



The Dilemma of Dual Citizenship Plan in Indonesia: An Overview of Politics and Human Rights

Hilal Ramdhani¹, Rayhan Musa Novian²

¹ Universitas Siliwangi, Jl. Siliwangi No.24, Kahuripan, Kec. Tawang, Kab. Tasikmalaya, Jawa Barat 46115, Indonesia

² Department of Library Science, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

ARTICLE INFORMATION

Received: March 07, 2023
Revised: June 25, 2023
Available online: October 30, 2023

KEYWORDS

Bureaucratic Reform, Change DNA, Decision Maker

CORRESPONDENCE

Name: Hilal Ramdhani
E-mail: hilalramdhani@unsil.ac.id

A B S T R A C T

The development of globalization has had an impact on the perspectives of Indonesian citizens, especially diaspora groups who wish to apply a dual citizenship legal status, because it is considered to have a positive impact on their lives. Pressure from diaspora groups has received various rejections from nationalist groups who view the implementation of dual citizenship as a potential threat to security and political instability in Indonesia. The method used in this study is a library method that uses various previous studies as a research data base. This study uses the political theory of citizenship initiated by Stokke, that citizenship has four dimensions, namely legal status, rights, membership, and participation related to the plan to implement dual citizenship in Indonesia, especially from a political and human rights perspective. The results of the study show that empirically dual citizenship prioritizes aspects of human rights, especially state protection for diaspora groups and returning the rights of citizens who were exiled due to politics in the New Order era. However, the application of dual citizenship also requires special studies, especially regarding political rights, because it involves various fundamental issues within the Indonesian state, such as getting the opportunity to vote and be elected in general elections. The basic problem is also related to the clarity of the ideology of dual citizenship, because only Indonesia implements Pancasila as the state ideology. The conclusion of the research results shows that political and human rights views have become a debate used by groups that oppose or support the plan to implement dual citizenship in Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

Dual citizenship is a problem that has existed since 1812, when non-trivial migration led to international tensions (Owen, 2010). when the state has the option to use the act of naturalization to take over the native people of a nation for military interests. In general, dual citizenship and nationality problems are against the ideals of sovereignty (Pogonyi, 2011). Before the introduction of human rights (i.e., before World War II), states were free to treat their own citizens however they were constrained in how they treated citizens of other nations.

During this time, state sovereignty set limits on how states could treat their inhabitants, making it impossible for states to control how their citizens behaved when they were on another country's territory (Keohane, 2002; Miller, 2016; Migdal & Schlichte, 2016). This situation demonstrates how international law views people as an extension of the state. In their own region, rulers are completely free to make decisions, but they are not allowed to meddle in other rulers' domains. Dual citizenship cannot be accommodated by this presumption. Therefore, countries see a need to limit the spread of dual citizenship.

Due to the frequent employment of civilians as armed forces in those days' battles, the state's efforts to reduce dual citizenship have an effect on the instability of nations around the world (Rice, 2000). Due to the state's reluctance to entirely cede control over citizen behavior on its sovereign territory, the practice of dual citizenship in the pre-World War II era was hindered by the adoption of a supranational system to harmonize citizenship laws in an effort to avoid dual citizenship. The establishment of the *ius sanguinis* and *ius soli* approaches, which gave rise to dual

citizenship, went hand in hand with the growth of state life, but every nation has a principle respecting someone who is acknowledged as a citizen.

In the past, the United States was able to reach bilateral agreements with some European nations that allowed for the transfer of citizenship (the Bancroft agreement), and in response to intense American pressure, other states acknowledged the idea of expatriates. British nationals avoided dual citizenship by losing their British citizenship after naturalization in the United States after 1870 (Spiro, 2010).

During this time, citizenship was seen as the legal standing bestowed on a person by a nation-state. According to this top-down concept, the state has the authority to determine who its citizens are. However, in the 20th century, the relationship was reversed into a bottom-up one in the study of social movements, meaning that citizens are at the center and the state is required to uphold their rights. This misunderstanding affects debates on citizenship politics-related topics such as class identification, ethnicity, culture, politics, and religion.

Based on this theoretical investigation, citizenship orientation changed from being top-down to bottom-up over the course of the 20th century. The ability to select one's national identity freely and without interference from any party is now recognized as a fundamental human right under democracy. Due to politics in the New Order era, this situation practically gave rise to the idea of dual citizenship in Indonesia, especially for individuals who are diaspora and exile citizens.

Discussions on the Dual Citizenship Bill have been going on for a long time in the House of Representatives. Moreover, the discussions were carried out since the previous period of the

House of Representatives (2014-2019). However, this Draft Law has not been ratified until now due to the dynamics of discussion in the House of Representatives (Ananda, 2020). The Dual Citizenship Bill, which has long been a part of the National Legislation Program, was deemed necessary for further study in order to determine its potential benefits and drawbacks for the Indonesian nation, particularly with regard to Indonesian defense and security.

Dual citizenship does not permit foreigners to enter Indonesia and become citizens, according to the legal perspective on the matter. but rather to offer security to those who already possess Indonesian citizenship. Additionally, you will probably need to change the Citizenship Law if you want to develop a Dual Citizenship Bill. The globalist side, on the other hand, raised the problem of diaspora and foreign policy and provided numerous justifications for the creation of this dual citizenship system, including political and economic justifications. Politicians have not benefited or been lucky as a result of the dual citizenship issue for a very long time. Since 2012, however, this viewpoint has altered, with politicians now viewing the challenges or problems of the diaspora as positive things, increasing their political value. Along with the economic justification. There is no denying that, after tourism, the diaspora contributes the second-largest amount of foreign exchange to the State of Indonesia. Even in the midst of a pandemic like this one, the diaspora's presence currently generates the most foreign exchange (House of Representative of Indonesia Republic, 2020).

A nationalist group disagreed, urging the government to exercise caution while allowing its residents to hold dual citizenship. Because in his opinion, Indonesia still has a poor status as a developing nation. Indonesia is a nation that is still not free to choose its own foreign policy. Especially if the Indonesian national lives and works in a nation where foreign and internal policy are frequently dictated. To be able to issue a regulation regulating dual citizenship, a number of issues must be resolved. as in the case of security concerns. It is feared that having dual citizenship may help extremist ideologies, separatist movements, and terrorism gain ground (Tirto, 2016).

Due to the political and human rights conundrum that is reflected in the dynamics among members of the House of Representatives of Indonesia Republic (DPR) in response to the bill on dual citizenship, this condition indicates that the discussion on dual citizenship has not yet been resolved in the legislature. The DPR's inability to ratify the regulation addressing dual citizenship is also a result of the dual citizenship bill's unfinished state, which is owing to the lack of a thorough analysis. This can be seen from the regulation regarding dual citizenship that has not been decided yet. Historically Dilahwangsa (2022) stated that since 2012, the Indonesian diaspora has held the First Diaspora Congress in the United States. Since then, the Indonesian diaspora, which is part of the Indonesian Diaspora Network (IDN), has been actively fighting for its agenda. One of the main agendas being fought for is the issue of dual citizenship.

This study aims to examine the dilemma of implementing dual citizenship from a political and human rights perspective which has resulted in the incompleteness of the Citizenship Bill in the DPR. This study also seeks to make a scientific contribution to the field of political science which studies citizenship and serves as a guideline for the Indonesian government in formulating dual citizenship laws.

METHOD

Based on the problem studied, the researcher used a qualitative approach in this study (Apuke, 2017). The research method used in this research is literature study. Data collection methods are techniques or methods that researchers can use to collect data. In this study, researchers used documentation studies to collect data from various previous studies and the mass media. In this study, researchers used reference sources in the form of journals and media coverage regarding the dilemma of implementing dual citizenship, both in Indonesia and in other countries in the period from 1985 to 2022. The data obtained by the researcher is then analyzed based on political and human rights aspects, so that conclusions can be drawn regarding the dilemma of the plan to implement dual citizenship in Indonesia as part of the third world.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Unlike other situations like the unresolved refugee crisis in Indonesia, the dual citizenship question has a much greater urgency to be looked into in the nation and state process. This is founded on the belief that citizenship status is an integral component of human rights and is crucial for people to receive governmental protection (Yuliantini & Mangku, 2020; Titko, et.al, 2021). Citizenship status establishes a reciprocal link between people and the state because human rights are a fundamental component of the state. Citizenship is a requirement for everyone because it establishes a defined relationship between the state and the individual, ensuring legal certainty (Hermanto, 2022). It is conceivable for mixed marriages to occur or last for a very long period abroad given the current state of globalization, where people can travel to one another without boundaries or temporal restrictions. This fact demonstrates the intricacy of citizenship questions that Indonesian positive law has not attempted to address.

A person's citizenship status, which affects their rights and duties while residing in a nation, is a crucial component of who they are. Dissatisfaction with the citizenship laws prompted attempts to modify them in order to serve citizens' interests, particularly with relation to the dual citizenship laws, which sparked a global debate. Because it encompasses components of the economy, security and sovereignty, human rights, and political involvement, political dynamics are essential to this endeavor.

Differences in Views on Politics and Human Rights

A prior study on the evolution of the dual citizenship debate following the implementation of Law Number 12 of 2006 found that there are two social groups: globalists, who believe that people, information, and goods should be able to move freely across national boundaries and that the interests of the world should take precedence over those of any given nation (De Wilde, Koopmans, & Merkel, 2019), and nationalists understand how to establish and uphold state sovereignty through realizing a feeling of shared identity to realize national interests and a sense of wanting to protect the nation from both internal and external threats (Fauziah & Dewi, 2021). The two social groups have different views and attitudes regarding the recognition of the legal status of dual citizenship in Indonesia.

Nationalist groups in Indonesia generally reject the idea of dual citizenship because it has vulnerabilities in a political context, such as holding general elections. The case for the election of the Regent of Sabu Raijua Regency, East Nusa

Tenggara (NTT), namely Orient Patriot Riwu Kore. Meanwhile, nationalist groups generally agree with dual citizenship, as attempted by the Indonesian Diaspora. The debate between the political context and human rights becomes an unavoidable dilemma in the dynamic reality of dual citizenship legal status arrangements in Indonesia. Debates in the context of politics and human rights also lead to debates on the right to own property and land. This condition makes a fundamental legal change when dual citizenship is implemented.

The Indonesian diaspora has persisted in its fight for the dual citizenship policy throughout many different parts of the world, despite opposition from nationalist organizations. This frequently leads to a number of difficulties and impediments, particularly when it comes to receiving the same treatment as local populations where the diaspora is located (Mz, 2018). Despite having dual citizenship and an Indonesian passport, if a child is not domiciled in Indonesia—that is, does not live there permanently—Indonesian law does not apply to his personal situation. Due to the relationship between children's citizenship and residence patterns in Indonesia, the domicile law regulates the personal status of dual-citizen children (Ayu & Anggraeny, 2019). This circumstance suggests that a person's high position affects the legal status attained.

The age restriction for selecting a citizenship is set at 21 years old by Law Number 12 of 2006 Concerning Citizenship. The ideal time for a teen to select his nationality is when he is 21 years old. According to the research of Gayo (2019), because they still feel uneasy and the majority of them are still enrolled in school in their parents' native country, it is exceedingly difficult for children under the age of 21 to determine their citizenship.

Further evidence of Indonesia's initial reliance on the *ius sanguinis* principle may be seen in Law Number 12 of 2006 Concerning Citizenship. Now that this principle and the *ius soli* principle have been united, in addition to the legal requirement that kids follow their dads, they can also allow kids to follow their moms and have dual citizenship (Sukmawaty, 2016). While children with dual citizenship are treated the same as Indonesian citizens under Law Number 12 of 2006's Article 4, they must still abide by Article 21 of the Basic Agrarian Law, which states that anyone with a foreign citizenship in addition to their Indonesian citizenship is not permitted to own land or have other property rights on it (Nurhidayati, 2018).

The legal implication of mixed marriages is that it does not grant dual nationals land rights. Children with dual citizenship are only permitted to inherit land in the form of usufructuary rights under the Basic Agrarian Law; they are not permitted to inherit land with property rights, usufructuary rights, or building rights (Utami, 2021). This is done to ensure that all of Indonesia's wealth is held and governed by its people, particularly the indigenous communities for whom land plays a significant role in daily life.

The difficulties the diaspora organization has identified do not necessarily make the dual citizenship proposal simpler to implement. The dual citizenship argument made by President Jokowi at the Plenary Session of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia did not sit well with the nationalist camp. If the Citizenship Law Amendment is meant to enable dual citizenship, let alone accommodation for particular interests, the nationalist camp clearly and vehemently rejects it. This is because the push for the Citizenship Law to accept dual citizenship is plainly a severe danger to the sovereignty and national interests of the Indonesian nation. Additionally, dual citizens merely wish

to take use of Indonesia's abundant natural resources as a gift from God. However, do not place your faith in Indonesian people, who have received God's blessings and graces as a result of their admirable efforts to create communal living in the Indonesian homeland (RMOL.ID, 2016).

A detailed legal analysis was also required, according to the nationalist party, as well as agreement on pledges and political commitments between the government and the Indonesian House of Representatives as a legislative body. The important thing is to keep Indonesians Indonesian, not to convert outsiders to Indonesian culture (Buletin Parlemenaria, 2020).

On that basis, differences in political views and human rights create a dilemma in planning dual citizenship rules. This dilemma situation also raises a tendency that the proposed regulation regarding dual citizenship will experience a long process of accepting or rejecting the proposed implementation of dual citizenship legal status in Indonesia.

Integration of Dual Citizenship in the World

The instance that took place in Indonesia demonstrates the political and human rights conundrum that the dual citizenship scheme faces. Globally, numerous studies on dual citizenship have been conducted, including study in Europe before the 20th century. According to Hammar (1985), although labor migration may no longer be encouraged, there will be significant international movement both inside Europe and from other continents. The relevance of economic and political interconnection will only increase. Compared to the state they were born in, more people will find employment and housing in another state. Future plans may include the replacement or merely augmentation of current national citizenship with European and Nordic citizenship. However, it's possible that a dual nationality system, in which residency is crucial, may be allowed. Currently, domicile and nationality normally coincide; however, if this were to change, political rights would follow domicile, which would have an impact on those whose lives were directly affected by political decisions and who had to pay taxes.

According to Faist, Gerdes, and Rieple (2004), the number of people with dual citizenship has quickly expanded over the world in recent years. This is remarkable in light of the long-held belief that citizenship and political allegiance to the national political establishment are synonymous. There is a general wavy line trend toward greater tolerance. The increased focus on individual rights in liberal democracies relative to the prerogative of the state has been a significant trend over the past ten years. The evolution of national perceptions, the integration of immigrants, and the fundamental features of the political system all contribute to the growing acceptance of dual citizenship.

According to Poethig (2006) research in Cambodia, the dispute over the 1996 Citizenship Law's dual citizenship clause was partly a result of political factions disguising their disagreements. Officials of the ruling regime ran aggressive campaigns urging the sanctity of the country's culture. The discursive distinction between Anikachun and real or pure Khmer is first rejected by diaspora people. Cambodians in the diaspora say that since their "purity" is in doubt, cleanliness itself is a means of preventing them from entering the nation. Instead, they promote a diverse society as Cambodia's future. This suggests that racial and cultural disparities play a significant role in the variations between stakeholders.

According to Sejersen (2008) research, the dual citizenship phenomena has crossed demographic and geographic barriers to

become a common situation for millions of people and a legal requirement in almost half the world's nations. Regional variations in these developments imply that Asian nations are less willing to permit dual citizenship than those in Europe and the United States. Despite prior animosity toward multiple citizenship, it is evident that sentiments have significantly changed and that a growing number of nations are allowing their citizens to hold dual citizenship. To assist political integration and participation, some states have amended their laws to accept citizens from other countries, while others have changed their laws to include migrants as citizens of the country in which they currently reside.

According to Dahlin and Hironaka (2008), states that are less committed to traditional concepts of nation are more likely to recognize dual citizenship. This association between state recognition of dual citizenship and an internationally oriented state identity is demonstrated. This identification includes nations with citizenship rules based on assimilation, nations with dual citizenship identities created by colonialism, and nations that are more closely related to the global government. This finding suggests that dual citizenship reflects a new kind of global citizenship that transcends the bounds of traditional states and is based on membership in the international community.

According to Mazzolari (2009), in the 1990s, dual nationality legislation was implemented in Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Costa Rica, and Brazil, allowing expatriates to acquire citizenship in the host nation without losing their original nationality. Mazzolari makes projections on how this new law will affect American labor market outcomes and naturalization rates. Those who had recently been granted dual citizenship privileges were more likely to naturalize than immigrants from other Latin American nations, according to data from the 1990 and 2000 United States censuses. Along with a decline in welfare use, they also saw proportionate increases in employment and income, which suggests that having dual citizenship rights may not just encourage naturalization but also economic assimilation. If naturalization serves as a medium, the impact of dual citizenship on enhancing economic performance is consistent with American citizenship offering more favorable economic conditions.

Dual citizenship, according to Spiro (2010), is still a state that is struggling despite becoming an extraordinary status as a result of globalization. His research supports the novel position that dual citizenship ought to be safeguarded as a fundamental human right. In the past, states have been justified in suppressing that status due to the harm that two citizens once constituted to enduring bilateral relations. After the threat has passed, the state's remaining resistance must be overcome by the values of freedom of association and liberal autonomy implicit in the bonds of citizenship. By raising the cost of citizenship, failure to recognize status also makes it more difficult to exercise political rights. This goal justifies not establishing dual citizenship to the extent that dual citizenship threatens state cohesiveness. State practices are providing more and more proof that dual citizenship is viewed in the context of human rights.

According to Whitaker (2011), more nations around the world have acknowledged dual citizenship over the past 20 years. In Africa, thirty nations now permit immigrants to hold dual citizenship; additional nations may follow suit in the future. Analyzing quantitative data from across Africa, it is unclear whether particular demographic, economic, or historical factors

increase the likelihood that dual citizenship will be permitted in various nations. The proportionate size of an immigrant population, *ius soli* versus *ius sanguinis* rights, prior colonial control, or reliance on foreign exchange have no discernible correlation with the acknowledgment of dual citizenship. Given the proponents of dual citizenship's propensity to emphasize the economic contribution of immigrants, the latter conclusion comes as a bit of a surprise. These policies are frequently used in the context of boosting foreign exchange from overseas, as the case studies demonstrate.

According to recent dual citizenship research by Ganohariti (2020), nations that recognize a *de facto* state will consider these people to have dual citizenship, whereas nations that do not will merely recognize them as citizens of a recognized nation with dual citizenship. their country of origin. The *de facto* dual citizenship policy of a nation can be influenced by a number of factors, including pragmatic considerations, diaspora politics, national identity politics, and patron/parent country influence. This implies that considerations affecting dual citizenship policies in *de facto* countries go beyond those generally acknowledged, with the practical advantages of compensatory citizenship serving as the most significant factor. According to Ganohariti (2020), the presence of a diaspora and the degree of ethnicization of national identity can result in the treatment of some ethnic groups being preferred (Abkhaz). Additionally, the extent of exclusivity of the dual citizenship policy appears to be influenced by the sponsor state's growing power through its support for homeland nationalism (Russia) and the severity of its disputes with the mother country (Georgia/Moldova).

It is further noted that, in contrast to the Transnistrian citizenship legislation, which does not provide any particular groups any special treatment, the Abkhaz citizenship law has ethnic aspects (preferential treatment of ethnic Abkhaz). This makes the Abkhazian citizenship legislation exclusive (conditional) in comparison to the Transnistrian citizenship law because Abkhazians can only have Abkhazian and Russian citizenship. Dual nationality regimes overlap as a result of the contested nature of *de facto* governments and their admission of dual citizenship, giving people living in *de facto* countries dual citizenship statuses.

The researcher attempted to summarize the studies used as data in the research period in the 1985-2022 timeframe.

Table 1. Focus of Dual Citizenship Study in 1985-2022

1985-2000	Dual citizenship and political integration
2001-2010	Studies on dual citizenship have focused a lot on various debates between government officials and community groups
2011-2022	Dual citizenship studies explain sovereignty, citizen rights, and studies have been quite massive in various countries in the world

Source: Research Team Summary, 2023

Based on various previous studies from 1985 to 2022, it shows that there have been quite a number of studies on dual citizenship, but explanations in the political context in Asian countries have not been studied much, including Indonesia which is hesitant to make rules regarding dual citizenship. In addition, in the context of Indonesia, it also shows similarities with countries in Europe, namely the existence of immigrants seeking asylum, but these immigrants are still not recognized as Indonesian citizens. Likewise, with previous research which

stated that democratic countries tend to ratify dual citizenship rules. The facts that occurred in Indonesia did not make Indonesia immediately ratify the dual citizenship rule, so this research seeks to fill in the gaps in previous research that focused on examining debates on issues and political dynamics in determining dual citizenship status in Indonesia.

Human Rights and Politics: Dimensions of Full Citizenship

The dominance of the immigrant factor in European countries has encouraged the expansion of dual citizenship, this is not the case in Indonesia. Even immigrants have not received legal certainty. Theoretically, in bringing up the idea of full citizenship it is necessary to fulfill several important dimensions. Stokke (2017) identified four key dimensions of citizenship, namely membership, legal status, rights, and participation. These four dimensions are united in a general model of citizenship, which is most clearly demonstrated by the hegemonic liberal nation-state model of citizenship (Schuck, 2002). But it's also clear that this model's structural makeup has changed. The second section emphasizes the dynamics of citizenship studies in interpreting cultural change that has raised awareness of cultural distinctions and the rights that set differentiating groups apart in the liberal citizenship model, as well as global change that has questioned the spatiality of the nation-state model and anticipated post-modern forms of citizenship—national, denationalized, and transnational.

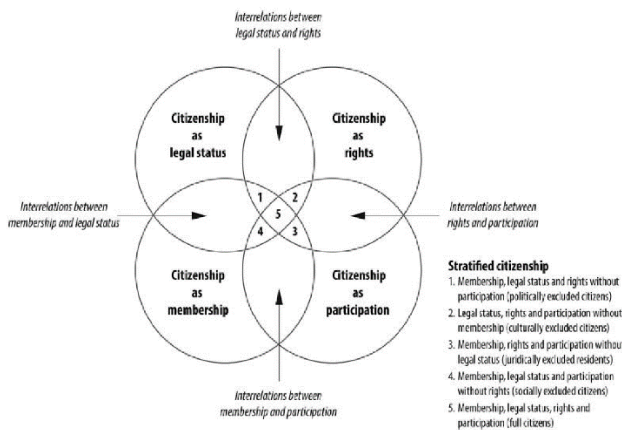


Figure 1. The Political Dimension of Citizenship (Stokke, 2017)

The four core dimensions of citizenship are closely intertwined. The fact that membership of a national community is the basis for legal status, which in turn has a structuring effect on citizenship rights and participation, seems to imply an element of sequence, but Stokke (2017) argues that the interrelationships between the four dimensions are more complex and more multi-directional. For example, active citizenship has a decisive influence on the discursive construction of cultural identity, and political participation is central to the institutionalization and realization of various types of citizenship rights. Similarly, civil and political rights can be used as the basis for the struggle for inclusive membership and legal status. Formal status as a citizen also frames inclusion and a sense of belonging in the citizen community. This means that citizenship politics does not have to be understood linearly and sequentially, but rather that the dimensions identified are interwoven entry points and dynamics in open political processes (Stokke, 2017).

The non-fulfillment of the four dimensions of citizenship is a form of injustice, and the effort to fight this injustice by Stokke (2017) is called "citizenship politics". Then Stokke (2017) formulated the politics of citizenship into three parts, namely the politics of recognition (the dimension of citizenship membership), the politics of redistribution (citizenship as a social right) and the politics of representation (citizenship as political participation). These three dimensions can be understood as a struggle to realize substantive citizenship. This means that citizenship is a prism used to deal with politics (Nyers, 2008).

The reason for using the political theory of citizenship initiated by Stokke (2017), is because the explanation of the political theory of citizenship has a different perspective, where citizenship can be fought bottom-up. This is in accordance with the state of the process of determining the status of dual citizenship in Indonesia whose proposals come from citizens. This theory also explains the four dimensions of citizenship, namely membership, legal status, rights, and participation which are used to discuss the different views of stakeholders on the issue of dual citizenship. Three formulations of the struggle to realize substantive citizenship, namely the politics of recognition, the politics of redistribution and the politics of representation are used as an analysis of the political dynamics in determining the status of dual citizenship in Indonesia, which until now has not been completed in the legislature.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the study, it is shown that the procedure for dual citizenship may be fought by globalist groups, but in the process it is necessary to obtain approval from various social groups in society so that the legal status that grants dual citizenship can be accepted by the community. The debate about the dual citizenship plan in the perspective of human rights and politics is a natural thing, because it involves ideology, sovereignty, law, and the future of the Indonesian state. Human rights provide an opportunity for the realization of dual citizenship, as happened in European countries, while the political aspect is a debate about the plan to implement dual citizenship in Indonesia. On that basis, the researchers suggest the importance of conducting further studies regarding the potential good or bad impacts when the dual citizenship rule is applied. Thus, it can become the basis for policies made jointly by the government and the community. This research is limited to studies related to politics and human rights, it is important for further research to examine other aspects, such as economics, culture, and international competition.

REFERENCES

Ananda, P. (2020). DPR Kembali Suarakan RUU Dwi Kewarganegaraan. [online]. Accessed from <https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/365729/dpr-kembali-suarakan-ruu-dwi-kewarganegaraan>

Apuke, O. D. (2017). Quantitative research methods: A synopsis approach. Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review, 33(5471), 1-8.

Ayu, H., & Anggraeny, P. S. (2019). Kasus Gloria E Mairering Perkara Kewarganegaraan Ganda Dalam Perkawinan Campuran. *Jurnal Ius Constituendum*, 4(1), 1-17.

Buletin Parlemenaria. (2020). RUU Dwi Kewarganegaraan Harus Dikaji Mendalam. Nomor I132/V/XI/2020

- Dahlin, E. C., & Hironaka, A. (2008). Citizenship Beyond Borders: A Cross-National Study of Dual Citizenship. *Sociological Inquiry*, 78(1), 54-73.
- De Wilde, P., Koopmans, R., & Merkel, W. (Eds.). (2019). *The struggle over borders: Cosmopolitanism and communitarianism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dilahwansa, Z. (2022). Pembentukan Wacana Dwi Kewarganegaraan oleh Komunitas Diaspora Indonesia dalam Perspektif Teori Identitas Sosial. *Kajian*, 27(1), 43-56.
- Faist, T., Gerdes, J., & Rieple, B. (2004). Dual citizenship as a path-dependent process. *International migration review*, 38(3), 913-944.
- Fauziah, I. N. N., & Dewi, D. A. (2021). Membangun semangat nasionalisme mahasiswa melalui pendidikan kewarganegaraan. *IJoIS: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Studies*, 2(2), 93-103.
- Ganohariti, R. (2020). Dual citizenship in de facto states: Comparative case study of Abkhazia and Transnistria. *Nationalities Papers*, 48(1), 175-192.
- Gayo, A. A. (2019). Problematika Status Kewarganegaraan Anak Melampaui Batas Usia 21 Tahun (Studi Kasus Provinsi Bali). *Jurnal Penelitian Hukum De Jure*, 19(3), 269-284.
- Hammar, T. (1985). Dual citizenship and political integration. *International Migration Review*, 19(3), 438-450.
- Hermanto, B. (2022). Reformulasi Undang-Undang Kewarganegaraan Indonesia: Perspektif Politik Hukum, Problematik, dan Prospek Pengaturan. *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia*, 19(2), 209-230.
- House of Representative of Indonesia Republic. (2020). RUU Dwi Kewarganegaraan Harus Dikaji Mendalam. [online]. Accessed from <https://www.dpr.go.id/berita/detail/id/30939/t/RUU+Dwi+Kewarganegaraan+Harus+Dikaji+Mendalam>
- Keohane, R. O. (2002). Ironies of sovereignty: the European Union and the United States. *JCMS: journal of common market studies*, 40(4), 743-765.
- Mazzolari, F. (2009). Dual citizenship rights: do they make more and richer citizens?. *Demography*, 46(1), 169-191.
- Migdal, J. S., & Schlichte, K. (2016). Rethinking the state. In *The dynamics of states* (pp. 11-50). Routledge.
- Miller, D. (2016). *Strangers in our midst: The political philosophy of immigration*. Harvard University Press.
- Mz, H. I. (2018). Analisis Perubahan Pengaturan Hukum Kewarganegaraan Ganda Bagi Diaspora Indonesia Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2006. *GANEC SWARA*, 12(1), 48-57.
- Nurhidayati, N. (2018). Kebijakan Pemerintah Dalam Pemilikan Rumah Tempat Tinggal Bagi Orang Asing Dan Kewarganegaraan Ganda. *Jurnal Administrasi Kantor*, 6(1), 23-32.
- Nyers, P. 2008. Introduction: Why citizenship studies. In Isin, E.F., Nyers, P. & Turner, B.S. (eds.) *Citizenship between Past and Future*, 1-4. London: Routledge.
- Owen, D. (2010). Resident aliens, non-resident citizens and voting rights: towards a pluralist theory of transnational political equality and modes of political belonging. *Citizenship acquisition and national belonging: Migration, membership and the liberal democratic state*, 52-73.
- Poethig, K. (2006). Sitting between two chairs: Cambodia's dual citizenship debate 3 4. In *Expressions of Cambodia* (pp. 89-101). Routledge.
- Pogonyi, S. (2011). Dual citizenship and sovereignty. *Nationalities Papers*, 39(5), 685-704.
- Rice, C. (2000). Promoting the national interest. *Foreign Aff.*, 79, 45.
- RMOL.ID. (2016). Tolak, Dwikewarganegaraan Bisa Jadi Ancaman Terhadap Kedaulatan NKRI. [online]. Accessed from <https://keamanan.rmolid.read/2016/08/26/258399/tolak-dwikewarganegaraan-bisa-jadi-ancaman-terhadap-kedaulatan-nkri>
- Schuck, P.H. (2002). Liberal citizenship. In Isin, E.F. & Turner, B.S. (eds.) *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, 131-144. London: Sage.
- Sejersen, T. B. (2008). "I vow to thee my countries"–the expansion of dual citizenship in the 21st century. *International Migration Review*, 42(3), 623-649.
- Spiro, P. J. (2010). Dual citizenship as human right. *International journal of constitutional law*, 8(1), 111-130.
- Stokke, K. (2017). Politics of citizenship: Towards an analytical framework. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 71(4), 193-207.
- Sukmawaty, S. (2016). Kepulauan Riau Sebagai Daerah Perbatasan Dengan Masalah Kewarganegaraan Ganda Terbatas. *Jurnal Selat*, 3(2), 441-450.
- Tirto. (2016). Kekhawatiran Tentang Status Dwi Kewarganegaraan. [online]. Accessed from <https://tirto.id/kekhawatiran-tentang-status-dwi-kewarganegaraan-bXPd>
- Titko, E., Kurovska, I., Kornienko, P., Balzhyk, I. A., & Stoyatska, G. M. (2021). Military-civil interaction through the prism of human rights protection: the experience of the ECtHR. *Linguistics and Culture Review*, 5(S3), 649-666.
- Utami, P. D. Y. (2021). Implikasi Yuridis Perkawinan Campuran Terhadap Pewarisan Tanah Bagi Anak. *Kertha Wicaksana*, 15(1), 80-89.
- Whitaker, B. E. (2011). The politics of home: Dual citizenship and the African diaspora. *International Migration Review*, 45(4), 755-783.
- Yuliartini, N. P. R., & Mangku, D. G. S. (2020). Legal protection for women victims of trafficking in Indonesia in an international human rights perspective. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology*, 9, 1397-1404.