### Article Info

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## VULNERABILITY OF SOCIETAL SECURITY IN INDONESIA-MALAYSIA BORDER AREA AT SAJINGAN BESAR DISTRICT, SAMBAS REGENCY (2014-2016)

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#### Abstract

This research is intended to examine the means of Indonesia in adressing the vulnerability of the societal security in the Indonesia-Malaysia border area at Sajingan Besar District, Sambas Regency. Transnational activities in the Indonesia-Malaysia border area, especially at Sajingan Besar District, Sambas Regency, had an impact on national security. The existence of Indonesian society was threatened because of the very intense transnational activities with the Malaysian people on the border area. State as an actor in international relations has the obligation to secure its territory and inhabitants. The method used in this research was qualitative research method with case study technique. Data were collected by conducting interviews and conducting secondary data tracking, either from books, journals, or internet sources. The study was conducted by analyzing the societal security and national security approach. The means of Indonesia in 2014-2016 to address the vulnerability in Sajingan Besar District area include several issues, such as mentioned "border area" in Nawacita, increasing presidential visits to the border area, development and improvement of infrastructure, and improvement of public policy. The means that had been done shows the increased attention and real action from the government of Indonesia towards their border area.

#### Keywords : border area; national security; societal security;

#### Abstrak

Penelitian ini ditujukan untuk meneliti upaya yang dilakukan oleh Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dalam mengatasi kerentanan keamanan masyarakat kawasan perbatasan Indonesia-Malaysia di Kecamatan Sajingan Besar Kabupaten Sambas. Kegiatan transnasional di kawasan perbatasan Indonesia-Malaysia, khususnya di Sajingan Besar Kabupaten Sambas memberikan dampak bagi keamanan nasional. Keberadaan masyarakat Malaysia yang bertetangga dan berhubungan secara sejarah maupun aktifitas ekonomi memunculkan kerentanan di bidang kemasyarakatan. Identitas nasional masyarakat Indonesia menjadi terancam karena aktifitas yang sangat intens dengan masyarakat Malaysia di daerah perbatasan. Negara Indonesia sebagai aktor dalam hubungan internasional memiliki kewajiban untuk mengamankan wilayah dan penduduknya. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode penelitian kualitatif dengan teknik studi kasus. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan melakukan wa-

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wancara dan melakukan penelusuran data sekunder, baik dari buku, jurnal, maupun sumber internet. Penelitian dilakukan dengan mengalisis melalui pendekatan keamanan masyarakat dan nasional. Upaya yang dilakukan oleh Pemerintah Republik Indonesia di tahun 2014-2016 untuk mengatasi kerentanan masyarakat di kawasan perbatasan Sajingan Besar meliputi beberapa hal, seperti mencantumkan perbatasan dalam Nawacita, peningkatan kunjungan presiden ke perbatasan, pembangunan dan perbaikan infrastruktur, dan perbaikan kebijakan publik. Upaya yang telah dilakukan menunjukkan peningkatan perhatian dan aksi nyata Pemerintah Republik Indonesia terhadap kawasan perbatasan.

Kata Kunci: kawasan perbatasan; keamanan masyarakat; keamanan nasional

#### I. Introduction

The state borders issue is one of the issues that had been sought since the development of international political science. The territory as part of the state sovereignty is one of the elements generated in the 1933 Montevideo Agreement. State border dispute also occur in Southeast Asia, particularly between Indonesia and Malaysia. Prolonged settlement of state border disputes leads to other problem for the development of cross-border relations between communities from both states. In practice, transnational relationships on the border are so dynamic, inversely proportional to the prolonged settlement of the border conflicts, creating a tremendous opportunity for the implementation of transnational activities that begin to erode the physical borders of the two states. Such transnational activities may include international migration or crossborder trade.

On Indonesia and Malaysia border area that located between the provinces of West Borneo and the State of Sarawak, the relations among people are not just crossborder trade or international migration, but also good kinship relations between two different groups of citizenship. This is possibly given by the history of relations between borderlanders of West Borneo and Sarawak.<sup>4</sup>

This neighboring condition turned out to be vulnerability for the Indonesia. The contact that occurred in the borders of Indonesia and Malaysia has gaps, especially in the economic. Especially in some regencies that directly neighboring such as Sambas Regency, Sanggau Regency, Sintang Regency, Bengkayang Regency, and Kapuas Hulu Regency. This problem is one of the factors boosting the people preference of economic activities to neighboring states.

The development of security studies had placed security of the state not only the main object. They also put the society as a security object. The expansion of the security sector raises several sectors such as the military, political, economic, societal, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Triana Wulandari. 1998. Sejarah Wilayah Perbatasan Entikong-Malaysia 1845-2009. Satu Ruang Dua Tuan. Depok: Gramata Publishing, p. 104.

environmental sectors.<sup>5</sup> One of the relevant sectors to the problem that the researcher conveys is the societal sector. According to Buzan, this societal sector includes the relationship between collective identity which focusing about sustaining the traditional patterns, such as language, culture, and religion as well as national identity and customs.<sup>6</sup> This sector sees that a particular object can be affected and threatened through the existence of another group identity.

Researchers are interested in conducting a study regarding the means taken by the Government of Indonesia to address the issue of the society identity vulnerability in the state-border areas. Specifically, researchers restricted this research to the Indonesia-Malaysia border area in Sajingan Besar District, Sambas Regency. The time limitation of the study limited only during the Joko Widodo administration.

Based on this background exposure, this research has a research question: How is the government of Indonesia means to overcome the vulnerability of society in Indonesia-Malaysia border area especially in Sajingan Besar District, Sambas Regency?

#### II. Method

This research using descriptive qualitative research method. This study aims to describe the efforts undertaken by the government of Joko Widodo in addressing the security vulnerability of the community at the border of Sajingan Besar District, Sambas Regency. Data collection was done through interviews and literature studies using sources from books, articles in journals, documents, and online article resources. Data validation done by researchers using triangulation for different data sources.

#### III. Analysis and Discussion

#### A. International Borders

Researchers choose to use the concept of borders which has scope is not just a boundary or border area, but includes all those on the border, such as society. The researcher will also convey the concept of borders characteristics. The researchers refers to the explanation by Martinez<sup>7</sup> who divides the characteristics of the border into four characteristics, namely alienated borderland, co-existent borderland, interdependent borderland, and integrated borderland.

According to Martinez, alienated borderland is a cross-border area that has very difficult cross-border activity in the form of trade or inter-community relations. This is due to armed conflict, political disputes, intense nationalist cultivation, ideological ha-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, dan Jaap de Wilde. 1998. Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Colorado: Lynne Rienner, p. 7.
<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gerald H. Blake. 1998. "The Objective of Land Boundary Management", *IBRU Boundary and Security Bulletin*,p. 57.

tred, religious hostility, cultural differences, and ethnic rivalry.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, co-existent borderland is a border condition where there has been cross-border relations. But, the relationship is still not significant, limited to the relationship between two countries that improved and the relationship between communities are limited by the rules of the country. As for example there are unresolved issues related to the ownership of strategic resources in the border area. <sup>9</sup>

The third characteristic is interdependent borderland. This category is a relatively stable border area in international relations. Residents who live in each border area of the state involved in various economic activities that mutually beneficial and at a level more or less equal. In this category is expected to occur a mutually beneficial economic system between communities on the border of two states.<sup>10</sup>

In the fourth characteristic, Martinez describes the integrated borderland as a condition in which the two bordering nations eliminate all political differences as well as trade barriers and human movements that cross their boundaries.<sup>11</sup> The border community is integrated economically without having strict regulation. The society ideological view is also more open and does not compartmentalize certain national identity against other nations. This effort is then able to realize a peaceful relationship and improve the quality of life of both nations through trade and technology cooperation. The aspect of sovereignty does not become formal and can be negotiated by each country so there is no conflict about it.

The division of border characteristic is used to describe the condition of the Indonesia-Malaysia border community, especially between the people of West Borneo-Sarawak in Sajingan Besar District, Sambas Regency.

#### **B. Societal Security**

Societal definitions differ from social explanations. The difference explained by Copenhagen School scholars lies in the collective identity of society. Societal does not mean social in general terms about individuals and their economy. The more precise match according to the researcher is the society aspect. So the threats that come to this sector are related to the identity of the society, which as mentioned in the previous quotation in the form of language, culture, religion, national identity, and customs. Weaver defines collective identity as "what enables the word 'we' to be used".<sup>12</sup> In this case Weaver emphasizes the use of the

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> O. J. Martinez. "The Dynamics of Border Interaction: New Approaches to Border Analysis", in C. H. Schofield (ed). 1994. "*Global Boundaries: World Boundaries,* Vol. 1. London: Routledge, p. 2.
 <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>*Ibid*, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>*Ibid*, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Paul Roe. "Societal Security," in Allan Collins. 2007. *Contemporary Security Studies.* New York: Oxford University Press, p. 167.

word 'we' to explain the position of collective identity.

While security is explained by Buzan as an effort to obtain peace from the threat and ability of the state and society to maintain their independence of identity and functional integrity against threatening groups.<sup>13</sup> Buzan through the definition explains that there are two main definitions of security. That is, first when actors (state or society) are able to cope with threats from threatening groups. Second, the ability of actors to maintain the identity and integrity of the group. Two other important concepts explaining security are security and threat actors.

In *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, Weaver explains that societal security is an important issue with regard to the sovereignty of post-Cold War countries in Europe.<sup>14</sup> It explained that there was a link between state and societal security. Where state security emphasizes the threat to its sovereignty, whereas societal security emphasizes the identity of society. The link can be explained with the appearance of the vulnerability at the society level then leads to the sovereignty of the state. These vulnerabilities will be further explained after the explanation of the societal sector threats.

In Security: A New Framework for Analysis, Buzan, Weaver, and de Wilde more specifically summarizes at least three issues that are commonly considered as threat to the social sector, which are migration, horizontal competitions, and vertical competitions.

Technological developments in the 20th century further increased the interest of a person to do a migration. To cross the continent, people are now boarding a plane with various price and destination variations. Motivations to migrate also vary from the motives of the economy, the pressure of environmental conditions, to the motive on freedom of religion.<sup>15</sup> Mass transfers of people to their destination can create so-called horizontal competitions. The existence of this moving society can have both positive and negative effects that threaten the existence of the indigenous society.

The furthest effect of these horizontal competitions is the integration project. This project is a way of shaping a similar culture to make it easier for the state to control some or all of the cultural reproduction tracts. <sup>16</sup> This project is then described as a vertical competitions issue that threatens

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Barry Buzan. 1991. "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century", *International Affairs*, 67(3): 432.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Paul Roe. "Societal Security", in Alan Collins (ed). 2007. *Contemporary Security Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 165.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, dan Jaap de Wilde.
 1998. Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Colorado: Lynne Rienner, p. 121.
 <sup>16</sup> Ibid.

the existence of an existing society identity, whether it will threaten the identity of the majority, minority or both by establishing a new identity.

In response to these threats, society generally takes two actions. First, move the issue as a political sector in which it sees the issue as a threat to be addressed on the state agenda.<sup>17</sup> In this action the state plays a role in overcoming the threat because the state is also formed by the society in the region. As an example of addressing threats from migration, states can apply laws and control over borders.<sup>18</sup> Second, the action is done by the society itself without involving the elements of the state. The steps that usually been done are by dominating the ruling government (for example, the Tutsi), formed their own state government (for example, Slovenians, Zionists), or lives separated from the majority group (for example, the Jewish nation in Europe).<sup>19</sup>

The societal security theory that has been described, provides guidance for researchers in conducting the analysis. First, researchers use the concept of three threat issues to mapping the threats that occur in society. Second, describes the efforts that can be used by community to overcome the threat. In the context of this study, the use of this theory is to provide a threat analysis faced by Indonesia due to inter-state community interaction on the border of Sajingan Besar District, Sambas Regency. Then, help explain the efforts made by the Government of Indonesia to tackling these vulnerabilities.

#### C. Societal Security Vulnerability

An issue may be considered a threat to the societal sector may arise depending on how vulnerable the object is. The vulnerability is how the joint identity of the object is formed. This vulnerability will not be the same in different societies or nations. There are at least seven conditions that constitute a societal vulnerability described in *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, which are:<sup>20</sup>

- 1) If one identity is based on separateness, being isolated and alone, even a small group of mixed foreigners will be seen as a problem. Which means, a country that is away from other countries like an island country then there is a group of foreigners who assimilate will be a threat to their existence. According to the researcher, this condition is the result of existence which is only limited in certain place with only one identity. So when there are foreigners who bring their identity into the community of the country, it is feared that it will give effect to the identity of the existing community.
- Certain nations controlling the state but only with small numbers or with majority emphasis will be vulnerable to the increase in the number of births from rival group

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124-125.

populations. In this case the identity of the state is shaped by the identity of the ruling class, so that when other nations within the country which are rivals have high birth rates, the existence of ruling rulers becomes threatened.

- 3) If national identity is associated with certain cultural habits, a homogeneous "global" culture, such as the example of Coca-cola imperialism or Mc Donald's would threaten the Bhutan state, Iran, Saudi Arabia. This condition shows that an exemplary globalization process in the form of expansion of multinational corporations can threaten the national identity of a country consisting of only one culture.
- 4) If language is the center of national identity, the use of English combined with the entry of this language into a particular society will be a problem. This condition is exemplified in France which makes the French language as the center of its national identity will be threatened by the influence of the use of English into its community groups.
- 5) If a country is formed through the integration of a number of ethnic groups with the shift of history of national life, the spreading of nationalism and ideas of secession will be fatal.
- 6) If a state is formed from the creation of ideologies of different groups into a new group, existing national identity will be vulnerable to unmeasurable statements of race and tribal separation. This condition illustrates that in a country of diverse groups it will be vulnerable to racial and ethnic issues.
- 7) If the nation is tied closely to the state, it will become vulnerable to the process of political integration and will be a problem if the nation

has a tradition of operating state independence and the tradition has many political layers at the same time. The nation has become synonymous with the state, so when there is a process of political integration of its national identity becomes threatened.

Researchers use this concept to support an analysis about the threats described in the previous sub-explanation. Vulnerability is an inseparable concept in the explanation of a security threat.

# D. Security Vulnerability Of Border Society In Sajingan Besar District, Sambas Regency

Based on the border characteristics that researchers have previously pointed out, it can be explained that the condition of the Indonesia-Malaysia border in Sajingan Besar is included in the co-existent borderland. Because there are still state rules that bind the local community on cross-border relations. Stricter *Pos Lintas Batas Negara* (PLBN) are also a reference that the state plays an important role in controlling human and goods access at its borders.

Although we also can't deny that the public relations have been very fluid and there is no barrier dividers. Connectivity in the economic and social sphere is a very strong reason people at the border maintain good relationships. Even in some reports that researchers found, almost all the people on the border of Indonesia-Malaysia has no problem with their neighbors.

This is also supported by historical factors where since before the borders of Indonesia and Malaysia existed, both society used to have social interaction. Traditional societies are already accustomed to indulging in their fellow indigenous peoples, although later on they are bounded by national borders. The border is still seen as a state boundary. This condition is reflected in the policies of the two countries that don't just let go the society activities.<sup>21</sup> Therefore the category of border areas of Indonesia and Malaysia can't be called an interdependent borderland, but still in the co-existent phase.

Societal security vulnerabilities can be seen first from the aspect of threat issues. The threatened security object is the national identity of the society on the border. The perception of threat determination is done by state actors. In the study it was found that the state acting in the name of the people to secure the national identity. Threats to national identity can be categorized into three general issues according to the researcher's reference from the literature review, namely migration, horizontal competitions, and vertical competitions. For the case of the Sajingan Besar District, researchers looked at only two of the three emerging threat issues.

First, the problem of migration. The people on the border of the Sajingan Besar and Lundu are accustomed to cross-border trade. Cross-border trading patterns have been going on for a long time. Based on the results of interviews that researchers conducted, in the 2014-2016 Sajingan Besar District was still an isolated area, then the existence of various products from Malaysia actually become a popular item in the district. The causes include the existence of kinship relations between neighboring communities are also supported by difficult access to the nearest district in Sambas Regency. The society became accustomed to trade for daily necessities as well as selling agricultural produce and plantations to Biawak, Lundu District, Malaysia. In Aruk, every day Malaysians come to PPLB Aruk to sell various daily necessities and buy local agricultural products from Sajingan Besar District.

According to the data that researchers found, before 2011, people in Sajingan Besar District only need to show *Pas Lintas Batas* or commonly known as Red Book to pass PLB Aruk. Ease of cross-border is also to facilitate the community to travel to Kam-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Adityo Darmawan Sudagung. 2015. Upaya Indonesia dalam Menghadapi Masalah Nasionalisme Masyarakat Indonesia di Perbatasan Kalimantan Barat-Sarawak. *Tesis*, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, p. 85.

pung Biawak in Malaysia. <sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, in its development, the results of the interviews show that the convenience is not really can be felt now because the guard is tighter so that Indonesian people can't freely go to Malaysia because there is no dispensation.

Other factors that support the occurrence of migration due to kinship tied in the form of marriage and traditional ceremonies. The Sajingan Besar people are performing transnational marriage and putting more emphasis on ethnic equality. There are Indonesians who choose to settle in Malaysia as a result of the marriage. The ease of communication with Dayak Bekatic Language also makes it easier for them to establish better kinship relationships. Indonesian citizens are also familiar with Malay, as well as Malaysians who used to speak Indonesian. The problem of language is not a problem to the citizens of the border, it becomes the supporters of their connectivity. In addition, people habitually visit each other's relatives of different nationalities for example when there is a wedding or ritual ceremony.

Second, the threat of *horizontal competitions*. Where there is influence of the culture from neighboring society to the culture of the people in the region next to it. Even if we look at the fact that the border society lives very harmoniously with its ethnic proximity, it will be a problem if viewed from the perspective of the state. As one imagined community, the national identity of one country should be put forward. The kinship can be a threat due to the disparate economic relations between the Indonesian-Malaysian border society. Several facts have been submitted concerning the condition of Sajingan Besar District which is isolated and not very developed, while next to this area, Malaysia area has more stable economy. Goods also easier to find. Supported by using ringgit currency when trading in Malaysia.

Other inequities in education and health aspects also provide opportunities for Indonesians to interact more with their relatives in Malaysia. Access to information gained by the society is also limited with inadequate facilities so that most of the information comes from Malaysia. This can be seen by the difficulty of national television broadcasts reaching Sajingan Besar District. The people have to use parabola or cable TV to get the broadcast. In contrast, Malaysian television broadcasts can be easily obtained by the people by using ordinary antennae.

This problem may not have been faced by the older generation of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Adityo Darmawan Sudagung. 2013. Sekuritisasi Kawasan Perbatasan Indonesia: Studi Kasus Ketergantungan Masyarakat terhadap Malaysia di Kecamatan Sajingan Besar Kabupaten Sambas (2006-2012). *Skripsi*, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, p. 79.

Sajingan Besar. Because most of them are the perpetrators of history during confrontation with Malaysia. The older generation figures firmly hold the principle of "*NKRI harga mati*". Threats to the state can be present to the young generation who get a lot of information from Malaysian media. Although there is virtually no detectable presence of foreigners who promote their identity to the Sajingan Besar District, the potential of foreign identity brought by Indonesian citizens into the Sajingan Besar District still exists.

The lack of life experiences that intersecting with the phase of struggle or independence makes them more considering economic factors that really affect them. Opportunities to work in Malaysia and the ease of fulfilling the necessities of life can also support behaviors that threaten Indonesia's national identity at the border. Their consideration seems logical, sees the opportunities that exist in Malaysia as well as the unresolved limitations in Indonesia.

Indonesia has vulnerability in the formation of national identity because historically, national identity formed through a collection of tribal groups spread from Sabang to Merauke, has a national language namely Bahasa Indonesia, and there is an ideology that is shared by all citizens, namely Pancasila. The first vulnerability is seen from the diversity of ethnic groups in Indonesia. It turns out the ethnic attachment is very influential in the pattern of Indonesian-Malaysian society relations at the border. Likewise when talking about unifying language. Given the fact that more interaction is being made to Malaysian people who have a common indigenous language, it is possible that the intensity of the use of national languages declines. It will be easier to communicate with the local language. Also regarding the people understanding on their ideology.

The fact that is often raised when discussing the issue of national identity on the border is the condition of children of plantation workers (citizens of the Republic of Indonesia) who study in the area around the plantation (Malaysia) know more about the national anthem of Malaysia than Indonesia, then information about the recruitment of Indonesian citizens by the Government of Malaysia to be "Askar Watania", and also the migration of residence and citizenship status of border residents. All of this is a reality that should be of concern to the state if it wants to keep its existence, mainly national identity, in the border area.

E. Indonesia Border Policy in 2014-2016 as a Means to Overcome the Vulnerability of Society in Sajingan Besar Border Area

Based on security studies described earlier, it was mentioned that means to overcome societal security's threat can be done by transferring authority to the state. This is what happened in Indonesia. Through the authority of the government, some means were discovered. The Government of Indonesia in 2014-2016 has placed the border area as the front gate of the state. This started from Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration followed by Joko Widodo administration.

Both Indonesian presidents changed the paradigm of border area development into outward looking and added a welfare approach as a companion to the security approach and are no longer inward looking. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono started by enlisted the policy orientation into Presidential Regulation no. 7/2005 on the National Medium-Term Development Plan in 2004-2009.<sup>23</sup>

In 2014-2016, President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Vice President Jusuf Kalla (JK) introduced the concept of Nawacita as part of the vision during the era of his reign. Nawacita is one of Jokowi-JK's political promises during the campaign period. One of the points of Nawacita is targeting the development in the border area. The researcher cited the point, which reads "Building Indonesia from the periphery by

<sup>23</sup> Adityo Darmawan Sudagung, 2015. Upaya Indonesia dalam Menghadapi Masalah Nasionalisme Masyarakat Indonesia di Perbatasan Kalimantan Barat-Sarawak. *Tesis*, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, p. 83. strengthening the regions and villages within the framework of the united state".<sup>24</sup>

In addition to continuing the *outward looking* vision of the SBY administration, in the era of President Jokowi, he also reinforced the strategic position of the border as part of the sovereignty that must be protected. The border also according to President Jokowi is the dignity of the nation.<sup>25</sup> This was stated by the Cabinet Secretary when he attended a presidential party visiting Tarakan, North Borneo. He also stated that the government wants to make people living on the border become proud and not inferior.<sup>26</sup>

The President also confirmed that the border is an Indonesian storefront that must be more advanced than Malaysia.<sup>27</sup> Another identity that Jokowi government wants to highlight is Indonesia as a nation and a big country. That identity wants to be shown

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Kompas.com. 2014. "Nawa Cita, 9 Agenda Prioritas Jokowi-JK". Available from: http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/05/21/07544 54/.Nawa.Cita.9.Agenda.Prioritas.Jokowi-JK. (Accessed October 8, 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Muhammad Razi Rahman. 2014. "Efisiensi Ala Jokowi Rambah Penanganan Perbatasan". Available from: <u>http://babel.antaranews.com/berita/16362/efisiensiala-jokowi-rambah-penanganan-perbatasan</u>. (Accessed October 8, 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Liputan 6.com, "Jokowi Rombak Total Daerah Perbatasan RI-Malaysia Tahun Ini", Available from: http://news.liputan6.com/read/2164084/jokowirombak-total-daerah-perbatasan-ri-malaysia-tahunini. (Accessed October 8, 2016).

with great physical development on the state front gate.<sup>28</sup>

Researchers assess that there has been a significantly increasing attention in the border area during the era of President Jokowi. This assessment is based on the affirmation of the importance of border by the president and the ministers on several occasions. Even though not all of the following data were not included in the study period, during 2016-2017 President Jokowi has visited the border area of West Borneo more than three times. Connecting the discussion of the vision and its realization in Indonesia-Malaysia border area, especially in Sajingan Besar, the researcher will discuss some facts of development policy of Indonesia border area in the next section.

During the 2014-2016, the central government made at least some efforts to respond to the vulnerability of national identity that arose in the border between Indonesia and Malaysia, especially in Sajingan Besar. First, the president made several visits to the border area of West Borneo-Sarawak. Second, the President signed Presidential Instruction No. 6/2015 about Development Acceleration of 7 (Seven) Integrated Trans Boundary Post and Infrastructure Facilities in Border Area. Third, the government undertook the development and improvement of infrastructure in the border area.

Although the president does not specifically visit Sajingan Besar District, the presence of the president in the border area for several times, shows a very positive signal to the development of the border area. President Joko Widodo recorded three visits to the border area of West Borneo-Sarawak, in 2014, 2015, and 2016. At each visit, the president always emphasized the government's attention and priority on the development of border areas. The President also controls the development of border areas in West Borneo.

Another effort that shows the seriousness of the government is the stampeding of Presidential Instruction concerning the development acceleration of 7 (seven) integrated Integrated Trans Boundary Post and Infrastructure Facilities in border area. The instruction was signed on April 28, 2015. To the officials, President Jokowi instructed them to take development measures in accordance with their respective duties, functions and authorities in a coordinated and integrated manner to accelerate the development of 7 (seven) Integrated Trans Boundary Post and Infrastructure Facilities Supporting the Border Area, one of which is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibid.

the Aruk Integrated Trans Boundary Post, Sajingan Besar District, Sambas Regency.<sup>29</sup>

The President emphasized on the acceleration of handling effort in border area that was determined to be completed within two years since the Presidential Instruction was signed. Regarding the financing of the program, in the Presidential Instruction stated that it is charged to the State Budget (APBN) and the Regional Budget (APBD) and other non-binding sources.<sup>30</sup> In the second attempt, researchers see the president determine the duration of time to reform the state's border region. This step should be appreciated because there is a specified completion target within the time duration. Researchers see this could spur ministers or agency leaders to accelerate the process of border area development. All this time, the length of the process undertaken to build border areas is often complained.

The third attempt that researchers found was infrastructure development in the 2014-2016 era. Development includes the construction of roads to cross-border posts, parallel roads between border districts, the development of cross-border posts, settlements along with water and electricity facilities, and military posts in border areas. By 2015, the PUPR Ministry has completed activities to improve the structure and widening of roads in three places, located in Aruk, Entikong and Nanga Badau.<sup>31</sup> The length of the road were more or less 600-700 meters from the PLBN in 3 points and widened like a highway that has 4 lanes complete with the shoulder of the road.<sup>32</sup> This is in line with a direct request from the president who wants the road on the Indonesian border better than the road in Malay-sia.

In addition to widening the road to the cross-border post, the government also undertook the construction of parallel roads that are built parallel to the country boundary.<sup>33</sup> It is hoped that this parallel road can connect the front areas in Indonesia. Aimed also to open the isolation of the outer regions of Indonesia. The length of the parallel road is approximately 1,700 Km and in West Borneo alone, parallel road is as far as 732 km. The government is targeting at the end of 2018 all areas along the border line can already connect.<sup>34</sup> Especially for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Setkab. 2015. "Teken Inpres, Presiden Jokowi Instruksikan Percepatan Pembangunan 7 Pos Lintas Batas Negara", Available from: http://setkab.go.id/teken-inpres-presiden-jokowiinstruksikan-percepatan-pembangunan-7-pos-lintasbatas-negara/. (Accessed October 8, 2016) <sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Dana Aditiasari. "Begini Perkembangan Proyek Jalan Perbatasan Rl-Malaysia", Available from: http://finance.detik.com/berita-ekonomi-bisnis/d-3162900/begini-perkembangan-proyek-jalanperbatasan-ri-malaysia. (Accessed October 7, 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Immanuel Antonius. "Jalan Perbatasan RI-Malaysia Selesai Diaspal 2018". Available from: <u>http://bisnis.liputan6.com/read/2412583/jalan-</u>

the road connecting the Sajingan Besar District on segement 1 Temajuk-Aruk and segment 2 Aruk-Batas Kecamatan Siding / Seluas.<sup>35</sup> Through road access improvement project, this will be very helpful to people who want to do trading activities. The cost of the trip will be cheaper with better travel time. Distribution of goods from the Capital Regency of Sambas to the Sajingan Besar District or otherwise would be better.

Development of infrastructure in the era of President Jokowi also touches the border post. In addition to Aruk posts, Entikong and Nanga Badau posts are also included from government improvement plans. Particularly in Sajingan Besar, the National Post Boundary Development project until 2016 has been fully implemented. Phase I development project (December 2015-December 2016) cost more than 131 billion rupiah. <sup>36</sup>

perbatasan-ri-malaysia-selesai-diaspal-2018. (Accessed October 7, 2016).

<sup>35</sup> Kantor Staf Presiden. "Membangun Dari Pinggiran Melalui Proyek Jalan Perbatasan – Kantor Staf Presiden", Available from: <u>http://ksp.go.id/membangun-dari-pinggiran-melaluiproyek-jalan-perbatasan/</u>. (Accessed October 7, 2016).

<sup>36</sup> Randu Pandu Asmara Jingga. 2017. "*Indahnya* "*Pagar*" *Baru Rumah Kita di Kalbar*", Available from: http://www.antaranews.com/berita/618776/indahnya -pagar-baru-rumah-kita-di-kalbar. (Accessed April 2, 2017).



Picture 1. PLBN Aruk

However, the inauguration of Aruk PLBN was done in 2017 by President Jokowi. PLBN Aruk Building is one of the best PLBN design. Besides building infrastructure to cross border post, the government in the era 2014-2016 era also accelerate development in nine border areas, one of which is Aruk area, Sajingan Besar District, Sambas Regency. The development acceleration program is handled by the PUPR Ministry in coordination with the Ministry of Underdeveloped Villages and Transmigration.<sup>37</sup> The acceleration program includes the provision of clean water and sanitation (Community Based Water Supply and Sanitation Program / PAMSIMAS) and community resettlement infrastructure (Regional Infrastructure Development / PIP). Aruk Settlement, Sajingan Besar in Sambas Regency, West Borneo is planned to use a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Liputan6.com. "Cara Kementerian PUPR Percepat Pembangunan Kawasan Perbatasan", Available from: http://bisnis.liputan6.com/read/2510831/carakementerian-pupr-percepat-pembangunankawasan-perbatasan. (Accessed October 7, 2016).

budget of Rp 63 billion.<sup>38</sup> The impact of this program has not been able to find because of insufficient data. However, according to researchers it should be appreciated because there is already a real action plan that will be executed by the government in the following years.

Another infrastructure development plan undertaken by the government is to build several military bases. This was conveyed by the chairman of the National Border Management Agency that also Minister of Home Affairs. The purpose of making military bases on the border is to maintain the stability of security at the border.<sup>39</sup> Because the border area is considered still vulnerable to violations of state borders to the crime of drug smuggling. One of the military bases to be built is in West Borneo, precisely in Entikong Regency. The plan to build this military base is not specifically found in Sajingan Besar District.

However, bringing troops massively shows that the government also put forward the military security aspect in securing border areas. The lack of border security personnel is often one of the reasons for Indonesia's weak security at the border. The large number of illegal activities is seen as a result of the disproportionate number of personnel compared to the length of the border areas to be maintained. Begin with the planned construction of a military base in Entikong, there is no possibility of any other military bases along the Indonesia-Malaysia border. If viewed from the point of view of national security, this is a necessity because the sovereignty of a country is a fixed price.

Several steps taken by the Government of Indonesia show that there is increased attention and concrete action in building border areas in West Borneo. However, it should be noted that the project supervision process should be well done. Cross-sectoral coordination between central and local government should also be watched to avoid communication errors or tossing of responsibilities among related agencies. People also need to be educated to preparing for their economic growth due to the improvement of infrastructure.

#### **IV.** Conclusion

The security vulnerability of border society in Sajingan Besar District, Sambas Regency was caused by economic factors, infrastructure, and ethnic proximity among society groups. Vulnerability was experienced by the state as an entity that main-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Muhammad Idris. "Jokowi Kebut Pembangunan Infrastruktur 9 Permukiman di Wilayah Perbatasan", Available from:http://finance.detik.com/beritaekonomi-bisnis/d-3210088/jokowi-kebutpembangunan-infrastruktur-9-permukiman-diwilayah-perbatasan. (Accessed October 7, 2016).

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Lucky Ikhtiar Ramadhan. 2016. "Pangkalan Militer di Perbatasan, Tjahjo: Ini Visi Jokowi", Available from:

https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2016/05/19/07877250 8/pangkalan-militer-di-perbatasan-tjahjo-ini-visijokowi. (Accessed October 7, 2016).

tains its sovereignty of the territory and its inhabitants. The most obvious threat was to the younger generation who were not involved or experiencing periods of independence struggle. To overcome these vulnerabilities, the Government of Indonesia in 2014-2016 has made several means. First, increase the president's visit to the border area of West Borneo-Sarawak. Secondly, the signing of Presidential Instruction no. 6/2015 on the Development Acceleration of 7 (Seven) Integrated Trans Boundary Post and Infrastructure Facilities in Border Area. Third, the development and improvement of infrastructure in the border area. Means that have been made show the increased attention and real action on the border areas of Indonesia-Malaysia, especially in Sajingan Besar District, Sambas Regency.

Nevertheless, the researchers suggests the need for further monitoring of the programs implemented. In addition to monitoring, it is also important to pay attention to the process of socialization and education to the society to increase the sense of belonging and citizens national identity. The process of socialization and direct face-toface education can be supported through social media or internet to attract younger generation.

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