



Loyalty Dilemma: Challenges and Opportunities of Dual Citizenship Policy for the Indonesian Diaspora

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ABSTRACT

The issue of loyalty and the potential of dual citizenship policies for the Indonesian diaspora, especially the generation of students in the 1960s, is a major concern in the context of state and diaspora relations. This research aims to explore the dynamics of transnational identity, the challenges of a single citizenship policy, and the potential contribution of the diaspora to national development. Using a qualitative approach through in-depth interviews and document analysis, this research explores the perspectives of the Indonesian diaspora regarding the limitations of their citizenship status and the potential of dual citizenship policy as an optimal solution. The results show that Indonesian diasporas often experience a dilemma between the desire to contribute to the homeland and the limitations imposed by the single citizenship status. A dual citizenship policy is seen as a potential measure to increase diaspora participation in national development. In addition, the research identifies the importance of a national strategy that includes comprehensive diaspora mapping, flexible engagement mechanisms, brain circulation programs, and economic initiatives such as diaspora bonds. However, challenges in implementing these policies include issues of dual loyalty and administrative complexity. The implications of this research include recommendations to revise citizenship laws, develop an integrated diaspora database, and create special programs for diaspora youth. This research makes an important contribution to understanding state-diaspora relations and emphasizes the urgency of an inclusive policy approach in the era of globalization to maximize diaspora potential for national development.

Keywords: Dual Citizenship, Indonesian Diaspora, National Development.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, as the fourth most populous country in the world, has a long history of migration and diaspora. One important period in this history was the 1960s, when President Sukarno sent large numbers of Indonesian students to various countries, including the Netherlands, Germany and the Soviet Union (now Russia) for higher education (Hasto Kristiyanto, 2023). This policy aimed to improve the quality of Indonesia's human resources and strengthen international relations. However, over time, many of these students ended up settling in their study

destination countries, acquiring new citizenships, and forming significant Indonesian diaspora communities (Pangestika, 2021). Despite having become citizens of other countries, many members of this diaspora still have strong emotional ties to Indonesia and are eager to contribute to the development of their home country.

This phenomenon raises important questions about loyalty, national identity and the potential contribution of the diaspora to the country of origin. On the one hand, Indonesia has a strict policy of single citizenship, which is regulated in Law No. 12/2006 on Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia (Dilahwangsa, 2022). On the other hand, there is a push from the diaspora community to consider a dual citizenship policy, which is believed to open up opportunities for them to contribute more to Indonesia without having to give up their citizenship status in their country of residence (Purnamasari et al., 2023). The Indonesian diaspora has grown into a significant global community. According to data from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the number of Indonesian diasporas is estimated to reach more than 8 million people spread across various countries (Risman et al., 2018). Their presence reflects not only global mobility, but also great human and economic potential for Indonesia.

The concept of dual citizenship has become an increasingly relevant topic of discussion in the era of globalization. Many countries, including some in Southeast Asia such as the Philippines and Thailand, have adopted policies that allow for certain forms of dual citizenship (Priambudi, 2022). This raises questions about Indonesia's position in the face of this global trend and its implications for relations with its diaspora. The Indonesian diaspora has great potential to contribute to national development through various means, including knowledge transfer, investment, and public diplomacy. However, the current single citizenship policy can be an obstacle for those who wish to engage more actively in Indonesia's development without losing their legal status in their country of residence (Pangestika, 2021).

The issue of dual citizenship is also closely related to the concept of national security and security. There are concerns that granting dual citizenship could open security gaps or reduce citizens' loyalty. However, recent studies have shown that dual citizenship can actually strengthen transnational relations and increase a country's soft power (Ngadilah, 2007). In an economic context, the Indonesian diaspora has the potential to be a significant source of remittances and investment. Bank Indonesia noted that remittances from Indonesian migrant workers reached US\$ 11.44 billion in 2019 (Bappenas, 2015). The dual citizenship policy could open up opportunities to increase the flow of funds and investment from the more economically established diaspora.

Culture and identity are also important considerations in discussions about dual citizenship. Many members of the Indonesian diaspora experience an identity dilemma, feeling tied to two or more cultures and countries. Dual citizenship policies can be a means to recognize and accommodate this reality of transnational identity (Dual Citizenship Arrangements for the Indonesian Diaspora et al., 2020). Technological developments and global connectivity have

changed the way diasporas interact with their home countries. Social media and digital platforms enable closer and more direct engagement in Indonesian social and political issues. This adds to the complexity of managing the relationship between the state and its diaspora, as well as considering new forms of transnational political participation (Ministry of Communication and Information, 2019).

Finally, the experiences of other countries that have implemented dual citizenship policies can serve as valuable lessons for Indonesia. For example, India, through its Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI) program, has successfully enhanced its diaspora's engagement in national development without fully adopting dual citizenship (GOOD, 2015). Such comparative studies can provide insights into alternative models that may be suitable for the Indonesian context.

Based on the above background, this research aims to analyze the complexity of national loyalties and transnational identities among the Indonesian diaspora, particularly the 1960s generation of students, evaluate the challenges and opportunities that may arise from the implementation of dual citizenship policy in Indonesia, and examine the potential contribution of the diaspora to national development in the context of the policy. This research is expected to provide significant benefits from three main aspects. Theoretically, this research will enrich the study of diaspora, citizenship, and public policy, as well as provide a deeper understanding of transnational dynamics in the era of globalization. Practically, the results of this research can serve as a basis for policy makers in formulating citizenship policies and managing the Indonesian diaspora in a more inclusive and strategic manner. Socially, this research aims to increase public understanding of the issue of dual citizenship and the role of diasporas in supporting national development, so as to encourage more constructive discussions on state-diaspora relations in the national and global contexts.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research employs a systematic literature review method to explore the loyalty dilemma and the potential of dual citizenship policies for the Indonesian diaspora, particularly focusing on the experiences of the 1960s generation of students (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). The choice of this method aligns with the aim of synthesizing diverse perspectives and providing a thorough understanding of the topic through existing literature.

Research Design

The study adopts a structured systematic literature review approach, which enables the identification, evaluation, and synthesis of relevant academic and non-academic literature on dual citizenship and diaspora loyalty. This design ensures a focused and comprehensive examination of the phenomenon under study.

Data Collection

Relevant data is sourced from a variety of credible materials, including:

- a. Academic journals and books on diaspora studies, citizenship, and national identity.

- b. Government policy documents and diplomatic reports related to dual citizenship.
- c. Historical archives detailing the Indonesian student movement of the 1960s.
- d. Publications from diaspora organizations and credible media articles.
- e. Theses, dissertations, and relevant seminar materials (e.g., recordings of discussions on dual citizenship).

Search Strategy

The data collection follows a systematic process:

- a. Keywords such as "Indonesian diaspora", "dual citizenship", "national loyalty", and "1960s Indonesian students" are used for searches in English and Indonesian.
- b. Literature is sourced from academic databases such as JSTOR, ProQuest, EBSCO, and Google Scholar.
- c. National and university library catalogs are reviewed, supplemented by snowballing techniques to identify additional resources from bibliographies.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

- a. Inclusions: Peer-reviewed literature, policy documents, and archives published from 1960 to the present, with a focus on the Indonesian diaspora and citizenship policies.
- b. Exclusions: Non-peer-reviewed literature (unless highly relevant, e.g., government reports) and works unrelated to the Indonesian diaspora.

Data Analysis

A qualitative content analysis approach is used to process the collected literature. Key steps include:

- a. In-depth reading and thematic coding.
- b. Identifying recurring patterns and themes.
- c. Synthesizing findings to build an interpretive argument.

Analytical Framework

The research employs a combined framework of social identity theory transnationalism (Chitac, 2023). This framework aids in analyzing the interplay between diaspora identity, loyalty, and citizenship policy.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This research reveals some important findings related to the loyalty dilemma and the potential of dual citizenship policy for the Indonesian diaspora, especially those from the 1960s generation of students. Data analysis shows that the issue is highly complex, involving aspects of identity, loyalty, public policy, and national development strategy. One of the main findings is that there is a strong desire among the Indonesian diaspora to maintain ties with the homeland, despite being citizens of other countries. This is in line with the concept of "long-distance nationalism" proposed by Anderson (Shinta et al., 2020). where emotional ties to the country of origin remain strong despite being physically and legally separated. Interviews with participants

revealed that many of them still have a deep sense of love for Indonesia, despite having lived abroad for decades.

However, the research also found that the Indonesian diaspora faces a significant loyalty dilemma. On the one hand, they want to contribute to Indonesia's development, but on the other hand, Indonesia's current single citizenship status limits their ability to fully engage. This reflects what (Mindarto, 2018) as "transnational citizenship", where individuals have affiliations and loyalties that transcend the boundaries of a single country. In this context, the notion of dual citizenship emerges as a potential solution that can bridge the dilemma. Many research participants stated that a dual citizenship policy would allow them to maintain legal ties with Indonesia while still enjoying rights and obligations in their country of residence. This finding is consistent with the argument of (Siburian et al., 2014) which states that dual citizenship can be an instrument to manage transnational loyalties in the era of globalization.

Furthermore, this study revealed the significant potential that could result from implementing a dual citizenship policy. The participants emphasized their readiness to contribute more to Indonesia's development if granted dual citizenship status. This contribution covers various aspects, ranging from economic investment, knowledge and technology transfer, to improving informal diplomatic relations between Indonesia and their country of residence. This finding is in line with the concept of "diaspora option" proposed by (Agung, 2017) which emphasizes the potential of the diaspora as an asset for national development. In this context, your material on "grand strategy" is very relevant. Research results show that the existence of a national grand strategy related to diaspora management and citizenship policy can be a crucial step in optimizing the potential of the Indonesian diaspora. This grand strategy can serve as a comprehensive frame of reference that is then derived into strategic plans in various relevant ministries and institutions.

The development of such a grand strategy is in line with the concept of "diaspora engagement policies" proposed by (Gamlen, 2014). According to Gamlen, effective policies in managing and engaging the diaspora require a coordinated and cross-sectoral approach. In the Indonesian context, this grand strategy could cover various aspects, including revisions to citizenship policies, diaspora empowerment programs, incentives for investment and knowledge transfer, and mechanisms to increase diaspora participation in national development. The implementation of this grand strategy will require close coordination between various ministries and agencies. For example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can play a role in managing relations with diaspora communities and facilitating their involvement in public diplomacy. The Ministry of Law and Human Rights can focus on the legal aspects of citizenship policy. Meanwhile, the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas can integrate diaspora contributions into national long-term and medium-term development plans.

However, the research also identified several challenges in the implementation of the dual citizenship policy and the grand strategy for diaspora management. One of the main challenges

is concerns about dual loyalty and its implications for national security. Several research participants acknowledged the negative perception in Indonesian society of the "divided loyalties" of dual citizenship holders. This challenge reflects what Stasiulis and Ross (2006) refer to as the "hierarchy of loyalties" in the context of dual citizenship. Another challenge identified is the administrative and legal complexity of managing a dual citizenship system. This includes issues such as taxation, military obligations, and political rights. This finding is consistent with the analysis of (Karyana, 2015) on the challenges of implementing dual citizenship policies in various Asian countries.

In further analyzing the potential of dual citizenship policies and the management of the Indonesian diaspora, several important aspects need to be considered. Recent research shows that the number of the Indonesian diaspora has continued to increase significantly in recent decades. According to data from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the number of Indonesian diasporas abroad has increased steadily from year to year (Negeri, 2021). This trend can be seen in the following graph:



Figure 1. Number of Indonesian Diaspora

This graph shows the increase in the number of Indonesian diasporas from 2.5 million in 2010 to 4.9 million in 2020, with projections of reaching 6.2 million by 2025. This growth emphasizes the importance of effective policies to manage and harness the potential of the diaspora. Understanding the geographical distribution of the Indonesian diaspora is crucial in designing targeted policies. The following table shows the distribution of the Indonesian diaspora in different regions of the world:

Table 1. Distribution of Indonesian Diaspora

Region	Percentage	Key Characteristics
East Asia	35%	Skilled workers, students
North America	25%	Professionals, academics
Europe	20%	Student, professional
Middle East	10%	Service sector workers
Australia	7%	Student, professional
Africa	3%	Diplomats, extractive sector workers

Source: (Creative, 2023)

This data shows the concentration of the Indonesian diaspora in East Asia and North America, reflecting migration patterns for higher education and professional employment opportunities. This understanding is important in designing dual citizenship policies that can accommodate the specific needs of different diaspora groups. One of the most significant aspects of diaspora engagement is their economic potential. Research by (Migrant Care, 2022) shows that remittances from the Indonesian diaspora have increased consistently in the last decade, reaching USD 11.6 billion in 2022. However, when compared to other countries that have implemented dual citizenship policies, Indonesia has yet to maximize the economic potential of its diaspora.

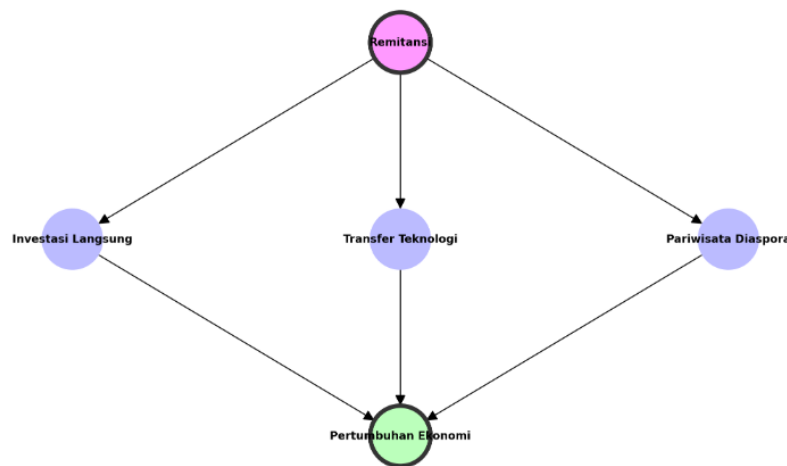


Figure 2. Remittances Economic Growth

The diagram above illustrates how remittances can contribute to economic growth through various channels. A dual citizenship policy can strengthen this relationship by providing a sense of security and legal certainty for diasporas looking to invest in Indonesia. Despite its great potential, the implementation of a dual citizenship policy faces several challenges. (Sitepu et al., 2023) identified several key challenges:

- 1) National security concerns
- 2) Administrative complexity
- 3) Political resistance
- 4) Potential conflicts of international law
- 5) Public perception of dual loyalty

To address these challenges, a comprehensive approach involving various stakeholders is required. (Abinnashih, 2024) proposes a "Collaborative Governance" model in the implementation of the dual citizenship policy:



Figure 3. Collaborative Dual Citizenship Policy

This diagram emphasizes the importance of collaboration between the government, diaspora communities, academia, and the private sector in designing, implementing, and evaluating dual citizenship policies. Indonesia can learn from the experiences of other countries that have implemented dual citizenship policies. (Rokilah, 2018) conducted a comparative study on the implementation of dual citizenship policies in several Asian countries:

Comparative Dual Citizenship Policies of Some Asian Countries

Country	Year of Implementation	Main Impact
India	2005	Increased diaspora investment
Philippines	2003	Increased remittances and political participation
South Korea	2011	Improved technology transfer and innovation
Vietnam	2009	Strengthening cultural and educational links

This study shows that the implementation of dual citizenship policies, if done carefully and tailored to the local context, can provide significant benefits to the home country. Based on the above analysis, several policy recommendations can be put forward:

- 1) Development of a comprehensive legal framework to accommodate dual citizenship (Analysis et al., 2023).
- 2) Establishment of a specialized agency to manage relations with the diaspora and implementation of the dual citizenship policy (Indonesia, 2017).
- 3) Public awareness programs on the benefits of diaspora engagement (Iverson, 2024).
- 4) Development of a digital platform to facilitate diaspora engagement in national development (Iverson, 2024).
- 5) Integration of diaspora policies with long-term national economic development strategies (Frydl, 2010).

The implementation of these recommendations requires strong political commitment and a coordinated approach among various government and non-government agencies. Further analysis of the research data reveals several key aspects that need to be considered in the

development of a grand strategy for managing the Indonesian diaspora. First, there is a need to build a comprehensive mapping system and database on the Indonesian diaspora. According to (Alunaza, 2017), accurate diaspora mapping is a crucial first step in developing effective diaspora policies. In the Indonesian context, this database should not only include demographic information, but also data on diaspora expertise, professional networks and potential contributions. Several research participants emphasized that the absence of accurate data has hampered the government's efforts to effectively engage the diaspora in national development.

Secondly, this research identifies the importance of establishing flexible and inclusive engagement mechanisms for the diaspora, even before the implementation of dual citizenship policies. The concept of "flexible citizenship" introduced by (McIntyre & Gamlen, 2019) becomes relevant here, where the state needs to adopt a more fluid approach in defining citizenship and diaspora engagement. Some participants proposed the establishment of an "Indonesian Diaspora Council" that has representatives in various countries and acts as a bridge between the diaspora community and the Indonesian government. This council could serve as an advisory body in the formulation of diaspora-related policies and as a facilitator of diaspora engagement programs. Third, the results show that the development of "brain circulation" programs can be an important component in the grand strategy of diaspora management. (Murphy & Pacher, 2022) has demonstrated how "brain circulation" can turn "brain drain" into benefits for the home country. In the Indonesian context, several research participants who are academics and technology professionals expressed their desire to engage in short-term exchange or sabbatical programs in Indonesia. They see this as a way to transfer knowledge and build local capacity without having to permanently leave their careers abroad.

Fourth, the economic aspects of diaspora engagement emerged as a significant theme in this study. (Syafitri et al., 2024) have shown how diasporas can be a source of direct investment, trade and innovation for the home country. Some research participants, particularly those working in the finance and technology sectors, expressed interest in investing in Indonesia or facilitating technology transfer, but they faced regulatory and bureaucratic barriers. The development of "diaspora bonds" and diaspora-specific investment programs, such as those that have been successfully implemented by India (Betti Rosita Sari, 2020) can be part of the strategy to optimize the economic contribution of the Indonesian diaspora.

Fifth, this research reveals the importance of considering the second and third generation aspects of the diaspora in the grand strategy. (Bainus & Rachman, 2022) has examined how the second and third generations of diaspora have different identity and engagement dynamics than the first generation. Some research participants who are second-generation Indonesian diasporas expressed their desire to connect with their cultural roots and contribute to Indonesia, but felt they lacked the right channels to do so. The development of programs such as "heritage camps", summer internships, or volunteer programs specifically for the younger generation of

the diaspora could be part of a strategy to maintain long-term relationships with the diaspora community.

Finally, it highlights the importance of integrating diaspora policies with the broader national development agenda. Faist (Maulidia, 2022) argues that effective diaspora policies should be in line with national development goals. In the Indonesian context, several research participants emphasized the importance of aligning diaspora engagement with development priorities as outlined in the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). For example, in Indonesia's efforts to develop a digital economy, diasporas working in the tech sector in Silicon Valley or other tech hubs could be invited to serve as mentors, investors or strategic partners.

Nonetheless, the majority of research participants believed that the benefits of a dual citizenship policy and a grand strategy for diaspora management would far outweigh the challenges. They emphasized the potential economic, scientific and soft power contributions that the diaspora could make if given the right policy framework. In conclusion, this study shows that the development of a national grand strategy for diaspora management, including consideration of a dual citizenship policy, is a strategic move that can optimize the potential of the Indonesian diaspora. This strategy will not only help address the loyalty dilemma faced by the diaspora, but can also be a catalyst to increase their contribution to Indonesia's national development. However, the implementation of this strategy will require a careful, comprehensive and multi-stakeholder approach to overcome the challenges and maximize the benefits for Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

The conclusions in this study reveal the complex dynamics of loyalty and the potential of the dual-citizenship policy for the Indonesian diaspora, particularly among students from the 1960s. The findings suggest that the Indonesian diaspora experience a significant loyalty dilemma, balancing their desire to contribute to Indonesia's development with the limitations imposed by the single citizenship policy. Despite these legal constraints, the diaspora maintain strong emotional and cultural ties with Indonesia, illustrating the enduring influence of “long-distance nationalism”. Dual citizenship emerges as a promising solution to this dilemma, with the potential to increase diaspora contributions in various sectors, including economic investment, knowledge transfer, and public diplomacy. This future research contribution underscores the need for a comprehensive national strategy in diaspora management. This strategy should include the creation of detailed diaspora mapping and an integrated database, the development of inclusive engagement mechanisms, and the implementation of initiatives such as “brain circulation” programs and economic tools such as “diaspora bonds.” Engaging the second- and third-generation diaspora is also important to sustain long-term contributions. However, implementing these strategies has its challenges, especially regarding concerns about dual loyalties and the administrative complexities of administering such policies. Future research should extend these findings by examining the perspectives of younger diaspora generations and

evaluating the long-term impact of dual-citizenship policies in fostering stronger state-diaspora relations.

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