Vol. **II / No. 01** | January 2021

Human Security in Border Area: Security or Welfare?

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Summary[3]

This article aims to briefly discuss the issues related to Indonesia's land and maritime borders. The state border issue is not only based on the state security approach but also human security, as the dynamics at Indonesia's borders also affect welfare, social conditions, and even legal protection for Indonesians residing around these areas. This article was then ended with a reflection on the management of human security issues at the Indonesian Border.

Keywords: *agreement, border, conflict, indigenous people, transnational crime*

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The current rise in de-globalization is characterized by increasing selfishness and protectionism, triggering trade wars, and consequently, disputes over territorial and maritime borders in several countries and regions. Thus, studies on borders and related issues remain relevant and strategic for discussion, research, and publication. National borders are considered the "front yard/window" of a country and are therefore included in the policy priorities. However, some countries exhibit the opposite attitude; thus, the 'front yard becomes the country's back yard.

The dynamics of the research development on state borders are quite interesting because of the unique features and attractiveness, including borders within a country's territory, separated from the main country but included in other nations' territories, by either land or sea. For instance, the Oeccuse (Oekusi) enclave of Timor Leste is located far from Timor Leste's main territory, surrounded by East Nusa Tenggara's Indonesian province. The term 'dependent territory' explains some countries have either land or maritime borders only, and some have both. In contrast, others have no borders due to remote location or exceeding the jurisdictional maritime boundary areas and the Exclusive Economic Zone, thus, facing only the high seas or other territorial free zones. Several countries share borders with more than one country and some even border over 10 countries. Furthermore, numerous interesting stories are often uncovered while researching border areas, including saga stories (told from generation to generation, whether recorded or not) and contemporary stories based on real-life events, due to the mobilization of people, goods, and services. This creates challenges, opportunities, and even potential threats for the countries with shared borders.

Consequently, the border issue is an interesting topic in International relations. Presently, border issues are often associated with territorial conflicts and state sovereignty; therefore, the topic's study is often dominated by traditional security approaches placing the state as the major party. According to findings from the field, the state plays a 'non-existent' role, and this even tends to be 'neglected,' as even though cases have been resolved at the state level, 'clashes' still occur with the decisions/deliberations of 'indigenous people'. Thus, the non-traditional security approach was finally adopted/implemented by the community regarding interpersonal relations, especially human security.

Why can Border Issues intersect with Human Security issues?

Based on the UN General Assembly Resolution, human security is an approach of aiding countries to identify and respond to various challenges, not only for survival but also for other sensitive issues, including the dignity of society and the state. The ultimate goal of human security is to create and maintain peace, stability, as well as sustainable development. In 2004, the UNDP listed 7 components of human security, the economy, food, health, environment, personal, community, and political security. Human security is a unique feature of borders often said to cross between nations.

Dynamics at Indonesia's Land Border and Its Impact on Human Security

The visible dynamics in terms of land borders include: **First**, the several unfinished segments of Indonesia's land border with neighboring countries. Presently, there are at least 2 uncompleted projects, including the border with Malaysia. Furthermore, there are nine other unresolved border problems. The Indonesia-Timor Leste border also some unsurveyed segments along the Timor Tengah Utara-Oecusse borderline. These incomplete state border segments could transform to be the cause of communal conflict, and this often triggers a fight between tribes or between communities located at the border, for instance, competition for farming land or livestock theft by both parties (between citizens) of the dispute. Areas currently prone to communal conflicts include Haumeni Ana, North Central Timor (TTU) bordering Oecusse, and Nelu Hamlet's border in TTU Regency. These conflicts are often triggered by cultural heritage passed down through generations, based on the area's tribe power. Thus, state boundary issues resolved at the international level are not necessarily agreed upon by indigenous people, and these indigenes may also decide to be more submissive to the customary communities, compared to state agreements.

The second dynamic intersecting with human security is the cultural closeness between border communities, triggering cross-border activities, including family visits due to the occurrence of grief/death, weddings, festivals, or traditional celebrations, as well as other traditional trading activities. Interestingly, these activities have been carried out from generation to generation, even before the establishment of an independent and sovereign state. Therefore, after a sovereign state has been formed and each of the bordering countries consent to an international agreement, the state is automatically bound by all the regulations governing the countries partaking in the agreement. Thus, any activities conducted across these territorial borders without valid supporting documents are regarded as illegal, threaten other bordering countries' security/sovereignty, and violate the international agreement. As a result, there is a dilemma between the security approach established by the state to uphold the sovereignty and the socio-cultural aspects, as well as the welfare of people residing around the border, even before the sovereign state was established.

The third dynamic is the limited basic services for residents at the border, including education, health, drinking water, housing, sanitation, and the unequal distribution of available facilities and infrastructure that should have been provided by the state. This means the country has a questionable presence at the border. For instance, limited infrastructure, human resources, particularly professional staff, including teachers, doctors, nurses, midwives, willing to work in remote border areas. Even with the relatively higher salaries compared to non-border / Non-3T (Disadvantaged, Frontier, Outermost) areas, most of Indonesia's young generation remain un-attracted. This eventually forced border areas to be filled by unprofessional labor due to voluntary work. This has influenced the quality of human resources within border communities, generally characterized by underdevelopment and relatively higher poverty levels, compared to the average of the main provinces and the national level.

The fourth dynamic is a closer economic relationship to a neighboring country's commercial center due to limited access to the own country. This is prevalent at the Indonesia-Malaysia land border. Due to the long distance, the good price is more expensive, and only the most

necessities are cheap in proximity areas. This, in turn, triggers a threat to state security, including essential goods smuggling, despite the Indonesian people's subsidized prices at the border from Malaysia. Consequently, Malaysia records a financial loss as these subsidized prices were intended for only Malaysian citizens. Conversely, at the land borders between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea and Timor Leste, citizens of neighboring countries conduct more economic transactions, including health services, in the Indonesian territory. This is because Indonesia is considered relatively cheaper and more advanced than the two countries, which is detrimental to Indonesia and presents threats of good smuggling and sale of illegal goods, including liquor, fuel oil, as well as plantation and livestock products.

Dynamics at Indonesia's Maritime Border and Its Impact on Human Security

The dynamics at Indonesia's maritime borders are also unique and have an impact on human security. **The first issue** is the unfinished delimitation of boundaries. Indonesia presently has unresolved territorial maritime boundary issues with Malaysia and Timor Leste. Meanwhile, the Exclusive Economic Zone boundaries with India, Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam, Papua New Guinea, and Timor Leste are not yet finished. Furthermore, there is a problem with Singapore in the east-Pedra Blanca Island, once disputed over by Malaysia and Singapore in terms of the continental shelf. Negotiations with the Philippines, including with Palau and Timor Leste, are also unfinished. Due to these boundaries' delimitation, fishers from Indonesia trawling the border waters are prone to be arrested by neighboring countries' security forces. For instance, numerous Indonesian fishers have been arrested from Aceh by Thailand, from Tanjung Balai Asahan in North Sumatra by Malaysia, from East Nusa Tenggara fishers by Timor Leste, and in some cases, by the Australian government. On the other hand, Indonesia often sinks boats or arrests crew members proven to have stolen fish from Indonesian waters, especially fishermen from Vietnam and Thailand. These incidents certainly trigger tensions in international relations.

The second dynamic at Indonesia's maritime borders is the high level of poverty, combined with the difficult border surveillance process, due to the length of Indonesia's maritime borders (from India, at the end of the Indian Ocean, to the Arafura Sea in Papua, close to Papua New Guinea and Australia). The maritime borders are wider than the land counterparts; consequently, there is a difficulty in conducting supervision, especially due to Indonesia's minimal capacity, in terms of infrastructure-technology and human resources. Therefore, coastal areas have a high level of poverty. For instance, Rupat Island in the Riau Islands is often used by illegal workers traveling to and from Malaysia by sea. This is a human security issue caused by the illegal traffic at unprotected cross-borders, and defaulters are prone to be arrested by Malaysian security forces when crossing from Indonesia to Malaysia, or vice versa.

The third maritime boundary dynamic is geographic isolation combined with extreme weather, prominent in border areas facing the Pacific Ocean and the South China Sea, characterized by high waves, especially in the north wind seasons. This is also combined with limited public transportation, especially the availability of pioneer ships sailing through small outermost islands on the Indonesian maritime boundary, and stopping at their own territory, after a relatively long cycle time, and in some cases, even once a month. Thus, raising the vulnerability

to shipping risks for residents with urgent needs, requiring ships to sail to other islands with makeshift shipping equipment. As a result, there are frequent sea accidents, including the life-claiming sinking of ships. Furthermore, the maritime highway expedition was initially extremely helpful for fulfilling residents' financial needs in the 3T area; however, these benefits present financial losses for business owners.

Efforts to Manage Human Security Issues

In the communal conflict in Indonesia and Timor Leste's border, conflict resolutions have been conducted through cultural channels, including agreements between tribal leaders within the border area of TTU or North Central Timor, with the enclave of Oecusse in Timor Leste.

In addition, the establishment of border markets and festivals, including cultural activities and sports competitions, is used to strengthen cross-border community relations. Meanwhile, in terms of illegal cross-border activities, Indonesia and several neighboring countries have agreed on a Border Crossing Agreement and a Border Trade Agreement in a bid to facilitate cross-border activities through the issuance of cross-border passes and trade quotas. For instance, residents around the Indonesia-Malaysia land border are allowed to purchase basic needs below 600 Malaysian ringgit per month from neighboring countries.

Numerous efforts have also been made to improve cooperation between countries, both bilaterally and sub-regionally. The Sosek Malindo cooperation (Indonesia-Malaysia) was established to aid bilateral agreements. Meanwhile, for sub-regional cooperation, Indonesia is involved in at least 4 cooperation Initiatives. These are the IMT-GT (Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle), BIMP-EAGA (Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area), TIA–GT (Timor Leste–Indonesia–Australia Growth Triangle); and MSG (Melanesian Spearhead Group).

Indonesia and neighboring countries have also facilitated traditional cross-border posts and Integrated Cross-Border Posts in Entikong, Aruk, Mota'ain in eastern East Nusa Tenggara, and other areas to anticipate the rampant smuggling of prohibited goods and the use of foreign currency by border residents.

Another effort related to human security issues in border fishing vulnerability is the discourse on common fishing ground cooperation for local residents in the border area of Indonesia and Papua New Guinea, allowing these fishermen to catch fish even in the marine territories of neighboring countries, within an agreed distance.

Also, maritime border patrols are carried out regularly to overcome the rampant cross-border irregular migrant traffic. However, this does not tackle the root of the problem of a relatively high poverty rate and inadequate decent job opportunities. Overcoming these two factors ought to be prioritized. This is possible by implementing policies for reopening cross-border ferry routes and allowing pioneer ships to sail on a regular and routine basis. These policies help increase the mobility of goods, people, and services, thus developing people's prosperity.

Indonesia, together with Malaysia, the Philippines, Palau, Papua New Guinea, and Timor Leste, has also conducted cooperation of the Coral Triangle Initiative on Coral Reefs, Fisheries, and Food Security (CTI-CFF), in a bid to prevent threats to the major source of livelihood source for border community residents due to excessive exploitation of marine resources.

Reflections on the Management of Human Security Issues at the Indonesian Border

First, sovereignty at the border is maintained through security and prosperity approaches and even combined with the environmental approach regarding the Triangle Coral Reefs' cooperation. Also, Indonesia could not handle functional human security issues unilaterally but by collaboration with neighboring countries.

Furthermore, there is a need to directly involve local communities in managing border issues, especially human security, and this needs to start from the planning stage. Failure to do so tends to cause the perspective of "border issue management being beneficial to only Jakarta, not to residents of the border areas, as the daily challenges faced are not being resolved."

Besides, the management must recognize and respect border communities' history and culture because strong cultural and historical relationships are an important capital for building social resilience in Indonesian border communities. This is also in accordance with Article 36 of the 2007 UN declaration on the rights of indigenous people, stating indigenous peoples separated by international borders have the right to maintain and promote contact and cooperation in spiritual, cultural, political, economic, and social activities.

Lastly, the protection and development of all Indonesian border areas is an eternal task for each nation's citizens, not just for the government and residents in border areas. These residents have the same rights to human welfare and security as other citizens living outside the border, including advances in information-technology, ease of health services, education, and access to the mobilization of capital, people, goods, and services. ***