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RETHINKING OF INDONESIA BORDER DIPLOMACY

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Abstract Indonesia's border diplomacy has always been within the framework of security issues. Security issues still see borders as separating borders rather than connecting bridges. As a result, the perception of state security often ignored the socio-economic problems that exist at the border. Security issues also place borders in the realm of the state or central government; as a result, there is often a miscoordination between the center and the regions and public misperceptions of the situation of the border, border management, and the country's border areas. This unfavorable situation requires rethinking the theoretical foundation of border diplomacy by fostering collaboration between traditional diplomacy and new diplomacy. The enormous influence of globalization is the basis of the shift in the approach to border diplomacy. The issue of security and the realm of the state cannot confine the border diplomacy concept. This article proposes border diplomacy as a joint effort of both the state and non-state actors in managing border management to achieve harmony between bordering states without ignoring sovereignty.

Keywords: Border Diplomacy, State and Non-State Actors, Border Management, Harmony.

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia border diplomacy organized towards Malaysia has so far been carried out at the state level dominated by the central government. The issue of national borders is one of the sensitive issues between Malaysia Malaysia in addition to labor issues and cultural claims issues. These issues often cause negative sentiments from the public of the two countries, which disturb the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Malaysia. The issue of Sipadan Ligitan, Ambalat, Camar Bulan, and Tanjung Datu brought the Indonesia-Malaysia to a bad relationship. Netwar took place on the Ambalat issue in 2005 between the two, and the problem of Sipadan-Ligitan still being a memory of loss to the public in Indonesia. The Tanjung Datu and Camar Bulan issues throughout 2011-2017 were marked by misinformation that gave birth to an unsupportive public response to Malaysia's bilateral relations. To solve the demarcation problem, Indonesia and Malaysia had have held several meetings in the Joint Indonesia-Malaysia Committee (JIM) on Demarcation and Survey of International Boundary. At the 42nd JIM in 2019, the two countries successfully signed an MoU to complete two borders on the Simantipal River and Point C 500 and Point C 600. Efforts to resolve territorial boundaries through diplomacy did not always get positive public support. As a result, diplomatic efforts do not bring harmonious state relations, but instead, relationships that are full of suspicion and tension. Whereas practically, in two contiguous territories, socio-economic activities occur quite high among border residents. Positive relations at the non-state level have not always followed efforts to resolve the boundary line between Indonesia and Malaysia. The lack of harmonious relationships at the non-state level also ultimately affects the bilateral relations between the two. If diplomacy is an effort to resolve problems between countries peacefully, then it should be an effort made by the two countries to minimize the difficulties and negative sentiments that arise around national borders. The concept of border diplomacy becomes a vague concept between state efforts to

control a territory [1], state efforts to establish boundaries between states ([2], [3]), or state efforts in managing state borders through harmony [4]. The objective also blurs the diplomatic actor. The state or the central governments still placed as the only actor in the concept of border diplomacy ([1], [2], [3], [5]), while other groups of academicians believe that sub-national actors contribute to border management. Border cooperation does not only exist at the central government level but also the level of sub-national actors. ([4], [6], [7], [8], [9]). This article wants to examine the concept of border diplomacy and make theoretical contributions to the idea of border diplomacy. Border diplomacy in this article rests on harmonizing border management between adjacent countries and nurturing borders as a symbol of sovereignty. Harmony is an essential key in this concept, considering the issue of borders is not only about borderline determination but all social, cultural, and economic problems at the boundary. The first thing to do is to identify what is meant by boundaries and border issues. The second thing, this article will examine the actors involved in the subject of national borders to see their role in relations between bordering countries. Finally, this article will elaborate on borders and diplomacy to find the concept of equitable diplomacy for the management of Indonesia's Malaysian border II. DISCUSSION A. Border Borders are not just "visible lines" in space or on a map; on the contrary, they are complex social constructions, with many different meanings and functions imposed on them [10]. But simply border can be understood as an outer part of the edge and the limit of a country or state [11]. The term "border" is often used synonymously with the words "boundary" and "frontier" [12]. These words are not surprising, as all three terms describe a limit or a barrier and indicate a division or separation in space. The development of border studies, carrying borders, is not only seen as physical borders but political boundaries, economic, and social-cultural borders. A particularly insightful theoretical critique was provided by political geographer John Agnew who scrutinized the critical dimensions of what he called a 'territorial trap' that is how state-centric thinking constitutes the dividing line between inside and outside. The territorial trap rests on three taken-for-granted assumptions. Firstly, the sovereignty, security, and political life of the modern state require limited territorial space. Secondly, there is a fundamental opposition between the internal and external affairs of a state. Thirdly, the territorial state functions as a geographical container for modern societies that the state boundaries are coincident with the boundaries formed by political and social processes. This way of thinking suggests that the world is composed of delimited, mutually exclusive territories that all have their own collective identity. Thus the main contours of society are seen as coincident with the borders of the state [13]. Sevastianov [14] offered a different understanding of borders state that can be defined as a sub-system of the state, establishing the spatial limits of its sovereignty, and ensuring the authoritative regulation of social (transborder) relations. As part of the country, the state border is a mechanism of public political power, the control of which is a monopoly of specialized institutions. The understanding of the border derived from a political approach where the most important subjects of international activities are states and the boundaries between them are rigid dividing lines that protect state sovereignty and national security. Meanwhile, the liberal approach offers an understanding that boundaries derive their normative weight from the consent of individuals living within the boundary [15]. States are not the only political actors who draw the boundary. The border would be very dynamic depends on the interaction and perception of the border resident. Their ease of activity and prosperity also determine the determination of the border. Thus, the primary function of the state borders is to ensure contacts between neighboring countries and facilitate their interactions [14]. This liberal view is an important note for this article to understand border diplomacy. The issue of borders is not only a question of

boundaries but all political, social, and economic problems at the border. orders are no longer separating edges, but boundaries to connect. In reality, people on the border are not socially and culturally different people. They must be politically separated because of the borders that divide the territories they live in. Indonesia's border management is not yet aware of the dynamic nature of the border. The slow pace of the welfare approach practiced in the control of Indonesia's border regions showed the unawareness. The development of public facilities is still very minimal. As a result, citizens often do not pay attention to national borders to conduct economic activities, both farming and carrying out illegal trade. The case of Group 31, who cultivated the Camar Bulan Enclave since 2008-2017 illegally, the illicit sugar trade, illegal logging sometimes draws to nationalism issues. B. Actors on Border Issues The border issue is not only about delimitation and demarcation, but also economic, social, and cultural issues. Border communities tend to have economic and social closenes. Long before state borders arrived, they were indigenous peoples who shared social and cultural similarities.They are actually one kin who separate in two nations. In many places on the Indonesia and Malaysia border area, Malay and Dayak communities are live. Dayak communities on the border of Kalimantan and Sarawak even hold traditional rituals together like Gawai. This traditional ritual to celebrate the harvest was then formally organized at the district level under the name Adat Gawai Dayak. Dayak people from Sarawak, Malaysia, also commemorate the celebration every May. Meanwhile, the economic activities of border communities have also moved considerably with the emergence of border markets such as Serikin Market. The high social and economic interaction, besides contributing to increasing social value (kinship) and economic value, but on the other hand, also has consequences in the form of conflict. The cause of border conflict can be 1. violations of national borders because of people's ignorance toward national borer peg, which usually placed in the fields or forests where they carry out economic activities. 2. social conflicts such as inheritance and marriages, 3. economic conflicts such as smuggling goods. The local government usually solves problems that occur at the border of the country at the village or sub-district level, known as sub- national actors. Several studies on the role of sub- national actors show their immense contribution to social and economic activities at the border area ([4], [6], [7], [8], [16]) and also political cooperation ([17], [9], [18]). The role of local government shows that it is not the only central government that can be an actor on border issues in maintaining bilateral relations. At the Indonesian border in Malaysia, the role of coordination between local governments on two countries is called "muhibah" (informal mutual visits). Through "muhibah" they can solve many social and economy problem on the border area. In addition to sub-national actors, non-state actors also influence managing border issues, especially the media, academics, and local communities. The media has a significant role in international political communication. The active involvement of this media has given birth to the term "media diplomacy" [19]. The media also has an influence on policy because the media can frame a particular issue so that it will affect the public's views and support for specific policies ([20], [21], [22]), including policies regarding the Indonesia- Malaysia border ([23], [24], [25]). In addition to the media, academic groups have considerable potential in influencing policymaking, through communication and networking [26] and the involvement of academics in policymaking and controlling policy outcomes [27]. Himmrich [28] acknowledged that academics have limited access to policymaking. They must compete with government think tanks such as non- governmental organizations, government research services, or private research companies. They tend to have greater access to policymakers because of institutional ties or human and financial resources. Himmrich [28] then suggested the need for an advocacy approach by academics and policymakers. Epistemic communities are an

alternative in how academic groups can interact more closely with politicians. The development of collaboration between academic groups and the National Border Management Agency or Badan Nasional Pengelola Perbatasan (BNPP) has more or less opened up opportunities for the management of border areas in Indonesia. The Malindo Research Center and the Border Study Group, which were initiated by some researchers from several universities in Indonesia, began to gain access to border policy-making through dialogue with BNPP. Even though the results have not been good enough, the pilot to revise the traditional trading rules of the boundary line can be a positive sign for their cooperation. The role of local communities in managing national borders is also quite important. UNDP even did a particular project for local communities to participate in the management of border areas. Local communities also play a role in the formation of the concept of state border governance through their participation in policies formation and border administration [29], engaging in both boundary- spanning and boundary-drawing practices on an everyday basis [30] or participating in border economic development [31]. Indonesia government had already formed the border guards or Garda Batas to support the border area management. Border guards are community members who have specific competencies and have a role in maintaining, maintaining, and mobilizing the development of border areas. The members of the Border Guards come from youth leaders, religious leaders, women leaders and traditional leaders who live at the border. Their important role in managing border areas, socializing border rules, and overseeing border activities can be a positive support for the development of relations with neighboring countries. C. Border Diplomacy Understanding borders as a boundary line between two countries bring consequences to the issue of national borders is just a joint effort to resolve differences in the determination of borderlines and mutual recognition of national borders ([32], [33], [34], [14]). This idea placed the border diplomacy concept as the implementation of foreign policy in the context of handling border issues that cover state and sea borders and managing various border issues ([35], [36], [37]). However, Van Houtum and Van Naerssen [38] and Scott [39] caution that the current state of debate shows that the field of border studies has opened the possibility to question the reasons behind making everyday borders by understanding borders as institutions, processes, and symbols. Boundaries are not given; they arise through the creation of socio-political borders or borders that occur in society. Thus, the discussion of boundaries is not only about the making of national borders by the state, which is related to relations within society, and related to it because the dynamics of community relations are one of the determinants of state borders. The liberalist view underlines that the state border is no longer a border fence for two communities that originated from the same socio-cultural context. When borders are agreed, border diplomacy does not finish. Border diplomacy is a process that will always manage the economic, social, and cultural issues in the border area to achieve harmony between the adjacent state and border community loyalty. Aksoy and Cicek [40] suggest that diplomacy is no longer a simple foreign policy tool of states to gain their national interest but as a means of connecting cultures, polities, economies, and societies. This idea reminds us that diplomacy is not only dedicated to national interest but also to creating harmony between countries. Diplomacy must be a useful tool for resolving inter-state problems, including border issues (political, social, and economic) in peaceful ways without harming the country's sovereignty. The issue of borders, which is not only demarcation and security, brings sub-national actors and non-state actors as part of the practice of border diplomacy. Andika [41] and Miere [42] suggest that state domination in border diplomacy is no longer possible. Miere (2014) states that maritime diplomacy is not only intended to manage conflicts between countries related to maritime issues through the preparation of international legal instruments, but maritime diplomacy is also the use of

assets or resources, especially maritime to manage relations between countries. If diplomacy generally only involves diplomats as state representation, in sub-national actor and non-state actor maritime diplomacy is required in cooperation between actors in solving various problems related to maritime aspects, including personnel exchanges, educational programs, collaborative meetings, and others aimed at confidence-building. CONCLUSION Indonesian border diplomacy can no longer be placed on the issue of demarcation alone because border issues are not only about security and politics but also social, cultural, and economic issues. The purpose of border diplomacy is no longer placed on the fulfillment of national interest but instead emphasizes the management of bilateral relations to maintain harmony between the two countries that border each other. The social and economic closeness of border communities is a significant consideration in this regard. Political, economic, and socio-cultural issues that arise in border issues make the state no longer the only actor in border diplomacy. Sub-national actors who have been carrying out efforts to guarantee harmony through goodwill cannot be ignored. Sub-national actors have made an important contribution to managing national borders in breaking down conflicts that occur at the lowest level and making friends even though the issue of demarcation is not entirely over. Likewise, non- state actors, both media and academics, which quite significant in influencing public perceptions and knowledge within the country's borders. They have proven to have influenced the public so far in viewing the borders and border issues of Indonesia, Malaysia. The public tends to access information through the media rather than scientific journals released by academics. On the contrary, academics are strategic partners for policymakers, although in this case, the academic groups have not been maximally utilized in the management of the Indonesian-Malaysian border. The dominance of the state's role in placing boundaries on security issues is a major obstacle in changing the perspective of Indonesia's border management.

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