taken by the government as it was viewed having more practical political consequences in regard to sway amongst various nation-states (Low, 2016, p. 5). Unfortunately, bilateral treaties such as the Sino-Indonesia Dual Nationality Treaty that automatically

abnegates a person's nationality was challenging to implement as the respective states tended to resist foreign citizens in naturalizing and gaining multiple citizenships at the same time.

The current citizenship law implemented in China is based on the 1980 Nationality Law which regulates how it perceives citizenship in the scope of a socialist state, among which is the single class nationality, a mixture between the *ius sanguinis* and *ius soli* system, equal treatment in gender, and repudiation of multiple citizenships (Ginsburgs, 1982). The 1982 Nationality Constitution recognized every person having Chinese nationality are recognized as PRC citizens thus making the government responsible for granting rights equal before the law (PRC, 1982) which is reflected on the recognition of maternal line in transmitting Chinese nationality to the child. In addition, the 1980 Nationality Law also acknowledge the legal end result of the referred nationality laws that include the Chinese government's cooperation with various countries, joint communique, and validity acquired Chinese citizenship prior to the 10th of September 1980 (PRC, 1980). Hence, all nationals regardless of being indigenous citizens, naturalized nationals or those who have retrieved their Chinese citizenship are all under the one category of Chinese citizenship (Low, 2016) – thus being differing from the 1909 and 1929 constitution which restrict naturalized citizens serving for the country both militarily or in governmental bodies (Chen, 1983).

Various programs held by home countries in order to engage their diasporas and promote nationality in a broader means are becoming a trend for states in reaching their maximum potential, whether economically, politically, or culturally. One of the programs the Israeli government carried out in order to sustain Jewish cultural practice and heritage is through an initiative called Taglit-Birthright Israel that is done by funding a ten-day educational trip to Israel for Jewish young people abroad aiming to instil Jewish nationality (Aikins & White , 2011, pp. 5-6).

Besides Israel's program that was perceived as one of the successful diaspora engagement, the Kenyan Diaspora that has contributed significantly in the countries development is underutilized by the Kenyan government while on the other hand. Kenyan diasporas represent remarkable human resources which have become the provenance of new skills, capabilities, and other sorts of global exposure for the country's economic development (Iregi, 2011). Despite supportive engagements with their diasporas, the most significant of all was the promulgation of the country's citizenship law, which grants opportunities of enacting multiple citizenships. The government's decision has given ease, especially towards members of the Kenyan diaspora community for regaining their family ties without renouncing their love for the country (Aikins & White , 2011, p. 39).

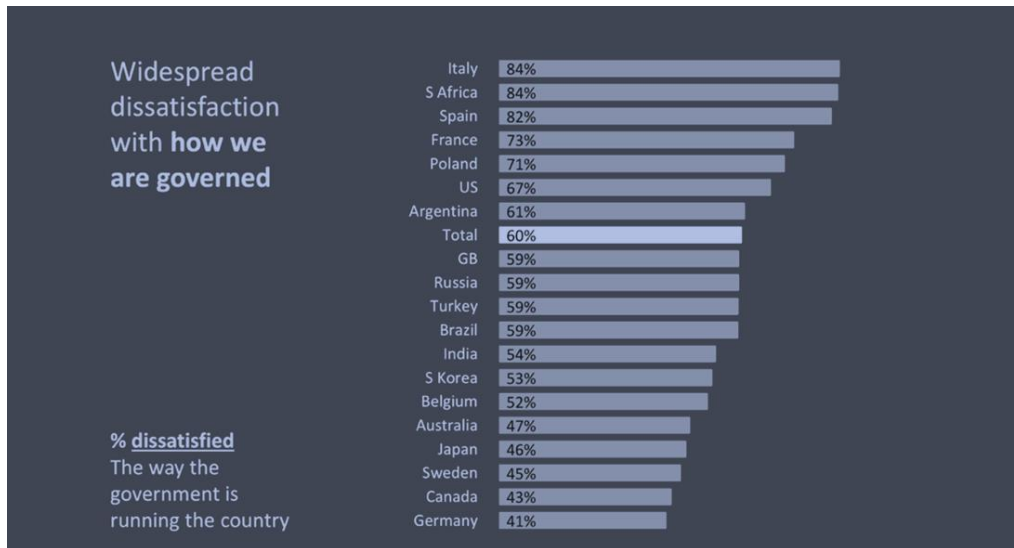
With the existence of the Indonesian Diaspora spread in various countries in the world, this has become an asset for the Government to facilitate foreign relations with these countries. Diaspora plays a vital role in strengthening relations between diasporas' homeland and the recipient country (Jazuli, 2017). Diasporas as national resources for a country's effort enhancing its international identity are potential elements, and this can be imitated from India's and Israel experience (Aikins & White , 2011, p. 4).

1.2. High Demand for Alterations in Citizenship Law: Is It Worth the Change?

Analyzing how the world is shaped throughout the centuries can be understood by converging macroeconomics and geostrategic factors which will then provide how the society should address future threats and opportunities (PwC, 2016). This definition is commonly known as megatrends. The global implications of the megatrends go beyond commercial enterprises and commercial interactions because it also has a profound and disruptive effect on the defense and security environments in which nations must operate – thus, collaboration among government

institutions and the whole of society is required in a more agile and accountable approach to mitigate risks as a country's ability to adapt and anticipate to the megatrends is a matter of national survival (PwC, 2016).

The emergence of public opinions as a revolutionary force in various states today shows how the world is shifting into a 'society-based' government. Governmental activities can not only rely on its personnel as it needs to ask permission from its citizens about what decision it should take. The strengthening opinions of the public, which affect the parameter of how a successful government is defined, can be seen from the graphic below.



**Source: Atkinson (2016) '10 Mega Trends that are (re)shaping our world'.
www.arastirmadayenilikler.com**

Indonesia's concern on diaspora matters was avowed in its Ministry of Foreign Affairs Strategic Aims 2015-2019. The list includes protection upon Indonesian citizens, Indonesian legal entities abroad, and the empowerment of Diaspora (MOFA, 2019) that is in line to enhance Indonesia's potential in various aspects whether economically, politically, or defense. Commonly, the term diaspora, which is also known as transnational communities, is aimed at those who reside in another country while still preserving their nationalism towards their country of origin (Chander, 2001). Diasporas as transnational social formations have made them as an identical part of the transnational communities (Levitt, 2001) of migrants that mobilize between countries due to their various occupations whether it be within entrepreneurship, education enhancement or merely as tourists that travel for leisure (Nonini, 2005).

1.3. Diaspora and Defense Diplomacy

The long term process of engaging overseas citizens needs sustainable and continuous effort both from the government and the diaspora community itself as there still exists misconceptions between both parties' intention (Aikins & White , 2011). As Condé stated, diasporas are resourceful part of the citizen as a whole that provides fresh perspectives on national development (Condé & Cairns, 1998). Though in fact, countries do have their own way of managing their overseas citizens as it concerns the national economic capability and distinctive factors regarding characteristics, number, and geographical matters of its diaspora communities (Aikins & White , 2011, p. 2).

The rapid growth of defense diplomacy practices in the Southeast Asia region has impacted relations between five world power countries and other leading Southeast Asian states that represent the region as a whole (Laksmana, 2012). Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) as one of the core activities in Defense Diplomacy have always been utilized limited to military purposes, while it actually can provide extensive benefits for diaspora engagements within the national scope. Nonetheless, despite the fact that no direct impact would be obtained through diplomacy alone, long term, secure, and well-constructed control would be gained hence minimizing collisions between states.

Deriving from the aim of diplomacy practices in the first place, the international community has since relied on soft-approach towards other states and coming together to face common threats through CBMs and other international measures (Meer, 2016, p. 103). CBMs as a framework initiates joint coordination and cooperative means between states and promises outputs that are reciprocal, substantial, sustainable, foreseeable, upfront and trustworthy for a more intimate engagement in international relations (International Peace Institute, 2012).

Several reasons limit the effectiveness of CBMs, among them: trust between countries will not be achieved as long as there is a lack of will from its citizens, particularly in political terms; insufficient financial and human resources needed to enhance national standard; and lastly, the underlying commitment that each party possess as CBMs gives much importance on State's confidence toward the other (OSCE, 2012). Referring to this, bonds between the community through multiple citizenship rights, especially between the country concerned, will instead ensure the confidence and mutual trust expected between the countries involved.

Nonetheless, implementing multiple citizenship rights for diasporas abroad does not mean every diaspora community around the globe will be granted special treatment. Only diasporas that reside in countries that the State has good relations with will be granted multiple citizenships. Furthermore, common grounds between the two states specifically in national defense and political interest should also be a consideration before proposing cooperation in modifying each State's citizenship law since this will be the main reason of the cooperation itself. The government should bear in mind that such cooperation means it has to be reciprocal and not arbitrary. This will be the challenge of the State's defense attachés and diplomats in negotiating the terms and conditions within the MoU.

This is the modified model that the author intends to propose reflecting on how India successfully managed its diasporas. India's Citizenship Bill of 2003 (Amendment) regulates the State's overseas populations in such a way that it gives differentiation in terms of appreciation, in the form of a set of rights, based on the contribution of each diaspora community (Dickinson & Bailey, 2007). Based on this model, in the case of defense diplomacy, constructions of the dual or multiple citizenship law should only be invoked for diasporas located in countries that the State has good relations or are intending to establish associations with. Though, noting how China and its nationality law firmly declares that it does not grant dual citizenship for their citizens, but as a matter of fact, the government gives both *ius soli* and *ius sanguinis* equal recognition that gives the ability to embrace their diasporas across the globe as the nation's asset. The latter State, compared to India, may well be a sound possibility of an approach to engaging Indonesian diasporas for the benefit of the government's defense strategy in protecting the nation's interest.

Diaspora communities are also perceived as useful tools for contemporary warfare, where the support of the population is needed to achieve strategic synergy. In this case, the government plays a vital role in socializing the importance of diasporic community contributions within the national strategic plans through acknowledgment in various governmental meetings or policy-making processes (Aikins & White, 2011, p. 4). Diaspora is

a group of people who have the ability to respond to a regime and political change (Santoso, 2014, p. 31). They possess high potentials because many diasporas are educated intellectuals; most of them are students, professionals, researchers, and academics that makes them an intellectual force. Their contribution to various world-class studies, development plans in various countries and can even become important officials at the World Bank, Asia Development Bank, and other world institutions make them have a broad network that can influence policy in various fields.

Based on a paper written by Horst Mendershausen, for the United States Air Force, the existence of a territorial defense posture is based on four characteristics where the two of them emphasized the importance of citizens as part of a state's defense power (1980). The two preferred characteristics are as follows:

"A military system relying principally on latent rather than standing forces, involving a broad spectrum of citizens in preparing for military and civil defense tasks where this usually leads to projecting a comprehensive or "total" response of the people to war; and the second characteristic involving the importance of civil society is said to be a system where the military resources of a society are related so closely to the defense of its territory and institutions that it precludes or at least severely constrains the country's participation in an international; military alliance, especially one that calls for an integration of alliance forces."

The above elements underline how civilian force can be as necessary as military forces in terms of a state's national defense. The world before tends to focus on military strength to encounter external threats that they face, while the civil society was separated from war; thus, civil engagement was not a preferable option. Nonetheless, how globalization has enhanced patterns of interaction between the world community, should be considered by governments. This strategy is especially essential for nations that have vast populations either inside or outside of their respective territorial borders.

Following the vast variety of threats today, while previously states use military (regular) and non-military (irregular) components independently, integrating both components accompanied by operational tactics is preferable to states in combatting hybrid war and Network Centric Warfare (KementerianPertahanan, 2014, p. 123). Such threats have developed rapidly and commonly penetrate the territorial boundaries of the State (Estuningtyas, 2018); hence empowerment of all national resources, including diasporas of one's State, would be a way to amplify the defense diplomacy which emphasizes on non-military defense.

Territories are no longer the main object-orientation involved in contemporary warfare, and the territorial function has been degraded to occupy the position of state sovereignty. Military threats have developed intensely in the modern world where not only conventional violations are perceived as threatening, but it has come to non-traditional security issues due to the globalized system which urges states to act democratically and uphold human rights within statecraft establishment (Held, 1995). Border issues are an essential part of state resilience so that each country still has the right to determine the jurisdiction of each region while still taking into account the authority of other countries' authorities through cooperation and agreements (Darmaputra, 2009, p. 1).

According to Robert J Holton (1998, p. 106), there are several challenges faced by each nation-state with the identification as follows: First, with the development of various Multi-National Corporations (MNC's), it will weaken the State's jurisdiction on the authority to manage movements of foreign investments from one country to another because they have

developed capital markets that further facilitate transactions between these countries. Second, the existence of transnational institutions like the World Bank, IMF, European Union, WTO, and the United Nations has significantly affected the power of the State as a nation-state in regulating the domestic conditions of its territory. An example of this can be seen how the reform policy at the time, which carried out deregulation and privatization because of the recommendations of international institutions such as the IMF. Third, the existence of various hegemonic military forces that often weaken the sovereignty of a country such as sending NATO troops to various countries to carry out military actions by trying to use the legality of the United Nations. Although in reality, not all experts agree that globalization can destroy the resilience of a nation or bring it to the End of the Nation-State, three reasons are logical conditions which conclude that Indonesia as a nation-state can threaten its defense system (Darmaputra, 2009, p. 2).

The things brought about by globalization in looking at security, according to Ian Clark (Brysk, 2002) require the State to pay attention to systemic development that spreads without requiring the role of the State, so that the concept of security needs to be re-conceptualized in the individual and social sphere as an alternative to the State, at the same time the State is still needed to maintain the social identity and human rights that live in it. So along with the new concept of security, the perspective of threats to security is shifted, especially national security because the main threats for realists no longer come from countries, but from non-state actors who are military and non-military in nature (Buzan & Herring, 1998; Darmaputra, 2009).

Moreover, in regards to CMR (Civil-Military Relationship), the proposed strategy can bridge the gap between civilians and the military group. While diasporas, as civilians located abroad that are spread in various countries, will have the privilege to act as part of the national defense system, and this requires commands and information from the defense minister. This is correlated with Indonesia's war strategy, '*Perang Semesta*', that obliges all components of the State empowered to face threats from other states in all kinds of aspects.

A synergy of public diplomacy with defense diplomacy, in this case, will be established in the sense that embassies abroad will have the defense attaché as the leading actor in defense matters. Strengthening the referred synergy, though, has been implemented to date, will unconsciously be a gentle approach in enhancing mutual trust and mutual respect with other sovereign states in order to hinder foreign intervention of domestic affairs. This approach should be the concern in upholding the State's national defense since warfare today is shifting towards unconventional ways due to globalization.

The synergy mentioned is aligned with the practice of multi-track diplomacy (McDonald, 2012) that utilizes diverse categories of actors that contribute to maintaining relationships among states. Diasporas with their respective professions are present at almost every level, from the nine tracks diplomacy elaborated by McDonald, starting from track-2/non-governmental agencies, track-3/entrepreneurs, track-4/civilians, track-5/researchers and academics, track-6/activists, track-7/religion, track-8/donations, and track-9/mass media. Through these tracks, the ability to construct communication amongst actors, which is widely known as 'people-to-people communication' can be perceived as a useful tool to identify the potential threat that can harm the national interest on an ongoing basis.

4. Conclusion

It is understood how diasporas hold an essential role in their homeland's development (Aikins & White, 2011, p. 21). Nevertheless, acknowledgment of the Diaspora in the national scheme is key points for the policymakers in constructing strategies enhancing defense diplomacy ties. Keeping in mind that diplomacy will not render any immediate results, including through

CBMs, even so, countries would benefit on a more long-term basis which will provide a more secure and robust international community and hinder strains between themselves. As it does towards how providing immigration relief for diasporas, in this case, could provide a long term and strong ties with diasporas' countries of residence.

Nationalism will have a significant meaning if the people who play a role in articulating and popularizing the idea (Soepandji, 2017) contribute to the dissemination. With special attention from the Government regarding the Indonesian Diaspora, by giving meaningful recognition to them, a sense of inclusiveness will be created. Diaspora can be used as the Government's leading agent in strengthening national defense. The Pancasila ideology will be more easily defended by involving diasporas to popularize it. Moreover, a state's national defense will not be effective without involving civilians as a means to corroborate its international relations with other nations. The aim of defense diplomacy – designated through CBMs – to prevent tensions which lead to a conflict should thus be built on relations that stress on mutual trust and mutual respect and diasporas abroad are powerful elements to achieve both.

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