

The Policy of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in Handling the Status of Citizens of Indonesian Descent in the Southern Philippines

Michael Mamentu^{1*}, Joyce Jacinta Rares²

^{1,2}Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Sam Ratulangi, Manado, Indonesia

Email: mmamentu7@gmail.com ; joy.rares09@gmail.com

Abstract. The migration of the Sangihe and Talaud Islands people to the Southern Philippines, which has been ongoing since the 17th century, has created a large diaspora phenomenon now estimated to exceed 10,000 people. The main problem faced by this community is statelessness, where they are categorized as undocumented citizens vulnerable to discrimination, exploitation, and limited access to basic services. This article aims to analyze the policies of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in handling the legal status of these descendants. This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with data collection through in-depth interviews with key informants from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, and Indonesian representatives in the Philippines (the Indonesian Embassy in Manila and the Indonesian Consulate General in Davao). The results show that in the organizational dimension, the government has established a cross-sectoral institutional structure and bilateral cooperation through the Joint Commission for Bilateral Cooperation (JCBC) forum and collaboration with the UNHCR. In the interpretation dimension, the government translates citizen protection policies through the registration process, genealogical verification, and technical identification of Persons of Indonesian Descent (PIDs) in the field. In the application dimension, concrete steps were implemented through the issuance of Indonesian passports to thousands of verified citizens and the diplomatic granting of special non-immigrant visas. This study concludes that this policy is a manifestation of the state's presence in protecting the human rights of diaspora in border regions.

Keywords: Public Policy; Citizens of Descendants; Organization

Received:27-11-2025 **Revised:**25-11-2025 **Accepted:**21-12-2025

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian migration to the Southern Philippines has been ongoing since the 17th century. The initial wave of migration is estimated to have occurred between 1675 and 1775 via traditional shipping routes from the Sangihe and Talaud Islands to Mindanao, Sarangani, and parts of Manila (Gumelar, 2018). This migration occurred due to the geographic proximity between North Sulawesi and the Southern Philippines, maritime trade relations, and cultural and kinship ties in the border region. The Muslim Sangir group generally settled in Sarangani and Mindanao, while the Catholic Sangir group continued their journey to Manila, which at that time served as the center of the Spanish colonial government (Gafur, 2016).

Over time, the Indonesian-descended community in the Southern Philippines has grown into a sizable diaspora. By 2025, their number is estimated to exceed 10,000, spread primarily across Southern Mindanao, Davao, General Santos, Glan, Sarangani, and parts of Manila. Most

of them come from families descended from the Sangihe and Talaud Islands who have lived in the Philippines for generations. Many have intermarried with local Filipinos, forming a mixed community that has integrated socially with the local community. However, this social integration has not been accompanied by certainty of legal citizenship (Wiratri, 2024).

The main problem faced by people of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines is their non-recognition as Filipino citizens. The Philippine government has for years considered this group to be the responsibility of the Indonesian government because they have Indonesian roots (Putri, 2017). Furthermore, the Indonesian government cannot automatically recognize them as Indonesian citizens (WNI) because most lack identity documents, birth certificates, passports, or proof of Indonesian citizenship. Consequently, they remain stateless and are referred to by the Philippine government as undocumented citizens (UNHCR, 2016).

Recognizing the complexity of this issue, the Indonesian government began taking more serious policy steps in 2014. That year, Indonesia and the Philippines agreed on bilateral cooperation through the Joint Commission for Bilateral Cooperation (JCBC). This agreement marked the starting point for Indonesia's policy on addressing the status of people of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines. Through the JCBC, both countries agreed to conduct data collection, registration, and confirmation of citizenship for people of Indonesian descent in Southern Mindanao. The program was implemented by the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia (KJRI) Davao in collaboration with the Philippine Department of Justice, the Philippine Bureau of Immigration, and supported by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees or UNHCR (Misya & Tjarsono, 2017).

Based on Law Number 12 of 2006 and Law Number 6 of 2011 concerning Immigration, the first policy implemented by the Indonesian government was the registration and identification of citizens of Indonesian descent, or Persons of Indonesian Descent (PIDs). This program aims to identify anyone with genuine Indonesian ancestry and entitled to recognition as an Indonesian citizen (Hukumonline, 2022). Data collection was conducted through interviews, family tree examinations, proof of origin, language use, and ties to their regions of origin in Indonesia, particularly the Sangihe and Talaud Islands. This policy is crucial because for decades, many citizens of Indonesian descent have lived without official identification, leaving the state without accurate data on their numbers and conditions.

The registration results indicate that the number of registered citizens of Indonesian descent has reached 8,745. Of these, the majority reside in Southern Mindanao. After verification and confirmation, 3,345 individuals were declared Indonesian citizens, while 2,758 individuals

were confirmed as Filipino citizens. The status of approximately 2,400 other individuals remains uncertain due to non-attendance or failure to complete the administrative process. Of the 3,345 individuals recognized as Indonesian citizens, 466 children also hold limited dual citizenship status under Indonesian law (Detik, 2016; Kompas, 2019; Indonesian Consulate General in Davao, 2018; Ayuningtyas, 2019; Liputan6, 2018).

After the registration and confirmation process is complete, the next policy implemented by the Indonesian government is the issuance of citizenship documents in the form of Indonesian passports. Passports are a crucial instrument as they serve as official proof of Indonesian citizenship. The Indonesian government, through the Indonesian Consulate General in Davao, is gradually issuing passports to citizens of Indonesian descent whose citizenship has been confirmed. In 2018, the Consulate General issued 1,259 passports. This number is still far from the total number of citizens of Indonesian descent, but it shows the government's real commitment to providing legal protection to them (Indonesian Consulate General in Davao, 2018; Baidawi, 2020). Selain penerbitan paspor, Pemerintah Indonesia juga melakukan diplomasi dengan Pemerintah Filipina agar warga keturunan Indonesia yang telah diakui sebagai WNI tetap dapat tinggal secara legal di Filipina Selatan. Hal ini penting karena sebagian besar dari mereka telah lahir, tumbuh, bekerja, dan membangun keluarga di Filipina sehingga tidak mungkin seluruhnya dipulangkan ke Indonesia. Oleh sebab itu, Indonesia mendorong Filipina untuk memberikan izin tinggal khusus kepada mereka (Putri, 2017).

The result of this diplomacy was the issuance of a special non-immigrant visa, or visa 47(a)(2), by the Philippine Department of Justice. This visa is granted to citizens of Indonesian descent who have been registered and confirmed as Indonesian citizens, also known as Registered Indonesian Nationals (RINs). Through this visa, they can legally reside in the Philippines, gain access to education, work, and enjoy legal protection without fear of arrest as illegal immigrants. As of 2022, 635 citizens of Indonesian descent had obtained special non-immigrant visas from the Philippine government (Directorate General of Immigration, 2022; Yani & Lusiana, 2020).

Indonesia's policy in addressing this issue also demonstrates an increasingly proactive approach to protecting Indonesian citizens abroad. While previously, the protection of citizens abroad focused primarily on migrant workers, the case of citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines demonstrates that the state is also present to protect the diaspora and long-neglected border communities. The Indonesian government views that they remain part of the

Indonesian nation even though they have lived across generations in other countries (Mediawan, 2022; Wahyuni, (2021).

However, the Indonesian government's policies have not fully resolved the problem. First, the number of passports issued remains relatively small compared to the total Indonesian diaspora in the Southern Philippines. Until the last few years, only around 30 percent of the total number of Indonesians of Indonesian descent had obtained official documents. Second, thousands of people remain uncertain about their citizenship status due to a lack of adequate administrative documentation. Third, many children of mixed marriages have limited dual citizenship and, at a certain age, must choose one citizenship under Indonesian law. This issue often creates confusion and uncertainty for their families (Indonesian Consulate General in Davao, 2018).

Furthermore, some Indonesians of Indonesian descent actually desire to return to Indonesia, particularly to their ancestral homelands in North Sulawesi, such as the Sangihe and Talaud Islands. However, this desire is often hampered by a lack of identity documents and a lack of family networks that can still accommodate them in Indonesia. Therefore, the government needs to develop further policies in the form of repatriation programs, social assistance, and reintegration for Indonesians who wish to return home.

Addressing the status of Indonesian citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines is a complex public policy issue, involving various actors, regulations, and cross-border administrative processes. This issue relates not only to citizenship recognition but also to legal protection, administrative services, access to identity documents, and legal certainty for people of Indonesian descent who have long resided in Mindanao, Sarangani, and the surrounding areas. In this context, the success of Indonesian government policies is determined not only by the existence of regulations but also by how those policies are implemented by authorized institutions.

This research's conceptual framework utilizes the policy implementation theory proposed by Charles O. Jones (1984). According to Jones, policy implementation is determined by three main dimensions: organization, interpretation, and application. These three dimensions are used to explain how the Indonesian government's policy regarding the status of Indonesian citizens of descent in the Southern Philippines is implemented by relevant institutions.

METHODS

This study employed a qualitative approach with a descriptive design (Sugiono, 2020). This approach was chosen because the study aimed to gain a deeper understanding of the

implementation process of the Republic of Indonesia Government's policy in addressing the status of Indonesian citizens of descent in the Southern Philippines. A qualitative descriptive approach was used to describe various conditions, situations, and social phenomena that occurred during policy implementation, particularly those related to organizational aspects, interpretation, and application, as outlined in Jones's policy implementation theory.

The data used in this study consists of primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained directly from the field through observation and in-depth interviews with informants. This data includes information regarding the policy implementation process, inter-agency coordination mechanisms, understanding of regulations, implementation obstacles, and the types of services provided to Indonesian citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines. Observations were conducted to directly observe the conditions, activities, and interactions between agencies related to policy implementation. Meanwhile, secondary data was obtained from official documents, archives, and various other written sources relevant to the research. Secondary data included laws and regulations, official reports, policy documents, meeting minutes, and publications from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Manila, and the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in Davao. Additionally, secondary data was obtained from mass media coverage, scientific articles, and previous research related to the citizenship issue of Indonesian citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines.

The informants in this study were selected purposively, based on their knowledge, experience, and direct involvement in implementing policies addressing the status of Indonesian citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines. The informants interviewed in this study included:

1. The Director of the ASEAN Cooperation Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.
2. The Director of the Directorate handling issues of Indonesian citizens abroad, Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia.
3. An official at the Indonesian Embassy in Manila.
4. An official at the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in Davao.
5. The Head of the Subdistrict Election Committee (PPK) in five subdistricts in North Minahasa Regency and Bitung City, who are involved in data collection and administration of citizens of Indonesian descent.

Data analysis was conducted in stages, from the beginning of data collection until the research was completed. The analysis technique used refers to an interactive analysis model, which includes data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions (Sugiono, 2020).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The legal status of Indonesians in the Southern Philippines has been an issue for decades. Most of these Indonesians are descendants of migrants from the Sangihe and Talaud Islands who migrated to the Mindanao and Sarangani regions of the Southern Philippines during the colonial period. However, cross-border migration, which occurred long before the birth of the modern Indonesian and Philippine states, has left many of them without clear citizenship documents. Consequently, they are vulnerable, lacking full recognition by either Indonesia or the Philippines.

In this context, the Indonesian government's policy of granting passports to Indonesians in the Southern Philippines is essentially an effort to provide secure legal status. Passports serve not only as travel documents but also as proof of state recognition of an individual's citizenship. With passports, Indonesians in the Southern Philippines can obtain legal protection, access to public services, and be treated in accordance with international law.

The main institutions involved are the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, the Indonesian Embassy in Manila, and the Indonesian Consulate General in Davao. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for diplomatic coordination with the Philippine Government and international institutions, while the Ministry of Law and Human Rights is responsible for citizenship and the issuance of immigration documents. At the implementation level, the Indonesian Embassy in Manila and the Indonesian Consulate General in Davao spearhead direct public services.

This analysis of the issue can be explained through Charles O. Jones's (1984) theory of policy implementation. According to Jones, the success of policy implementation is determined by three main dimensions: organization, interpretation, and application (Jones, 1984). These three dimensions can be used to examine how Indonesian government policies are implemented within the complex social and security conditions in the Southern Philippines. This organizational approach demonstrates the government's recognition that the issues of Indonesians in the Southern Philippines cannot be addressed by a single institution. Cross-sector coordination is required, as the issues faced involve not only foreign relations but also citizenship, population administration, immigration, and human rights protection.

In practice, the Indonesian Consulate General in Davao is the most important institution because its jurisdiction covers Southern Mindanao, where the majority of Indonesians of Indonesian descent reside. Through the Consulate General in Davao, the government conducts data collection, verification, and registration of citizens of Indonesian descent. The results of this registration form the basis for determining who is eligible for recognition as an Indonesian citizen and receives an Indonesian passport.

The success of the organizational dimension can be seen in the increasing number of citizens of Indonesian descent who have been successfully registered and obtained citizenship documents. In 2016, 183 citizens of Indonesian descent in Southern Mindanao were successfully registered and their status confirmed as Indonesian citizens through activities carried out by the Indonesian Consulate General in Davao in conjunction with the Philippine government and UNHCR (Detik, 2016). Furthermore, in 2019, the Indonesian government declared that 2,763 citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines had officially obtained Indonesian citizen status (Kompas, 2019).

However, from an organizational perspective, several obstacles remain. First, limited human resources and budgetary constraints slow the data collection and verification process. Second, the scattered settlements of citizens of Indonesian descent across various remote areas and small islands in Mindanao make administrative services difficult to access. Third, inter-agency coordination sometimes encounters obstacles due to differences in authority and bureaucratic procedures. Thus, the success of the policy depends heavily on the government's ability to strengthen implementing organizations, clarify the division of tasks, and improve inter-agency coordination.

The dimension of interpretation relates to how policies are translated into clear and enforceable implementation guidelines. In the case of citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines, the primary challenge is not only the existence of policies, but also how these policies are understood by implementing officials. At the normative level, the legal basis for granting passports to citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines stems from Law Number 12 of 2006 concerning Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia and Law Number 6 of 2011 concerning Immigration. Both regulations provide the basis for the state to recognize someone as an Indonesian citizen if they can prove their ancestry to Indonesia.

However, implementing these provisions is not always easy. Many citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines lack official documents, such as birth certificates, identity cards, or proof of their parents' citizenship. Most only have informal evidence in the form of family

stories, use of Indonesian or regional languages, and kinship ties with family members in Indonesia. In such circumstances, government officials are required to interpret regulations flexibly while remaining in accordance with the law. The government cannot simply adopt a rigid administrative approach, as this would actually leave many citizens of Indonesian descent in a state of statelessness.

The government's policy demonstrates a more progressive interpretation. Officials from the Indonesian Consulate General in Davao and the Ministry of Law and Human Rights not only rely on formal documents but also conduct field verification through interviews, family tree tracing, and confirmation with local community leaders. In this way, the citizenship status of citizens of Indonesian descent can be determined even if they lack complete documentation.

This interpretation demonstrates that the government places citizen protection as a top priority. According to Jones, successful implementation is largely determined by the implementer's ability to translate policy language into realistic plans and actions. In this case, an overly narrow interpretation could potentially sever ties between citizens of Indonesian descent and their country of origin. Correct interpretation is crucial because an Indonesian passport has international legal consequences. Once someone is recognized as an Indonesian citizen, Indonesia is obligated to provide diplomatic and consular protection to them. Conversely, errors in interpretation can lead to legal and diplomatic issues between Indonesia and the Philippines.

The application dimension represents the concrete implementation stage of the policy. In this context, application is realized through data collection, registration, passport issuance, and the provision of legal protection to citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines. Passport issuance is the most concrete form of policy implementation. A passport provides clear legal identity and frees citizens of Indonesian descent from statelessness. Having an Indonesian passport allows them better access to education, health care, employment, and legal protection.

Furthermore, a passport grants them the right to travel to Indonesia, access consular services, and receive protection in the event of conflict or discrimination in the Southern Philippines. Before obtaining a passport, many citizens of Indonesian descent lived in precarious conditions and were often subjected to abuse due to their lack of legal identity. The implementation of this policy has yielded significant results. The Indonesian government, through the Indonesian Consulate General in Davao, has issued more than 1,259 Republic of Indonesia travel documents to citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines (Hukumonline, 2022). In fact, in 2018, the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs symbolically presented 300

passports to citizens of Indonesian descent in Davao as a form of official recognition of their status as Indonesian citizens.

However, the application process still faces several obstacles. First, not all citizens of Indonesian descent can immediately obtain a passport due to the lengthy verification process. Second, some citizens are hesitant to choose Indonesian citizenship due to concerns about losing access to employment or residency in the Philippines. Third, some citizens do not fully understand the benefits and legal consequences of owning an Indonesian passport.

Furthermore, passport issuance does not automatically resolve all issues. After obtaining a passport, citizens of Indonesian descent still require further support in the form of legalization of their residency status in the Philippines, access to education and employment, and social recognition from the local community. Therefore, the passport issuance policy needs to be accompanied by bilateral cooperation between Indonesia and the Philippines to ensure that citizens of Indonesian descent can live a decent and secure life.

Overall, the implementation of the Indonesian government's policy addressing the status of citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines demonstrates the interconnectedness of organization, interpretation, and application. Strong organization enables effective inter-agency coordination. Accurate interpretation makes policies more adaptable to real-world conditions. Meanwhile, the application, manifested through passport issuance, has provided legal certainty and international protection for citizens of Indonesian descent. Thus, the passport issuance policy is not merely an administrative measure, but a manifestation of the state's presence in protecting citizens of Indonesian descent abroad. This policy also reflects Indonesia's commitment to the principles of human rights and international law, particularly the right of every person to citizenship and to receive protection from the state.

CONCLUSION

The Indonesian government's policy in addressing the status of citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines has demonstrated the state's presence in providing legal protection to citizens and their descendants abroad. This policy is implemented through bilateral cooperation between Indonesia and the Philippines, data collection and registration of citizens of Indonesian descent, confirmation of citizenship status, passport issuance, and the granting of special residence permits in the Southern Philippines.

The Indonesian government's policy in addressing the status of citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines is essentially moving in the right direction, but still requires strengthening in organizational aspects, uniformity of interpretation, and expansion of policy

application so that all citizens of Indonesian descent can obtain certainty of legal status and comprehensive state protection.

To improve this, it is recommended: The Indonesian government needs to strengthen coordination between the involved institutions, particularly between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, the Indonesian Embassy in Manila, and the Indonesian Consulate General in Davao, so that the data collection and service processes can be carried out more integrated and efficiently; The government needs to increase budgetary support, personnel, and operational facilities for the Indonesian Consulate General in Davao and the Indonesian Embassy in Manila, particularly to reach remote and conflict-prone areas in the Southern Philippines; More detailed and uniform technical guidelines are needed regarding the verification of the citizenship status of citizens of Indonesian descent, so that there are no differences in interpretation among officials in determining who is entitled to be recognized as an Indonesian citizen; The government needs to utilize information technology by developing an integrated digital database to record data on citizens of Indonesian descent, including changes due to births, deaths, migrations, and intermarriages; Bilateral cooperation between Indonesia and the Philippines needs to be continuously strengthened, particularly in terms of data collection, legal protection, granting residence permits, and resolving the status of citizens whose citizenship remains unclear; The government needs to increase outreach to citizens of Indonesian descent regarding the benefits of having citizenship status and official documents, so that they are more willing to participate in the registration and verification process; For citizens of Indonesian descent who wish to return to Indonesia, the government needs to prepare a repatriation and reintegration program, including administrative assistance, housing, education, and employment, particularly in their ancestral homelands, such as the Sangihe and Talaud Islands, and further research is recommended to examine in more depth the social, economic, and psychological impacts of statelessness on citizens of Indonesian descent in the Southern Philippines, as well as evaluate the effectiveness of government policies following the issuance of passports and citizenship documents.

REFERENCE

- Ayuningtyas, A. G. (2019). Kebijakan Pemerintah Indonesia Dalam Proses Legalisasi Masyarakat Keturunan Indonesia (RIN) Yang Berada Di Mindanao Selatan Tahun 2016-2018 (Doctoral Dissertation, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta).
- Baidawi Hafidz R. T., & Ahmad. (2020). Citizenship Dilemma For Indonesian Descent In Southern Mindanao. *Jurnal Sosio Dialektika*, 5(2).

- Detik. (2016, 21 Februari). 183 keturunan Indonesia di Mindanao, Filipina diregistrasi KJRI Davao.
- Dunn, W. N. (1981). *Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Gafur, A. (2016). Dinamika Muslim Moro Di Filipina Selatan Dan Gerakan Sparatis Abu Sayyaf. *Sosial Budaya*, 13(2), 175-188.
- Gumelar, D. L. (2018). Lapisan Marginalisasi dan Konstruksi Ilegalitas dalam Masyarakat Perbatasan di Perbatasan Indonesia-Filipina. *Masyarakat Indonesia*, 44(2), 60-75.
- Hukumonline. (2022, 29 Maret). Komitmen lindungi WNI, Menkumham bagikan paspor WNI keturunan di Filipina.
- Jones, C. O. (1984). *An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy* (3rd ed.). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Kompas. (2019, 23 Juni). 2.763 warga keturunan Indonesia di Filipina resmi berstatus WNI.
- Konjen RI di Davao. (2018). Kisah Keberadaan WNI di Mindanao. Kemenlu RI.
- Liputan6. (2018, 3 Januari). Menlu RI beri paspor untuk 300 keturunan Indonesia di Filipina.
- Mediawan, S. D., & Maksum, A. (2022). Indonesian Government Policy in Protecting the Indonesian Diaspora in Mindanao, South Philippines. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal)*, 5(1), 2455-2465.
- Misya, M. H., & Tjarsono, I. (2017). Efektivitas Joint Press Statement dalam Menanggulangi Ancaman Abu Sayyaf di Wilayah Perbatasan Indonesia-Filipina (Doctoral dissertation, Riau University).
- Putri, R. G. (2017). Peran Diaspora Indonesia-Filipina Selatan (DIFS) dalam Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Warga Keturunan Indonesia Pemukim (WKIP) di Filipina Selatan. *JISIP UNJA (Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Ilmu Politik Universitas Jambi)*, 67-83.
- Republik Indonesia. (2006). Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2006 tentang Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia.
- Republik Indonesia. (2011). Undang-Undang Nomor 6 Tahun 2011 tentang Keimigrasian.
- Sugiono. (2020). *Metode penelitian kualitatif untuk penelitian yang bersifat: Eksploratif, enterpretif, interaktif dan konstruktif*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- UNHCR. (2016). *Statelessness and documentation in Southeast Asia*. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
- Wahyuni, S. (2021). Perlindungan hukum terhadap warga negara Indonesia keturunan di Filipina Selatan. *Jurnal Hukum Internasional*, 18(2), 145–162.

- Wiratri, A. (2024). Diaspora Indonesia lintas laut Sulawesi: Teritori, kewarganegaraan, dan identitas. *Masyarakat Indonesia*, 50(1), 163-176.
- Yani, Y. M., & Lusiana, E. (2020). Kebijakan Indonesia terhadap warga negara keturunan Indonesia di Mindanao, Filipina Selatan. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 13(1), 67–84.