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ANALYZING THE THREAT OF FOREIGN REFUGEES EXISTENCE IN INDONESIA THROUGH THE INTELLIGENCE PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Conflicts that occur in various countries indirectly affect Indonesia, namely with population migration for security reasons or also called refugees abroad (refugee). Until now, the number of foreign refugees in Indonesia as of May 2023 has reached 12,704 people. This study aims to analyze the threat of refugee existence in Indonesia by collecting data related to the prominence of Afghan and Rohingya refugees in Indonesia with descriptive qualitative methods referring to threat analysis. The research used a descriptive approach with qualitative data from relevant literatures. The results showed that the existence of refugees has the potential to become a threat as a result of prominent factors such as intention, circumstance, and vulnerability. The intention factor results from refugees who have long lived in Indonesia in shelters that have a saturation point. The situation factor by the main issue is the slow process of resstelement and voluntary repatriation into problems for which there is no definite solution and several relevant issues including Australia's interest in handling overseas refugees in Indonesia, religious and cultural similarities in hosting in Indonesia and the role of trafficking syndicates in the arrival of overseas refugees in Indonesia. Vulnerability factors include gaps in the assessment process for determining refugee status and procedures for handling migrants with final reject status as well as the role of trafficking syndicates.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of international migration is an issue faced by most countries in the world. From 1991 to 2021 there were 89.3 million people who were forced to leave their home countries (Bhat & Bashir, 2023). Referring to the United Nations High Committee for Refugees (UNHCR) migration issues are classified into foreign refugee, migrants, asylum seekers (Asylum Seekers), Internally Displaced Person (IDP), and stateless persons. Based on UNHCR data from 2011 to 2021, there is an upward trend in the number of foreign refugees (UNHCR, 2023). The migration drive is largely due to the persecution, conflict, violence, human rights violations against refugees taking place in their countries. Under the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol on Refugees, refugees must have individual rights to asylum and avoid oppression in their country of origin.

Indonesia geographically has a strategic position with high potential to become a transit country for overseas refugees (Alfarizi et al., 2022). Indonesia is located between the Asian Continent and the Australian Continent, and between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean means that Indonesia is in a strategic cross position for human migration. This is evidenced by the several landings of Rohingya refugee boats on Lampa Beach, Aceh Besar Province on January 8, 2023 consisting of 69 adult men, 75 adult women and 40 children. The refugees were accommodated in the Regional Technical Implementation Unit (UPTD) of the Aceh Provincial Social Office and some were moved to surrounding areas such as Medan City and Pekanbaru City

(Farhanditya, 2023). The average refugee makes Indonesia a transit country because of several factors including; information that Indonesia is a convenient country for overseas refugees and Indonesia's strategic location to go to Australia.

The presence of overseas refugees in Indonesia has existed since 1979 at which time the Indonesian Government hosted 170,000 refugees fleeing conflict in Southeast Asia and were accommodated in Galang Island, Riau Islands Province (IOM, 2023). Indonesia is a country that has not ratified the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol however, Indonesia still upholds human rights by carrying out the principle of not expelling if there are refugees landing in Indonesia. Until 2023, overseas refugees in Indonesia have reached 17,704 people spread across several regions (UNHCR, 2023). In handling, the Government of Indonesia has issued regulations as the legal basis for handling overseas refugees in Indonesia, namely Presidential Regulation Number 125 of 2016 concerning the Handling of Refugees from Abroad. The regulation is implemented through the establishment of an Overseas Refugee Task Force at the central and regional levels, which is coordinated by the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.

In its development, the existence of refugees in Indonesia often causes problems and threats, especially related to the political, social, cultural and security fields. Refugees who are accommodated in shelters owned by world bodies often feel bored and this causes refugees to express it with demonstrations to extreme actions such as what happened in Medan City, namely refugees who commit self-immolation (detik.com, 2021). The existence of foreign refugees who in fact is someone who does not have citizenship is also a problem in relation to political sovereignty because some refugees who have been in Indonesia for a long time and then studied in Indonesia are also involved in local politics, this case is like what was done by refugees in Manado City who became administrators of one of the faith-based student organizations (Prasetryadi, 2023). Refugees in Indonesia also have the potential to bring outside ideologies to Indonesia through their interaction with the community, this is also driven by the absence of government involvement during the assessment because the process is under the authority of UNHCR. Given this fact, the presence of refugees has a real potential threat to national security.

This study aims to analyze the threat of refugee existence in Indonesia by collecting data related to the prominence of Afghan and Rohingya refugees in Indonesia with descriptive qualitative methods referring to threat analysis. The research seeks to improve the understanding of the experiences and challenges faced by refugees, identify effective interventions and policies to support refugees, and promote sustainable and equitable solutions for refugees.

METHOD

This research uses a descriptive approach with qualitative data. It is an intelligence research which emphasizes on prediction/forecasting of salient facts (Clauser, 2008). Data sources in this study were compiled from various literature and research that had been done previously that could be accounted for. Data collection techniques used were literature studies and secondary data analysis. The data analysis method was carried out by classifying referring to threat analysis (Liotta

& Lloyd, 2005). Using descriptive qualitative methods, the researchers attempted to explain how the presence of overseas refugees in Indonesia can pose a threat to national security from an intelligence perspective.

Threat is a variable that the intelligence world takes into account. As a sovereign nation that has national interests, Indonesia is faced with various threat dynamics targeting the interests of the nation and state. The evolving dynamics of the conflict spectrum have consequences for national interests, meaning that what is important to consider in threat assessment is the aspects of capability, intent, circumstances and vulnerabilities (Liotta & Lloyd, 2005). The aspect of the enemy's intentions and plans is the beginning of the formulation of a threat because often the intentions and plans are usually more vague and far from certainty than knowledge of the opponent's strength. On the other hand, circumstances can also encourage the capabilities and intentions of a country in various ways, including in unexpected ways. The identification of vulnerabilities can be exploited in strategy development (Liotta & Lloyd, 2005). So it can be formulated as follows:

$$T = I + C + C + V$$

T = Threat I = Intention C = Capabilities C = Circumstances V= Vulnerabilities

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Presence of Refugees in Indonesia

Before further discussion, Indonesia has issued regulations in handling foreign refugees in Indonesia, namely President Number 125 of 2016 concerning the Handling of Overseas Refugees, in which the definition of foreign refugees is stated, namely "foreigners who are in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia due to a reasonable fear of persecution on the grounds of race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, membership of certain social groups, and different political officials who do not wish protection from their country of origin and/or have been granted asylum seeker status or refugee status by the United Nations through the High Commissioner for Refugees in Indonesia". It can be interpreted from this definition that the object of the presidential regulation is not only foreigners with refugee status, but also includes foreigners who are still asylum seekers whose refugee status has not been decided by UNHCR. In this research, the definition of foreign refugees refers to the regulation.

Indonesia is a non-party to the 1951 refugee convention and its 1967 protocol, however, many foreign refugees choose Indonesia as a transit point. According to the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, most of the foreign refugees, especially Rohingya refugees in Indonesia, are secondary movements from refugee camps in Cox's Bazaar, Bangladesh. Bangladesh is also a country that did not ratify the 1951 refugee convention and the 1967 protocol so that the status of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh is only as an asylum (Almed & Biswas, 2022). Based on UNHCR data in 2023, the number of overseas refugees in Indonesia reached 12,704 people, of

which the majority of refugees came from Afghanistan, which was 6,663 people (UNHCR, 2023). The data on the origin of refugee countries in detail are as follows:

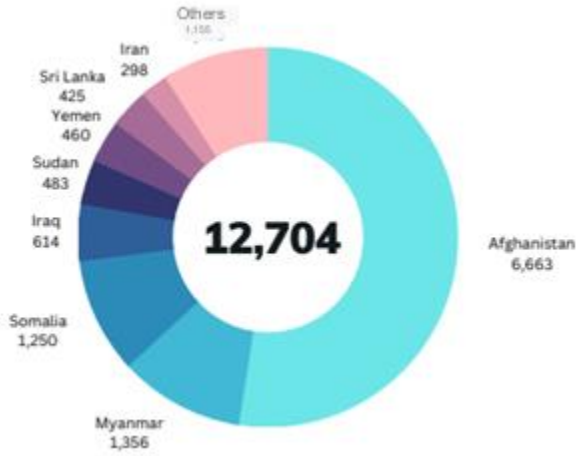


Figure 1. Refugees in Indonesia
Source: UNHCR

The refugees are scattered in several regencies/cities in Indonesia including Aceh, Medan, Pekanbaru, Tanjung Pinang, Jakarta, Semarang, Surabaya, Denpasar Kupang, and Makassar and Manado (UNHCR, 2023). These overseas refugees are classified into independent refugees and refugees in shelters (Satgas PPLN, 2023). Independent refugees are refugees outside the shelter who meet their needs independently like foreigners in general but have the status of refugees or asylum seekers, while refugees in the shelter are refugees accommodated by international organizations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) & UNHCR.

The overseas refugees have mostly been in Indonesia for a long time. Based on UNHCR data, most refugees have lived in Indonesia for 7 to 8 years, a small number of others are more than 10 years and some are under 5 years (UNHCR, 2023). As a country that does not ratify overseas refugees, the mandate to protect refugees and handle refugees in Indonesia is carried out by UHNCR together with IOM. Therefore, Indonesia cannot handle refugees by using funding such as the APBN and/or APBD permanently for the needs of foreigners, and only for funding in the context of coordination only (Purnamasari & Firdausy, 2022). So that the formal solution to the refugee problem is only in the commitment of international organizations to carry out repatriation to third countries (resettlement) or voluntary return to the country of origin of refugees. On the other hand, based on IOM data, placements to third countries continue to decrease, for example in 2022 only 369 placements to third countries decreased compared to the previous year of 518 people. The data on voluntary repatriation in 2022 is 26 refugees, which has also decreased since 2015.

Rohingya Refugees' Push to Indonesia

Rohingya are part of various refugee ethnicities in Indonesia. The arrival of Rohingya refugees to Indonesia since 2020 continues to increase rapidly. Based on data from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 2020, Indonesia has rescued 1,613 Rohingya refugees in 13 landing cases. The last landing recorded by UNHCR since November 2022 Indonesia has received 5 boats carrying 644 Rohingya refugees in Aceh Province, and after that they were accommodated in Lhokseumawe City, Pidie District, and Aceh Besar Regency (Farhanditya, 2023). The increase in Rohingya refugee landings in Indonesia increased 6 times from the previous year, indicating that the despair of Rohingya refugees continues to increase. As is known, the Rohingya ethnicity is an ethnicity that suffers from systematic, stateless discrimination and is the target of violence by the Myanmar Government.

Since 1970 the Myanmar government has removed the Rohingya from the share of Myanmar citizens. The Myanmar Government's efforts are very nuanced discrimination against the religion that the Rohingya profess, namely Islam (Almed & Biswas, 2022). The Rohingya face violence from Buddhist extremists who have ambitions to bring Myanmar into a pure Buddhist state. Discrimination takes various forms such as banning the use of loudspeakers on Azan, banning the construction of mosques, banning the printing and importation of Islamic books. Discrimination is exacerbated by the alliance between Buddhist extremists and the military regime, this has been done since 1962 when the military regime took power and used Buddhist extremists as legitimacy for military rule. Due to discrimination and violence in 2017, 730,000 Rohingya fled Myanmar and live in refugee camps in Coxs Bazar, Bangladesh. The condition of refugees in Cox's Bazar is deteriorating day by day due to lack of access to employment opportunities, formal education, an increase in crime that creates new problems. The total number of Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar to date has reached 1.1 million, causing problems regarding their homes. Overcapacity refugee camps bring further problems such as disease outbreaks, floods, landslides, clean water problems and poor sanitation (UNHCR, 2023). Meanwhile, from the social side, problems also arise because of rivalry between refugee groups, causing conflicts and some victims. As happened on October 15, 2022 where two Rohingya leaders were found dead in Cox's Bazar (Sinaga, 2022) refugee camp and in 2020 there was also a riot between refugee groups that killed eight people (Almed & Biswas, 2022).

Rohingya refugees are accused of arms and drug trafficking, often by Rohingya living on the border between Bangladesh and Myanmar. According to police in Cox's Bazar, between August 2017 and August 2020, there were 1,664 Rohingya individuals indicated to be involved in 75 criminal cases (Rahman, 2010). Furthermore, Rohingya in Bangladesh are also victims of human trafficking where from December 2018 to June 2019 there were 420 cases identified by IOM (Routray, 2020). The presence of Rohingya in Bangladesh also raises the seeds of conflict with local residents. This is suspected of the emergence of stereotypes against the Rohingya ethnicity who are considered as thieves, smugglers and sellers of illegal goods by local residents. The Rohingya are also indicated to be allied with extremist Islamic groups and this creates hatred against the ethnicity by local residents coupled with the employment of Rohingya who become

laborers at low prices so as to compete with local residents. Bangladeshi people face multidemency problems in daily life due to the presence of Rohingya ethnicity including freedom of movement because local residents are required to carry identity cards wherever they go to prove that they are Bangladeshi citizens, in addition to reducing land for local residents to livestock because it is allocated for Rohingya refugee camps (Almed & Biswas, 2022).

In the end, some refugees chose to return to Myanmar informally but most paid a sum of money to travel to Malaysia and Indonesia. Rohingya refugees are still inherently worried about returning to Myanmar because the country is still led by generals who orchestrate the violence against them (Kean, 2022).

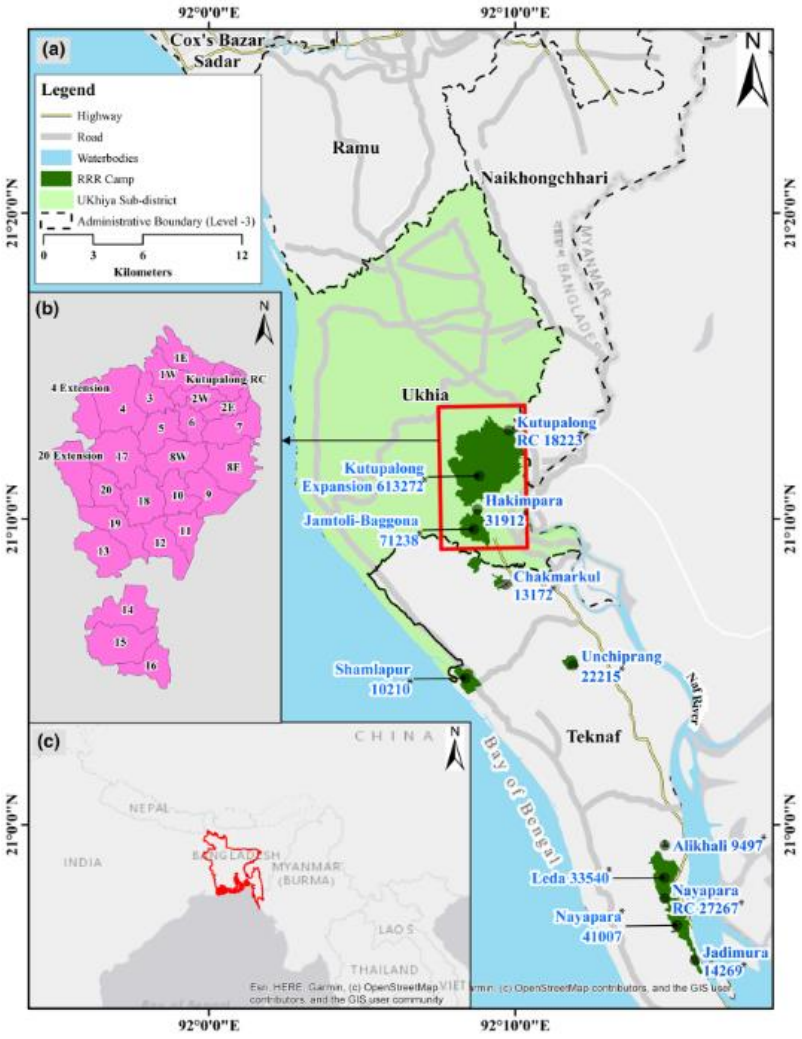


Figure 2. Maps of Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh
Source: (Quader et al., 2021)

The migration by Rohingya from Myanmar to Bangladesh was carried out to avoid violence, discrimination and persecution. However, after being in Bangladesh, they face other problems ranging from increased crime, economic conditions, job opportunities, storms that destroyed their

tents, and continued escalation of violence in Myanmar. Borrowing a term from those Almed and Biswas (2022), those in Myanmar experienced certain unsafety conditions while in Bangladesh experienced uncertain safety conditions. This is what makes them travel to Indonesia and Malaysia where in both countries there have also been Rohingya ethnic refugees before.

Afghan Refugees in Indonesia

Overseas refugees in Indonesia are mostly refugees from Afghanistan. As we know, Afghanistan is a country targeted by the United States in the Afghan war in 2001 to 2021. The war was sparked by the resistance movement against terrorism in Afghanistan after the 9/11 attacks. The United States sought to overthrow the Taliban who sheltered Osama bin Laden as the mastermind of 9/11. The war killed an estimated 51,000 civilians, 32,530 U.S.-allied troops, and 38,692 allied forces of Al Qaeda and the Taliban, bringing the total death toll to 122,524 (Azria &; Ramayani, 2022). The result of the war was the victory of the Taliban who took power of Afghanistan and the United States withdrew its troops from Afghanistan. The war that occurred in Afghanistan caused casualties and trauma for its citizens, therefore many Afghan citizens fled to various countries including in Indonesia.

Based on UNHCR Indonesia data, as of June 2021, there are 7,467 Afghan refugees, which is 57% of the total overseas refugees in Indonesia. Afghan refugees are scattered in several cities in Indonesia such as Jakarta, Aceh, Medan, Tanjung Pinang, Pekanbaru, and Makassar. The presence of Afghan refugees in Indonesia since 2010 and 2013 and continues to grow every year (Amin, 2022). Afghan refugees, like other refugees, are also in uncertain conditions. Referring to research conducted by Amin (2022), Afghan refugees in Indonesia experience unsafe conditions from a human security perspective.

From an economic security perspective, Afghan refugees are unable to make ends meet due to lack of access to employment. This is because Indonesia as a non-party country to the 1951 Convention so that there are no regulations governing overseas refugees can access jobs in both the informal and formal sectors. From the perspective of environmental security, refugees face problems in shelters, especially in terms of comfort and sanitation. This is because the shelter capacity is dense so that some of them make tents outside the shelter, and often found animals such as mice, cockroaches and snakes in their shelters. On the health side, Afghan refugees face problems in access to health and protection against disease and unhealthy lifestyles. It also includes their unhealthy mental health as it is riddled with depression, fear, anxiety, hopelessness from facing insecurity for almost 12 years. It also encouraged them to carry out actions such as demonstrations until some of them attempted suicide. From the perspective of the social community, Afghan refugees experience pressure and negative views from local communities, this is also driven by differences in cultivity, language and ethnicity, while in their internal communities there are also frequent conflicts (Amin, 2022).

Potential Threats to the Existence of Overseas Refugees in Indonesia

In the aspect of the study of national security and intelligence, refugees abroad may be a non-traditional threat issue because it intersects with human rights enforcement, but the concept of potential threat according to Lyota Lyod is a sufficient reference to generalize and simplify this phenomenon from the perspective of national security. According to Lyota & Lyod's threat theory, threats are a collection of factors of intention, capability, circumstance, and vulnerability.

Intention

Intention is a description of the possible ways of acting or plans of an entity which is very uncertain compared to the capability factor of the entity (Liotta & Lloyd, 2005). In this variable, researchers assume that there is an influence of psychological factors that influence so as to encourage anarchist behavior or other things that interfere with national resilience. A group of communities tends to rebel when they cannot control their emotions, this decision is driven by the gap between value expectations and value capabilities (Janah, 2019). In a study on the communication experience of Afghan refugees conducted Wirman (2017) in Pekanbaru City, Riau Province, showed that refugees had negative experiences in communicating within their internal communities in the form of being ignored, miss communication, discrimination or differences in treatment, verbal and nonverbal abuse. During about 12 years of living in Indonesia, Afghan refugees are also not allowed to carry out economic activities. Their activities are limited to eating and resting, which can also be called inhumane activities (Amin, 2022). This causes refugees living in Indonesia to have poor mental health conditions. Their actions tend to be extremist ranging from anarchist demonstrations, to suicides such as the case of self-immolation refugees. From these conditions, it can be interpreted that there is a tendency for a gap between value expectations and value capabilities.

It can be inferred from their poor psychological condition that they will reach a limit and saturation point. This condition is not only experienced by Afghan refugees but also refugees from other countries such as Rohingya, Somalia etc. This saturation point needs to be watched out for, especially in the fields of political, security, and socio-cultural dynamics.

Capabilities

Refugees abroad are basically victims of political pressure, pressure that endangers life and human rights that occur in their country. This means that these refugees have experienced high points of hardship that lead to their high resilience. In some findings, refugees were found carrying communication devices, which in immigration rules are not allowed. As happened in Lhokseumawe City, the Regional Overseas Refugee Handling Task Force (Satgas PPLN) conducted raids on the mobile phones of Rohingya refugees in shelters, the results of the raids found hundreds of mobile phones belonging to refugees. Based on information from the Overseas Refugee Task Force, the mobile phone is used to communicate between refugees between countries. The communication forms a strong network that informs related to immigrant smuggling as well as the conditions of treatment of each transit country such as Malaysia, Indonesia etc.

(Okezone, 2020). The shrewdness of refugees to blend into society becomes an opening for security forces to guard and anticipate refugees who carry communication devices.

Circumstances

In assessing the state aspect of the threat concept, Lyota & Lyod provides space for external factors that contribute to threat escalation. On the issue of overseas refugees there are various external factors that accompany. In this paper will be discussed briefly but thoroughly as follows:

1) Australia's Interest in Refugee Management in Indonesia: Indonesia as a non-party to the 1951 Overseas Refugees Convention and the 1967 Protocol on refugees. Therefore, the mandate for handling refugees lies with the world bodies, namely UNHCR and IOM. In practice, states parties to refugee conventions tend to "leave" the matter to developing countries. This is supported by the fact that the International Migrant Organization (IOM) receives substantial funding from the Australian government to carry out migration control in Indonesia. Since 1990 Australia has developed extraterritorial migration controls in order to act as a buffer zone to prevent the movement of asylum seekers. The operation targeted asylum seekers, refugees etc. to prevent their arrival on Australian shores (Hirsch &; Doig, 2018). This operation is part of Australia's geopolitical agenda entitled humanitarian operations that make Indonesia a frontline defense. In their opinion, Hirshc and Doig explain the concept of "blue washing" that as an organization under the United Nations, IOM makes the impression of being a humanitarian organization while carrying out migration control activities on behalf of donor countries. Indonesia is one of Australia's focuses on IOM financing, where from 2001 to 2016 Australia has spent $238 billion specifically on IOM projects in Indonesia, accounting for more than half of Australia's funding for IOM globally. In 2016 funding for IOM projects in Indonesia reached US$40 million, while in 2022 it increased to US$78 million (IOM, 2022). The funding is used by IOM in several projects including; 1) Detention, accommodation and support for refugees and asylum seekers, 2) Facilitation of voluntary repatriation, 3) Capacity building for the Government of Indonesia and 4) Public Information Campaign.
2) Religious and Cultural Similarities in Hosting in Indonesia: Indonesia is the largest Muslim-majority country in the world, this is an attraction for refugees because they are likely to be safely accepted in Indonesia. The number of Muslims in Indonesia is 229 million people in 2023 (Worldpopulationreview, 2023) Most refugees come from the Middle East, which is predominantly Muslim. In line with that, Indonesian people are also very friendly to migrants, especially migrants who experience difficulties. In Aceh Province, for example, there is local wisdom "*peummulia jamee*", local wisdom is a respect for guests who come (Pdi & Runturambi, 2018). In terms of national security, this culture can increase the attractiveness of refugees, moreover, overseas refugees often use communication devices to network.
3) The Role of Trafficking Syndicates: Trafficking syndicates are indicated to be influential in the arrival of Rohingya refugees in Indonesia. As Kean argues in his research in 2022,

Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, pay a certain amount of money to be able to travel to Indonesia or Malaysia (Kean, 2022). This information is supported by a statement by the Director of Human Rights and Humanity of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who stated that the wave of Rohingya refugees in Aceh is a form of secondary movement and is involved with the network of trafficking syndicates (Nadira, 2023). The refugees were lied to by the syndicates and given information that transi countries like Indonesia and Malaysia would make their lives better. The Rohingya refugees were guided via GPS to the Aceh region in Indonesia. The arrival of refugees over the past few years occurred at the end of the year until the beginning of the year.

Vulnerability

A vulnerability is a weakness that can be exploited by a threat (Liotta & Lloyd, 2005). The existence of vulnerabilities needs to be detected in order to anticipate the impact of threats. In this case, Indonesia's policy in handling foreign refugees as stated in Presidential Regulation Number 125 of 2016 concerning Handling Overseas Refugees is to carry out discovery, shelter, security and immigration supervision. In the process of immigration supervision as mentioned in the Presidential Regulation, it is carried out by the Immigration Detention Center when in the shelter, outside the shelter, departed to the destination country, voluntary return and deportation. In Law Number 6 of 2011 concerning Immigration Supervision Article 66 paragraph 2 letter b it is stated that "Immigration Control includes supervision of the traffic of foreigners entering or leaving Indonesian territory and supervision of the presence and activities of foreigners in Indonesian territory", while in Article 71 every foreigner in Indonesian territory has the obligation to show their travel documents or stay permits.

Referring to the regulation, researchers found vulnerabilities in several things, including related to the Refugee Status Determination (RSD) process and procedures for handling immigrants with final reject status by UNHCR. In the RSD process or determination of refugee status becomes the domain of UNHCR as a UN agency with a mandate to handle refugees even though Indonesia has established a Task Force for Handling Refugees Abroad (Satgas PPLN). Indonesia does not have a national refugee status determination system because it is not part of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol on Refugees (Amin, 2022). Therefore, UNHCR is mandated by the Government of Indonesia to conduct RSD on behalf of the Government. In the process, this has the potential to become a loophole for people who have a threat to be able to obtain refugee status from UNHCR due to the absence of intervention from the Government of Indonesia.

Meanwhile, related to the procedure for handling refugees with final reject status by UNHCR is a case that occurred in Manado City, North Sulawesi Province. The case made Kompas.Id media headlines on May 31, 2023 under the title "Ali's Story, 23 Years Waiting for Life Certainty" (Prasetryadi, 2023). In the report, it was mentioned that immigrant families who had applied for refugee status several times to UNHCR but until now did not get refugee status because they were considered uncooperative by UNHCR, so they had the status of final reject.

Referring to the statement of the Regional Office of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights of North Sulawesi Province, Ali and his family are immigratoir. In accordance with Law Number 6 of 2011 concerning Immigration, an imigratoir is a person who commits an immigration violation and must be detained in an Immigration Detention Center for deportation proceedings. However, there are obstacles in enforcing the rule because Ali and his family have assimilated with the surrounding community and Ali has become the chairman of a faith-based student organization in Manado City, North Sulawesi (Prasetyadi, 2023). This creates a legal vacuum for these immigrants because they do not have refugee status but do not want to return to their countries.

CONCLUSION

The existence of foreign refugees in Indonesia is still a problem that has not received a definite solution. Most of the foreign refugees in Indonesia come from Afghanistan who have been in Indonesia for almost 12 years, while the latest case of refugee arrivals with a significant increase is the arrival of foreign refugees from the Rohingya ethnicity. It can be predicted that Rohingya refugees still have the potential to transit in Indonesia because the conditions in the Cox's Bazar shelter in Bangladesh are not feasible and have various problems, on the other hand the condition of their home country Myanmar is also still a frightening thing for them. Referring to the threat analysis, the factual conditions of the existence of refugees in Indonesia meet each threat factor with prominent factors, namely intentions, circumstances and vulnerabilities.

The main intention factor is driven by the potential psychological saturation point of refugees who have been accommodated for dozens of years which is full of uncertainty and not meeting their value expectations with existing value capabilities. Furthermore, the situation factor is influenced by the main issue, namely the resstelement process and voluntary repatriation which is slow to be a problem that has no definite solution and several relevant issues including Australia's interest in handling overseas refugees in Indonesia, religious and cultural similarities in hosting in Indonesia and the role of trafficking syndicates in the arrival of overseas refugees in Indonesia. From the vulnerability factor, there are gaps in the assessment process in determining refugee status by UNHCR who will be temporarily accommodated in Indonesia, as well as problems in the procedure for handling migrants with final reject status by UNHCR. Therefore, an active role and government intervention through the Task Force for Handling Refugees from Lauar Negeri is needed to carry out early detection and early prevention of these potential threats. Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that the presence of overseas refugees can be a potential threat to national security.

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