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Nationalism in Border Community:
Temajuk, Sambas District, West
Kalimantan, Indonesia. by Iva Rachmawati

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<https://eudl.eu/pdf/proceedings/ISET/2019>**paper text:**

Nationalism in Border Community: Temajuk, Sambas District, West Kalimantan, Indonesia. Abstract The low level of nationalism is one of the issues that often occur

17in the border region, including the Indonesian border in Kalimantan

. This issue arises because border areas tend to be underdeveloped areas, with low development and facilities. The lack of state attention to border communities is a claim for people's disloyalty towards the state. National border violations and illegal trade then become an indicator of the low nationalism of border communities. This research attempts to see how the border communities in Temajuk built their attachment to their living environment to reinterpret the national border communities. In doing so,

18this study uses a descriptive-qualitative approach. Data

collections are from document tracking and interviews with local district/village officers, BPPD officers, border military guards, and several residents in Temajuk. The finding indicated that bonding and emotional experience encourage citizens to remain committed to being Indonesian citizens even though neighboring countries have better development and prosperity levels. On the contrary, nationalism promotes a stronger territorial awareness, which then encourages the pro border welfare policies. Keywords: Nationalism, Border, Place Attachments, Emotional Bonding, Territorial Awareness. Introduction Nationalism is one of Indonesia's border issues, especially on the Kalimantan border (Indonesia- Malaysia border). The other border issues that often appear in Indonesia- Malaysia border are illegal logging, illegal trade, illegal farming, and border violations. The point of nationalism often appears on borders because boundaries

8are not only "visible lines" in space or on a map. They are also complex social constructions, with many different meanings and functions imposed on them (Haselsberger 2014). The theoretical critique of

John Agnew, a political geographer, points out a critical dimension to what he calls 'territorial traps' or a state-centered perspective where the perspective puts the state's territorial boundaries as limiting subjects. ?
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Territorial traps rest

6on three assumptions: sovereignty, security, and the political life of a modern state require limited territorial space. Second, there is a fundamental conflict between the internal and the external of a country. Third, the territorial state functions as a geographical vessel for a modern society whose state boundaries coincide with boundaries formed by political and social processes. This thinking

shows

16that the world is composed of a delimited and mutually exclusive

territory with its own collective identity. Thus, the main contours of society are to coincide with state boundaries (Paasi 2009:6-7).

5According to the "liberal" paradigm, states are not the only, and sometimes not even the main political actors, and the primary function of state borders is to ensure contacts between the neighboring countries and facilitate their interaction. Hence the need for a speedy resolution of border conflicts and the comprehensive development of transborder

infrastructure (Sevastianov et al. I., 2015:39). States are not the only political actors who draw the boundary. The border would be very dynamic, depending on the border resident's interaction and perception (Markuszezowska et al. I., 2016; Kurowska-Pysz and Szczepa'nska- Woszczyna, 2017). Their ease of activity and prosperity also determine the determination of the border. Thus, the state borders' primary function

15is to ensure contacts between neighboring countries and facilitate their

interactions (Sevastianov. et al. 2015:39). The liberal views of borders underline the importance of developing border areas to promote border residents' welfare. The low development in border areas affects

community welfare could resulting in low nationalism among the border community. The issue of low nationalism in the border community also drives vulnerability in the Indonesia-Malaysia border conflict. Indonesians quickly suspect Malaysians as the leading cause of the low nationalism on Indonesia borders communities because of Malaysian social policies towards border residents. Malaysia provides education and health facilities for border residents in Indonesia if they are willing to have a Malaysian ID card. Meanwhile, the condition of the Indonesia- Malaysia border in Kalimantan is still inferior was the road. Access is still minimal, and other public facilities such as electricity, health, schools, and communications. The situation is undoubtedly a compassionate matter for Indonesia and very easy to trigger disputes. Referring to Hertz in Taniredja (2013:199), nationalism as an ideology plays three functions: binding on all classes of citizens, uniting the nation's mentality, and strengthening citizens' influence towards policies taken by the state. Nationalism is an adhesive tool for social cohesion

7to maintain the existence of the state and nation. Thus, **the** issue of **nationalism** becomes crucial in

the border region. Low nationalism is the same as thin social cohesion that can threaten the integrity of the country. Meanwhile, Snyder (1964) stated that "Nationalism is a condition of mind, feeling, or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area, speaking a common language, professing a literature in which the aspirations of the nation have been expressed, being attached to the common traditions, and, in some cases, having a common origin." Several studies have shown that the backwardness and the lack of state's pro-border welfare policy are the leading causes of these problems. Rizki and Merdekawati (2016) firmly stated that the lack of public facilities and road access could injure morality and destroy border nationalism. While the research of M. Safitri (2013) with the sample of the Badau community (West Kalimantan, Indonesia) shows the emergence of a "new identity," which is quite alarming for the existence of Indonesianness and the nationality of the Badau community. The weak role and dysfunction of the state and the community's high dependence on neighboring countries have led to the emergence of new norms that are more "practical" and relevant in residents' daily lives. The state's weak role on the border community impacts the reduction of Badau residents' identity as Indonesians. In their daily lives, according to these records, the Badau people not only tend to underestimate the rules set by the state but also do not really care about their nationality and do not even show pride as part of Indonesia citizens. The way Badau shows their nationality explained by Abdullah and Sari (2014) through identity construction, which is used interchangeably according to their needs. The huge dependence on Malaysia and the lack of development has encouraged the Badau community to be pragmatic. Although finding nationalism that is still considered both in terms of politics and ideology, Mansyah's (2017) research is also concerned about the fading of Sanggau's nationalism if the government does not immediately present through policy the border to foster awareness of nationalism. According to Anderson (2001: 214-215), the lower sense of belonging and togetherness caused low nationalism. The absence of pro-border community policy and public facilities, unfortunately commonly found in Indonesia, was the leading cause of the common sense of belonging in the border area. In general, border areas in Indonesia are still underdeveloped and far from government policies. The security approach has limited the state's perspective in managing border areas. However, Skeldon (1999) argues that border conditions have different characteristics and it is crucial to understand local border strategies through the level of ethnic and cultural similarities among people at the border. For border residents, interactions such as

11cross-border trade, smuggling, labor migration, socializing, and visiting friends and relatives on the opposite side are **the main** characteristics **of** their daily transnational **life**

. And this is not related to loyalty to the nation. That's how they live their everyday life. Temajuk Village, West Kalimantan also experienced a high dependence on Malaysia and low development. The isolation and inequality with the neighboring village in Malaysia and Temajuk Village (the border village which covers Camar Bulan area) residents often suspected of not having strong nationalism towards their country and preferring to become a Malaysian citizen. The accusation occurs when issues arise, and local governments begin to expose the conditions of their area. The absence of roads, the lack of electricity, and schools until 2011 seemed to be the right reason. In an interview with the Regent of Sambas in April 2019, he explained that the issue of annexation was a blessing. A number of the central political elite began to visit and promised better development. The construction of the Paloh-Temajuk road started in 2011, and the electricity constructions and senior high schools. Besides developing public facilities by the central government, several private tourism investments built Temajuk as the new tourist destination. This article aims to see how the border communities in Temajuk built their attachment to their living environment to reinterpret border communities' nationalism. Method The study used a qualitative approach to understand the nationalism amongst residents who live along the border area. The research collected data from field observations and interviews with local officers in Temajuk Village and local officers in Paloh District who understand the border area's situation. The study conducted interviews with several residents in Temajuk who did the illegal trade and illegal farming in the conflict area. The reason for these residents is vital to understand how they interpret their citizenship and nationalism. Data also collected from secondary resources, such as annual reports and relevant journals. All data is categorized according to the relevant topics analyzed descriptively. Temajuk Village Temajuk Village is a village in

1Paloh District, Sambas Regency, West Kalimantan Province. Together with the **other** two other **villages**

, namely Maludin and Sempadan, Temajuk is an isolated area because of the lack of public facilities such as roads, electricity, transportation, and communication. The remote condition has made Temajuk Village residents count if they want to go to Paloh District or Sambas Regency to get their basic needs or trade. Road access that is not feasible makes it difficult for them to reach other areas. To get to the district area, residents need 3 hours if the weather is not raining and the road is dry. The residents must pass the beach to reach other places before the government built the road. They must wait for the sea to recede to cross the coast. And if the vehicle is damaged, they can only wait for help from residents who pass by. The residents' difficulties in obtaining basic needs and selling their products such as rubber and pepper encouraged residents to get several essential commodities such as rice, sugar, oil, flour, and gas and pulses from Malaysia. The border residents Basic could obtain needs and social facilities from Malaysia, such as health and education services. It is not uncommon for Indonesians to find work in Malaysia, such as farmers and carpenters. The situation happens because conditions in Malaysia are far better than in border areas in Indonesia. They have better public facilities like roads, communication, electricity, education, and health facilities. The Malaysian government also provides subsidies for several basic needs, and Indonesian citizens also enjoy these subsidies because they shop for necessities from Kampong Telok Melano Village in Malaysia. Temajuk Village is directly adjacent to Kampong Telok Melano Village in Sarawak, Malaysia. The condition of the village is almost the same, isolated. The residents must go by sea if they want to leave the village. Residents even need up to 8 hours from the Sematan Pier in Lundu to reach Kampong Telok Melano Village. However, in 2015, through the Sarawak Pan Borneo Highway Project, excellent road access was built from Lundu in Sarawak to Kampong Telok Melano Village. The residents do not have to go by sea. Kampong Telok Melano Village has become a tourist destination that is crowded with Malaysians because the road access from Sarawak to Telok Melano Village has been well built. Unfortunately, the opposite condition found Temajuk village

1 became the traditional village based on Regent Decree Number 186 dated June 5, 2002

. However, for better welfare, the community can explore many natural potentials. The existing forest land reaches approximately 1,550 ha, currently producing honey bees is quite adequate. Dryland comes an area of 1,000 ha. On this land, residents planted it with rubber, coconut, taro, peanuts, fruits (bananas, watermelons, durians, and many others.). The coastal land in the Temajuk Village is approximately 26 km long, which produces fish, lobster shrimp, jellyfish, and baby turtles (Huruswati et al., 2012). Temajuk village is inhabited by 557 households spread in Temajuk Village with 252 families (45.2 percent). In Maludin Village, there are 158 families (28.4 percent) and 147 families in Sempadan Village or 26.4 percent (Temajuk village office 2015). Most (85.65%) of the population work as farmers (especially pepper farmers), and a small number become fishermen (Temajuk Village Office 2015). Unfortunately, this potential has not been followed by adequate infrastructure. The electricity supply has not been able to serve all residents in Temajuk. Electricity only lights up from 06:00 pm until 06:00 am (Yunando and Sutriyatna, 2018). In recent years, residents have started to get electricity from 04.00 pm (Herlin, local officer, in-depth interview, March 2019). Thus, village services can start earlier. Likewise, the road as the primary access for residents to carry out economic activities has not been well developed. In 2012, the government built a 47 km road facility with 8 meters to connect Temajuk Village with Paloh District. But until April 2019, the road has not been completed. It is dusty during the dry season and becomes muddy until it is difficult to pass in the rainy season. However, the unfinished road contributes positively to Temajuk residents because they don't need to cross the coast and wait for the tides to reach Paloh District. But still, the residents usually do not dare to go to Paloh District in the rainy season. If the situation forced them to go, residents must prepare 300-400 thousand rupiah to anticipate if the motorcycle breaks down or gets other obstacles such as overnight on the beach (news.detik.com, 2012). Until the research was carried out, the road had not been finished yet. However, this condition was better than before because Temajuk Village residents had to wait for the tide to recede to reach the coast to contact Paloh District. There was a conflict area between Indonesia and Malaysia at Camar Bulan, which consisting of 1499 ha. The place mentioned was

1 bordered by hooks number A.88 – A.156 and known as enclave Camar Bulan. The borderline point

1 had been made in 1976 and was profoundly studied for two years by Indonesia

. Then, the borderline point

1 was agreed in the MoU of the year 1978. The MoU is then brought into an issue when the watershed method

could not found the borderline. The failure of watershed methods became the reason for Indonesia to review the agreement to be canceled

1 due to a fundamental circumstance reason that referred to article 62 verse 1 of VCLT 1969. Figure 1. here **The**

3 agreement of borderline area (particular **for enclave Camar Bulan**) **was administered again in 2011 by a team that consists of the Domestic Affair Ministry, Foreign Affair Ministry, Mabes TNI (the Headquarter of Indonesian Arm Force), and Geospatial Information Board. The meeting**

discussed determining the territorial demarcation in Tanjung Datu (Camar Bulan A.88 – A.156).

1 Besides, they also hold a coordination meeting on the minister's **level**

in the

1 Ministry of Coordinator of Politic, Law, and Security led by the Minister of Coordinator of Politics, Law, and Security on October 20, 2011. This meeting mostly **talked about the problem that** happens **in Tanjung Datu. The** session concludes **that**

demarcation based on borderline determined using watershed that was managed by

1 a joint survey in 1976 and repeated in 1978 indicates **an identical result**

. Therefore, one side (Indonesia) cannot cancel the MoU 1978. The 2011 negotiation caused Malaysia's annexation of Indonesia's territory and proved the poor coordination between central and local government. On the other side, the resident disappointed because their residential area becomes narrow. The distance between the outer border of Temajuk Village and the coastal line is only 700 meters in 2019. The coastal abrasion was not immediately tackled by the government and continued to erode the land. The country's indifference was responded to by the resident of Temajuk by illegal farming known as group 31. Illegal farming became an essential point for understanding nationalism in the border area, especially in Temajuk Village. Place Attachment and Nationalism. To understand how territorial nationalism among the resident, this research uses the place attachment concept that explains the bonds between citizens and the place where they live. The idea also describes how the attachment could stimulate territorial awareness, which drives the better development for the living area. Place attachment refers

2 to the emotional impact of one place that people are attracted to by emotional and cultural bonds. Place attachment is a symbolic relationship with the place formed by giving the emotional meanings and common sense

to a particular area and explaining how people perceive places and how they relate to them (Altman and Low, 1992

: Stedman, 2003). The emotional bond that grows between people and their place of residence, according to Hashemnezhad et al. (2012), is also encouraged because the area

is meaningful and significant to people. The site has a unique identity and character to the users via its beloved symbols. Identifying with the place's goals: in this level, people integrated with the area; moreover

, their destinations

are recognizable. The users are also delighted with these goals; hence they have a deep attachment to the

sites. The active role in that place can measure the involvement of people with a location.

They would like to invest in their resources such as money, time, or talent in the place's activities. Therefore, the

attachment would affect the attitude, and

this stage is mainly through the people's real manners

. Hashemnezhad et al. (2012) argue that five things encourage bonds between people and places of residence. They are physical, social, cultural, memory and experience, and personal factors. The physical condition binds the people who live in it because they are used to it. Apart from physical conditions, social situations are a strong enough binding. It could say that even when the physical condition does not provide sufficient access and facilities but, social factors play a more significant influence. Many

researchers believe that place attachment is based on people participation, social network engagement, and cultural interactions. These are more important than physical condition. Place attachment develops with positive interaction, and social compatibility in place and place attachment power

directly relates to these communication power and rates. At the same time, culture provides a strong foundation for bonds between people and shelter, where places are an essential part of cultural activity. What is difficult to bargain for is the fourth factor, memory, and experience. This factor makes people so bound because memory and experience build specific meaning for someone in a short time. "

4All people experienced being in a place, respecting it and concern about the lack of such things. Comprehensible and meaningful places are appropriate to support values, personal memories, and feelings rely on them. Place identity has close relations with personal identity, that "I am here" means "I am existing" (Madanipour

in Yazdanfar et.al. 2013). Reflections of this feeling

2about people and places they remember because the site within area takes place

every one experienced differently (Marcus, 1992). The last one is personal factors.

2People select and attach places to their conscious tendencies that result from personal characteristics and factors. Individualism is more important factor in social orientation and how to develop intimacy of social communication that is known as mental identities based on initial tendencies. Place

4identity develops in direct experience of physical environment, therefore it's a reflection of place social and cultural aspects and play important role in growing personal character" (Walmesley, 1988

). Physical conditions are not the only main factor that attaches people to their place of residence and is the only measure to assess people's ties to a place.

9It was evident in the interplay of affects and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviors and actions (Prohansky et al., 1983

). There are several other factors that bind a person to the place where he lives that is able to grow the awareness he has. Place attachment offers a view of nationalism in a slightly different way on border areas. Mainly the borders in postcolonial countries that generally split different ethnicities and divided the same ethnicity (Tirtosudarmo, 2005, 1). State

12borders do not always follow the dividing line between different cultural areas, languages, ethnic groups, or economic units

(Lapian, 2009; cf. Ulaen et al., 2012: 61). In other words, a state border can separate a culture into two different political entities. The state boundaries in these different postcolonial states differ from those in

European countries, giving rise to several state territorial boundaries similar to those of ethnic groups. Thus, nationalism is congruent with the same cultural ties. Kamenka (in Kamenka ed., 1973: 8-9) states that the general understanding of nationalism was obtained from the French Revolution which placed citizens' loyalty and loved to their nation through their ties to the state. Likewise,

10 **Kleinpenning and & Hagendoorn (1993), Coenders (2001), and Lactheva (2010) use nationalism to see the romantic phenomenon of nationalism and chauvinism in European countries**

. This understanding is not sufficient to explain nationalism in border areas. Nationalism at the borders of postcolonial countries shows a different practice from the national spirit constructed by the state. Anderson (1983) reminded that nationalism is more concerned

7 **with consciousness, and it is an imaginary construction of the unity of community that is well known as a nation**

. On the border, the ties that exist on border do not always grow in line with state borders. It grows along with cultures and tribes that often cross national borders. Thus, the construction of ties made by the state must go hand in hand with cultural and tribal ties on the border. Dedess's (2015) research on border communities in the Batam Islands shows that the nationalism that grows within them is 'split' by mutual ties and closeness under the Malay umbrella, which can defeat the power of the state and territory ideology that separates border communities, both Indonesia, Singapore, and Malaysia. Likewise, Munandar's research (2017) regarding the Indonesian- Malaysian border community at the border live as Dayaks or Malay. Their non-participation in the formation of the state and many local policies encouraged strengthening their Malay or Dayak identity, whose ties across national borders. Thus, Physical, social, cultural, memory and experience, and personal factors, according to Hashemnezhad et al. (2012), establish a different nationalism on the border where nationalism intertwines with cultural and ethnic ties. The place attachment through personal bonding of long experience of social, cultural, and physical environment could be found from the number of in-depth interviews with several residents and local officers. First, the physical limitations are often the reason for the low nationalism. However, the place of residence's difficulty can foster attachment between the residents and the place itself. Physical limitations caused by the difficulty of access do not prevent them from settling down because the natural resources offer more than they can get in other areas. Muhid, a transmigrant from Mojokerto, said he was quite happy at Temajuk because the current conditions were far better than the conditions in Mojokerto. Even raw foods are easily obtained at affordable prices (buy from Kampong Telok Melano Village, Malaysia) (<https://www.jpnn.com>. October 2011). Although access to the other West Kalimantan region is challenging to reach from Temajuk, access to Malaysia is effortless. They can sell their crops to Malaysia and buy their needs from Malaysia. There have not been strict rules regarding cross border activities in Temajuk-Kampong Telok Melano. It only needs an ID card to enter the border state. The offer of better public facilities in Malaysia is one of the main factors of suspicion or opposing views on national identity. However, public facilities turned out not to be the sole consideration of the residents to release their nationalities, but social factors were considered. There is a perception of social discomfort in the community to become Malaysian citizens. "Oh, belum tentu. Bibi saya udah warga negara di sana, katanya dilihat orang lebih enak kita merasakan lebih sakit tapi dia ndak mau bilang. Rupanya lebih sakit di sana, katanya. Kita ndak tau peraturannya di sana seperti apa. Tapi saya kalo pribadi saya ndak mau. Udah lama tinggal sini lah". ("Oh, not necessarily. My aunt is already a Malaysia citizen, she said it might be seen better by other people but actually what she felt was more painful but she didn't want to say

the reason. Apparently more painful to be there. We don't know what kind of rules are like there. But I don't want it personally. It's been a long time here".) (Herlin, in-depth interviewed, March 2019). Even though the natural conditions are bad, residents are already familiar with the situation. Thus, natural conditions are not the main factor in eroding the nationalism of border residents. Trading and shopping basic needs in Malaysia are not the reason for not having nationalism as many people think. What these people do is only driven by a rational choice with the consideration of convenience. Distances, costs, and facilities require them to choose Malaysia over Indonesia to fulfill their basic needs. In-depth interviews with residents show these arguments. They do not see other reason than practicality and normal thing to do. Meanwhile, place attachment also built-in in line with interactions that have run positively among border communities. They can resolve the problems between border residents quickly without local government involvement directly. Regular visits conducted by local officers build a supportive situation. The

1 former head of Paloh municipality, Usman, stated that the hospitality visitation held in order to keep the good relationship between the two states

: "Maka saya untuk menghilangkan konflik-konflik ini saya muhibah dengan tumenggungnya, imigresennya, termasuk TNI nya pokoknya muhibahlah. Untuk Tanjung Datu ini saya muhibah dengan dia di Melano saya kesana dengan rombongan. Nggak masalahlah saya muhibah kesana. Kalo di Sajingan memang saya lakukan muhibah dengan rombongan dari kabupaten makanya agak aman". ("So I, in order to diminish the conflicts, I pay a visit with the chief, immigration staff, including the army staff, for hospitality. For Tanjung Datu, I pay a muhibah visit in Melano. I went there in-group. It is not a problem for me to pay a visit. For Sajingan, I do a muhibah visit in-group, so it was safer) (Usman, The former Paloh District Head, In-depth interviewed, at Kampong Telok Keramat, March 2019). Social convenience is another key to the community's attachment to their place of residence. Village officials build this social convenience through hospitality visits through informal meetings. They used to call this "muhibah." The "muhibah" is very useful in solving problems that occur among citizens, such as family problems and social problems. Through muhibah," they can also solve cross-border issues such as illegal logging, illegal trade, even drug smuggling and other violation of national borders, at the lowest level. Border issues are often considered a significant problem by those who do not live on the border. However, for those who live on the border, border problems are not as big as people imagine because they can quickly solve them through the personal relation and particular mechanisms they have. "Hubungan personal yang dimiliki akan sangat membantu karena orang-orang ini tidak merasa berbeda mereka merasa bertetangga mereka merasa bersaudara, biasa saja mereka saling main ke sini ini main ke sini mereka pinjam ke sini. Ada pernikahan antar negara ada perkelahan anak muda. Ya biasalah main bola, ejek ejek olok- olok .. mereka tidak merasa mereka orang lain. Yang begitu begitu ini masak iya mau diselesaikan di tingkat nasional. Ya biarkan saja selesai di akar rumput ... melalui lobby kopi di kantor camat " ("Personal relationships are constructive because these people do not feel different. They feel like neighbors, feel like siblings, usually play here, and borrow something here. There are marriages between countries, and there is a fight between teenagers because of football competition. They are taunting ... teasing ... they do not feel like they are someone else. Those are not necessarily solved at the national level. Yes, let it finish at the grassroots, through the coffee lobby in the sub-district office"). (Uray Willy, District Officers in Sambas, In-depth interviewed, at Sambas, March 2019). Emotional bonding, which determines by cultural practices, supports the border community in social problem-solving. The Temajuk people are widely ethnic Malays. Malay culture is practiced without constraints in their daily lives, even though several Java residents live in the area. They also share the same culture, which is practiced by the Kampong Telok Melano residents in Malaysia. Malay cultural practices can be found in traditional ceremonies such as weddings. Malay values also become a bridge for both countries' citizens to interact with each other both in social and economic relations. Indeed, they are in the same kinship. The ease in this cultural practice eventually delivers attachment between the border resident to their

place. Personal memories and experiences are other strong bonds for citizens to live. The resident, who is more than 20 years old, still have memories of difficulties they face in Temajuk. However, difficulties have uniquely become a common bond. The common bond appears because the difficulties encourage them to help each other. When the rainy season comes, they need each other's to fulfill the basic needs. They must save rice and other staples because it is difficult for them to get out of Temajuk Village during the rainy season. If one of the residents runs out of rice, then others will help. Likewise, they must help each other if someone is stuck on the beach because the motorcycle is broken or even carried out by the sea. They do rely on one another. On the contrary, they have no sense of togetherness to several villagers who left their village to find a better condition. "Susah lah sekalilah waktu itu. Kalo motor bocor mana ada bengkel di pantai. Ya kita tungguilah sampai ada yang jemput. Kalo ndak ada ya digotong ... sakit kita jalan di pantai, belum lewat muara sungai. Wuih luar biasa. Sampai banyak orang pindah dari Temajuk. Tapi begitu Temajuk maju orang pada balik ... mana tanahku dulu? Kita sakit- sakit disini, mereka yang disana datang cari tanahnya disini". ("It is hard at that time. There no motorcycle repair shop on the beach if the motorcycle was broken. Yes, we wait until someone picks up. If no one carried it ... we are sore on the beach, not yet through the river mouth. It is amazing. Until many people moved from Temajuk, we still facing difficult access. However, as soon as Temajuk stepped forward, the resident who had left Temajuk backs again ... and ask, where was my land first? We are sick here, but those who left just comeback and looking for the land they have left behind"). (Ibrahim, local resident, in-depth interviewed, Camar Bulan, March 2019). Personal factors that differ from one another also influence the ties between residents and their places of residence. However, this research found that the border communities' character used to physical limitations and inequality development did not significantly influence the low level of territorial bonds or territorial awareness. Andriana (2015) also confirmed this by stating that citizens and local officials deeply understood their obligation to maintain their people's integrity and honor. The citizen and local officials show their opinion and attitudes towards the annexation of Indonesia territory by Malaysia. The disappointment over the 2011 agreement that gave Camar Bulan enclave to Malaysia encouraged residents and local officers to show their different opinion. The agreement has

1 not been ratified by the Indonesia House of Representatives

yet (until 2019). However, the border area's condition, which is threatened by abrasion and the lack of local officials' involvement in border issues, has stimulated them

1 to take a different attitude toward the central government. The

local official used the Camar Bulan annexation issue (DetikNews, 2011, TribunNews.com, 2011) to attract central government attention to provide better development policies for the border region. The situation was well understood by Sambas Regency's government (

1 Usman, The former Paloh District Head, in-depth interviewed, at Kampong Telok Keramat, March 2019

). The Head of the Regional Secretariat of Sambas also confirmed that the central government only pays attention to turmoil. "Jika bisa saya jelaskan sedikit, kabupaten kami senang akan ribut-ribut itu, Kalo bisa maka bikin ribut terus saja. Kenapa? Karena kalo adem ayem pemerintah pusat tidak peduli. Iya, artinya kita bikin bergejolak semacam itu. Contohnya kemaren, ketika Malaysia tanpa sepengetahuan Indonesia, mendirikan mercusuar di wilayah Indonesia dan Indonesia tidak tahu. Di jaman canggih ini kan lucu? Mana

logikanya, kok orang Indonesia tidak tahu. Sudah berdiri mercusuar itu, kamana petugas kita? Saya malah menyarankan pasang sekalian bendera Malaysia biar ribut. Supaya ada perhatian pemerintah pusat. Kalo engga, tidak dipedulikan. Mana siapa yang mau peduli kalo ngga ribut-ribut? Ngga peduli pak, bu. Jadi memang perlu ada hal-hal semacam itu supaya pusat juga melihat ke daerah perbatasan yang perlu diperhatikan" (If I explained, our district would be happy about the fuss. If possible, we would keep making noise. Why? Because if everything looks OK, the central government does not care. For example, when Malaysia built a lighthouse in Indonesia territory, and no Indonesian officers notice. Isn't it funny? How come Indonesia border officers do not know. Where are they? Instead of building a lighthouse, I suggest pairs of Malaysian flags. So there is attention from the central government. Who would care if there was no fuss? So there need to be such things so that the central government also looks at border areas.". (Uray Tadjudin, the Head of Regional Secretariat of Sambas, in-depth interviewed, Sambas, March 2019). In addition to using the annexation issue, local officials also deliberately mobilized residents to cultivate land in the disputed area, Camar Bulan Enclave. Manto Saidi, former BPPD (Badan Pengelola Perbatasan Daerah/ Local Border Management Agency)

1 head, stated that the effort to manage the empty fields is a way to show that residents have a high motivation to manage the borderline area. At least, this will attract the central government's attention

to be more careful with the farmers (Manto Saidi, Former BPPD head officer, in-depth interviewed, Pontianak March 2019). In 2017, there was the case of group 31. Group 31 is 31 Temajuk residents/farmers who did illegal farming on Camar Bulan enclave (according to the 2011 Memorandum of Understanding between Indonesia and Malaysia, this area belongs to Malaysia). They planted rubber, pepper, banana, and several other food crops. According to the perpetrators' recognition, they were initially skeptical. However, because there was support from local officials and military members at that time, they were willing to open land.. " ... lalu ada Danton tu datang pak Saiful dari Jogja, jadi saya koordinasi dengan beliau, beliau bilang jika masih satu kilo tiga ratus kesana. Jadi kalo saya bikin rumah ndak masalah. Jadi saya bikin. Pas ada aplusan baru ni, sesudah beberapa bulan saya ditanya, bapak kok berani bikin rumah sini ni. Ini kan tanah Malaysia? ... Ya kalo yang mau bongkar orang Malaysia ya ndak ada masalah ya kan tanah mereka tapi kalo orang kita ..(ragu) tapi ya udahlah. Saya jelaskan Danton yang dulu begini begini .. jadi saya ndak merasa bersalah". ("... then there came Danton (military officer), Mr. Saiful from Jogja, so I coordinated with him. He asked if there was more than one kilo three hundred from Malaysia. So if I make a house, it does not matter. So I made it. After a few months, when there was a new border military officer, I was asked, why you dare to build a house here? This is Malaysia territory. Yes, if Malaysians want to dismantle my house, it is okay because this is their territory. However, if Indonesian want to dismantle ... (hesitate). Never mind. I explain to Danton that it used to be like this ... so I do not feel guilty ". (Rachmad, local resident, in-depth interview, Camar Bulan, March 2019). In 2017, the Sarawak government, Malaysia, asked residents to clear and leave their fields. Through informal negotiations between local officials of both countries, they agreed to wait until the harvest time. Thus, the policy will not disadvantage the farmers. The Sambas government also promised to assist 100 kg for each family who lost their fields in the Camar Bulan enclave. From interviews conducted with several farmers in group 31 and local officers, they already knew that the ownership of the area they planted was unclear. The reason that they gave in the interviews was straightforward, "It is very unfortunate if the land is not cultivated by the Malaysian, then we just have to cultivate it" (residents, in-depth interview, Temajuk, March 2019). They do not know that the land was protected forests, so Malaysia does not cultivate it. At the same time, Usman claims that managing land for basic needs rather than commercial needs is not a problem. "Kalo Malaysia ndak ada. Jauh dia karena rakyatnya pun ndak mau tinggal di hutan kecuali rakyat kita. Banyak rakyat kita di sana. Kenapa? Ya karena iu harus kita kuasai. Artinya kita mau mengelola itu, yang ndak boleh kan mbakar ngrusak. Penduduk kita ini kan cari makan, hak asasi manusia.

Kalo ngrusak apalagi untuk bisnis dijual jual na itu ndak boleh. Kalo untuk berkebun tinggal disitu ndak masalah." Malaysia is not there (There are not Malaysian citizens living in the Camar Bulan enclave). They live far from the area because they do not want to live in the forest except our people (Indonesian). Many of our citizens live in that area. Why? Yes, because we have to master it. That means we want to manage it, not to burn or destroy the area. Our citizens are looking for food, and it has guaranteed human rights. If they damage the area or use the area for business purposes, it is not allowed, but gardening is no problem". (

1 Usman, the former Paloh District Head, in- depth interviewed, **at Kampong Telok Keramat, March 2019**

). Nationalism at the Indonesia-Malaysia border shows a different face from nationalism in general in Europe. As one kin, the citizens of the two countries have emotional closeness. Coupled with economic imbalances, it is not uncommon for Indonesians to depend on the Malaysian government's economic support. However, place attachment encourages border residents to show their nationalism differently. The place attachment pushes the border community to have territorial awareness. Territorial awareness is community awareness to guard and maintain the place they live. This kind of awareness brings them to a situation where they have to take different approaches towards the central government to protect and maintain their place. Although it does not seem like nationalism in general, their efforts to take advantage of border issues are, in fact, able to encourage the central government to give better attention through pro border policy. By utilizing the border issues, the attention of the central government had increased. In 2011, the central government built a roadway that connects Temajuk village and the sub district's capital in Paloh. In the same year, they also built the electricity and communication facilities. Many

1 central government officers and nongovernment organizations **came to** Temajuk **with a promise to give more attention and develop the village of** Temajuk. **In 2012, 13 ministries gave aid through the National Program of Integrated Village Development Movement (Program Pandu Gerbang Kampung) and the Poverty Resolution Program for the State's Border Area (Pronankis). The aid as much as Rp. 20 billion for Program Pandu Gerbang and Rp 200 billion for Pronankis are expected to free Sambas from isolation (TribunBengkayang.com., 2012). Temajuk also becomes one of the destinations for many universities to do their students' service programs like Tanjung Pura University, Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta Muhammadiyah, and Pembangunan Nasional University. Besides, the arrival of some private investors has supported Camar Bulan to be a new tourism destination**

. They built some resorts and adventure tourism package. Now, Camar Bulan becomes a new tourism destination that offers the beauty of the West Kalimantan coast. Conclusion Nationalism shows its different faces on the border. Place attachment built by personal ties delivers attitudes that are in favor of territorial awareness. That is, a resident bond with a place produces nationalism that does not merely follow central policy but rather an effort to bargain for policies that are pro border policy. Isolation and inequality do not positively correlate with the common territorial bonds and territorial awareness in Temajuk Village. Social and cultural factors, memory and experience, and personal factors give a significant contribution to territorial bonds. The dependence of residents to Malaysia was more a pragmatic attitude that emerges from their

backwardness and isolation. On the other side, the territorial awareness emerged from a difficult situation demonstrated by locals to attract central government attention to carry out better development in the border area. They have also pushed the government to support the tourism development in Temajuk Village because tourism can be a good strategy for sustainable development in the border area. The state's territorial awareness should have been welcomed positively by more involving local officers and residents on border issues. Togetherness in overcoming border problems can improve the bond between the state and citizens. More than that, the pro-border policies will increase respect to the state and citizen compliance.

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