

# Cross-border interaction in the context of border-regional development in Kalimantan

*Garuda is on my chest, Malaysia is in my stomach*



Lidya Lestari Sitohang



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# **Cross-border interaction in the context of border-regional development in Kalimantan**

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## GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADD	<i>Anggaran Dana Desa</i>	Village Budget
APBD	<i>Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah</i>	Regional Budget
APBN	<i>Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara</i>	State Budget
ASEAN	<i>Perhimpunan Bangsa-Bangsa Asia Tenggara</i>	The Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BAPPEDA	<i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah</i>	Development Planning Agency at Sub-National Level
BAPPENAS	<i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional</i>	National Development Planning Agency
BBM	<i>Bahan Bakar Minyak</i>	Refine Fuel Oil
BKD	<i>Badan Kepegawaian Daerah</i>	Regional Civil Service Agency
BMKG	<i>Badan Meteorologi, Klimatologi dan Geofisika</i>	
BOS	<i>Bantuan Operasional Sekolah</i>	Operational Aid to School Program
BPMD	<i>Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Daerah</i>	The Agency of Village Government Empowerment
BPMPPKBPD	<i>Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, Pemberdayaan Perempuan, Keluarga Berencana dan Pemerintah Desa</i>	The Agency of Community Empowerment, Women's Empowerment, Family Planning, and Village Government
BPPD <sub>2</sub> KT	<i>Badan Pengelola Perbatasan Daerah dan Kawasan Tertinggal</i>	The Border management and disadvantaged areas agencies
BPJS	<i>Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial</i>	Social Insurance Administration Organization
BPS	<i>Badan Pusat Statistik</i>	Central Bureau of Statistics
Bupati		Regency Head
Camat		District Head
DD	<i>Dana Desa</i>	Village Fund
Dis	<i>Dinas</i>	Government Project Management at Regional Level

Disbudpar	<i>Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata</i>	The Agency of Cultural and Tourism
Dishubkominfo	<i>Dinas Perhubungan Komunikasi dan Informasi</i>	Transportation, Telecommunication, and Information Services
Dishut	<i>Dinas Kehutanan</i>	Department of Forestry
Disnakertrans	<i>Dinas Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi</i>	Regional Office of Manpower and Transmigration Department
Disperindagkop	<i>Dinas Perindustrian Perdagangan dan Koperasi</i>	The Industry, Trade, Cooperatives, and Small and Medium Enterprises Office
Dis PU	<i>Dinas Pekerja Umum</i>	Public Works at Project Management in regional
DOB	<i>Daerah Otonomi Baru</i>	New Autonomous Region
DPR	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat</i>	People's Representative Council
Formatat	<i>Forum Masyarakat Adat</i>	The Alliance of the Indigenous People
Jawa Barat		Province of West Java
Kantor Imigrasi		Immigration Office
Kesbanglinmas	<i>Kesatuan Bangsa dan Perlindungan Masyarakat</i>	Agency of National Unity, Politics and Community Protection.
MEA	<i>Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN</i>	The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC)
Musrembang	<i>Musyawahar Perencanaan Pembangunan</i>	Multi Stakeholder Consultation Forum for Development Planning
Musrembangdes	<i>Musyawahar Perencanaan Pembangunan Desa</i>	Multi Stakeholder Consultation Forum for Development Planning at Village Level.
Nawacita	<i>Sembilan Agenda Prioritas</i>	The Nine Development Priorities
Provinsi Kaltim	<i>Provinsi Kalimantan Timur</i>	East Kalimantan Province
Provinsi Kalbar	<i>Provinsi Kalimantan Barat</i>	West Kalimantan Province
Provinsi Kaltara	<i>Provinsi Kalimantan Utara</i>	North Kalimantan Province

Pancasila		Five principles: Belief in God, National Unity, Humanitarianism, People's Sovereignty, Social Justice, and Prosperity. They were devised by Sukarno in July 1945 shortly before the declaration of independence to identify the basic beliefs which united all Indonesians despite their other cultural and ideological differences. Under Suharto's New Order, the Pancasila became for a time the ideological vehicle for a corporatist state.
Pemda	<i>Pemerintah Daerah</i>	Regional Government
Puskesmas	<i>Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat</i>	Health Center at Sub-District Level
Pustu	<i>Puskesmas Pembantu</i>	Community Health Sub-center
RAPBN	<i>Rancangan Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Negara</i>	Draft Budget Presented to The Parliament
Renstra	<i>Rencana Strategis</i>	Strategic Plan
Satgas Pamtas	<i>Satuan Tugas Pengamanan Perbatasan</i>	Task Force of Border Security
Sekda	<i>Sekretariat Daerah</i>	Regional Secretary.

## TERMINOLOGY

This section explains the different tiers of administrative structures and institutions of authority within Indonesia in general and Krayan in particular.

### Administrative levels

Level of administration	Highest government official
1. Nasional (National)	1. President
2. Kabupaten (Regency)	2. Bupati (Regent)
3. Kecamatan (District)	3. Camat (District head)
4. Desa (Village)	4. Kepala Desa (Village head)

### Traditional institutions in Krayan

Customary territory ( <i>Wilayah Adat</i> )	Great customary chief ( <i>Kepala adat besar</i> )
Customary village ( <i>Desa Adat</i> )	Customary village head ( <i>Ketua adat desa</i> )
Location/Cluster ( <i>Lokasi/klaster</i> )	Location head ( <i>Ketua lokasi</i> )
	This institution is not formed by the government, instead is locally initiated to accommodate the sparsely clustered villages.

### National government institutions

BAPPENAS	<i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional</i>	National Development Planning Board
MPR	<i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</i>	People's Consultative Assembly
DPR	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat</i>	People's Representative Council

### Regional institutions

#### Regency government in Nunukan regency

1. Development Planning Agency at Sub-National Level
2. The Border management and disadvantaged areas agencies
3. Regional Office of Manpower and Transmigration Department
4. The Immigration Office in Tarakan and Nunukan
5. The Agency of Community Empowerment, Women's Empowerment, Family Planning, and Village Government
6. Central Bureau of Statistics

7. The Agency of Transportation, telecommunication and information
8. The Agency of Cultural and Tourism
9. The Agency of Public Works

**District government in Krayan district**

1. District office
2. The immigration post in Krayan





# 1

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## INTRODUCTION

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The small aircraft that took me from Malinau had just landed at the Yuvai Semaring airport in Long Bawan. All passengers including myself proceed to the exit gate. On my way to the exit gate, Esther, a fellow passenger who had sat next to me on the plane asked me where I wanted to go. I told her of my mission and that I wondered how I could reach the District Office, and what kind of transportation I could take to get there. Esther then invited me to visit her in her home. She told me that provided the weather was nice and the road was dry and solid, one of her family members would pick me up from my accommodation and take me there. As we arrived at the exit gate, a young man approached her. They looked happy to see each other. Esther, then told me that he was one of her family members. She then told me that he would first take me to the District Office and afterwards he would take her home. She assured me that it would be too far to walk to the District Office and that there was no regular transport to take me there. Therefore, she suggested that I accept the ride on the man's motorbike. During the ride, the man explained that the roads in Krayan are not as good as the roads in the city. I saw potholes in the road almost everywhere we passed.

(Own fieldwork notes, January 2015)

## 1.1. INTRODUCTION

On 17 August 2016, I came across an article that was published by CNN Indonesia<sup>1</sup>, entitled: *Ironi Warga Krayan: Jiwa Indonesia, Perut Malaysia*, which translates as “The Irony of Krayan Locals: Indonesian Soul, Malaysian Stomach.” This article was intriguing because the title highlights a perception of border inhabitants in Krayan that is commonly held regarding their cross-border practices. The article mentions that even though the locals felt embarrassed, they are relying on Malaysia for the supply of their daily necessities. In the article, the locals explained that this situation would be improved by the implementation of the infrastructural development as planned by the Indonesian Government. Thereby, I was also intrigued by the fact that the date of publication was on the Day Commemorating Indonesia’s Independence. The headline and the date of publication imply that in the Indonesian context cross-border interaction somehow is linked to a notion of nationalism. In a way, the headline drew me to what would become the core focus of this dissertation, namely, the interplay between cross-border interactions and regional development of the border area.



Krayan di Nunukan, Kalimantan Utara. Tak banyak jalan menuju daerah itu, dan jalur termudah dicapai dari Malaysia. Barang pun didapat dari Malaysia. Di tengah derita, 17-an di sana digelar sebulan penuh. (Dok. Pusat Kajian Muda UI/Agung Nurjana)

**Figure 1.1** Article about Krayan from CNN Indonesia

<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20160817132553-20-151965/ironi-warga-krayan-jiwa-indonesia-perut-malaysia>

<sup>1</sup> Source: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20160817132553-20-151965/ironi-warga-krayan-jiwa-indonesia-perut-malaysia>. Accessed on 17 October 2019. The text below the picture translates as Krayan in Nunukan, Kalimantan Utara. There are not many roads leading to the area, and the easiest access route is from Malaysia. Goods are also obtained from Malaysia. Although they are suffering, (the Krayan inhabitants) celebrate Independence Day (17-August) for a whole month .

This dissertation seeks to contribute to a better understanding of cross-border interactions at the Kalimantan border, that is, the border between Indonesia and Malaysia, with a specific focus on Krayan. It aims to do this within the context of border-region development endeavours of the Indonesian Government.

In order to explain the need for such a study this chapter, Chapter 1, serves three goals. First, this chapter aims to provide an introductory description of contemporary cross-border interactions out of Kalimantan, Indonesia, and how these relate to the current state of development and associated endeavours of the Indonesian Government. This helps to establish how cross-border activities are part and parcel of the everyday livelihood practices of the locals of Krayan.

Second, this chapter presents the research problem and briefly sets out its connection with the New Indonesian Frontiers research project, in which it is empirically and theoretically embedded. The next section in the chapter discusses how the perceptions of nationalism of Indonesia's citizens living away from the border regions differ from those of the Krayan locals. Cross-border interactions influence the border region locals' interpretation of nationalism but do not diminish their sense of nationalism. The formulation of the research problem then leads to the articulation of the research objectives. Third, at the end of this chapter, a comprehensive overview of the contents of the dissertation is given by highlighting the core issues of each chapter's discussion.

## 1.2. CROSS-BORDER DYNAMICS IN THE KALIMANTAN BORDER REGION

The study takes into consideration the Indonesian Government's development endeavours, as these may impact on prevailing cross-border interactions. Often development endeavours are associated with tangible interventions such as the construction of roads, the provision of health care, the supply of electricity, the building of schools, and the availability of government subsidies. All of these government interventions support local lives and livelihoods.

Yet, the study's focus is also on less noticeable aspects contributing to the development of border regions, namely cross-border interaction processes. In border regions, these processes may take several forms since they are embedded in kinship relations, customary boundaries, as well as state boundaries, zonation, and unit administration in Krayan, Kalimantan. It is with these concepts in mind that I wish to describe the manner in which the locals of Krayan go about cross-border interactions. In particular, this description centres on how the locals perform processes of border construction and deconstruction, as well as how these processes are immersed in the developments of the region.

The Krayan district provides a rich example of how borders may take on multiple forms. Admittedly, cross-border processes and how they affect regional development in this region have not been the focus of many studies. Hence, through this study, I hope to help fill this

gap in the existing knowledge. To this end, the discussion in this study somewhat departs from current theoretical frameworks focusing on concepts such as border region, nation, and development.

It seems that the cross-border interactions from Krayan into Malaysia are primarily associated with border making and remaking processes and that they are linked to the central concepts used in this study, such as border, nation-state, and identity, as well as economic development. I aim to examine the evolvement of these processes by describing the empirical evidence of the locals' cross-border interactions as well as the existing of the Government's regional development programme.

I will also focus on the Krayan locals' perceptions regarding their cross-border interactions and the influence of the regional development programme on these. Thereafter, these two sets of events will be analysed. This analysis will provide insight into how the border is continuously produced and reproduced as a process through intricate interactions between enabling and constraining aspects. These processes are tightly embedded in the daily lives of the locals of Krayan. For instance, it is not far-fetched to say that the Krayan locals cross to Malaysia to find work or to meet the consumption of their daily goods because of a lack of job opportunities and supplies due to the insufficient government support in the region, not helped by the remote location of this part of Kalimantan. Specifically, the constraining aspects in this example are located in the insufficient government support and the geographical isolation of the region. These constraining aspects were subsequently followed by the purposive action of the locals in enabling them to look and cross toward Malaysia instead of Indonesia. In turn, the insufficient government support and the geographical isolation may also play a role as the enabling aspects of the locals' border crossing behaviour.

This study thus considers how the formation of the state is only one manifestation of bordering processes. Prior to the formation of the State of Indonesia the locals of Krayan did not recognize formal state borders and even effectively ignored them. Geographical features such as mountains, rivers, and forests, as well as the existence of ethnic groups separated the region's dwellers from each other. Even though the colonial boundaries had been established through imposing territorial rulers' taxes, these boundaries appeared to be less visible than the boundaries created by geographical features and ethnic groups. In fact, the locals of Krayan were traditionally bound by kinship relations to those residing in Malaysia.

The cultural background shared by the locals of Krayan with residents of Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia), just across the border, constitutes a major element in their cross-border interactions. Hence, these cross-border interactions are inseparable from their daily lives. Eilenberg and Wadley (2009) and Wadley (2005) found that cross-border interactions are facilitated by the fact that people who live in border regions often share similar cultural and historical roots.

As indicated earlier, these interactions existed long before the establishment of the two states, Malaysia and Indonesia. In addition to geographical aspects, the concept of 'border' was

seen as a division among different ethnic Dayak groups in Kalimantan. This group is the largest ethnicity residing in the Kalimantan border region (more detailing follows in Chapter 4).

The border locals<sup>2</sup> motivation to maintain relationships with relatives and family has been a reason for them to also cross the border once the division between the states of Malaysia and Indonesia was realized. Subsequently, because of perceived insufficient development on the Indonesian side, the locals have increased their border crossing practices.

These cross-border interactions have led to some debate on the position of the border region Dayak elsewhere in Indonesia out of a sense of nationalism. Indeed, various border studies in Indonesia have highlighted such nationalism aspects (Noor, 2013; Pamungkas, 2015, 2016; Tirtosudarmo, 2018). Hence, the topic of nationalism is a major issue when discussing the Indonesia-Malaysia cross-border interactions in Kalimantan. From the Republic of Indonesia's perspective nationalism has been understood as a sense of the citizens' loyalty towards the State. This notion finds its roots in Indonesia's colonial past. In that era, being loyal to the Indonesian meant people's readiness to give their lives in the struggle against the colonizers.

For most Indonesians living in the central parts of the Republic of Indonesia, their sense of nationalism has likely taken the form of reliance on the State for their entire prosperity and everyday needs, and includes taking for granted anything the state is able (and unable) to provide for its citizens. Whilst, the prevailing border crossings to Malaysia by the Indonesian residents of Kalimantan are seen as a reflection of their decreasing sense of loyalty towards the State of Indonesia by many outside of this border region. However often this perception does not take into account the border locals' own perceptions. In this study, I argue that the locals' border crossing is instrumental to accommodate and improve their prosperity, as this cannot rely solely on what is provided by the State. Subsequently, it is then also important to acknowledge the border locals' own views, and consider these as authentic and based on ample experience, representing the uniqueness and richness of lives and livelihoods connecting two states.

One of the underlying themes of this study is the question of the border itself: How is the process of bordering generated by the interactions between enabling and constraining aspects, and ultimately, how is this process produced and reproduced? In order to answer these questions, I will elaborate on some definitions related to the concepts of border, boundary, and frontier, and how these may be viewed in relation to the issue of development, and, particularly economic development in Chapter 2.

What, thus, matters, is what the border means in the life of the locals of Krayan and how this relates to the Indonesian Government's local development endeavours. Considering the border as both an outcome and a process will assist in answering these questions because this will provide insights into the dynamic interplay between these two aspects.

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2 In this study 'the locals' refers to the group of population residing in Kalimantan border, as opposed to the larger population of Indonesia as a whole.

### 1.3. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BORDER REGION OF KALIMANTAN

The border-regional developments of Indonesia were made uniform with the development of other areas that are not border regions (Bid, 2014, p. 6). In terms of the authority, border-regional developments are laid on the central government as referring to Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 32 of 2004<sup>3</sup> (Wuryandari, 2013, pp. 63–64). This implies that regional level governments do not have the authority to make decisions and implement border-relevant development endeavours on their own. An example of this situation is that regional governments can not fully implement any infrastructural or physical developments to accommodate the border locals' needs without support from the central government. In the Kalimantan border region, this is illustrated with the provincial government efforts to grant the extension of an airstrip and the establishment of telecommunication towers. These endeavours had been carried out in order to transport the locals and the goods from and to the border region, as well as to facilitate a need of information of the locals. However, the absence of central government support meant that these plans could not be carried out. Even though Bid (2014) does not elaborate on the airstrip issue, the author exemplified issues concerning the telecommunication tower. That is the government at the provincial level had been expecting that the central government could have complemented the establishment of telecommunication towers by providing the telecommunication service from a particular telecommunication company provider. This lack of support from the central government has then become one of the issues that hinders the developments in Kalimantan border region. Accordingly, this lack of support from the central government stimulated the border crossing of the Indonesia border locals into Malaysia.

The Kalimantan border is 1.038 km long and stretches from the west to the northeast cutting across Borneo. Cross-border interactions are mainly activities by the locals on the Indonesian side of the border rather than by those living on the Malaysian side. The neighbouring state Malaysia offers better living facilities, better access, and more opportunities, compared to that of the border locals experience on the Indonesian side, which is partly the motivation of their orientation towards Malaysia. Malaysia is viewed to have better border-regional development than Indonesia.

This view of development coincides with a frequent characterisation of modern states where economic development is closely linked with constructing public infrastructure for various modes of public transportation (Rodrigue *et al.*, 2013, p. 42). Furthermore, public transportation projects in Kalimantan are entwined in the providence of an accessible settlement for the population. An example of this is the 1970s Resettlement Programme ('Respen' or *Resettlement Penduduk*) and locally known in Krayan as 'Regrouping'. This has been one of the key events in the development trajectory in Krayan. The 1970s programme

3 Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 32 Tahun 2004 Tentang Pemerintahan Daerah (Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government)

has transformed the way the locals perceive the border. The programme encouraged locals, who were living in scattered settlements in the deep forests of the Borneo highlands, to move to more accessible parts of the region. In this way, the locals gained access to the public infrastructure provided by the central Government. However, this attempt may also be seen as efforts made by the State to reorient its influence in the border region towards the formation of an Indonesian nation state and thereby gain control over its population.

Mostly the nation is described in terms of state territory and national commonality. The reason for this is that the discourse on the idea of the nation has received much attention from scholars, specifically pertaining to the debate whether a state constitutes a nation or a nation constitutes a state (Connor, 2004; Herb and Kaplan, 1999; Snyder, 1964; Tivey, 1981a).

Related to nation formation, as mentioned this study also touches upon a discussion of nationalism within the Indonesia context. The definition of nationalism employed in this study is especially credited to the ideas promoted by Douwes Dekker, an Indonesian-Dutch nationalist, and Tjipto Mangunkosumo, an Indonesian independence leader. They sought a revival and a strengthening of their own heritage, not the identification with an artificial new polity of Dutch making (Reid, 1979, p. 282). So, in a sense their nationalism was similarly aggressive to the Dutch cultural and economic dominance that they resented.

The question is how this notion of nationalism is embodied in and relates to the perception of nationalism by Krayan locals. Thinking about development during the rise of the modern nation-state, it is important to mention that development is often enhanced by physical infrastructure construction. Here, the State is seen as an organisation providing amenities for its members as a reciprocal action. After all, if such amenities are not provided, one might start questioning the State's role and its sense of responsibility towards its members, which, in turn, may lead to criticism regarding the role of the State in providing security, healthcare and education, economic opportunities, good governance, law and order, and basic infrastructure. The specific area focused on in this study, the Krayan border region, provides an intriguing representation of the linkage between development and nationalism.

Hence, the role of cross-border interaction in the context of border-regional development in this study is analysed in two ways. First, the border crossings are analysed in a broader perspective of purposive practices to meet locals' need for welfare. Second, is an analysis of border crossings to establish why and when locals traverse the border and how they consider such cross-border activities, also in relation to what is available in Krayan.

## 1.4. THE NEW INDONESIAN FRONTIERS (NIF) RESEARCH PROGRAMME

The New Indonesian Frontier research programme is a collaborative programme between the Ministry of Educational, Research and Technology of Indonesia (Kemendikbud), Radboud University in the Netherlands, and other university partners namely Gadjah Mada University, University of Mulawarman, and the Centre for International Forestry Research. New frontiers are regions that have recently witnessed a considerable decrease in state control, accompanied by an increase of lawlessness and resource and land grabbing. This programme aims to understand what the new frontiers and paradoxes are in terms of (a) causes and conditions; (b) the assemblage of actors involved; (c) mechanisms and instruments that regulate resource control; and (d) societal and ecological effects of a frontier mentality. The programme's subprojects offer perspectives on various locations and from various angles to provide a framework for understanding 'new Indonesian frontiers'.

In the NIF programme Kalimantan has been selected as a research area, as it might provide insights leading to an increased understanding of the manifestation of frontiers in Indonesia. Accordingly, this programme acknowledges the shifting paradigm in the understanding of the notion of frontiers. Classical frontiers are areas near or just beyond a boundary of already settled areas or developed territories, that is, beyond the reach of 'civilization' and state control, i.e. transition zones. The newness in this research programme is that it questions existing frontiers, both physical and non-physical, and points towards new types of delineation (De Jong *et al.*, 2017, p. 340).

As regards the key themes of the subprojects, these are the following: 1) Everyday violence and conflict in the New Resource Frontiers of West Kalimantan; 2) Palm oil in the frontier and small farmer's sustainable livelihood in Kalimantan; 3) 'In-between' actors at interstitials space of New Indonesian Frontiers: the case of palm oil plantations in Kalimantan; 4) Place, space and belonging of migrants in the New Indonesian Frontier; 5) Wetlands ecosystem functions and meanings; 6) National Law and Regional Riches: Contesting Natural Resource Management in East Kalimantan; and 7) Indonesia-Malaysia Cross-Border Interaction in the context of border-regional development in Kalimantan.

This study, the last of the list above, focuses on cross-border interactions in the context of border-regional development. It examines how the frontier characteristics are embodied in multifaceted borders and are shaped by the dynamics of border processes that are ecologically, historically, ethnically, politically and socio-culturally different from other areas. By aiming to understand the dynamics of cross-border interactions with regard to the regional development in the border area of Krayan (Kalimantan), it is hoped that this will contribute to the critical debate on the role of border locals in border-regional development, particularly in Indonesia. The debate on the shifting paradigms with respect to the notion of borders is conceptualized in Chapter 2 and described in empirical terms in Chapter 4.

The insights gained from this study are expected to supplement contemporary Indonesia border studies. Although there is an increase in focus on the social aspects of border-regional development, these studies seldom focus on the meaning and manifestations of multifaceted borders. In fact, they are predominantly focusing on the security and public order aspects of border areas and on the provision of public infrastructure.

## 1.5. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

As the CNN article cited at the beginning of this chapter indicated, there are two different realities that played a role in the everyday life of Krayan locals. On the one hand, the locals are citizens of Indonesia, while on the other hand, the locals are relying on Malaysia's supply of their daily necessities. This twofold reality exists in the everyday border crossing of Krayan locals despite the ongoing border-regional developments in the region. Taking into account this twofold reality, I am triggered to investigate the underlying principle that maintains the locals' border crossing behaviour. This study aims to shed light on these underlying principles in relation to the border-regional development in which the Krayan locals' border crossings become apparent. This study thereby examines the cross-border dynamics in the context of development in the Krayan border region. Thus, the main research question in this study is formulated as follows:

*What is the relationship between cross-border interaction and border-regional development in Krayan, Kalimantan?*

## 1.6. RESEARCH SUBQUESTIONS

In order to answer the main research question above, this research followed a number of iterative steps: The first step was to obtain ground knowledge of the Krayan region. The second step was to gain insights into border-regional developments in the region. Subsequently, I needed to investigate the border locals' perceptions regarding their cross-border interaction and the developments thereof (steps 3 and 4). In the final step, these contextual and structural aspects together with the locals' perceptions have to be brought together to arrive at the main research questions. Each of these five steps is guided by a research subquestion:

1. *What is the historical-geographical context of the Krayan border region?*

With this subquestion, I describe the setting of Krayan as a research area. This description highlights Krayan as a border region. It explores the historical background, the administrative structure of the region, and border locals characteristics. (This subquestion returns in Chapter 4.)

2. *What is the arena of actors involved with development in Krayan?*

The concept of development as regarded in this study is referring to the State attempts in sustaining its citizen welfare (Chapter 2). The participation of the State in implementing the developments is presented by the government's role. Any development implementation, however, involves diverse actors. Subsequently, in terms of border-regional development endeavours, any developments affect a manifestation of different forms of the border in the Krayan region. Thus, with this subquestion, I expand the development aspects influencing the cross-border interaction in this study. (The answer to this subquestion is presented in Chapter 5)

3. *What cross-border interactions take place out of Krayan, and how are they perceived by Krayan locals?*

With this subquestion, I explore actual cross-border interaction practices and the locals' perceptions of these. More specifically, what makes the border crossing behaviour come into being, how does this behaviour relate to the geographical features of the region, how are the locals arranging their crossing, and how do the locals regard the value of this action. In doing so, the identification of border crossings in conjunction with border-regional development is outlined. (The answer to this subquestion is presented in Chapter 6)

4. *How do Krayan locals perceive and relate to the state of development of their region?*

With this subquestion, I focus on the existing border-regional development and the locals' perceptions thereof. More specifically, what is the form of development taking place in the region, who are involved in the development, and how do the locals view these developments. My concern is thus to also obtain the locals' perceptions of the importance of these state-led development incentives in order to reveal their underlying understanding of the development practices. (The answer to this subquestion is presented in Chapter 7)

5. *How does cross-border interaction play a role in border-regional development and vice versa?*

Considering the aforementioned understanding and perceptions of cross-border interaction and border-regional development, in this last sub-research question I discuss the interplay between these aspects. Here, more attention is given to aspects marking borders; how borders are produced and reproduced, and what aspects constrain or enable border crossing behaviour; and finally how border crossing relates to national identity concerns of locals. I present this discussion in a conceptual manner when reflecting on the theoretical framework in Chapter 2, while the discussion of this subquestion follows in Chapter 8.

## 1.7. DISSERTATION OUTLINE

This dissertation is arranged into three main parts. The first part deals with the general setting of the research project. The second part provides the empirical descriptions of the research area under study. The third part consists of a synthesis of the study in line with the empirical findings. Below are the descriptions of each chapter's objectives and contents.

The theoretical framework that helped operationalize this research is discussed in Chapter 2. This discusses the conceptualization of the objectives and questions into the chosen theoretical framework. In this framework, various aspects of structure and agency are emphasized as significant elements in an analysis of how border crossings play a role in the way local populations conceive and act on the development of Krayan as part of their own lives.

Chapter 3 addresses the methods applied in exploring insights into the cross-border interactions with the help of research participants residing in Krayan. In this chapter, the role of the New Indonesian Frontiers research programme is also explained further. Comprehending the role of this study as part of the larger research programme helps to understand the selection of Krayan in Kalimantan as the selected research area as well as the role and influence of the larger NIF programme on the concepts employed in this study. This chapter discusses the research methods used, the respondents involved in the survey and interviews, as well as the data collection procedures and instruments employed.

The second part of this dissertation consists of four chapters focusing on empirical descriptions. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the contextualization of the research area. Chapters 6 and 7 deal with the empirical findings.

Chapter 4 presents an overview of the research area and serves to present the background of the research area. The four subsections deal with historical background, the Krayan region's administrative organizations, the region's accessibility, and the region's population characteristics.

Chapter 5 provides findings regarding the border and development circumstances relevant to this research and gives an outline of the common way of life in the border region of Krayan. This section continues with the description of a multifaceted border in terms of the State border, zoning, village administrative boundaries, location (*lokasi*) boundaries, church denominations, as well as ethnic and customary boundaries. A description of this multifaceted border aids in coming to the realisation that the border in the research area does not only manifest itself with respect to the role of the State but also with regard to non-State roles, such as through the locals' background culture that includes kinship relationships. This description then serves to illustrate border crossing practices as well as border-regional development.

Chapter 6 gives insight into the locals' cross-border interactions practices as well as their perceptions. This chapter serves to demonstrate the empirical findings regarding factors

involved in the Krayan locals' border crossings. This is of importance because it helps to demonstrate in what way the border is used by the locals and how they perceive the border.

Chapter 7 discusses various types of border-regional development and associated locals' perceptions thereof. It is found that the current locals' cross-border interactions are not only driven by kinship relationships between people on both sides of the border but that they also result from the lack of development in Krayan. This chapter serves to demonstrate how the lack of economic development (presented in Chapter 2) is implicated in the border crossing in the Krayan region.

The third part of this dissertation, consisting of Chapters 8 and 9, provides a synthesis of the findings of this study and returns to the central question of the study, which is 'What is the relationship between cross-border interaction and border-regional development in Krayan, Kalimantan?' And how can this be understood?

Chapter 8 examines the cross-border interactions of the Krayan locals by returning to the empirical findings described in Chapters 6 and 7 and by analysing these findings using the conceptual framework as set out in Chapter 2. Thus, the chapter aims to conceptually examine the dynamics of cross-border interaction in Krayan in the light of border-regional development and vice versa. Finally, Chapter 9 presents the conclusion and the recommendations of this study.

# 2

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## CONCEPTUALISING CROSS-BORDER INTERACTION

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Also, at my intellectual core perhaps is the sense that - however naïve you think this - the world of social phenomena is bafflingly complex. Complexity has fascinated and puzzled me much throughout my life. How to unravel some of that complexity, to place it in order, and not to be dismayed or defeated by it? How to not avoid the complexity or distort its interpretation by oversimplifying it? This is, of course, an old problem: Abstraction (theory) inevitably simplifies, yet to comprehend deeply, to order, some degree of abstraction is necessary. How to keep a balance between distortion and conceptualization? (Strauss, 1993, p. 12)

## 2.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will elaborate on the theoretical underpinnings of this research in order to provide the conceptual framework with which I examine cross-border dynamics in Krayan, my selected research area. This study builds on theories regarding the concepts of border, development, and institutions. To begin with, a description is given of border-related concepts and their definitions. Next, I will elaborate on three key concepts useful in framing the discourse of border studies, namely, border, boundary, and frontier. Thereafter, I will expound on the concepts of development in order to acquire a better understanding of the main aspects involved in cross-border interactions. Subsequently, the institutional arrangements that enable the interconnection of border and development are discussed.

There is no single theory that unequivocally explains border phenomena. In their work, Van der Velde and Van Houtum (2003) mention that borderland situations are too complex to be able to formulate one grand theory that encompasses the political, social, cultural, and economic environments (p. 3). Current border studies show that a multidisciplinary approach, including the fields of political sciences, geography, history, and sociology, is required to examine border phenomena. Such an approach allows for a deeper and broader analysis of the notion of border, that is, not as an end product but as a process.

In terms of treating the border as a process, I particularly wish to emphasize nation formation as a form of bordering as a process by arguing that nation formation is the manifestation of a border. Furthermore, in order to clarify nation-related concepts that may cause confusion, I will turn to two concepts related to the idea of a nation, that is, the *ethnic nation* and *civic nation*.

As mentioned, the emphasis on nation formation is especially relevant in examining the border as a process. Concepts involved in understanding nation formation include the theories of development of a modern nation-state. I will discuss how the concept of development is linked to nation-state formation and how development is often discussed in close association with economic development. This then draws attention to the notion that cross-border interaction occurs in the context of economic development. Next, I will explain how this concept has been applied to the context of Indonesia and, particularly, how it is employed in Krayan. This helps to, for instance, better understand the development endeavours in Krayan predominantly stress the need to improve people's welfare, alongside emphasizing the need for defence and security of the State.

In understanding the context of cross-border interactions, it is important to understand the inherent preconditions necessary for the interactions to take place. To understand this process, it is essential to recognize the role of institutions in the bordering process and in cross-border interactions. Hence, I will discuss the concept of institutions in relation to the concepts of structure and agency. The construction of borders can be seen both as a process and as a product requiring interaction between structure and agency. The concepts of structure and agency are seen as crucial because they offer the possibility to unravel the construction of the border as a process and as a product. Subsequently, this chapter discusses

how the idea of the nation-state as the result of modernity in Indonesia contains overlapping duality between (1) what local populations perceive as relevant in the development of their region, and (2) how to enhance this through state intervention versus notions of development as perceived by the state and how these are implemented in Krayan Region.

This duality allows for reflections on the complexities arising out of the influence of the nation-state, and how this produces government-driven economic development in the region, and what role is thereby also considered for bordering processes.

In this section, I will also discuss several theories that may offer explanations for the question as to what extent the concept of the nation leads to the debate on nationalism. Regarding nationalism, I will particularly focus on theories that explain nationalism as a form of national pride and as a sense of being patriotic in terms of the nation-state framework. Thereafter, I will focus on theories that attempt to explain the relationship between cross-border interactions and development that may give rise to nationalism in Indonesia. It must be noted here that the term ‘nationalism’ as used in this study is different from the meaning of nationalism that refers to a sense of superiority in people’s attitudes towards their own country and the people from one’s own country.

The final section of this chapter tries to summarise the discussions into a conceptual framework that will be employed in the empirical chapters of this study.

## 2.2. BORDER, BOUNDARY, AND FRONTIER

In examining the border it is fundamental to understand what a border means and constitutes. Evidently, studies attempting to define border-related terminology are not limited to the field of geography but also extend to the disciplines of politics and economics, as well as the social and cultural domains (Alvarez, 1995; Naum, 2010; Prescott, 1965). In fact, with the broadening of border terminology to other disciplines, the terms of boundary, border, and frontier have become widely used in different contexts throughout the social sciences, the humanities, and education (Alvarez, 1995). Whilst the wide adoption of these terms points to their relevance, this fluid usage also poses several problems in conceptualizing the terms. To satisfy the need for a more rigorous definition, I will present an overview of the shifts in meaning regarding the terms border, boundary, and frontier. Thereafter, I will highlight the operational definitions of these terms as employed in this study.

In Indonesia, a number of border studies have been performed focusing on issues of security and defence, as well as on issues of prosperity (Asmarani *et al.*, 2017; Bangun, 2016; Biasane *et al.*, 2011; Bustaman-Ahmad, 2011; Irsan *et al.*, 2017; Rani, 2012; Sudiar and Irawan, 2018; Tirtosudarmo, 2002a). In the foreword of the journal *Antropologi Indonesia* issued in 2002, a collection of writings by various scholars involved in border studies, with an emphasis on political-demographic approaches, one senior Indonesian scholar, Riwanto Tirtosudarmo, remarks that the border studies approach in Indonesia remains conventional

to the extent that the notion of border is often equated with the State border. The border is then seen through the lenses of security and defence instead of broadening it to include socio-cultural aspects. Alternatively, a border can also be conceived as a frontier that needs to be economically developed (Tirtosudarmo, 2002b). These remarks continue to be relevant. Tirtosudarmo's states:

The border research or border studies in Indonesia remain in the inception stage. Most of the studies were carried out using a conventional approach to the extent that the research does not have a theoretical framework as a foundation such as in Europe or in America. In the conventional approach, the border is predominantly viewed using the perspectives of security and state order, or the border is viewed as a frontier area that has to be economically developed. (Tirtosudarmo, 2002b, p. V)

*Di Indonesia, kajian atau studi tentang perbatasan masih berada pada tahap paling awal. Kajian-kajian yang ada umumnya masih dilakukan dengan pendekatan konvensional, dalam arti belum menggunakan konsep-konsep dari kerangka teoritis yang mulai dikembangkan oleh berbagai pusat kajian tentang perbatasan, baik di Eropa maupun Amerika. Dalam pendekatan yang konvensional, daerah perbatasan terutama masih dipandang dalam kacamata pertahanan dan keamanan suatu negara, atau dilihat sebagai sekedar daerah frontier yang masih harus dikembangkan secara ekonomi (Tirtosudarmo, 2002b, p. V).*

The terms 'boundary', 'border', and 'frontier' have various connotations. To begin to understand how the terms are defined, the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (Hornby, 2005) provides some help and aims to provide a common understanding of these terms. According to the dictionary, a boundary as a noun refers to a real or imagined line that marks the limit or edges of something and separates it from other things or places; in other words, it refers to a dividing line. The noun border refers to the line that divides two countries or areas. The noun frontier is described as a synonym for both boundary and border with the addition that it is also the edge of land where people live and have built towns, beyond which the country is wild and unknown (especially in the western United States of America during the 19<sup>th</sup> century). Although the terms are synonyms, each term also has distinctive characteristics. A common characteristic is the feature of separateness, whereas a distinctive feature lies in tangibility or visibility. Thus, a border is presented as a line that demarcates a separate country or area. Whereas a boundary, seen as synonymous to frontier, is considered to have a broader, tangible characteristic than border, such that the line that separates places or areas may seem real or solid, or it may be an imagined line.

Although it is not the intention of this study to investigate the conceptual debates with respect to these terms, its explanation is relevant in order to clarify the use of the term 'border' in this study. In the context of Indonesia, a broader understanding of these terms is relevant

since these three terms are represented by a single Indonesian term in the Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language of the Language Center (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Pusat Bahasa-KBBI*), namely the word '*perbatasan*'. The concept of '*perbatasan*', translated into English denotes a region or a line that separates political units (states), or a region near a border, which is preserved as a demarcation between two or more states:

The border is a region or a separating line between political entities (states); a region located near the border (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, 2008, p. 146).

*Perbatasan adalah daerah atau jalur pemisah antara unit-unit politik (negara); daerah dekat batas* (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, 2008, p. 146).

Several scholars have examined border types according to their distinctive characteristics (Martínez, 1994; Prescott, 1965; Van der Velde and Van Naerssen, 2011; Van Houtum, 1998; Wu, 1998). These border typologies are based on distinctive features beyond physical delimitation, such as the natural versus artificial border, open versus closed border, functional versus affected border, as well as cognitive and abstract border (Van Houtum, 1998).

Regarding the natural versus artificial border, this division is according to its origin. Natural borders include seas, rivers, mountains, and the like. Artificial borders exhibit man-made features and exclude natural configurations. Open and closed borders are characterized by the degree of interaction occurring across the border. Concrete and abstract borders are border types that depend on how the border is perceived. The distinction between the functional and the affective border is based on how the border operates and what its influence on people's activities is. According to Van Houtum (1998), the typology of the border based on its function and influence is such that the border manifests itself in the form of states and nations, civic-nations and *ethnic nations*, and identity.

With respect to characteristics related to border dynamics, Van der Velde and Van Naerssen (2011) also argue that the border can be characterized through several interpretations. They indicate border interpretations such as borders interpreted as innate or learned phenomena, borders as a kind of natural world 'order', borders as fuzzy or amorphous phenomena rather than being fixed with a binary character, borders that are considered as instruments rather than the final outcome, and borders that are interpreted as static or dynamic (Van der Velde and Van Naerssen, 2011, p. 220). The interpretation of a border as an innate or learned phenomenon finds its roots in the long tradition of the demarcation of a sovereign state, which can be traced to the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. The border as a kind of natural world 'order' refers to a border that is signified by 'natural' or 'primordial' demarcations.

As mentioned, borders can also be perceived as fuzzy or amorphous borders rather than having a fixed binary character. A border interpreted in this manner characterizes cross-border interactions. In a way, the border is seen as an instrument to control diverse forms of cross-border interaction. Van der Velde and Van Naerssen (2011) mention that the border

between the United States of America and Mexico is an example of this where the movement of goods is liberalized, while the movement of people is restricted. When characterizing the border as an instrument, they particularly refer to the European Union (EU)'s standpoint where on the one hand the outer border serves as an instrument to formulate migration policy, whilst the EU border also serves as an outcome of the discussion on the principles of the EU's identity in conjunction with its territorial demarcation.

A border can be characterized as either static or dynamic. A static border refers to a more or less stable demarcation practice. A dynamic border refers to dynamic practices and processes of bordering. It seems that in some instances the terms borders and boundaries are used interchangeably when referring to static borders, whereas the term frontier commonly refers to a dynamic border and highlights more the bordering process. I argue that the characterization of the fuzzy border is compatible with the frontier aspect of a border in the sense that it has a lack of tangible attributes to signify its manifestation. Consequently, I wish to adopt the 'frontier' aspects of the border in this study to better capture and understand the dynamic process of bordering. In the following sections, I will elaborate on the concept of frontier.

Concerning frontier, Ratzel (1895) as cited in Prescott (1965) mentions that a border consists of three zones, two of which are the periphery of the adjoining states and the third is the central zone where there is a mingling of the two states (p.10). This definition of a border that is characterized by a division within the border itself signifies a fluid element, in the sense that it has a lack of solid demarcation on the ground. This fluidity is caused by the mingling of the two states as an outcome of civilization. The conclusion is that the term border does not sufficiently cover the construction of social space. Hence, to accommodate the actual processes that take place, the term frontier is used.

There are multiple definitions of the term frontier. The word frontier is derived from the term 'front' which refers to the 'spearhead of civilization' according to Taylor (1993), cited in (Van Houtum, 1998, p. 17). The term frontier signifies an orientation towards the outside and, so, implies a zone of contact. Martinez (1994, p. 5) defines frontier as an area that is physically distant from the core of the nation; it is a zone of transition, a place where people and institutions are shaped by natural and human forces that are not felt in the heartland. This definition pays attention to the aspect of a population, an issue that generally is ignored when discussing boundaries and/or borders. Compared to the term border, the term frontier is then seen as representing a more fluid boundary demarcating physical territories. In this sense, the term frontier has a connotation that is distinct from the notions of boundary and border.

According to Prescott (1965) in political geography, the term frontier refers to either the political division between two states or the division between the settled and uninhabited parts of one state. Prescott further describes the frontier either as a line or a zone (p.33). From an anthropological perspective, Alvarez (1995) defines frontier as being synonymous with borderland. Borderland is viewed as a region and a set of practices that are determined by a

boundary dividing two nation-states, which is characterized by conflict and contradiction both in a material and ideational sense (p.448).

For Billington (1974), the frontier refers to a geographic region adjacent to the unsettled portions of a continent. Billington also identifies frontier as not merely a place, but also as a process that is subject to constant fluctuation. He notes that:

The frontier process as the process through which the socioeconomic-political experiences and standards of individuals were altered by an environment where a low man-land ratio and the presence of untapped natural resources provided an unusual opportunity for individuals. (1974, p. 25)

Similarly, Chappell (1993) states that frontiers can stimulate the emergence of group identity, although the allegiances that frontiers mobilize may also include other solidarities, such as class, state, region, or religion, whose relative importance fluctuates according to historical context (p.2712).

A further definition regarding the term is given by De Jong *et al.* (2017). The authors argue that the newness of frontiers requires an inquiry of the physical and non-physical dimensions. They hold that the expansion of a frontier can be differentiated using three perspectives (De Jong *et al.*, 2017, p. 340). The first perspective is hybridity as the new frontier challenges the existence of two sharply demarcated and distinguished spaces. The second one is the frontier as an interstitial space denoting the gap between two given spaces. The third perspective is a frontier beyond the nature-culture divide, which implies that in defining the contemporary frontier it is necessary to take into account social categories in order to capture the dynamic quality of the frontier.

Naum (2010) defines frontiers based on the term “third-space” landscape that was coined by Homi Bhaba, one of the leading postcolonial theoreticians. It is a landscape that is captured by translation, negotiation, and constant remaking. The third-space settings of frontiers mean that these spaces are in constant flux since they are created by negotiation and dialogues within the frontier and outside of it (Naum, 2010, p. 107).

Ratti (1993), cited in Wu (1998) states that a border can be considered as a ‘frontier’, or as a ‘barrier’, or as a ‘zone of contact’. He mentions that borders as frontiers justify isolation, restriction, limited development, and even a high degree of regional inequality. Borders as barriers or ‘filters’ are closely associated with transaction costs, while borders as ‘zones of contact’ suggest that border regions can be areas where entrepreneurial networks and other networks can expand across the border creating new possibilities and advantages.

Clarification of these terms is critical if we wish to fully understand border dynamics. Based on the foregoing discussion it is clear that the notion ‘border’ is no longer merely confined to it being a tangible and physical feature. The term also refers to a continued bordering process that is constructed and expanding beyond a demarcation, one that results from interaction. In this study, the definition of the concept ‘frontier’ is based on this bordering process. Thus,

the aforementioned discussion revealed that the terms border and frontier have evolved and have become broader to include economic, socio-cultural, and political components.

## 2.3. BORDERING AS A PROCESS OF NATION FORMATION

Earlier it was mentioned that in the process of nation formation that the bordering process becomes observable. To facilitate this process a particular condition is required. In the next section, I will focus on two forms of nation formation, namely, *ethnic nation*, and *civic nation* to clarify this.

Nationalism is discussed in the context of Indonesia's formation as a nation-state. It is of great importance to understand the role of nationalism which leads to the formulation of identity in this study. Below I will turn to two aspects of the interrelationship between state and society as manifested in identity, and, in particular, I will centre the discussion on how people configure the notion of nationalism (*nasionalisme*).

### 2.3.1. Traditional state and modern state

Herb and Kaplan claim that state and nation are symbiotically linked (Herb and Kaplan, 1999, p. 34). The authors expound that even though the two identities are not congruent, national identity sustains state identity. Following the emergence of the State, the question is when the emergence of the State's identity then becomes relevant. To answer this question, several scholars have argued that the formation of the State may consist of the incorporation of both the traditional and the modern states (Carsten, 1998; Rahardjo, 1994; Tivey, 1981a; Wimmer and Schiller, 2003).

In this study, the State refers to a political organization covering a specific territory (Castles *et al.*, 2014, pp. 64-66; Paasi, 1996, p. 39). Paradoxically, the State of Indonesia came into being during its colonial past (Chong, 2007, p. 397; Liow, 2005a, p. 39; Tangkilisan, 2013, p. 87). In a way, the emergence of Indonesia as a state only happened because of the governance system of the Netherlands colonial power. In fact, today's borders of Indonesia are the same as the colonial borders established by the Dutch. Before its emergence as a state, Indonesia was ruled through forms of traditional governance. Tivey notes that even though the notion of the State did not exist in some of the earliest societies, certain types of governing of tribes or other human groups did (Tivey, 1981a, p. 2). Tivey further mentions that such a system resulted in central roles such as a personal ruler, a chief, a king, or an emperor. To some extent such governing systems based themselves also on customs, religions, legends, or magical arrangements. In Indonesia, this system revealed itself in a sense of loyalty owed to the reigning ruler (Tangkilisan, 2013, p. 86).

Traditional states in the Indo-Malay world were amorphous in character and based themselves on loyalty to the person of the ruler (known as Raja or Sultan) (Liow, 2005a, p. 32). In today's plural society of Indonesia, customs and kingdoms are the two predominant

governing arrangements in the traditional states. In line with this, Crouch (1979, pp. 572–573) mentions that Indonesia is an example of a state that although it has undergone economic, social, and political change, it continues to exhibit traditional features, even of an earlier patrimonial political system, namely, the precolonial Javanese empires. It must be said that the encounter with the colonial powers in the archipelago has been the major force behind the change in societal systems from traditional to modern. Satjipto Rahardjo notes that originally the State of Indonesia was conceived as a modern state with a traditional society (Rahardjo, 1994). Rahardjo elaborates on basic characteristics of Indonesia as a state:

- 1) The State exists to protect and serve the interests, not of an individual or group, but of society as a whole;
- 2) The union between the government and the people should be strong — following the Javanese expression, “*manunggaling kawula lan gusti*” (“the oneness of the authority and the people”). The government should embody the people’s sorrows and wishes, and all other mental states and aspirations;
- 3) Individualism is frowned upon. The Indonesian state is a joint venture of the people based on the principle of “gotong royong”—all works should be accomplished in a spirit of togetherness;
- 4) Opposition between the State and the people is inconceivable. Opposition and conflict are inconsistent with the idea of a ‘*negara kekeluargaan*’—a state based on the familial concept.

(Rahardjo, 1994, p. 495)

Thus the principal characteristics of the Indonesian state underscore the importance of society as a whole, as well as unity, togetherness, and family relations. It follows that the formation of the modern state of Indonesia differs from that of the modern states that are formed in the western world, which are characterised by the required establishment of clear-cut limits of their areas of authority and organization (Solomon, 1969, p. 2) and demarcated territories (Tangkilisan, 2013, p. 86).

As explained in (Hann and Beller-Hann, 1998, p. 242), modernity in Gellner’s sense refers to a new type of society, which is quite different from the dynastic empires and from the cultural heterogeneity that is characteristic of an agrarian age. The nation-state is a product of altered material conditions, in which the modernization efforts of new elites require standardized educational systems and the monopoly of a homogenous, high culture.

In his explanation of the differences between the modern states conceived by the Western world and the states in Southeast Asia, Anderson highlights the gradual fluctuating power of the centre as a characteristic of the traditional Southeast Asian state. Anderson (1990, p. 41), as cited in (Carsten, 1998), states:

The territorial extension of the State is always in flux; it varies according to the amount of Power concentrated at the centre ... the kingdoms were regarded not as having fixed and charted limits, but rather flexible, fluctuating parameters. In a real sense, there were no political frontiers at all, the Power of one ruler gradually fading into the distance and merging imperceptibly with the ascending power of a neighbouring sovereign (Carsten, 1998, p. 217).

This view is supported by a remark from the anthropologist Clifford Geertz (in Clad *et al.*, 2011). Geertz explains that the conception of sovereignty differs between indigenous and foreign views. Using an indigenous perspective, Geertz illustrates the political power in Java by mentioning that it resembles a candle whose light and warmth become progressively weaker as one moves away from the flame. In contrast, in the Western views, the State is conceived in terms of being a distinct territorial entity whose sovereign writ runs without interruption or diminution right-up to a treaty-defined, latitudinal-longitudinal limit (Clad *et al.*, 2011, p. 9)

The end of World War II has been a key period in the emergence of the modern nation-states in Southeast Asia. The link between the emergence of the nation-state and economic development is part and parcel of a nationalist conviction. This implies that from the perspective of Indonesian nationalism, justice in development had to be pursued, the attainment of which could only be achieved through liberation from Dutch colonization (Cribb, 1993; Cribb and Brown, 1995). Prosperity and the signs of prosperity are marks of collective achievement (Tivey, 1981b, p. 68) and, thus, for a nationalist the pursuit of economic development is a matter of pride and patriotic duty.

As mentioned earlier, in Indonesia, the emergence of the State paradoxically came into being during the colonial era (Liow, 2005a, p. 39). During this period Indonesia's border had been established based on international agreements among the colonial powers without involving the subjects (Pamungkas, 2017, pp. 126-127). Prior to the formation of the State, Indonesia was characterised by traditional states with most governing arrangements founded on customs and personal, patrimonial kinship. It is important to note that in the majority of Indonesia's diverse ethnic groups, customary arrangements find their roots in kinship relations. This is the reason that traditional arrangements, even though the State of Indonesia was formed as a modern state, continue to be relevant. In fact, this might well be part of the explanation for the continued cross-border interactions between two adjacent groups of locals on the border between Indonesia and Malaysia.

### **2.3.2. Identity**

Yosmaoğlu (2010, p. 164) argues that identities in borderlands are more fluid than anywhere else. In referring to boundaries as a real or imagined line that marks the limit or edges of something, James Clad argues that boundaries are synonymous with identity (Clad *et al.*, 2011, p. 5). A proud feeling of a national identity is one aspect of nationalism (Pamungkas,

2016, p. 63). Larsen et al, argue that by extension, nationalism denotes a consciousness of the distinctive character of different nations, and that nationalism is seen as the most fundamental source of identity in the world (Larsen *et al.*, 1995, p. 165). From this perspective, nationalism is perceived as a social identity that acts as a powerful force towards cohesion and group loyalty. It is based on a positive image and expectations about the in-group members according to Van Vugt and Hart, 2004, (cited in Espinosa *et al.*, 2016, p. 19).

Clad *et al.* (2011) further mentions that the state-centred nationalism of Southeast Asian states emanated from European colonialization. In essence, the sense of nationalism in Indonesia came from combating colonialization (Chong, 2009; Leifer, 2000; Tipton, 1998; Vu, 2013), multi-ethnie solidarities against alien rulers (Reid, 2010, p. 5), and a systematic ideology instilled by state officers tasked with imparting the ideology of nationalism (Pamungkas, 2016, p. 64). In fact, even today this perception of nationalism is taught in schools so that civilians will embrace nationalism as the State's ideology. It can be said that nationalism creates national identity.

For decades the origin of nationalism has been investigated. According to Smith, nationalism can be regarded as one of the myths of the 'modern nation' (1988, pp. 2-3). This idea of nationalism can be thereby unpacked by looking at the nature of 'belonging', with a focus on *ethnie* and *nation* (Smith, 2010). In the following discussion, I will show some variations in the way nationalism is perceived by researchers of this field.

### 2.3.3. Nation and nationalism

Previously I mentioned that nationalism is an important element in characterising identity. When contemplating our current globalized world, where border crossings are becoming increasingly more common, it makes sense to focus research on nationalism. This is certainly true when regarding the Indonesia-Malaysia cross-border interactions. This leads to the questions: What constitutes a nation? How does a nation make its mark on the border? What is the relationship of border with a nation?

In terms of socio-cultural aspects, the border may represent the social construction of space. Hence social theories are employed to understand the process that takes place. It follows that in social science disciplines, including human geography, theories about social construction in a border context have been developed. A case in point is provided by Henri Lefebvre, a French philosopher, and a human geography scholar, who contributes the notion *from absolute space to abstract space* to describe the sense of nationalism when defining a territory. Absolute space is the representation of the natural space that is assigned a new role and henceforward appears as transcendent, as sacred (i.e. inhabited by divine forces), as magical and cosmic (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 231). Its existence is purely a mental phenomenon. To cite Lefebvre:

There is thus a sense in which the existence of absolute space is purely mental, and hence imaginary. In another sense, however, it also has a social existence, and hence a specific powerful reality. The mental is realized in a chain of social activities because, in the temple, in the city, in monuments and places, the imaginary is transformed into the real (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 251)

Abstract space is an arena of action linking materiality and representations of the production of space. To put it in Lefebvre words:

Abstract space is by no means simple. In the first place, there are its constitutive dualities. For it is both a result and a container, both produced and productive – on the one hand, a representation of space (geometric homogeneity) and on the other a representational space. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 288)

Applying Lefebvre's views to the examination of the embodiment of nationalism, it can be concluded that nationalism is both a representation of *absolute space* and *abstract space*. Nationalism is a representation of absolute space in the sense that is purely mental and, hence, imaginary. Nationalism is a representation of abstract space since its production is intertwined with places and the materiality of a national symbol.

Aspects from the notions of *absolute space* and *abstract space* illuminate particular characteristics of nationalism as held by border dwellers. It can be said that the state's national identity is absolute, although it can become abstract in border crossing practices. It can also be considered abstract when taking factors, such as socio-cultural factors into account (Alvarez, 1995; Sofield, 2006; Wadley and Eilenberg, 2005).

Concerning the aforementioned dual characteristics of nationalism, identity is construed in accordance with national identity and cultural identity. I argue that this duality mirrors two symbolic conceptions of the modern nation. In order to have an adequate understanding of the definition of 'nationalism', the definition of a nation relevant to this study, is given below.

A nation is a group of people who are interlinked by commonalities such as myths, language, beliefs, and religion. Such commonalities cause groups (people) who do not exhibit these traits to be regarded as foreign and as threats to the existence of the nation (as it was defined). A nation can also be seen as an extension of an *ethnie* group to the degree that it might encompass the entire population inhabiting a state. The idea of the nation can be traced back to pre-modern ethnic communities (Smith, 2010, p. 340). Smith particularly designates these ethnic communities as *ethnies* (the French equivalent of the ancient Greek *ethnos*), people who possessed specific cultural attributes often formed a social network or series of networks, which continued over generations. The author further explains that the two kinds of *ethnies* relevant to the formation of nations are *civic nations* and *ethnic nations*. Related to this, Smith (in Connor, 2004, p. 37) mentions that two symbolic conceptions are

in use to define the nation, namely, the *civic-territorial* ideal of the nation and the *ethnic-genealogical* conception of the nation. The author elaborates as follows:

[T]here have emerged two symbolic conceptions of the modern nation. On the one hand, there is a more 'civic-territorial' ideal of the nation, one which emphasizes the importance of long-term residence in a clearly demarcated territory, of the part played by unified law codes and legal institutions over the whole territory, of the equal and common rights and duties of citizenship in the territorial nation, and of the central role of a public, civic culture for all citizens which embodies the myths, memories, and symbols of the nation. On the other hand, there is a more 'ethnic-genealogical' conception of the nation, which stresses the importance of presumed ancestry ties and kin relatedness for citizenship, the crucial role of popular mobilization and a participant populace, the centrality of vernacular language, customs and culture, and the binding force of authentic, native historical memories of and in the homeland.

I further argue that the concept of nationalist, which is a person's feeling of being loyal to and proud of a country, can be extended to a sentiment that binds a collective group, one that is originally based on presumed ancestry ties and kinship relations. It follows that the sense of strong allegiance and loyalty to the State emanating from the same collective group exhibits the dual aspects of the *civic-territorial* ideal of the nation and *ethnic-genealogical* conception of the nation. In terms of this sense of loyalty, Connor (2004, pp. 38-39) highlights that these notions are two different phenomena that are often misused in defining nationalism. The author further explains the difference by linking nationalism with *patriotism* that is the devotion to one's state and its institutions, while loyalty to one's national group is coined as *ethnonationalism*. In this way, nationalism is compatible with civic nationalism and/or civic loyalty.

Nationalism in this study refers to how the Royal Institute of International Affairs defined this in 1939, namely, that nationalism denotes a consciousness of the distinctive character of different nationalities, including the one of which the individual is a member, and a desire to increase the strength, liberty, and prosperity of the nation (Snyder, 1964, p. 15). By extension, this definition corresponds to the concept of nationality: nationality is generally defined as a condition attributed to a person or group of persons in virtue of their membership of a 'nation'. Nationality has been used in this study to denote the condition of belonging to a nation in the above sense. The term 'nationalist' is used to denote an adherent or supporter of nationalism in the sense described above. Kohn (in Snyder, 1964, p. 18) expounds that nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness, which since the French Revolution has become more and more common to mankind.

Nationalism in Indonesia is seen as the legacy of its long struggle for independence from Dutch colonialism (Thompson, 2015, p. 22). Nationalism can be publicly proclaimed in a combative manner against real or imagined external adversaries (Leifer, 2000, p. 155). This concept of nationalism was evident during the era of President Sukarno. A shift in meaning regarding Indonesian nationalism occurred during the regime of President Suharto. During Suharto presidency, nationalism became intertwined with the pursuit of economic development. This pursuit found its origin in the realisation that without economic development, Indonesia would become a significant power neither regionally nor globally (Leifer, 2000, p. 158). Further, Border Crossing Agreement (2006, p. 231) refers nationalism in its full understanding includes the ability of the (Indonesian) government to guarantee people's basic needs such as electricity, clothing and food, and other supporting infrastructure. Economic and welfare aspects must be important factors in conceptualizing the "nationalism" and "sovereignty" of the state. As a result, Indonesia as a state assigned itself to achieve development for and of its citizens.

Anderson states that the idea of nationalism in Indonesia is *imagined*. This implies that nationalism as exhibited during the formation of the State of Indonesia has gone beyond the erstwhile primordial kinship and cultural bonds. The national community is, thus, imagined, not as a specific network of individuals connected to each other in the fashion of traditional cultures, but as umbilical cords stemming from individuals towards the larger, abstract community where all imagined members are in a "deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, 2006, p. 7).

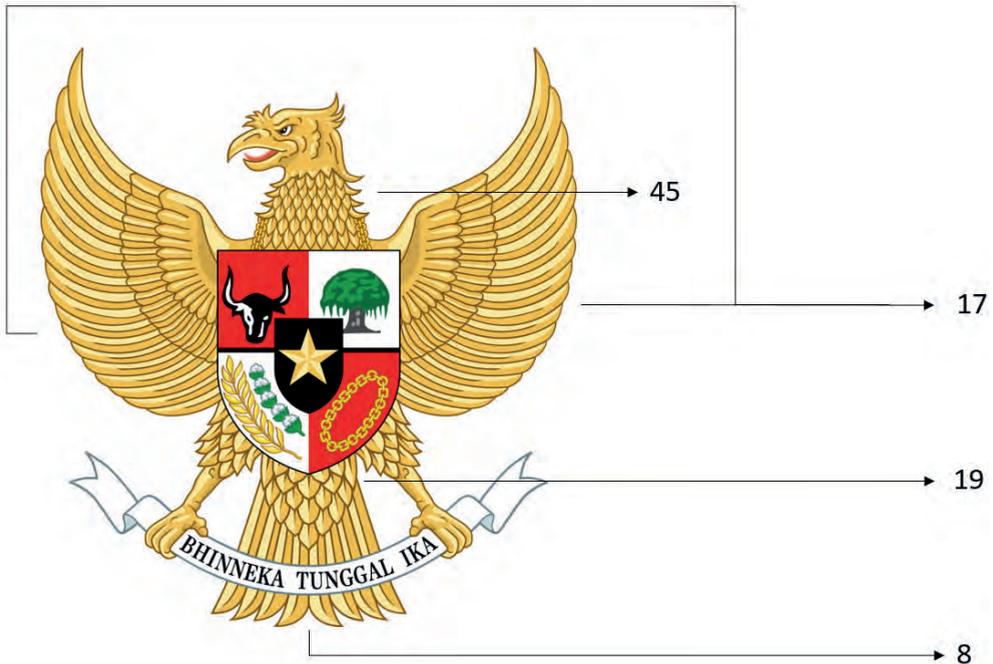
With respect to the Indonesian border locals, the sense of nationalist pride toward the State seems to be a logical consequence of the successful achievement of national development to meet the needs of society, especially in the areas of transportation and communication (Nainggolan, 2004, p.13 cited in Pamungkas, 2016, p.63). It is clear that economic development is one of the key elements that contributes to the formation of the nation-state.

## **2.4. THE STATE OF INDONESIA'S IDEOLOGY: GARUDA PANCASILA**

This section elaborates on the formation of the nation-state as the product of modernity. In Indonesia, the formation of the nation-state was characterised by the presence of overlapping, complexities. These intersecting complexities continue to be a reality today.

Indonesia is a nation-state, which persistently has embraced diversity since the beginning of the State's formation. The emergence of the Garuda as the national emblem marked the urgency to have shared values among its diverse groups of citizens. The Garuda is seen as a symbol of virtue (Johari, 2019, p. 323; Syafrony and Suwanpratest, 2016, p. 58). The Garuda is the representation of the Javan hawk-eagle (Wulakada *et al.*, 2017). Its special trait is that

it soars high in the sky and, so, represents Indonesia's lofty aim of pursuing development (Viridianti, 2014, p. 71). The Garuda as the national emblem was designed by Sultan Hamid II, the Sultan of Pontianak; it was inspired by the symbolism of the Sintang Sultanate in Kalimantan Barat (West Kalimantan) (Oentoro, 2012; Viridianti, 2014). The Garuda's feathers are placed such that they represent the date of Indonesia's Proclamation of Independence, namely 17 August 1945: The number of feathers on each wing totals 17; the number of feathers on the tail totals 8; the number of feathers below the shield or base of tail totals 19; the number of feathers on the neck totals 45.



**Figure 2.1** Visualisation of Garuda, the Indonesian coat of arms

The Garuda is pictured with a shield on its chest which represents the protection of Indonesia as a sovereign country. The symbols of the five sacred principles are attached to the shield, known as Pancasila, which embodies Indonesia's national ideology (*Ideologi Bangsa*). Pancasila is considered to be a sacred value in the sense that it creates unity in diversity. Pancasila consists of five fundamental values serving as the founding principles of Independent Indonesia. These principles are 1) the Star: the belief in the One and Only God, 2) the Chain: just and civilized humanity, 3) the Banyan Tree: the unity of Indonesia, 4) the Bull: democracy guided by the inner wisdom of unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives, and 5) Rice and Cotton: social justice for all Indonesians.

Indonesia's national ideology, Pancasila, influences the actions of individual citizens, government officials, employers, and workers (Tipton, 2009, p. 415). It is taught to all pupils

at all levels of education as part of the curriculum. It is referred to as moral education and civic education. Nishimura (1999) discusses how Pancasila, as moral education, is a way of inducing nationalism in primary schools. When Pancasila is taught as civic education, the curriculum includes the history of the formation of the Indonesian nation, patriotic values and patriotism, the spirit of national defence, and character development (Wibowo and Wahono, 2017, p. 197). Moreover, Pancasila serves as the overall guide to correct action, seen as a good basic quality of every citizen (Parker, 2003, p. 207) and leading to a unified nation (Eilenberg, 2005, p. 169).

Although Pancasila is not explicitly taught as a moral subject at the kindergarten level, the layout of the kindergarten classroom is consistent with that at senior high school. Nishimura observes that in several schools located in Indonesia's border region, the layout of the sixth-grade classrooms is simple with a clear focus on nationalism: the classrooms contain the Indonesian flag, portraits of Suharto, (president of Indonesia at the time), and maps of Indonesia and East Kalimantan (Nishimura, 1999, p. 501). This illustrates that the promulgation of nationalism is a deliberate attempt, which makes use of the educational system. In fact, nationalism is entrenched in Indonesia's education system, and the education system serves as an important tool to instil the national ideology (Eilenberg, 2005, pp. 169-170; Nishimura, 1999; Parker, 2003, p. 205).

Indonesia is a country of great diversity. This diversity ranges from cultural, religious, linguistic to ethnic diversity. Pancasila is meant to be used as instructional guidelines for Indonesian citizens and to unite all. The national values are to be implanted in the hearts and minds of all Indonesians (Weatherbee, 1984, p. 134) as the national character (Nurdin, 2015). This process of standardization was begun in 1978. Morfit (1981) discusses how the internalization of Pancasila was delivered as mandatory training of P4, *Pedoman, Penghayatan, dan Pengamalan Pancasila* (translated as Guidelines for Instilling and Implementing Pancasila). P4 training combined learning materials regarding Pancasila Education and Civic Education with a focus on the teaching of concepts of values synthesized from Pancasila. P4 was initially the brainchild of the New Order Government under President Suharto, which intended to make sure that the values of Pancasila and nationalism could easily be understood, internalized, and practised by all citizens (Maftuh, 2008, p. 136). Thus, for Indonesia, diversity is symbolically immersed through Pancasila.

Indonesian development has been imbued by Pancasila values. In Indonesia, national unity is as important as development (Rock, 2003). Pancasila was promulgated as a guide for the development of Indonesian society in Suharto era (McCormack, 1999). In the context of development, Pancasila is concerned with equality and social justice (McCawley, 1982). To some extent, this refers to the inclusion of people's economic participation and emancipation. That is placing the role of economics as peoples' need to be placed as a development strategy (Jaelani, 2016, p. 249). Having dealt with the roles of Pancasila in the context of Indonesia, in the next section I expand on development, particularly in Indonesia.

## 2.5. DEVELOPMENT

Thus far, the discourse on the ‘border’ and on ‘nation-state formation’ has been presented. Central to the discussions in the previous sections is that a border is not only a product but, rather, must also be seen as a process. Much regarding the conceptualisation of the border centres on the debate concerning the nation as the foundation for state-building. It is important to understand where and when cross-border interaction in the context of the border region is not static or an outcome, but that it is an active and dynamic process operationalized by a purposive goal: that is, to complement existing development. In the following section, I will formulate theoretical links between state formation and development. Thereafter, some discourse on development is presented with a focus on development practices and actors.

It has been mentioned earlier that public infrastructure shortages stimulate cross-border interaction. In general, after WWII, public infrastructure has been associated with the formation of modern states. In Indonesia development tended to be biased towards economic development, a trend that goes back to the colonial period. Robert Cribb notes that early development endeavours in Indonesia is derived from the Dutch Ethical Policy (Cribb, 1993). This policy faltered in the early 1920s and had ceased to exist by the time of the Great Depression. The Ethical Policy aimed to take responsibility for the welfare of its colonial subjects as part of the colonizing state’s unfulfilled ethical and moral obligation to the colony as some recompense for centuries of exploitation (Cribb, 1993, p. 226).

In order to understand the development endeavours in Indonesia, it is essential that we link this to the influence of the Ethical Policy on these efforts. The Ethical Policy contained three broad policy strands (Cribb, 1993, pp. 227-230):

- 1) An impulse toward the legal and administrative protection of the indigenous population of Indonesia
- 2) The expansion of educational opportunities for Indonesians
- 3) Creating welfare by direct intervention in the economy and in society

These strands became the key principles influencing the development endeavours in Indonesia. Cribb (1993) explains that the Ethical Policy sought to improve the economic situation in the region, particularly in Java. Several development initiatives undertaken at that time were triggered by the dense population in Java. They aimed to increase welfare and focused on agricultural expansion, irrigation, transmigration, and some road construction. The idea that development must increase the welfare of the population has long been embedded in the development efforts of the Indonesian government. Therefore it is relevant to grasp how the Dutch defined welfare in the context of the Ethical Policy. The Dutch idea of *welvaart* (welfare) has the positive connotation of lasting prosperity. Cribb stresses that the ‘welfare service’ in the then Netherlands Indies implied the Dutch government’s initiatives to create self-sustaining prosperity.

Similarly, in the introduction of their work, Opello and Rosow mention that historically speaking, a state functions both as an organization of domination and as a promoter of reforms that makes good on the promises of the welfare state (Opello and Rosow, 1999, p. 6). These promises resonate with what (Potter, 2004) refers to as state responsibility. Potter writes that the responsibility of the State is to deliver political goods, such as security, health and education, economic opportunity, good governance, law and order, as well as fundamental infrastructure requirements (transport and communications) (Potter, 2004, p. 1). Summing up, it can be said that the link between the State and development is defined by the State's ability to maintain conducive conditions for economic development within its territory (Clapham, 2002, p. 792).

This research seeks to contribute to the study of economic growth in the border area, even though the term 'economic growth' is not employed in this study, the reason for this being that the term economic growth does not cover the complex processes that make up development. Elaborating on this, I refer to the distinction between economic growth and economic development as made by Hayami, a Japanese agricultural economist. Hayami explains that although at times the terms 'economic development' and 'economic growth' are used interchangeably, it is also relatively common to distinguish the two terms. The author explains that 'economic growth' has the connotation of quantitative expansions in economic variables, especially in the aggregate and per capita national incomes as measured by statistics, such as the GNP (Gross National Product) and the NNP (net national product). He further states that 'economic development' is invariably perceived as a process involving not only quantitative expansion but also changes in non-quantitative factors such as the functioning of institutions, organizations, and culture in the context of which the economies operate (Hayami, 1997b, p. 3). Hayami emphasizes that the study of economic development should consider investigating the role of institutional and cultural factors on economic growth as well as the impacts of economic growth on these factors. With this in mind, one of the focal points of this study concerns the implementation and effects of economic development.

Similarly, Amartya Sen suggests that in analysing development an approach is needed that is more wide-ranging than merely concentrating on economic growth. Sen suggests that development must not merely focus on the growth of the GNP or on the increase of individual incomes, but that it should also take into account aspects that are detrimental or beneficial to development, such as social and economic arrangements, education and health care services, as well as political and civil rights including the involvement in public debate and scrutiny (Sen, 2001, p. 3).

It is beyond the scope of this study to engage with the topic of economic growth, however, the scope of this study will relate to the influence of institutions, organizations, and culture on economic development. Referring to the fact that achieving economic development includes the well-functioning of institutional arrangements, Hayami (1997a) explains the distinction between culture and institutions. Culture is defined as the value system of people

in a society, while institutions are defined as ‘rules sanctioned by the members of the society’ including formal laws and informal conventions. It follows that although distinctive, cultures and institutions are inseparably related (Hayami, 1997a, p. 10). The interaction between institutions and culture is a significant social influence in economic development. Similarly, Amartya Sen has recognized that we often live in a multi-institutional environment and that our ability to help ourselves and others depends on the variety of freedoms that we may enjoy. Sen holds that understanding this is an implicit and explicit feature embedded in the economic development successes in Asia (Sen, 2001, p. 33).

Focusing on the role of institutions, Uphoff (1993) distinguishes between institutions, organizations, and culture. Institutions, whether they are organizations or not, are complex entities based on norms and behaviours that have persisted over time through serving collectively valued purposes, while organizations, whether they are institutions or not, are structures of recognized and accepted roles. Thus, ‘institutionalization’ is a process, and organizations can become more or less ‘institutional’ over time to the extent that they come to enjoy special status and legitimacy for having satisfied people’s needs and for having met their normative expectations. This distinction is extremely relevant and an essential aspect of development.

Uphoff points out that severe institutional retrogression is taking place in a number of countries, particularly in Africa (Uphoff, 1993, pp. 614–615). Although Uphoff does not expound on the irreversible impact of institutions on development, the author does explain that in certain circumstances institutions may not be able to serve their valued purposes. Such circumstances may include a lack of economic resources, lack of political support, lack of social and cultural cohesion, or other disruptions or disappointments (Uphoff, 1993, p. 616).

Development in this study is defined as the attempts of the State in sustaining the citizens’ welfare. It follows that to attain this within their sovereign territory, it is the State’s task to create and maintain favourable conditions for economic development. In its efforts to do so, the State will employ institutionalisation to create enabling (and constraining) conditions to reach the defined development goals. These economic development goals generally comprise the facilitation of territorial access, the improvement of infrastructure, and the engagement of human capital. In Indonesia, Pancasila finds its expression regarding development by means of the philosophy underpinning the national development policy (Appell-Warren, 1985, p. 11).

## 2.6. CROSS-BORDER INTERACTION

In the discussion thus far, I have not elaborated on cross-border interaction. I wish to refer to border development as a deliberate process of border expansion (or not) according to the degree of interaction in a particular border region. To highlight the degree of cross-

border interaction two border development typologies are used in this study as discussed by Martínez (1994) and Wu (1991). I opted for these typologies for two reasons. The cross-border interaction typology formulated by Martínez (1994) highlights the role of family and kinship relations. The typology of border-regional development as proposed by Wu (1991) provides an overview of the expansion of cross-border interaction in relation to the role of the State. Obviously, these typologies are treated as complements to each other in this research.

### 2.6.1. The typology of Martínez

In general, the term interaction implies some form of relationship between or among entities (Bahr and Stary, 2016, p. 3). In the realm of sociology, interaction is seen as a form of reciprocal social interaction, which tightly links to the symbolism of human interaction. Human geography defines interaction in close relation to spatial interaction, to the accessibility of a region or area. The social and geographical dimensions, thus, are important aspects in understanding border crossing practices. Cross-border interaction, then, can be differentiated according to the degree of interaction.

Focusing on cross-border interaction, I will now turn to the typology by Martínez (1994). Martínez distinguishes four types of borderlands based on the degree of interaction: *alienated borderlands*, *coexistent borderlands*, *interdependent borderlands*, and *integrated borderlands* (as shown in Figure 2.2).

*Alienated borderlands* refer to a situation where day-to-day, routine cross-border interchange, is practically non-existent owing to extremely unfavourable conditions such as warfare, political disputes, intense nationalism, ideological animosity, religious enmity, cultural dissimilarity, and ethnic rivalry. Mostly these borderlands are characterized by heavy militarization and the continued presence of rigid control by the State.

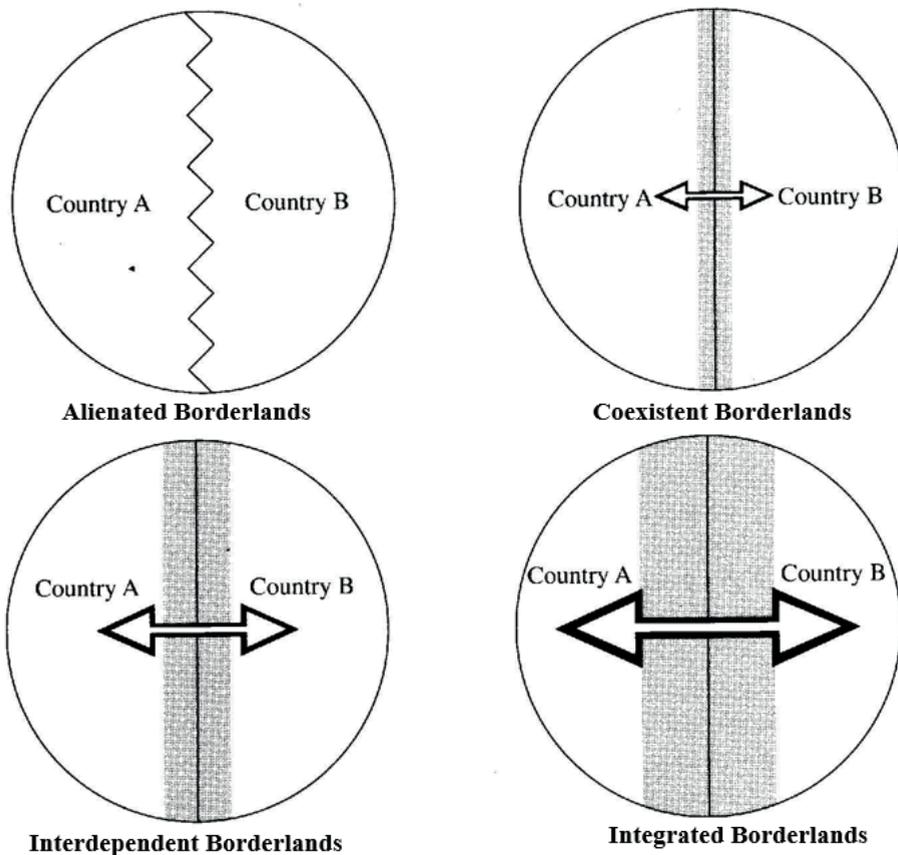
The second type is *coexistent borderlands*. Coexistent borderlands emerge between adjoining borderlands when their respective nation-states reduce the existing international border-related conflicts to a manageable level. This type of borderlands can also emerge in cases where unfavourable internal conditions in one or both countries preclude bilateral cooperation. These problems can be resolved to a degree that minimal border stability prevails.

The third type is *interdependent borderlands*. Interdependent borderlands exist when a border region in one nation is symbiotically linked with the region of the adjoining country. Such interdependence is made possible by relatively stable international relations and by the existence of a favourable economic climate that permits border locals on both sides of the line to profit from growth and development that is tied to foreign capital, markets, and labour. The greater the flow of the economies, the stronger both border regions will be structurally bonded to each other. The result will be the creation of a mutually beneficial economic system.

The fourth type is *integrated borderlands*. In the case of integrated borderlands, the neighbouring countries eliminate all major political differences and existing barriers to trade

and human movement and practicalities merge with capital, products, and labour flowing from one side of the border to the other without serious restrictions. In fact, nationalism can allow for a new internationalist ideology that emphasizes peaceful relations and improvements in the quality of people's lives in both nations through trade and sharing of technology. In this case, each nation willingly relinquishes its sovereignty to a significant degree for the sake of achieving mutual progress.

Martínez' typology covers both the everyday interactions of border locals and cross-border cooperation through the analysis of the actual interaction and articulates the diversity of sources or obstacles for interaction in the border regions. This typology is essential for this study since it allows for observation and analysis of types of cross-border interaction that consider border locals' roles and government's roles in border-regional development. After all, the dynamics of the Krayan border region are shaped by the locals' everyday activities which are inseparable from the role of the Indonesian government.



**Figure 2.2** Cross-border interaction typology

Adapted from (Martínez, 1994, p. 7)

In this study, the border region of Indonesia and Malaysia represents a situation that is in between the co-existent borderlands and interdependent borderlands. Characterized by the shared socio-cultural background of the two adjacent areas, the border region in some instances hesitantly reaches the level of integrated borderlands because for a long period cross-border interaction has been shaped through the shared socio-cultural background of the two adjacent areas.

### 2.6.2. Wu's typology

Cross-border interaction has a certain influence on the development of a border region. From the previously defined cross-border interaction typology, two prominent features, namely the border local economic activities, and the role of the government through its institutions, are accounted for. The border region development itself cannot really be achieved without understanding the difference between border region development and regional development. In his studies *Cross-border development in a changing world* and *Cross-border development in Europe and Asia*, Chung-Tong Wu lists the typologies of border region development in an attempt to simplify, categorize, and facilitate a better understanding of the essence of cross-border development at the various stage of development (Wu, 1998, p. 198; 2001, p. 23). Table 2.1 shows his typologies of border region development broken down into border regions, cross-border regions, and trans-border regions.

**Table 2.1** Typology of border region development

Type of border regions	Economic relations	Institutional and governmental frameworks	Type of enterprises	State of infrastructure network	Migration	The difference in labour costs	Examples
Border regions	Few and strictly controlled	Few	Individuals or small enterprises	Bottlenecks due to strict and cumbersome border	Strictly controlled (frontier)	Extremely High	Russia-China (Tunisia)
Cross-border regions	Dependent relations	Emerging consultative mechanisms	Enterprises large and small acting on their own Largely contractual relationships Joint venture	Consultative planning border controls are still important	Controlled migration (shoppers who commute); university students also commute	High	China-Viet Nam Poland-Germany
Trans-border regions	Symbiotic	Cooperative institutions	Enterprise networks; Technology transfer or sharing networks	Joint planning of infrastructure networks	Simplified procedure and relatively free movement	Diminishing little or none	HK-Shenzhen EU (planned)

Source: Wu (1998, p. 198)

Wu established this typology by utilizing published research material and fieldwork on border region development and so arrived at a concise comparison of border region developments in Asia and Europe. The purpose of his work was to develop a framework to study border region development in Asia and to assess whether the Asian phenomenon is in any way comparable to observations made in European and American contexts. His research materials included the US-Mexico border, the European Union border regions, the border regions in Eastern and Central Europe, the Hong Kong-Shenzhen border region, the border region of China and Viet Nam, the Tumen River Development Zone (between China, North Korea, and Russia), as well as the border region of Singapore-Johor-Riau (border of Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia). He emphasizes that, although this typology is an attempt to simplify and categorize, and so facilitate a better understanding of the key elements of the cross-border development phenomenon, in reality, a specific region may not necessarily fall neatly in the categories set out in the typology. He stresses that the typology represents a development continuum (Wu, 1998, 2001).

Based on the typology in Table 2.1, cross-border development between Indonesia and Malaysia in Kalimantan can be immediately considered to belong to the first category i.e. *border region*, which is characterized by controlled economic relations that only occur at a minimal level. Thereby, cross-border development is regulated by relatively few institutional and government regulations. The enterprises are featured by individuals or small enterprises that of small traders and small-scale industries in the border villages. The state of the infrastructure to facilitate cross-border interaction is a bottleneck owing to a strictly controlled border resulting in the cumbersome border crossing. These factors together impact labour costs differences in the two territories. This may influence an employer to be reluctant to hire workers. In the case of the border in Kalimantan, however, access to low-skilled jobs across the border is possible. Malaysia benefits from the cheap labour from Indonesia, while Indonesia gains advantages through wage differences. This differential is often accentuated by the currency exchange rate between the Indonesian Rupiah and the Malaysian Ringgit, with Rupiah trading at a lower rate.

### 2.6.3. Enabling and constraining factors of cross-border interaction

The operationalization of cross-border interaction crucially depends on the role of agency. Amartya Sen defines an 'agent' as someone whose behaviour changes and who brings change, the achievement of which can only be judged on its own internal criteria, values, and goals, regardless of who judges it. (Sen, 2001, pp. 18-19). The role of the agency in this study can best be understood through the concept of structuration used to analyse how interaction is shaped.

The terms structure and agency are considered as a *duality*, meaning that structure and agency cannot be separated from one another. Giddens termed this 'the duality of structure' (Lamsal, 2012, p. 113). Both elements, structure and agency, are in a relationship and are continuously changing. There are no fixed circumstances that place the two in a permanent

interaction that give primacy to one or the other. This is particularly true in reality. Thus, from time to time both elements are being produced and reproduced. In an empirical situation, the differences between structure and agency are often subtle. Giddens describes structure as modalities, that is, as a set of rules and resources that engages human action (Lamsal, 2012, p. 113). Moreover, Giddens states that although structures (traditions, institutions, moral codes, and other sets of expectations) are universally steady; they can change but mainly resulting from unintentional consequences of actions (Lamsal, 2012, p. 114). Lamsal further describes agency as basic human acts and resulting activities, which can be seen as two defining capabilities (Lamsal, 2012, p. 115). In a way, agency is the determining aspect that defines people's acts and their manifestations, the activities. The acts and activities are two aspects that define people's agency that determined their actions. Subsequently, interaction is understood as a corresponding response towards a given action. *Duality* entails a relationship between two elements that operate with each other. In this, structure refers to the context and setting within which social, political, and economic events occur and acquire meaning. Hay (2002) defines 'agency' in association with a range of concepts such as reflexivity (the ability of the actor to monitor consciously and to reflect upon the consequence of previous actions), rationality (the capacity to collect modes of conduct most likely to realize a given set of preferences) and motivation (the desire and passion with which an actor approaches an attempt to realize a particular intention or preference). Agency also refers to how the activities of individuals and how their intentions, motivations, beliefs, and values, shape social life (Brunet-Jailly, 2005). Opong (2014) states that structure and agency cannot be separated. The author identifies recursive links between a person (agency), environment (structure), and behaviour (p.113).

In this study, I will utilize the enabling and constraining approach to create a better understanding of the structures that influence the process of border making and remaking, as well as the various attributes that characterize this process. As part of this, I will attempt to highlight the enabling and constraining attributes contributing to the process of bordering by the border region locals. This implies that part of the focus of this study is on the institutionalisation of cross-border practices.

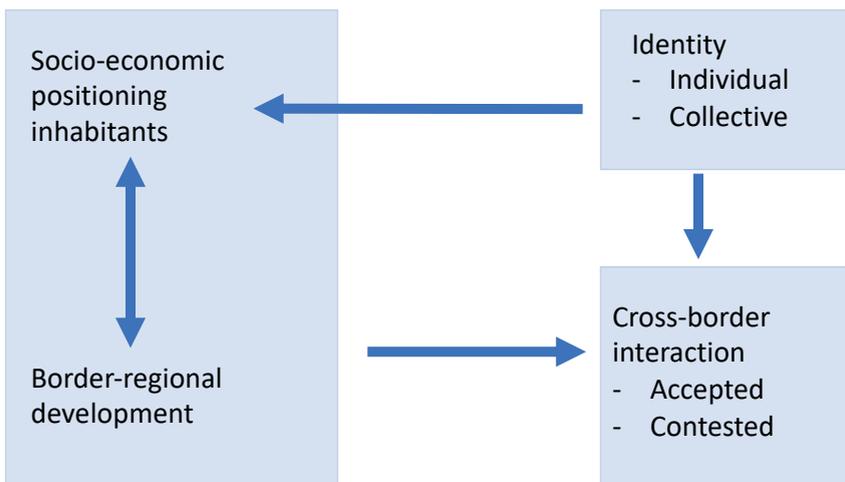
Recent border studies have discussed how the contact between structure and agency underscores the existence of cross-border interaction (Brunet-Jailly, 2005; Konrad, 2015; Moyo, 2016; Sohn, 2014). Furthermore, drawing upon the concepts of structure and agency allows for the investigation of the dynamics of cross-border interaction.

## **2.7. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

The underlying conceptual framework for this study concerns the process of border crossing dynamics along with state-driven development endeavours. The framework takes into account that cross-border interaction occurs as one of the responses to a situation in which

there is a lack of development. The conceptual framework, thus, deals with the question of how the cross-border dynamics play a role in border-regional development.

Figure 2.3 below depicts the conceptual framework connecting the State border, the dynamics of cross-border interaction processes, and the role of border-regional development. In this study, the conceptual framework incorporates state formation and development processes. This framework is not exhaustive; it has been formulated for the purpose of analysis specific for this study. The framework aims to analyse the complexities that characterize cross-border interaction and does not aim to formulate a universal typology. It is, thereby also, not prescriptive. Nevertheless, the ideas used to conceptualize cross-border interaction serve to comprehend a complex reality.



**Figure 2.3** The dynamics of cross-border interaction

As mentioned earlier, this cross-border dynamic typology is inspired by the four types of borderland contexts for interaction—*alienated*, *coexistence*, *interdependent*, and *integrated* (Martínez, 1994) and the typology of border region development (Wu, 1998). In terms of cross-border interaction, the Indonesia and Malaysia border represents an area in between *the co-existence* and *interdependent* borders. The prevailing interaction is particularly characterized by the shared socio-cultural background of the two adjacent areas. In terms of border region development, the Indonesia and Malaysia border may be considered to the *border region* category as there are relatively few economic relations and institutional and governmental frameworks. The shaping of cross-border interaction will be examined by considering the aspects of kinship relation and state-led development.

I will depart from the assumption that the locals' cross-border interaction merely serves as a function to complement development in a border region. Border crossing thus takes place to fulfil the border locals' needs regarding their well-being as well as their need for

development in the region. The actual border crossing process along with the lack of border-regional development causes a dynamic interplay of various characteristics of border locals. These features include changing identity roles. It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that central to the concept of identity is the debate on *civic nation* and *ethnic nations*. Part of the conceptual framework attempts to relate the individuals' changing identity roles to their border crossing intentions.

I continue with the assumption that the formation of a nation partly arises from a demand for development. As described in section 2.2., the boundary, in this case, can be interpreted as a process that accompanies the nation's embodiment. Therefore, the border is referred to as a process rather than as a product. Earlier territorial bordering was discussed as a major influence on the rise of the nation-state. As a product of the formation of a modern state, development includes improving education and making available public infrastructure (Cribb, 1993; 1999, p. 20). Consequently, development in a nation-state is associated with the availability of public infrastructure in the State. It seems that the upgrading of public infrastructure is a crucial stimulus to activate the awareness of nationalism amongst locals.

Building upon this, I argue that for locals to fulfil their basic needs, this requires a specific condition to be met. At the same time, to meet this condition requires the locals' practised routine and their understanding of why they wish to achieve these goals. This condition concerns a collection of means and rules that are strategic in attaining an intended goal, and which need to be practised to become a routine. This implies that border crossing necessitates a precondition that reflects compliance with and/or non-compliance against the 'rules of the game' in order to strategize and engage in cross-border practice. By 'the rules of the game' here is meant that border crossings are practised according to accepted general standards or routines. In this way border-making takes place and the institutionalisation of structure and agency can be observed.

Bearing in mind that compliance with and non-compliance against the 'rules of the game' may sound tempting in explaining the enabling and the constraining conditions of the locals' border crossings. However, to achieve their intended goal, the engagement with the existing rules generates different degrees of cross-border interactions. In the conceptual framework (presented in figure 2.3), I have distinguished two broad general categories of cross-border interaction, each of which has subcategories. First is *accepted border crossing*. This category consists of compliance between the Government and the border locals. Two types of crossing exist in this category are *accepted and regulated/stimulated*, and *accepted and necessary*. Subsequently, the second group of crossing is *contested border crossing*. This grouping is imbued by tensions between the border locals' crossing and the Government's rule. Three types of crossing within this grouping are *contested and condoned*, *contested and uncertain*, and *illegal crossing*.

In general, the theoretical framework in Figure 2.3 depicts the dynamics of cross-border interaction. Cross-border interaction may be caused by a change in the locals' role of identity; it may also result from the dynamics of state-led development and its associated institutions.

Furthermore, I hold that border-regional development serves as a catalyst that makes cross-border interaction manifest. I have intentionally used the term *catalyst* to highlight the fact that border crossing has been in existence prior to the formation of the State, when it was driven by kinship relations. From the literature, it can be concluded that contemporary border crossing does not only take place because of kinship relations but is also driven by uneven border-regional development that occurred after the formation of the State.

According to this framework, the interplay between the local's socio-economics background and the border-regional development affects the dynamics of cross-border interaction. As this framework might suggest, the identity appears to link between the socio-economic and the border crossing practices. This is partly because the locals are accounted as actively construct and reconstruct their identity in order to meet their goals, and about the changing of border regions' circumstances which are often accounted to the State level, and to a certain extent is influenced by the border locals. Thus, I come to consider the categories in this framework to reflect the sense of contestation between the local and the bordering affected by the State. This contestation is shown by the degree of the compliance or non-compliance of the border crosser to the State rules. It moves from a sense of being fully compliant to the border crossings' rules to non-compliance. Two types of cross-border dynamics result from the pre-condition of compliance with and/or non-compliance against the given rules, which are *accepted* and *contested*. When rules are complied with, the border crossing manifests itself as an *accepted border crossing*. When there is non-compliance against the rules, the crossing practice manifests itself as a *contested border crossing*. Inherent in this typology is that for border crossings to manifest themselves, an integrated concurrence of values and behaviours is required. Below, I elucidate these border crossings categories.

Concerning the two cross-border interaction categories, each of the categories consists of subcategories relative to the degree of interaction. The term degree here indicates that the interaction depends on variable circumstances rather than on a straightforward, unchanging situation. Thus, more detailed elaboration of each category allows for a specific analysis at each point on the continuum of categories. Accordingly, the *accepted* border crossing involves conducive circumstances that encourage cross-border practices. The *contested* border crossing encapsulates the existence of tension with respect to cross-border practices. Below the two categories are detailed in terms of their degree of interaction.

### *Accepted border crossing*

The first category where the border crossing is *accepted* captures situations where the border crossing gained acceptance by both the State and the border locals. This implies that the border crossings are officially recognized in order to support, if not improve, the border locals' lives.

The *accepted* border crossing recognises the State's roles as the dominant feature in affecting the locals' border crossing behaviour. The State is perceived as enabling to the

extent that the State is officially institutionalising border crossing as means of meeting the locals' daily needs. In a way, the State's regulation accepts the locals' border crossings and the intentions of crossing the border are in compliance with the State's crossing rules. For example, they use the border crossing pass in the Indonesia-Malaysia border to accommodate the border locals crossing on a daily basis (as discussed in Chapter 5). This typology highlights the character of the State as a political organization of domination and as a promoter of reforms that make good on the promises of the welfare of its citizens. In terms of the State institutionalising the border crossing behaviours, this can be perceived as the State role in ensuring adequate circumstances for the border locals to meet their necessities. This accepted border crossing highlights a different degree of acceptance concerning the essentiality and the State's institutions. Two useful distinctions regarding this type of crossing are *accepted and regulated/stimulated* and *accepted and necessary*.

*Accepted and regulated/stimulated* cross-border practice takes place when the border crossing practices are officially recognized. Consequently, the cross-border interactions gain official support to the extent that border crossing regulations are established. A case in point is the issuance of border passes that was the result of the Border Trade Agreement (BTA) between Indonesia and Malaysia in 1967 (see Joint Communiqué, 1967). The function of the border pass is to accommodate the border locals' border crossings. Furthermore, along the progressing years, the Border Trade Agreement between Indonesia and Malaysia 1967 has been revised as Border Crossing Agreement 1970 following the evolving circumstances along the two adjacent borders.

*Accepted and necessary* cross-border interaction takes place when border crossings are essential to sustain the locals' lives, while at the same time the cross-border interactions enjoy the necessary support. For instance, with this revised agreement, at least five border crossings' purposes that gain official recognition include visiting relatives, social/culture, border trade, government duty and any other purposes agreed upon by parties (Border Trade Agreement, 1970; Raharjo *et al.*, 2017). In particular, to the last point under the heading 'other purposes agreed upon parties', this can be interpreted that the State allows a certain acceptance of the locals' border crossings under particular purposes, notably when the State is considered to be unable to fulfil the needs of the local due to the geographical condition of a region. Case in point here including going across the border for the purpose of education, medical treatment and working.

These two subcategories highlight the role of agency of the border locals and at the same the degree of support by the State. Thus, the border crossings of the locals maintain compliance with the State rules.

### ***Contested border crossing***

The second category where the border crossing is *contested*, captures situations where cross-border interaction is challenged by the State, whilst there is a certain degree of acceptance by the locals to proceed with the crossings. Accordingly, the contested border crossing

recognises features concerning disputes of the locals border crossing as opposed to State's regulation and or *vice versa*. The border crossing here is perceived as a purposive interplay of the locals' agency with any potential development agencies in their effort to meet their needs. Subsequently, the locals' agency in crossing the border are dependent on the context-specific circumstances. Whilst the State is perceived as constraining the border crossing. This type of border crossing outlines the dominance of the agency of border locals over the State. This way the contested border crossing is defined as a border crossing practice that is not objectively definable and inevitably involves disputes in appropriating its uses.

This type of border crossing is sensitive to changes and temporality. It identifies that the border crossing is subject to change, in a way this category takes into account that this border crossing may be plausible due to unfavourable internal conditions in one or both countries. It identifies the temporality element, in a way this category perceives the border locals' chances in crossing the border changes over time. Subsequently, this type of cross-border interaction is challenged to different degrees. Three useful distinctions regarding this type of crossing are *contested and condoned*, *contested and uncertain*, *contested and 'illegal'*.

The *contested and condoned* border crossing reflects a cross-border interaction where the border crossing is actively constrained but is accepted for specific purposes. Note that the word 'condone' means "to forgive or to pardon". It is derived from the Latin verb "*condonare*" which means to "give up, remit, and permit". In this study, the word 'condoned' implies that cross-border interaction practices may occur with permission despite the official state ruling against it. Border crossings by actors to an adjacent village across the border when they do not bring a border pass is an apt illustration of this type of interaction. Another example of this interaction is when the border crossers are allowed to enter a country of destination further than the covering areas that have been stated. This is possible by considering the specificity of the crossing and by taking into account that crossings do not cause any risk or harm in the adjacent border. Referring to the annexes of Border Trade Agreement 1967 of border crossing pass between Indonesia and Malaysia, a border-crosser is allowed to go in the coverage areas of 15km<sup>2</sup> from the exit/entry point in Long Midang (Krayan, Indonesia) (Border Crossing Agreement, 2006). Meanwhile, the border-crossers from Krayan may also go to Lawas (Malaysia), as far as 107 km away from Long Midang, in order to visit their family while still using the border crossing pass.

*Contested and uncertain* border crossing is in between the condoned and illegal crossings. This crossing occurs in less stable circumstances. This type of interaction takes place when the adjoining states experience internal, if not local, tension within their territory regarding the possible cross-border interaction and yet they are able to reduce the border related issues to a manageable level. This type of border crossing is signified by the absence of official support between states. For the border crossers, this means a certain level of uncertainty when involved in cross-border interaction. In the case of the Indonesia-Malaysia border, this border issue can be depicted by the Confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia (as is discussed in Chapter 4). In spite of this tension, the locals' border crossings were not halted

because the official disputes between the two countries are manageable to reduce to the local individual level. However, to this day, the presence of military units posted on the border has been a legitimacy of the policy at that time to prevent troop intrusions from either side.

*Contested and 'illegal'* border crossing reflects a border crossing that continues to take place regardless of the State's restrictions. This restriction entails strict border control to monitor the flow of people and goods. An instance of illegal border crossing is the smuggling of alcoholic drinks and the excessive amount of goods entering the border region unbeknownst to the border control.

In this study, I refer to cross-border interaction as the embodiment of a purposive interplay. The term purposive interplay means that the cross-border interaction is organized as the result of an individual's intention while considering the perceptions of others. This implies that cross-border interaction only comes about if several individuals have a shared perception regarding the potential advantage of the border crossing. In the typology discussed above, border-regional development appears as a catalyst for cross-border interaction. Although border-regional development is not always the obvious force that contributes to border crossing practices, yet it can be a significant force in creating intentions and shaping cross-border behaviour. For instance, a significant contrast in border-regional development between two adjacent states may become a driving force for crossing practices. It must be noted, however, that cross-border behaviour may also be influenced by other causes, notably kinship relations with locals living across the border.

## 2.8. SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with the concepts and analytical framework that serve as the backbone of this study. The theoretical background was presented underpinning the observations in this study. This is based on a border discourse, while it is also based on the development debate, with enabling and constraining aspects constituting the interplay between these two realms. The border debate mainly focuses on the evolving concept of border, which in turn affects the definition of the 'border'. Traditionally, a border is associated with tangible geographical boundaries such as rivers, mountains, and forests. The contemporary concept treats the border as a process, one that can be less tangible.

Concerning the discourse on development, in this study, the focus is on economic development as the prominent aspect associated with the State's efforts at the improvement of the citizens' welfare. The final section of this chapter discusses the linkage between the aforementioned aspects to form an analytical framework.

This conceptual framework is formulated to understand the relationship between cross-border interaction and border-regional development in Krayan, Kalimantan. To highlight the distinctive aspects involved in cross-border dynamics, two categories have been designed, namely, *accepted* and *contested* cross-border dynamics. In this, the role of the State and that of

the border locals has been defined with the aim of emphasizing their significance in sustaining border crossings. Each of the two categories consists of subcategories in accordance with the degree of cross-border interaction. Here the degree of interaction indicates a response to variable circumstances rather than a response to an absolute situation.

This conceptual framework is essential in order to come to a generalization of the complexity of the cross-border dynamics within the context of border-regional development. Thus, this conceptual framework operates as a device to unpack reality, so that the relationship between the components making up this reality can be studied. Only then the examination of cross-border dynamics will become feasible.

In order to capture the dynamics of the bordering process, this study is focusing on the everyday encounters of individuals. By analysing the individuals' perspectives, this study is able to see how the individuals take part in the making and remaking of the border. Capturing these dynamics requires a methodological approach that is able to comprehend the broader context and recognise the individuals' experiences. This can be done by integrating quantitative data and qualitative data. For example, the frequency of individuals' border crossing is integrated with the description and picture of the individuals' experience. In the following chapter, this mixed method methodology is discussed.



# 3

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## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

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The small aircraft that took me from Malinau had just landed at the Yuvai Semaring airport in Long Bawan. All passengers including myself proceed to the exit gate. On my way to the exit gate, Esther, a fellow passenger who had sat next to me on the plane asked me where I wanted to go. I told her of my mission and that I wondered how I could reach the District Office, and what kind of transportation I could take to get there. Esther then invited me to visit her in her home. She told me that provided the weather was nice and the road was dry and solid, one of her family members would pick me up from my accommodation and take me there. As we arrived at the exit gate, a young man approached her. They looked happy to see each other. Esther, then told me that he was one of her family members. She then told me that he would first take me to the District Office and afterwards he would take her home. She assured me that it would be too far to walk to the District Office and that there was no regular transport to take me there. Therefore, she suggested that I accept the ride on the man's motorbike. During the ride, the man explained that the roads in Krayan are not as good as the roads in the city. I saw potholes in the road almost everywhere we passed.

(Own fieldwork notes, January 2015)

### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

My experience to find transportation that could take me to the District Office in Krayan made me aware of the accessibility or, rather, the inaccessibility of Krayan, and also how much this is dependent on the weather and the condition of the roads. Later on, during my visit, I learned that the locals felt that the two villages were far away from each other because of the poor condition of the roads, which becomes even worse when it is raining. It is uncommon for the locals to give a specific estimate of the distance in kilometres between two locations. Instead, they commonly express the distance between villages in terms of the estimated time needed to reach the destination. This estimate, moreover, is related to the perceived distance and means of transport to reach a village in Krayan. My experiences narrated above highlight how much accessibility influenced my research approach.

In Chapter 2 the conceptual framework for this study was discussed. As mentioned, the aim of the study is to examine cross-border dynamics in the context of border-regional development. This then led to the formulation of the research methodology needed to gather materials relevant to this research, such as respondents' responses and photographs taken during fieldwork. This chapter provides an overview of the research methodology.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the selection of the research area in Kalimantan has followed the New Indonesian Frontier research programme's focus. Based on a specific interest in cross-border dynamics in the Kalimantan border region between Indonesia and Malaysia, this study commenced with an extended literature review of articles, references, and documents available both online and offline. The next step consisted of three consecutive phases, namely, field research, data analysis, and discussion. The field research comprised two stages, namely, exploratory and in-depth fieldwork. The exploratory stage sought to explore the prospect of researching the intended topic in several possible research areas in the Kalimantan border region. The in-depth fieldwork stage aimed to gain in-depth and specific insight into the locals' border crossings.

Some of the tools employed in this study were inspired by the research tools employed by Smith (2007) in his research in Accra, Ghana, and by Ardhana *et al.* (2004) in their research in the Kelalan valley, Sarawak (Malaysia), and the Bawan valley, East Kalimantan (Indonesia).

This chapter aims to foreground the usefulness of the mixed method to gather relevant data. The importance of using the mixed method is twofold. First, it may validate the data gathered from both qualitative and quantitative methods. In this respect, the method serves the purpose of triangulation. Second, it serves to complement data that may not have been sufficiently generated by individual research methods.

In the following section, the relevance of employing the mixed method in this research is explained. Thereafter, ethnographic approaches are discussed including the use of questionnaires to supplement this. I then describe the three stages which led to the selection of Krayan as the research area, followed by a discussion of the research procedures and selection of the respondents. In this section, the reason will be explained for the choice of

this particular research procedure. Also, the concerns regarding the choice of respondents involved in this study are discussed. The section then continues with the explanation of methods used to analyse the data and examine the research findings. The final section reflects on challenges encountered during the data collection in the field.

### 3.2. MIXED METHODS APPROACH

The objective of this study is to achieve a better understanding of the cross-border interactions in the Kalimantan border area in the context of border-regional development. To do so, five research subquestions were formulated. In order to answer these, both quantitative and qualitative data collection was required. Hence, this study utilised a mixed method approach. In order to present research settings of existing border crossings as well as regional development endeavours, the study employed quantitative data collection and analysis. The qualitative data were gathered to achieve in-depth insights into the border crossings as experienced by the locals. In this study, I refer to the definition of mixed methods as it has been functionally described by Philip (1998, p. 264) as follows: “mixed methods may be taken as referring to a situation whereby two or more methods are used to address a research question at the same stage in the research process, in the same place, and with the same research subjects”.

A mixed methods approach attempts to bring confirmation and comprehension of the phenomenon under study (Dunning *et al.*, 2007, p. 147). Moreover, the use of qualitative sources in conjunction with quantitative methods may result in a greater understanding and in-depth meaning of the undertaken observation (Winchester, 1999, p. 66). The mixed methods approach adopted in this study aims to gain confirmation and comprehension of the cross-border interactions in the Krayan border region. In a way, confirmation here refers to an assurance that the findings are correct based on quantitative and qualitative data collection. Malterud (2001) explains that the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods results in triangulation with the aim to increase the understanding of complex phenomena. It does, thus, not aim at criteria-based validation where the agreement among different sources confirms the validity of the findings.

The quantitative approach mainly serves to determine the distribution of border crossing activities, i.e. to appraise their distribution nature and quantitative value. This data also helps to contextualize more in-depth data gained through qualitative follow-up methods. The quantitative data was gathered through the administration of a questionnaire to the respondents, after which statistical analysis was performed on the data. The qualitative information was collected through ethnographic approaches including participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and in-depth interviews. This information was then complemented by materials collected during fieldwork such as policy documents related to the border region, field photographs, relevant secondary data, as well as online sources on

topics related to cross-border interaction and border-regional development. The qualitative techniques provided an in-depth understanding with regard to the respondents' perceptions of their border crossing and how these link to border-regional development. The qualitative approach was also expected to yield information as to how the respondents value their border crossings and the current development.

The field research was divided into two stages based on particular goals, that is, the gathering of broad data and of in-depth data, both being useful to support the purpose of this study.

The first fieldwork was conducted from December 2014 until January 2015. The focus was to conduct an exploratory study in order to obtain initial information regarding the research site before finalizing the research problems. I employed this period to become familiar with the situation of the research area, to set priorities regarding the specific research area to be studied, and to establish rapport in the field. The second fieldwork took place from December 2015 until March 2016.

### **3.2.1. The survey**

A survey was designed to gather information regarding the Krayan locals' border crossing experiences and their perceptions of the performed border-regional development in Krayan. The questions were adapted from questionnaires of the working paper 'Travel Patterns and Attitude in Border Areas' by Anderson and O'Dowd (1999) and from Sterkens *et al.* (2014). The use of these references is relevant, especially in finding in-depth information regarding border crossing activities and the self-definition of national identity in Indonesia. Moreover, each question in the questionnaires is contextualized by using input from development-related documents at the regency and district level, and on the findings from exploratory fieldwork conducted in the period December 2014 until January 2015. The required response formats included fill-in-the-blank questions, questions with multiple-options, and those with a single-option. Although the survey was designed as a paper-based survey, the distribution of the questionnaire included completion by means of a structured interview - this according to the respondent's preference. Although the survey was intended to be distributed amongst a diverse range of locals based on their social role, in reality, the survey was largely responded to by village heads, some customary leaders, and a few community elders and civil servants (discussed in the section 3.7.1)

The survey was designed as a household survey. In this study, a household refers to people who live under the same roof. This means that the information coming from any member of the family is taken as representative for all members of the household. The number of family members in a household ranged from three to seven people. In some instances, two households lived in one house.

The questionnaire comprised six main parts: demographic information, border crossing pattern of the locals, attitudes towards participation in cross-border cooperation, national identity, development assessment, and social-economic status (as can be seen in Appendix B).

The first part aimed to focus on profiling the demographic characteristics of the respondents including age and how long they had lived in Krayan.

The second part concentrated on border crossing patterns. In investigating the cross-border patterns, a question that indicates possession of a border pass (as the official travel document) is important since this indicates who can freely cross the border. The questions were posed in an indirect manner in order to gain actual information on cross-border practices. They covered various topics such as time trajectories, importance, activities, and modes of transportation used in crossing the border. The activities included working, shopping, trading, travelling for leisure, visiting family and friends, and attending a cultural event.

The third and the fourth parts concentrated on cultural elements. The questions aimed to investigate the cross-border attitudes of the respondents in respect of their cultural background. In other words, it can be said that the questions' aims were two-fold. The first was to indicate the respondents' awareness of the existence of a cross-border cultural forum, or a cross-border organization or similar, that prompting to their border crossings. The second aim was to provide information on the respondents' cultural motivations prompting their border crossings.

To that end, the third part emphasized attitudes towards participation in cross-border cooperation more specifically based on the respondents' cultural background. Three questions were asked to find an indication of whether the respondents were involved in any cross-border activities because of their cultural background, and whether they would regularly attend meetings as part of this. Additionally, a question regarding the association between Indonesian and Malaysian border existence and the cultural ties of the two border locals was posed to respondents. Four subquestions were constructed to gather this information, a comparison of *before* and *after* both states were established was included in each of the four subquestions. The fourth subquestion also asked for clarification on the influence of cultural ties in actual border crossings. The four listed subquestions required the locals to pronounce their degree of agreement on five point scales ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'.

The fourth part focused on the respondents' personal perspectives on identity. This part aimed to get information on how the respondents acknowledge their identities and attitudes to cross-border cooperation forums that exist in the region. Three questions were asked regarding aspects of their identity. This included the location where they live, self-acknowledgement with respect to their identity, and the language they speak daily.

The fifth part of the questionnaire focused on regional development endeavours. This part aimed to investigate whether development endeavours took place in Krayan and whether the respondents saw these endeavours as satisfactory. The first few questions centred on the involvement of actors with leading roles. Thereafter, the questionnaire focused on a set of four leading roles as these present common roles in development endeavours in the region, namely, government official, religious leader, customary leader, and military. The

**Table 3.1** Data collection methods

No	Research Questions	Data requirements	Sources	Means of data collection	Respondents
1	What does Krayan border region look like?	Historical background of the region, Krayan population figures,	Research Articles Fieldwork, Government bulletins	Internet-based search Participant observation Field notes	-
2	What kind of developments exists in Krayan?	Developments records	Research Articles, Fieldwork Government bulletins	Internet based-search Participant observation Field notes	-
3a	What is the cross-border interaction in Krayan?	Frequencies of the border crossing	Exploratory fieldwork In-depth fieldwork	Participant observation Field notes Questionnaire	The Officials, the village heads, the customary elders, the locals
3b	What is the border-regional development in Krayan?	Documentation Policies	Exploratory fieldwork In-depth fieldwork	Internet-based search Participant observation Field notes	The Officials, the village heads, the customary elders, the locals
4a	How is the cross-border interaction perceived by Krayan locals?	The locals' perception of their border crossing	Exploratory fieldwork In-depth fieldwork	Interviews Questionnaires Field notes	The Officials, the village heads, the customary elders, the locals
4b	How is the border-regional development perceived by the locals?	The implemented development endeavours in the region	Exploratory fieldwork In-depth fieldwork	Interviews Questionnaires Field notes	The Officials, the village heads, the customary elders, the locals

respondents were able to add other actors. In addition, a set of questions probed whether the locals' perceive as satisfactory those aspects of development that are closely associated with the involvement of the Indonesian government. This set of questions was in line with the idea that development endeavours are associated with the State government (described in Chapter 2). The questions were also articulated including reference to the tangible evidence that is often referred to by both the officials and the locals during the exploratory fieldwork. The development aspects included health services, job opportunities, educational services, transportation, telecommunication and information, daily goods stock, supply of electricity, and the provision of clean potable water. The availability of these public goods and infrastructure greatly affects the locals' perceptions of the development in their region.

The sixth part centred on the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. The respondents were asked questions regarding the social and economic aspects of their lives. Social aspects refer to the respondents' level of education and their livelihood. Economic aspects focus on the respondents' monthly average income and their degree of satisfaction with their monthly average income.

Several questions were repeated using different wording to explore the consistency of the given responses. The first question regarding the use of dual currencies (Indonesian Rupiah/IDR and Malaysian Ringgit/MR), was designed as a repetition of a question asked earlier regarding 'cross-border travel and contacts'. Another element of repetition lay in the question about 'cross-border patterns' which dealt with the importance of border crossing to support the locals' lives in Krayan. Also, the third question probed the aspect of 'satisfaction with development', the role of Indonesian soldiers in the lives of Krayan locals.

Table 3.1 below presents the list of research questions with the data requirements for each question. It summarizes how each of the empirical research questions (1 to 4) in this study corresponds to a different application of research methods. Subsequently, in order to gain a better understanding of respondents' perceptions and practices, I split subquestions 3 and 4 into two parts.

### 3.2.2. Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were usually performed in an informal setting and in a conversational tone to elicit frank responses from the respondents. Despite the interviews having a conversational character, the interviews were more than just a conversation. Longhurst (2010, p. 103) argues:

A semi-structured interview is a verbal interchange where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions. Although the interviewer prepares a list of predetermined questions, semi-structured interviews unfold in a conversational manner offering participants the chance to explore issues they feel are important.

This method also aimed to gather general information regarding the border-regional development in Krayan, as well as to collect more detailed information regarding border crossings in conjunction with the border-regional development. Thus, the semi-structured interviews were particularly useful in examining the 'how' questions and gaining the respondents' personal perceptions pertaining to the border crossing interactions in the context of the border-regional development. In addition to the respondents having the flexibility to express their views freely, semi-structured interviews assist in not losing sight of the key elements of the topic under study.

Collecting locals' responses through semi-structured interviews helped to gain in-depth insight into their border crossing practices. Several topical questions for the interview were generated based on the exploratory fieldwork and relevant literature. The questions covered information as to whether the respondents were familiar with and engaged in border crossing activities, and whether the respondents could confirm common border crossing interactions in the region. Topical questions also provided insights into respondents' views on the influence of the ongoing implementation of border-regional development on their own border crossing

activities. In this manner, the reasoning behind cross-border interactions and whether and/or how this related to state incentives at border-regional development could be identified.

### **3.2.3. Community group discussion**

Hopkins (2007) mentions that the location for the group discussion is an important consideration when conducting research with people where access involved a series of negotiations. As part of the research, group discussions were employed in conjunction with interviews to further probe into the respondents' different responses. In total, three village community group discussions were held in three small Krayan villages i.e. Wa' Yagung, Bungayan, and Pa' Raye. The groups consisted of 10 - 20 people ranging in age from 25 to 75 years. In all village community groups, most of the members were male with only a few female respondents. In order to involve more people, the discussions were held in the evening after working hours or on Sundays.

The use of the group discussion in this study was also suggested by the community elders. The elders often mentioned that this was in consideration of the small number of the households in the three villages in comparison with other villages in Krayan. In this way, the individual opinions could be well represented. For instance, an elder community member in Wa' Yagung was quite adamant that the group discussion would be best conducted after the Sunday service in the church as the majority of the locals in Wa' Yagung would attend the service. In Bungayan, a village that is known to have the lowest population, the group discussion was conducted in the house of the former village head. Also in Pa' Raye the village head volunteered to host the group discussion in his own house.

### **3.2.4. Ethnographic approach**

The goal of this study is to understand the role of cross-border dynamics in the context of border-regional development in Kalimantan. My particular interest was to gather data that represent the local dwellers' insight regarding their border crossing practices in relation to the border-regional developments taking place in their area, the research site. Hence, I aimed to gather data that would foreground the research respondents' perspectives on their environment as they engage in their everyday activities and processes. This requires data that can present border crossing practices, data that represent border development, as well as data that capture the interrelation of these two aspects. To achieve this, I elected to use an ethnographic approach next to questionnaires and in-depth interviews.

Ethnographic methods provide researchers with the means to collect data that can be used to construct a descriptive account of the phenomena being investigated (Dollar and Merrigan, 2002, p. 60). Over the years the term ethnography has come to be equated with virtually any qualitative research project where the intent is to provide a detailed, in-depth description of everyday life and practice (Hoey, 2014). In this study, an ethnographic approach was used during the two periods of fieldwork. As part of this, the following means of

data collection were used: participant observation, semi-structured interviews, community group discussions with Krayan locals, and taking field notes.

Participant observation in an ethnographic sense allows the researcher to become familiar with a group and its environment and, so, to recognize significant group communication processes taking place. During both periods of fieldwork in Krayan, I participated in several social events, such as attending Sunday services, attending religious discussion sessions, and joining the graduation party of a young undergraduate. Besides social activities, I also joined a group of locals on a trip to the most remote villages in the region and a trip to a nearby Malaysian village, Long Semado, and to the Malaysian city of Lawas. On another occasion, I served as an education consultant to a young undergraduate student and a village leader.

Adopting participant observation in this study allowed me to develop a strategic approach to broaden and deepen my understanding of the locals' everyday practices. It made it possible to establish a relationship with the locals, which led them to have trust in my presence in the community. At the same time, my limited time spent on fieldwork inevitably restricted my immersion into the locals' everyday lives. Nevertheless, both being present and having trust are critical to establishing a meaningful relationship. Another advantage was that this established relationship not only helped me to develop questions that were relevant to the context of the locals but it also prompted me to be respectful of specific respondents and of the local locals in general.

### 3.2.5. Field notes

Field notes are a crucial part of the ethnographic approach (Emerson *et al.*, 1995; Wolfinger, 2002). Wolfinger (2002) notes that they fulfil the crucial role of connecting researchers and their subjects in the writing of an ethnographic report (p.92). Emerson *et al.* (1995) remark that these descriptive accounts select and emphasize different features and actions while ignoring and marginalizing others (p.9). These features and actions may focus on a description of an observed individual, such as the physical appearance and apparel, and a sequence of the observed phenomena. Similarly, the written accounts may also focus on the ethnographers' own thoughts and feelings as they interact with the observed reality. The fieldnotes, furthermore, may highlight the actions of one individual that affect the observed events. Essentially, fieldnotes help ethnographers to present and report their observations in order to unravel the complexities of the observed reality.

Field notes in this research aimed to record the complexities of border crossing phenomena. During the fieldwork, field notes were kept to report observed cross-border interactions. For instance, the notes recorded the setting of the data collection during the fieldwork (e.g. respondents' backgrounds and the number of locals involved in an interview), detailed accounts of the way locals arranged their border crossings, accounts of key events in the Krayan region, the list of villages in the Krayan region, particular terminology that was frequently uttered by locals, and impromptu insights resulting from my own experiences during the fieldwork.

On several occasions where the prepared research tools could not be used to gather information about the locals' border crossing practices due to their unavailability, taking field notes soon after the event enabled me to understand the underlying motivation for the border crossings of Krayan locals. Thus, taking notes in the field assisted in recording my fieldwork activities and my observations. In this way, it was possible to revisit my experience in the field during the data analysis stage. In the analysis stage, the field notes allowed me to reflect on the observed realities in keeping with the conceptual framework. The fieldnotes, thus, made it possible to transform the observed border crossing practices into insightful data. Such insights are unlikely to develop during fieldwork because of the density of the information gathered in the field. The field notes also helped to address issues that arose during the research process.

Besides the collection of primary data such as interviews, surveys and field notes, this study also utilised secondary data. The secondary data included policy documents, literature about Krayan, photographs, and video compact disc. Archival data are most often used in conjunction with interviews and observations to develop a better understanding of the phenomenon of interest and of the context in which the phenomenon is occurring (Shah and Corley, 2006). However, archival data within this research were considered to be background references to the primary data.

There are two advantages to using secondary data in this study. First, they are useful in identifying the problem in a general context. This is particularly relevant when considering government documents. Second, they are useful in presenting the dynamics of the border as perceived by the locals. A case in point is the customary border that was only referred to by the former village head, as well as references to several other borders that are distinct from the State border.

### **3.3. RESEARCH AREA SELECTION**

The Krayan region was selected as the research area in this study. The selection of the research area included three phases: a literature study, exploratory field research in the Kalimantan Utara province, and in-depth fieldwork. The first phase of this research involved a literature review of articles, government documents, and online newspaper articles, such as *Antaraneews*, *Regional Kompas*, and *CNN Indonesia*. These documents were selected based on their relevance that describe cross-border interaction in general, and in Kalimantan in particular. The aim of the literature review was to develop an understanding of prospective research areas as well as to assess their feasibility. In addition, the literature study was relevant to identify different definitions of cross-border interaction that are generally considered theoretically sound and determine how the definitions could be operationalized in the Kalimantan border region.

With respect to the second phase, the explorative field research was performed in several districts in Kalimantan, i.e. Sebatik, Malinau, and Nunukan. This phase specifically aimed to make a number of contacts, so that broad empirical information regarding border crossings could be gathered. Contacts with relevant authorities ranging from the level of the province, the regency, and the district were established through formal meetings. Meanwhile, contacts with local people were established through attending public events and engaging in informal conversations with various groups of people.

Based on this exploratory fieldwork, it became clear that there are significant differences between the border regions in the province of Kalimantan Utara. In Malinau regency, for instance, where I had visited two border districts, Long Nawang and Long Ampung, during my exploratory fieldwork, cross-border interaction these days rarely happened. There are two reasons for this. One is the improvement of access to the road from these districts to Long Bagun, a district that is a part of Kalimantan Timur Province. The other is that the road that connects the districts to Tapak Mega, which is the closest Malaysian territory, had been deteriorating. The locals in these districts mentioned that even though the road that connects their area to Long Bagun is primarily made out of solid soil, the actual improvement of the road has caused them to no longer depend on the distribution of goods from Malaysia. Even if the transport of goods from Long Bagun may experience a delay because of bad weather such as heavy rainfall that causes the road to become muddy, the road is still in a better condition compared to the road to Tapak Mega.



**Figure 3.1** Border post in Long Nawang, district of Kayan Hulu, Malinau regency.

In Sebatik and Nunukan, the cross-border activities appear to be embedded in the locals' everyday activities. Regarding its geographical location, Sebatik is an island that partly belongs to Indonesia and partly to Malaysia. The locals residing on this island acknowledge the two territories as Sebatik Indonesia and Sebatik Malaysia. In Nunukan, where the official border entry and exit point is located, the local border crossing takes place in Tunon Taka harbour, the international harbour that is on the route from Nunukan, Indonesia to Tawau, Malaysia. The majority of the population in these regencies is Buginese and come from the Sulawesi Selatan Province. In fact, the name of the harbour, Tunon Taka, is derived from the Bugis language and means 'our neighbour' (Lenggono, 2012, p. 85)<sup>4</sup>.

Since the main goal of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the cross-border interaction that takes place in the border province of Kalimantan Utara the aim was to gather information from a group of locals who are known to have a shared cultural background with border dwellers in Malaysia. Accordingly, several criteria had to be considered such as whether cross-border interaction to Malaysia is practised by local locals originating from the border region, and whether the border crossing activities are embedded in the locals' everyday lives. These concerns then led to the third phase in the selection of the research area. Since the Krayan region matched these criteria, this area was selected as the research area instead of the districts of Long Nawang and Long Ampung from the Malinau regency and the district of Sebatik Tengah from Nunukan regency.

Regarding locations of the respondents' selection in Krayan region, the selection process comprised two stages, namely the villages where the respondents actually reside and the size of the population in these villages. During the first stage, the villages were selected based on their relatively close distance from the Indonesia - Malaysia border. I employed the relative distance measurement for two reasons, namely in order to cope with the vastness of the research area and to engage with actual measurements of distance as they are embedded in the locals' perceptions. The perception of relative distance depends highly on the individual locals' energy and physical stamina, the number of pauses they take during the trip, the weather (rainy season or dry season), the mode of transportation (on foot, by motorbike, or by car) and the condition of the road - since the road mainly consists of soil, the road is in good condition during the dry season. The stops serve the purpose of collecting immigration stamps in Krayan (Indonesia) and Ba' Kelalan (Malaysia), having a coffee break, having a meal, a short visit to a family member who lives along the route, or hunting. The trips are long and exhausting due to difficult road terrain, and, hence, having multiple stops in between is necessary. The distance from Indonesia to Malaysia is then defined with reference to the distance of Krayan villages to the nearest Malaysian village (notably Ba' Kelalan) where the Malaysian immigration post is located. Thus the relative distance refers to the approximate distance as it is assessed according to the length of time (and not a physical distance in kilometres) needed as indicated by the local respondents.

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4 For more about this topic see (Lenggono, 2012; Saleh, 2015; Tirtosudarmo, 2015).



**Figure 3.2** Border Post in the district of Sebatik Tengah, Nunukan regency  
*The information on the board translates as Border Crossers Must Report.*

**Table 3.2** The perceived relative and metric distance from Krayan villages to the neighbouring Malaysian village

Distance from the border and other aspects	Village	Lokasi (Location)	District	Distance (Km)
<b>Far</b>				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It requires a combination of transportation modes to reach Malaysian villages nearby (e.g. walk, motorbike and cars.)</li> <li>It requires staying overnight.</li> </ul>	Wa' Yagung	Wa' Yagung	Krayan	38
	Bungayan	Bungayan	Krayan	40
	Binuang	Binuang	Krayan Selatan	37
	Pa' Milau			
	Ba' Liku	Ba' Liku	Krayan Selatan	32
	Pa' Yalau			
	Long Padi	Long Padi	Krayan Selatan	68

continued

Distance from the border and other aspects	Village	Lokasi (Location)	District	Distance (Km)
<b>Medium</b>				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It can be reached on motorbike and cars</li> <li>• The trip takes approximately 9 to 12-hours.</li> </ul>	Pa' Dalan	Long Layu	Krayan Selatan	49
	Long Pasia			
	Pa' Upan	Tang Laan	Krayan Selatan	61
	Pa' Kaber			
	Pa' Ibang			
	Pa' Amai			
	Long Birar			
<b>Far</b>				
	Lembudud	Lembudud	Krayan	16
	Long Tugul			
	Pa' Umung	Long Umung	Krayan	34
	Pa' Lidung			
	Long Nuat			
	Pa' Payak	Berian Baru	Krayan	23
	Sembudud			
	Pa' Urud	Tanjung Karya	Krayan	15
<b>Near</b>				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It can be reached on a motorbike and by car.</li> <li>• The trip takes approximately 4 to 9 hours.</li> </ul>	Pa' Rupai	Long Midang	Krayan	8
	Ba' Sikor			
	Pa' Nado			
	Buduk Kinangan			
	Liang Tuer			
	Long Nawang	Long Nawang	Krayan	22
	Liang Butang	Long Bawan	Krayan	15
	Long Katung			

Source: Own survey (2015 and 2016)

Table 3.2 presents the relative distances referred to. The distances of villages to the border are differentiated into near to the border, medium, and far away. From a total of 89 villages distributed across the Krayan region, there are 28 villages that are classified as far away from the border, 38 as being at a medium distance and 23 villages are considered to be villages that are close to the border. In addition to the relative distance, the table shows the metric distance along the roads.

During the second stage, villages were selected from the previously selected group of villages according to the size and composition of the local population. The villages were divided according to the number of households in large, medium, and small. This classification is relevant for two reasons. The first is to enable the researcher to identify the dynamics of the border crossings within a vast research area in a limited time, and the second is to select similar villages in terms of the number of households. Additionally, the categorization of the data allows the researcher to organize the information without having to narrow it, therefore, this data grouping aims to systemize information not too overtly focus on one part of Krayan. This way, an overall impression of border crossing phenomena can be captured. A small population size was defined at 17-40 households, a medium population size at 41-64 households and a large population size at 65 - 89 households. This categorization was based on the size of the population within a village. However, several villages that are located as one collective group in a particular location (*lokasi*) were found to have, as a group, a similar population size. Therefore, these respondents did not only represent their own village but also their location (see Map 3.1 for the spread of the selected villages).

The highest participation appears in the age group of 41-50. The lowest participation is shown in the age group of below 30 and between the age group of 71 onwards. A total of 30 respondents reside at a close distance from the border, 14 respondents reside far from the border and 11 respondents reside at a medium distance. The table below presents the participation of the survey respondents according to age group and the perceived distance from their house to the border. As can be seen from Table 3.3, the involvement of the respondents according to the distance from their house to the border region varied considerably across the age groups. The survey involved 55 respondents who reside across Krayan's entire region. The respondents consisted of 52 males and 3 females.

**Table 3.3** Distance of the houses to the border

Age	Border Distance			Total
	Near	Medium	Far	
Below 30	0	0	1	1
31 - 40	7	1	5	13
41 - 50	12	5	7	24
51 - 60	6	3	0	9
61 - 70	5	1	1	6
71 onwards	0	1	0	1
Total	30	11	14	55

Source: Own survey January - February 2016



**Map 3.1** The spread of the selected villages across Krayan region

### 3.4. RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND RESPONDENTS

The respondents within this study were divided into two categories, which were derived from the three different phases of the fieldwork as discussed earlier. The first category of respondents (see Table 3.4) was defined as government officials working at a provincial, regency, or district level and whose institution contributed to the development program in the Krayan region. These officials have various official positions and backgrounds, ranging from the head of an institution to staff members. Some officials belong to the staff of the regional planning agency (BAPPEDA) in Malinau and Nunukan, another official is the incumbent regional secretary (*sekretaris daerah*) of the Malinau regency, and others are district heads (*camat*) in the regencies. This category of respondents provided information about their institutions' role in running the border-regional development program in Krayan.

**Table 3.4** Composition of officials as respondents

Government Level	Number of officials
Province	7
Regency	10
District	9
TOTAL	26

Source: Own fieldwork (2015 and 2016)

It should be noted that the respondents in this category were somewhat restricted in their knowledge and expertise. The formation of Kalimantan Utara as a new province in October 2012 brought consequences to the hiring of new government officers. This meant that the respondents had been only working in their institution for a short period and, thus, lacked institutional information, particularly regarding border-related topics. In such cases, questions were adapted to suit their actual situation, such as their daily work and the ongoing progress that was made in terms of development of the province. In their responses, they repeatedly mentioned that these were based on their perspective at their previous position as a government official, not on their current one. It must be noted here that these respondents have been working in the province for years in positions that were constantly in rotation from one government institution to another. Through their responses, insights were gained on how the formation of the new province has interfered with the development efforts in Krayan as a border region.

The second category of respondents were the Krayan locals. The purpose of this category was to gather in-depth and specific information on the impact of border-regional development in Krayan. The locals in this study included customary leaders, village heads, and several other villagers with leading roles such as youth leaders and religious leaders. This group also provided actual information on border crossing practices. The interviews with this group allowed for the locals to evaluate the role of the government concerning the

development efforts in Krayan in general, and in their village in particular, as well as their expectations.

During the interviews with this category of respondents, they filled out the questionnaires. This happened because the respondents wanted to clarify the questions in the questionnaire, which resulted in a two-way discussion which then developed into an interview. In this way, the research respondents in this interview category also contributed to the survey.

In this category, the respondents came from different age groups, different occupations and had varied border crossing experiences. The respondents included village heads, customary leaders, a pastor, and an Indonesian border soldier. The semi-structured interview<sup>5</sup> in this study is relevant since it allows for the expression of individual experiences and an in-depth understanding of cross-border practices. Furthermore, this category of respondents resides in Krayan. Hence, they have advanced knowledge and experience both in their perceptions of cross-border interaction and border-regional development in Krayan. Some respondents who also held a government position were able to provide a thorough understanding of the dynamics in Krayan. The following are examples of this: One respondent, who was a staff member of the statistics office of the Province of Jawa Barat, has lived in Krayan since 1986. He married a local Krayan lady. During the interview, he was initially critical about the notion that the cross-border interaction in Krayan was a consequence of the fact that the Krayan region has been left behind in development in comparison with the development in Java. He was also able to explain the background of the changing villages' formation. That is from traditional to administrative villages. Two respondents, who are the district heads at the time, provided information expressing their dilemma to manage the development in Krayan. They belong to the local ethnic group and understand the real need of Krayan for development. At the same time, they also feel restricted because of their position in the government apparatus, where they are expected to pacify the local population to keep them positive while also being tied to the mandate of the central government. This situation is critical in understanding how a different perception in perceiving the border-regional development occurs among government officers according to their locality in their living period.

Interviews in this research involved 26 village heads, 5 customary leaders, 4 community elders, 8 civil servants, and 1 Indonesian soldier (as seen in Table 3.5). At the time of the second fieldwork, the customary leaders and the village heads were new in their position. Similar to the position of a village head, the position of a customary leader is decided by the vote of locals within a given customary territory. A customary leader will be in this position for a period of five years. Although these respondents were newly holding these positions, they still provided key insights into living in the border region.

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5 In order to focus on the responses from the respondents, I recorded the interview. At the beginning of the meetings I would ask for permission from the respondents whether the recording is allowed. Thus, the recorded interview may preserve the richness of the information. Unfortunately, it was not possible to record all interviews as several respondents opted to talk without this being recorded. On such occasions, I was able to take notes during the interview.

**Table 3.5** Composition of Krayan locals as respondents

Respondents	Numbers	Villages
Village head	26	Sinar Baru Binuang Pa' Amai Long Nawang Pa' Umung
Customary leader	5	Kuala Belawit (Krayan Darat) Binuang (Krayan Tengah) Terang Baru (Krayan Hilir)
Community elder	4	Wa' Yagung Long Bawan
Indonesian Border Soldier	1	Lembudud
Village Community Group Discussion	3	Wa' Yagung Bungayan Pa' Raye

Source: Own fieldwork (2015 and 2016)

The involvement of five community elders was decided upon based on the information by the locals. The locals often mentioned that the community elders in Krayan are influential in the development of the region. They are the former village heads who held this position for two periods and are currently known as traditional healers in Krayan, and particularly in their village. Others were a cultural activist<sup>6</sup>, a church pastor, and a pastor who holds a position as the leader of the regional congregation. Their involvement represented the dominant characters that shape the locals' identity, who are mainly Lundayeh and Christian.

The inclusion of the community elder was on the locals' recommendation since this person was the former village head for two periods of leadership. Meanwhile, the involvement of a pastor and the regional congregation leader is because the majority of Krayan locals attend the affiliated church organization, GKII (*Gereja Kristen Indonesia*). Additionally, one Indonesian border soldier on duty was interviewed. This interview took place at the border post. The other interviews were carried out in each respondent's home.

### 3.5. METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis in this study is based on a mixed method analysis. It involves carrying qualitative and quantitative analysis techniques. The information that is acquired through qualitative technique is crisscrossed and complemented with information derived from the survey. The quantitative data presents a discernible context of the research, whereas the qualitative data provided in-depth insight into the respondents' perceptions. Further, the theoretical

<sup>6</sup> The cultural activist in this study is a person who takes care of Lundayeh traditional artefacts and is actively involved in campaigning the local traditions, such as performing and teaching traditional dances, promoting the traditional handicrafts and playing the traditional instruments.

framework that was described in Chapter 2 formed the foundation for the interpretation of the quantitative and qualitative data analysis.

The qualitative technique draws from semi-structured interviews, group interviews, field notes and complemented by materials collected during the field work such as border-regional developments' related documents, empirical photographs, as well as online sources on topics of cross-border interaction, border-regional development and cross-border cooperation. In this study, the qualitative data were transcribed, and with the use of Atlas.ti software, the interviews were coded. This coding aims to identify any variations in the locals' understanding of their cross-border interactions.

Qualitative analysis in this study captured the lived experiences of the respondents. This analysis processed in Atlas.ti revealed five key themes related to the respondents' perception of their border crossing in relation to the border-regional development in Krayan. These themes were: descriptions of border, respondents' perceptions of the border crossings, perceived border-regional development, border-regional developments' programme and the role of development actors. These themes return in the various empirical chapters of this manuscript. The theme of respondents' accounts on borders in/of Krayan and border forms are discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. The respondents' experiences on border crossing are elaborated in Chapter 6, while Chapter 7 recounts the respondents' account on developments. Furthermore, excerpts and actual words used by the respondents are provided in the analysis in order to illuminate the insights of the respondents. Subsequently, quotes were inserted based on the most frequently repeated information by respondents in individual interviews and during village community group discussions.

The quantitative technique employed in the study is carried out through a survey. Data derived are used to reveal an overview to indicate the locals' border crossing practices and together capture the border crossing, as well as to gain an overall picture of the state of developments in the region. The survey data of all 55 respondents were entered into SPSS in order to present the distribution pattern of the locals' border crossing activities in terms of frequencies and general motivations.

Quantitative analysis in this study measures the distribution of the respondents' border crossings and state of developments in the region. These data are all analysed using descriptive statistics. Frequencies and percentages are used to measure demographic characteristics and respondent accounts on developments in the region. These include respondents' age groups, their level of education, household income, the presence of development actors and responses on government's support in local developments. Crosstab was used to summarize respondent responses. These included insight into types of income generating activities, means of transportation going across to Malaysia, intentions for border crossings, the importance of going to Malaysia, the importance of the diverse development actors' involvement and assessment on a satisfactory level of a government-led development project in Krayan. Thereby, this quantitative analysis serves to expose the respondents' assessment

of their border crossing experience and to measure the degree of satisfactory on the border-regional development in Krayan.

The mixed method analysis employed in this study helped achieve both higher reliability through data triangulation and ensured the collection of complementary data. At first, the aforementioned five key themes are derived from repetitive responses from the qualitative analysis. Next, the descriptive statistical analysis was performed to generalise the number of times of responses that appeared. Thereafter, the crosstab tabulation was performed to measure the relationship between variables. Lastly, quantitative and qualitative analyses are used to compare and complement the five key themes.

The separate analysis from both qualitative and quantitative techniques are brought together to help develop answers to the research questions. The interpretation of the analysis is examined by utilising the cross-border dynamics conceptual approach developed in Chapter 2. This framework considers whether and how border crossings may result in part out of a situation where there is a lack of development in a border region. Accordingly, this framework allows the mixed methods approach employed in this study to examine closely respondents' border crossing intentions, respondents' socio-economic positions, the state of border-regional developments and how identity questions related to nationalism surface in the practices of locals.

### 3.6. REFLECTIONS

The research selected survey and semi-structured interviews as the tools for the mixed method for data collection and analysis. A total of 55 respondents participated in the survey and 44 respondents were involved in the semi-structured interviews. The survey findings served to set the context of the research area, while the findings from the semi-structured interviews provided in-depth insight into the locals' perspectives. The survey and the semi-structured interviews employed in this research are relevant and suitable for the local situation. At the same time, they offer an opportunity to establish a context for systematic research and encourage a discussion of the role of border crossing interactions within the context of the Kalimantan border region in general and Krayan in particular.

Through the survey, a list of border crossing profiles and a list of satisfaction indicators pertaining to border-regional development in Krayan were indicated clearly by the locals. The findings generated from the survey are relevant in confirming the predominant issues regarding cross-border interactions in conjunction with border development. The findings generated from the semi-structured interviews are important in clarifying and elaborating the locals' insights.

On reviewing the mixed method approach that was used in this study to examine cross-border dynamics, it was clear that greater understanding and more in-depth meaning could

be gained by using the mixed method than through the use of only one particular method. In fact, the two methods complemented one another. The qualitative approaches served to provide pilot information prior to the survey during the in-depth fieldwork. In addition, the qualitative sources enhanced and deepened insights. The survey served to present a range of characteristics of cross-border dynamics in Krayan and was considered to be a suitable tool to present a comprehensive research context. Without clarity in the presentation of the research context, the urgency of the issue is invisible. Without elaborative insight gained through the semi-structured interviews, an in-depth understanding of the complexities of cross-border interactions within the context of the border region is hard to be made visible. Hence, for this research, the mixed method was selected.

### **3.6.1. Distribution of respondents**

Krayan is located in the highlands of Borneo where the villages are scattered in the valleys with poor accessibility. This geographical feature was a major challenge in reaching the respondents. This condition correlates with the distribution of respondents in this research. In an earlier section it was discussed how respondents are selected according to the distance from their house to the border, namely, near, medium and far away. The villages nearest to the border are in essence more accessible than the ones at a medium distance or far away from the border.

To reach the respondents who resided at a medium and far distance from the border, an exhaustive trip on a road in poor condition was inevitable. This meant that the time taken to reach the village of the respondents is more than the time taken to conduct the interview or hold the community group discussion. However, as the fieldwork progressed, approaches were adapted when so needed. One lesson is to first contact the village head in order to get a comprehensive overview of the situation in the village and in particular to be informed about the number of the total population residing in the region, which then led to deciding whether it was possible to arrange a group discussion before an interview.

### **3.6.2. Respondent participation**

During the fieldwork, it was hardly possible to find respondents who did not have a leading role in the village. Many locals were hesitant to participate since they felt that it was more appropriate to meet the head of the village and talk to him. However, after explaining that the research was part of scientific work, it was possible to informally talk to respondents, albeit with their recommendation to cross-check the information with the village head or any community elders.

Fifty-five respondents participated in the survey, of which 95% were male. The surveys were conducted individually and took place in each respondent's home. The fact that few female respondents took part in the research was related to the situation where the role of a male is seen as more important than that of a female. Often it happened that although the female respondents seemed willing to take part, once the formal survey consent was given,

they were likely to recommend that their spouses participated instead of themselves. The fact that five females participated in this study was because of their spouses' absence during the visit to their homes.

It was decided that the respondents participating in this survey had to be adult respondents (aged 20 years and above) who had been residing in Krayan for some years. This was based on the assumption that there would be a good participation rate with these two criteria, which would yield relevant and elaborate information on their experiences regarding cross-border interactions and the border-regional development in Krayan.

### 3.6.3. Collecting data

Earlier it was mentioned that it was difficult to persuade particular locals who did not have a leading role in the village. Hence, most respondents who participated had leading roles in their villages. Once contact was made with them, most respondents were open and welcomed the questions. Often the respondents mentioned that they were indeed looking forward to assisting in the research and were prepared to give any information that was needed. They would explain that they appreciated this study and that they wished to participate to voice their need for improvement in Krayan.

The difference in the duration of the respondents' formal societal roles provided insights that related to those roles. Especially for the village heads, since at the time of the research, these incumbent authority figures had only been appointed recently. It follows that much of the information was dependent on their knowledge and experience gained during the short period they had occupied their new position. Nevertheless, once the respondents felt comfortable during the interview, they often suggested names of others who might provide more reliable responses or who might be contacted to clarify any information they had mentioned.

In total, the fieldwork took six months divided into two periods of three months is from December 2014 – February 2015 and from November 2015 – March 2016. Any observations were restricted to these two periods and the border crossing activities during this period. Although the immigration post station in Krayan recorded the numbers of border crossings, it is difficult to gather accurate border crossing data recordings. Nevertheless, the collected data allow the study to reflect the actual border crossing in Krayan. Given that the objective of this study is to make sense of the locals' border crossings in the context of border-regional development, the five years between the time data collection and the analysis of this study is not an issue. There is no indication that practices and motivation have changed significantly.

### 3.6.4. Language transcript and translation

The language used during the data collection was Bahasa Indonesia, the Indonesian national language. Since the national language is seen as one of the symbols in nation-building, I recognized the possibility of downsizing the ethnic identity discourses in this research (Gill, 2014, Chap 2; Liow, 2005a; Pauw, 2009, p. 33; Rahmi, 2015). However, together with the

Lundayeh language, the Indonesian language is widely used as a medium of communication in the daily life of Krayan locals (Aritonang, 2017) and thus, it was justifiable to hold the interviews in Bahasa Indonesia. The spoken interview responses were recorded and transcribed in Bahasa Indonesia when they were given in Lundayeh. The transcribed information was then translated and delivered in English. My concern with the translations is that it is a challenge to find equivalence in meaning in a classic sense. In the classic sense means that the text in a source language is replaced by a text in a target language and that the meaning is equivalent. (Müller, 2006, p. 207). In addition, the local phrases that appeared during the interview, which rarely occurred, are translated in footnotes. Bahasa Indonesia was, thus, embraced as a practical approach to achieve meaningful information. This information was then translated into English since English is the language to record and present this study.

### **3.7. SUMMARY**

In this chapter, I justified the mixed methods research methodology used in this study. I argued that the use of this approach, employing ethnographic approaches alongside questionnaires, may result in a comprehensive understanding of the cross-border dynamics in Krayan. First, a survey was used as a quantitative method to define empirical characteristics of existing border crossing and development endeavours. Second, the qualitative method is used in order to achieve in-depth insight into border crossing experiences and confirm the nature of cross-border issues. These two methods complement each other.

I also explained the methods used during the two fieldwork periods. The tools that were used in the explorative fieldwork were semi-structured interviews and informal discussions with respondents, both officials and local residents, as well as participant observation of border crossing to a Malaysian village nearby and by being involved in church services. In the in-depth fieldwork, the tools employed were questionnaires, topical semi-structured interviews, community group discussion, and participant observation at church services and at a graduation party and at village and district development meetings.

In the next two chapters, I discuss the context of Krayan as the research area regarding its historical background and demographic characteristics and the State of border and development affairs in the region.

# 4

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## KRAYAN AS RESEARCH AREA

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“Welcome to the hole. There is no way that you can escape from this place now ... “  
(A fellow passenger on the plane from Malinau to Long Bawan, February 2015)

## 4.1. INTRODUCTION

The excerpt above was how a fellow passenger welcomed me when I got on board of a light aircraft heading from the district of Malinau to Krayan. The districts<sup>7</sup> of Krayan and Krayan Selatan are two border districts administratively located in the Regency of Nunukan. The two districts are collectively referred to as the Krayan Region and are only accessible through a light aircraft service departing from Malinau, Nunukan and Tarakan. The flight services are inadequate to serve all people wishing to depart from or head to Krayan.

The planes can only take 10 passengers per flight and 900 kilograms of weight. Thus, on some flights, if there are fewer passengers, some extra weight can be taken on board. In addition to the restrictions on the number of passengers and the weight, the weather condition is an important factor that affects the mobility from and to Krayan. I experienced this first hand during my fieldwork when my flight had to be postponed one day because of adverse weather conditions. Orographic rain in Krayan that caused minimum flight visibility prohibited the aircraft from taking off. The weather condition was also a significant factor on my return flight. On my return flight from Krayan, I had planned a short stopover in Krayan Selatan. With heavy rain pouring the night before, the airstrip had become soft and the plane's wheels were caught in the mud when it landed. To get the plane back on track, some locals helped push the plane until its wheels were freed from the mud. This chapter serves to present the background of the research area. Thereby, the intention of this chapter is twofold. First, it assists in understanding factors contributing to the cross-border dynamics and the border-regional development in Krayan. Second, a description of the setting positions the research area within a general context. In the previous chapter, I discussed the research methodology employed in this study. It was argued that the rationale for the chosen research area was based on selected criteria such as ongoing actual border crossing practices by locals residing on the Indonesian side of the border. This chapter consists of four sections, namely the historical background, the organization of the administration of the Krayan region, the region's accessibility, and the population's main characteristics.

In the first section on the historical background of Krayan, I discuss how the border in the Krayan region has evolved over time, basically spanning four main periods. Set against these periods, I aim to show that the significance of the border and the development of the border region occurred over time. Hence, to locate the position of Krayan within Indonesia, the second section focuses on a description of the administrative organizations in Indonesia in general, which is then narrowed down to the administrative organization of the Krayan region.

Next, I highlight the accessibility of the Krayan region to generate a greater understanding of the connection between border region, development and accessibility.

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7 There are currently five districts in Krayan region, namely districts of Krayan, Krayan Barat, Krayan Timur, Krayan Selatan, and Krayan Tengah.

Finally, I describe the demographic characteristics of the region's population. I do so by presenting the ethnic composition, educational background, income-generating activities, and the livelihood patterns of the local population. This is done to show how the cross-border dynamics of the locals are determined by these characteristics.

## 4.2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF KRAYAN

Krayan has a complex history. To begin with, Krayan is situated in the central highlands of the northern part of Kalimantan Island. Kalimantan refers to Indonesia's sense of territoriality. Outside Indonesia, Kalimantan Island is known as Borneo. This difference in naming the island can be traced back to the island's colonial past. Thus, Krayan's history overlaps with the narrative of British North Borneo and that of the Netherlands East Indies. To make this clear I focus on four critical periods in history since these have had a profound effect on the regional dynamics in Krayan, which are pre-Independence, from Independence to the Confrontation, from the New Order to the Reformation Period, and the post-Reformation period. These periods involved the emergence of the State border, changes in political leadership, and, more recently, the evolving decentralization process.

### 4.2.1. Pre-Independence to Independence in 1945

In terms of understanding border in this study, there are two key events, namely the establishment of the border to demarcate trading zones and the arrival of Christianity. The imposed border in northern Borneo divided the island into two trading zones, i.e. those of the Netherlands East Indies and of British North Borneo. The introduction of Christianity accompanied by missionary work prior to the formation of the two states was a prominent event in the lives of the Krayan locals. Both events emphasized the fact that the locals (of the not yet formed states) led their lives based on a shared tradition. This traditional life highlighted the importance of culture and kin relationships. This then has led to the locals' assertion these days that the development of the region was initiated by the Christian missions long before the State of Indonesia was formed.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the division of the territory in Borneo was very much about the exploitation of natural resources. Two different authorities existed in the hinterland of the northern Borneo highlands. Krayan was part of the Sultanate of Bulungan under Dutch colonial governance (Bakker, 2009b; Haba, 2006), whereas Sarawak was under British rule. Black (1985) explains that even though Krayan—at that time known as northern Borneo—was considered part of the Netherlands East Indies Territories, the locals were more familiar with the British ruler as the sovereign ruler over Sarawak.

This British ruler was known as Rajah Brooke ('raja' means 'king'), who was also known as Rajah Sarawak, Rajah James, and the White Rajah. These names denote the kingship of Brooke and his family. The existence of many kingdoms on the coast of East Borneo needs

to be understood as primarily linked to the trading and pirating activities prevalent in the Strait of Makassar (between Borneo and Sulawesi) at the time (Tagliacozzo, 2000). James Brooke who came on a trading mission to Borneo was rewarded the title of King of Sarawak by the Sultanate of Brunei for his success in helping the kingdom fight piracy and insurgency in Borneo (Wadley, 2001).

Furthermore, the role and authority of the Rajah was acknowledged through the everyday interaction with the Dayak people in the hinterland of Borneo. The role of the Rajah centred around the privatization of the natural resources in order to engage in trade with the British East India Company. This mainly took place in Sarawak, Borneo territory. On the other hand, the status of adjacent territory, also in Krayan was not clear at the time. In the same vein, by virtue of Krayan's geographical position in the highlands of northern Borneo, it seems to have been considered as a source of trade by the British East India Company, even though Krayan was formally part of the Netherlands East Indies Territories.

The people in Sarawak paid a land levy to Rajah Brooke as a consequence of them living in the Rajah's area. This levy was also paid by the Dayak who lived outside Sarawak. This situation came about because of kinship relations of local people in Sarawak with the ethnic group of the Dayak, also those living in Krayan. This then led to Krayan's people paying the levy on the use of their land to Rajah Brooke, too. In this sense, the Rajah's authority was extended into the territory of Dutch Borneo.

From the perspective of the people living in the lowlands of Borneo (Dutch East Indies at that time), Krayan was part of the Bulungan Sultanate which was under Dutch governance. The Dutch maintained more frequent contacts with the Bulungan Sultanate than they did with the highlands of Borneo since these contacts were more relevant for the Dutch trading route (Black, 1985; Meadows, 1962, p. 323). The Sultan of Bulungan ruled in the eastern coastal area, and, thus, these lowlands of Borneo cooperated closely with the Dutch government. Meanwhile, the more isolated highlands of Krayan held little interest for the Dutch. Nevertheless, the Dutch became aware of the trading zones of the two colonial powers when it became known that the authority of British Northern Borneo had been extended to the hinterland, the Borneo highlands.

With a growing interest in the rich resources of Dutch Borneo, it became urgent for the Dutch to reclaim this territory and stop any further expansion of British territory. Thus, the early demarcation of the border in Borneo was to avert the threat of expansion of British territory. This is represented in Ian Black's work as follows:

Another two decades were to pass before, in the 1840s, the Dutch felt forced to assert their sovereignty in Borneo by British probing of the island, most notably Brooke in Sarawak but also Erskine Murray and others on the east coast. Also, the trade of the east coast had begun to encompass Singapore. Fear of the British prompted a flurry of activity, including a new round of treaties, but the chief consequence for the east coast was the establishment of an assistant residency at Kutai in 1846, after the visit of Dutch squadron (Black, 1985, p. 286).

The establishment of the border in Borneo resulted in agreements regarding Borneo between the Dutch and British in 1891, 1915, and 1918. Thus, during this period, the former unbounded territorial border began to transform into a bounded one demarcating the territories of two European empires (Ishikawa, 2010, p. 44).

Regarding the influence of missionary societies on Krayan, although a remote area, it certainly seems to have been accessible to the world. In 1932, the region was served by an American based missionary society, the Christian Missionary Alliance (Alliance, 1932; Bakker, 2009b; Sellato, 2001). The evangelist W.E. Presswood was known as the pioneer who served the local ethnic group, the Lundayeh (Humas dan Protokol Pemerintah Kabupaten Nunukan, Undated). The missionary work vastly influenced aspects of the locals' personal lives ranging from customs and traditions to education. The influence of the missions extended to ending slavery and introducing formal education to the locals. The impact of the missionary works is acknowledged by the locals as a factor that changed the social life of local ethnic groups to the extent that nowadays no more tribal wars are waged between ethnic groups (Lewis, 1995). The mission work in Krayan is considered to be a success and became the source of evangelical work elsewhere in Kalimantan and in Indonesia in general. The role of missionary work in the Krayan region is elaborated in Chapter 5.

At the time of Indonesia's Proclamation of Independence in 1945, the State border was the same as the one that had been imposed by the former Netherlands East Indies. However, the year 1965 was a critical period in which the State border in Krayan was established as it is today. The sections below discuss the dynamics of the border in Krayan in the years following the formation of the State of Indonesia. It is worth noting that during this period, the border became essential because of the urgent need to demarcate the State border.

#### **4.2.2. From Independence to the Confrontation (Konfrontasi), 1945 - 1966**

Indonesia proclaimed its independence from the Netherlands on 17 August 1945. Until November 1949 it struggled to gain formal international recognition (Heryanto, 2018; Sukma, 1995; Thompson, 2015). As mentioned, the State border of the newly formed State of Indonesia was a legacy of the boundaries of the former Netherlands East Indies. Yet, Indonesia's territorial sovereignty in Borneo continued to be affected by the British North Borneo Company trading on Indonesian territory.

Over the two decades following Indonesia's independence, political tension occurred between Indonesia and Malaysia. President Sukarno, Indonesia's first president, maintained the policy of self-sufficiency, which entailed that Indonesia did not want to depend on foreign support. Thus, President Sukarno objected to the formation of the Malaysia Federation that aimed at a unification of most of the former British North Borneo colonies. He regarded the Federation of Malaysia essentially as a neo-colonial creation and claimed that Malaysia would remain significantly under the influence of Britain and would continue to rely heavily on British finance and be a British military base (Ishikawa, 2010, p. 86; Thompson, 2015, p. 27). He felt that the unification of Borneo with other British trading zones such as Malaysia, Singapore,

Sarawak, Brunei, and Sabah to form the Federation, was a form of neo-colonialization (Liow, 2005a, p. 39; Van der Kroef, 1963; Yazid, 2013). The Federation would allow the British to control and maintain its political and economic power in the Southeast Asian region after World War II. To counteract this and supported by the policy of *Konfrontasi* (confrontation), Indonesian army units were posted to guard Indonesia's sovereign territory (Boedihartono *et al.*, 2007) and Sukarno sent groups of volunteers and trained soldiers across the border to attack communities in Sarawak (Ishikawa, 2010, p. 87; Liow, 2005b, p. 102; Thompson, 2015, p. 27).

The period of the *Konfrontasi* took place from 1963-1966. The Confrontation combat occurred in Kalimantan Krayan that was situated on the border between Malaysia and Indonesia was in the frontline of this tension. The tension reinvigorated the former, invisible border between the two states. It also awakened Indonesia's territorial sovereignty in Borneo. The resultant delimitation of the Indonesian and Malaysian territories also meant the separation of ethnically related locals that shared kinship relations.

#### **4.2.3. From the New Order to the Reformation Era, the late-1960s - 1998**

Because of the Confrontation, the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia underwent a major change, which contributed to a different strategy regarding Indonesia's foreign and domestic policies. The new government under President Suharto took the initiative to end the confrontation with Malaysia, and, instead, sought to actively secure co-operation with Malaysia and other neighbouring Southeast Asian countries (Poole, 2015; Sukma, 1995; Thompson, 2015; Yazid, 2013), notably through Indonesia's participation in the establishment of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

The Suharto government strove towards economic development of Indonesia through engaging in international co-operation, for instance, through Indonesia's involvement in ASEAN. The foreign policies issued under the Suharto government aimed to maintain international co-operation in order to foster economic development. Accordingly, the new Indonesia-Malaysia cooperation (agreed in 1970) included a border trade agreement, which facilitated official border crossings between the locals of the two border regions. This agreement then developed into bilateral social-economic co-operation between Indonesia and Malaysia, called SOSEK MALINDO (Sosial Ekonomi Malaysia Indonesia). The co-operation agreement meant that the border became more open compared to what it was under the previous government. This shift in development approach in relation to international co-operation is elaborated in Chapter 5.

In the Kalimantan region, the change in the development approach coincides with a change in the dynamics of the border. With the State's focus changing from security and defence to one that mostly aimed at economic development, also the State's security strategy regarding the border changed. During the presidency of Sukarno the security strategy was intended to protect Indonesia's sovereign territory from Malaysian intrusion, whereas under Suharto's regime, the security strategy was targeted to prevent communist intrusion and, in order to

create economic development, to guard the natural resource extraction in Kalimantan (Barr, 2006, pp. 22-23).

#### 4.2.4. After the Reformation Era, 1998 - onwards

In 1998, Indonesia was hit by an economic crisis which caused it to enter the short transition period of the Reformation from 1998 to 2000. This period resulted in an increase in democracy. President Suharto was forced to step down from the presidency and was succeeded by the vice-president, Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie. Habibie became Indonesia's president from 21 May 1998 until 20 October 1998. During this short period, Habibie was committed to encourage fundamental changes in Indonesia's governmentality<sup>8</sup>. Habibie's presidency has been viewed as a transitional government, but it was under his presidency that the anti-monopoly laws, the laws ruling amendments of political parties, as well as the 1999 regional autonomy laws were promulgated (Bakker, 2009b). It follows that this last law, Law 22/1999 Concerning Regional Administrations, is of great significance for this study. After all, regional autonomy provides legitimation and a level of autonomy to Indonesia's regions, and supports a decentralization process. In terms of Kalimantan, the decentralization resulted in the formation of Nunukan as a distinct regency separate from the former Malinau regency. In this way, the regional autonomy laws and ensuing policies contributed to the changes in the Krayan administrative authority over the years, one of which was the formation of the Kalimantan Utara province. The next section discusses the dynamics in Krayan after the Reformation Era.

### 4.3. THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF KRAYAN

Krayan was part of the larger regency of Bulungan before 1999<sup>9</sup>. The regency of Bulungan was then split into three, namely the regencies of Bulungan, Malinau and Nunukan. Together with four other districts, Krayan became part of the regency of Nunukan. Following Indonesia administrative organization, Krayan was administratively recognised as a district. (The discussion of the formation of the district is presented in Chapter 5.)

Indonesia's administrative structure is in line with the administrative governance and comprises the following tiers: state, province, regency/city, district/municipality, and administrative village/village. Provinces are the second tier of administration immediately below that of the State. Both regencies and cities are third-tier administrations. Below the regencies and cities is the fourth tier of administration i.e. districts and municipalities. The

8 Governmentality is an expression originally formulated by the 20th-century French philosopher Michel Foucault combining the terms government and rationality. Government in this sense refers to conduct, or an activity meant to shape, guide, or affect the conduct of people.

9 The division of this Regency is legally regulated in Law Number 47 of 1999 concerning the Establishment of Nunukan Regency, Malinau Regency, Kutai Timur Regency, Kutai Barat Regency and Bontang City on 4 October 1999

fifth tier comprises villages. Thus, a village is the lowest level of government administration in Indonesia. A village comprises several community groups named *rukun warga* (RW), which are further divided into several neighbourhood groups named *rukun tetangga* (RT). An administrative village and a village area are on the same administration tier. While the administrative village is headed by a civil servant appointed by the local government as *lurah*, a village is headed by a village head elected by the majority vote. Table 4.1 presents Indonesia's administrative levels.

**Table 4.1** Indonesia's administrative levels in Kalimantan Utara

Level of administration	Government officials
1. Nasional (National, State)	1. Presiden (President)
2. Propinsi Kalimantan Utara (Province of Kalimantan Utara)	2. Gubernur (Governor)
3. Kabupaten Nunukan (Regency of Nunukan)	3. Bupati (Regent)
4. Kecamatan Krayan (District of Krayan)	4. Camat (District head)
5. Desa Long Bawan (Village of Long Bawan)	5. Kepala Desa (Village head)

At the provincial level, several regions across Indonesia are granted the status of a special region (Daerah Istimewa), for instance, Aceh, Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and the provinces of Papua, and Papua Barat. These regions derive their special status from their original status prior to the establishment of the State of Indonesia. The specific role they have is constituted in the Regional Government Regulation of Indonesia. As for Jakarta, it is not only a province, but it also serves the function of the capital city<sup>10</sup> of the State of Indonesia. In the context of Indonesia, it means that Jakarta<sup>11</sup> in Java is seen as the centre of the nation and the outer regions on the island of Java as the rest of the territories. To some extent, the Indonesian administrative structure is understood as a hierarchy of administrative authorities who in terms of planned and implemented national and regional developments plans have specific executive power. The national development plans are formulated by means of a participatory planning forum, Musrenbang (*Musyawaharah Rencana Pembangunan*), which involves all stakeholders, where the plans are discussed at various levels. The levels are the village musrenbang, the district musrenbang, the city/regency musrenbang, and the provincial musrenbang.

In this section, I presented Indonesia's general administrative organization. This is of relevance in highlighting the bias in development in Indonesia where Jakarta is regarded as the centre of development while other regions are considered as being in the process

<sup>10</sup> Permendagri no.137 tahun 2017 tentang Kode dan Data Wilayah Administrasi Pemerintahan (Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs No.137 of 2017 concerning Code and Data of Government Administrative Areas)

<sup>11</sup> The new capital city of Indonesia partly includes the regencies of Kutai Kartanegara and Panajam Paser Utara.

of development or as regions that are lagging behind. From this perspective, the locals' perception of viewing the development efforts in their region is in contrast with the development in Jakarta, and because the development authorities in Krayan are relying on the central government in Jakarta. In the following sub section, I limit my discussion to the administrative boundaries in reference to the Krayan region.

#### 4.3.1. The province of Kalimantan Utara

The province of Kalimantan Utara is in the northern part of the island of Borneo. The province borders the Malaysian states of Sabah to the north and Sarawak to the west. In terms of Indonesia's territory, the province borders the province of Kalimantan Timur to the south. The province consists of 4 regencies, Tana Tidung, Malinau, Bulungan and Nunukan, and one municipality (Tarakan City).

The province of Kalimantan Utara was once part of the Kalimantan Timur province. The division of the province resulted from the Regional Autonomy Law 22/1999<sup>12</sup> and the Financial Balance between Central and Regional Governments Law 32/2004<sup>13</sup>. The Kalimantan Utara province was established on 25<sup>th</sup> October 2012 and promulgated in the Constitutional amendment 20/2012<sup>14</sup>. This makes this province the latest addition to the list of 34 provinces in Indonesia. The first governor of the province was selected based on the recommendation by the regional government of the province of Kalimantan Timur. The tasks of the assigned governor, back then, were to form the government working unit (SKPD), to establish the Regional House of Representatives, and to resolve the border issues between the newly formed province of Kalimantan Utara and the former province of Kalimantan Timur.

The province became a separate, autonomous province in order to maximize its regional development. Four aspects prompting this change were geostrategic, geopolitics, economic potency, and bilateral and regional cooperation (Wismono *et al.*, 2015, p. 364), where the geostrategic and geopolitics aspects concerned themselves mainly with border security issues while the aspects of economics and cooperation mainly concerned themselves with addressing the regional inequality in contrast with other regions in Indonesia.

The issues of security, particularly regarding the State border, was one of the critical factors that prompted the formation of the province. One urgent issue was the dispute

12 Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 22 Tahun 1999 Tentang Pemerintahan Daerah dan Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 25 tahun 1999 Tentang Perimbangan Keuangan Antara Pemerintah Pusat dan Daerah (Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Government and Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 25 of 1999 concerning Financial Balance between Central and Regional Governments)

13 Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 32 Tahun 2004 Tentang Pemerintahan Daerah dan Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 33 Tahun 2004 Tentang Perimbangan Keuangan Antara Pemerintah Pusat dan Daerah (Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government and Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 33 of 2004 concerning Financial Balance between Central and Regional Governments)

14 Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 20 Tahun 2012 Tentang Pembentukan Provinsi Kalimantan Utara (Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 20 of 2012 concerning the Establishment of the province of North Kalimantan)

concerning the territorial authority over two islands, Sipadan and Ligitan. Between Indonesia and Malaysia, the islands had been in dispute since 1969, which was only resolved in 2002 with the declaration that the islands belonged to Malaysia. The regional sentiments are strong regarding the low level of development of the province in comparison with the central province, Jakarta. Only limited public infrastructures exist in the border region compared to the central region, such as roads, transport such as buses, health care facilities, and electricity. It can be concluded that the goal of the formation of Kalimantan Utara as a border province is to enable the region to be well controlled and monitored regarding all aspects of development, which includes education, health, public services and security. In fact, the border area's regional government has the authority to formulate development regulations depending on what is needed.

### **4.3.2. The regency of Nunukan**

Prior to the establishment of the Nunukan Regency, this area was a part of the Bulungan Regency. Back in 1999, following the implementation of Law 22/1999<sup>15</sup>, the Bulungan Regency undertook to decentralize and divide the region into the Bulungan, Malinau and Nunukan Regencies. The process was then promulgated by Law 47/1999<sup>16</sup>. The formation of these two regencies was to optimize the development in the region regarding its geographical condition. The large size of the Bulungan area was seen as a significant factor preventing the entire region to achieve maximum development leading to the welfare of the local population. With the formation of the Kalimantan Utara province in 2012, the four regencies and one municipality became part of the province. The Nunukan Regency has borders with Malaysia both on land and sea (maritime). The territorial border on land is long. The border regions comprise districts such as Sebatik, Lumbis Ogong, Krayan, and Krayan Selatan. The major local ethnic groups in these districts are Dayak, with the exception of the Nunukan district where most of the population consists of migrants from the Sulawesi Selatan province. Regarding the maritime border, the Nunukan municipality and the Sebatik district are two districts that border both Malaysia and Indonesia. Within the Nunukan regency, the Nunukan municipality exists. This is the entry point for cross-border movement. The other cross-border movement in the area mainly takes place by ship. Obviously, the Nunukan region has a distinctive policy regulating cross-border mobility. The regulation that applies to the local population is that they are granted cross-border passes as travel documents to enter Malaysia.

Within Nunukan regency, there are sufficient transportation services. Whilst the region itself can be reached by light aircraft and boat, cars and motorbikes are used as local transportation in the city. The harbour that serves the route from Nunukan to Tawau - a major

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15 Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 22 Tahun 1999 Tentang Pemerintahan Daerah (Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Government)

16 UU Nomor 47 Tahun 1999 tentang Pembentukan Kabupaten Nunukan, Kabupaten Malinau, Kabupaten Kutai Timur, Kabupaten Kutai Barat dan Kota Bontang pada tanggal 4 Oktober 1999 (Law No. 47 of 1999 concerning the Establishment of Nunukan Regency, Malinau Regency, East Kutai Regency, West Kutai Regency, and Bontang City on 4th October 1999).

port nearby in south-east Sabah (Malaysia) - is called Tunon Taka in the city of Nunukan. Tunon Taka does not only daily witness a significant number of border crossers, but it has also seen the development of other business activities that are triggered by the many people shopping in Tawau. The distance between Nunukan and Tawau can be covered by a 1-hour boat trip. Generally, ships depart every hour. Figure 4.1 below shows the schedule of ships departing from Tunon Taka to Tawau and back.



**Figure 4.1** Schedule of ships serving the Nunukan (Indonesia) to Tawau (Malaysia) route.

The information written on the board translates as 'Ticket Office. Destination: Nunukan-Tawau-Nunukan'.

In the following section, the accessibility to Krayan is discussed including the means of transportation that depart from and head to Krayan.

#### 4.4. MOBILITY IN KRAYAN

Krayan region, as depicted on map 4.1, is situated in the northern part of the island of Borneo. The region<sup>17</sup> is considered unique because of its administrative boundaries. Internationally, Krayan borders with the Malaysian state of Sabah to the north and with Sarawak to the west.

<sup>17</sup> By the end of 2016, the region had split into five districts. They are Krayan, Krayan Barat, Krayan Timur, Krayan Tengah and Krayan Selatan (as presented in map 4.2).



**Map 4.1** The Krayan region



Map 4.2 Current Krayan administrative districts

Nationally, the district shares the southern border with the regency of Malinau in the province of Kalimantan Timur. In line with the current decentralisation process in Indonesia, the Krayan region has evolved accordingly. The term 'Krayan region' is used in this study to refer to both the Krayan and the Krayan Selatan districts since they are geographically adjacent to the Borneo highlands plateau. The Krayan region is administratively situated within the Nunukan regency in the province of Kalimantan Utara, Indonesia.

The Krayan region has a total land area of 3594 Km<sup>2</sup>. Approximately 80 per cent of this consists of a dense tropical rainforest. The Krayan region has an altitude ranging from 760 m to 1200 m. The district is rich in small rivers. These geographical features have marked the population distribution in the district. The settlements are mostly scattered in the valleys and along the rivers. It is common knowledge that the range of hills physically separating the district from its provincial capital prevents this area from attaining maximum regional development.

In the 1970s, under the presidency of Suharto, the formation of Krayan as a district began. In that year, the locals of Krayan experienced village regrouping under the population resettlement policy. The policy resulted in the construction of 89 villages, which continue to exist. The policy introduced the Javanese village structure to replace the long-existing customary Krayan *Kampung* structure. The Javanese village structure refers to a general form where people live in a Javanese style village that has schools, medical facilities, etc. (Appell-Warren, 1985, p. 11). The implementation of this policy is described in Chapter 5.

In addition to the State's administrative boundaries, the Krayan region also embraces the customary boundaries that take into account the division of local ethnic groups. The customary boundaries represent the village boundaries based on watershed zonation in relation to wet-farming practices (Sellato, 1997, pp. 34-45). The customary boundaries are seen as equally important as the existence of the regional boundaries. Five customary areas in Krayan are Krayan Darat, which is situated at the upper stream; Krayan Tengah, which is situated in the middle of the river route; Krayan Hilir, which is situated downstream; Krayan Barat, which is situated on the western side of the river; and Krayan Timur, which is located on the eastern side of the river. The division of these five customary areas bases itself on the usage of natural resources by a particular ethnic group and its subsistence within its territory gained by tribal war. In the current situation, the division of the customary regions corresponds to the actual presence of sub-ethnic identities of the Lundayeh. Thus, besides applying the national regulations regarding the boundaries and structure of the region, the customary rules apply to regulate the social norms in Krayan. Table 4.2 presents the organization of customary institutions in Krayan.

**Table 4.2** Customary institutions in Krayan

Customary institutions	Leadership
Customary territory ( <i>Wilayah Adat</i> )	Great customary leader ( <i>Kepala adat besar</i> )
Customary village ( <i>Desa Adat</i> )	Customary village leader ( <i>Ketua adat desa</i> )
Location/Cluster ( <i>Lokasi/klaster</i> )	Location head ( <i>Ketua lokasi</i> ) This institution is not included in the government. Instead, it is locally initiated to accommodate sparsely clustered villages.

Source: Own fieldwork (2016)

Map 4.3 depicts the customary boundaries in the Krayan region<sup>18</sup>. Note that an official map to indicate the customary boundaries is not available. The delimitation lines on the map sketch each customary boundary as indicated by the customary leaders in the interviews during the fieldwork. The map is useful for this research since it clarifies the current subdivision of the ethnic groups in the research area. Table 4.3 shows the customary boundaries and the villages included in each area according to the locals' perceptions.

**Table 4.3** Customary boundaries in Krayan

Customary Boundary	Krayan Barat	Krayan Darat	Krayan Hilir	Krayan Hulu	KRAYAN TENGAH
lokasi	Berian Baru	Long Api	Long Umung	Long Layu (Harapan Karya)	Long Padi
	Buduk Kubul	Long Bawan	Pa' Betung	Tang Laan (Pa' Upan)	Tang Badui
	Buduk Tumu	Long Midang	Pa' Kebuan	Tanjung Pasir (Long Rungan)	Binuang
	Kampung Baru	Long Nawang	Pa' Padi		Long Mutan
	Kuala Belawit		Terang Baru		Pa' Milau
	Lembudud		Bungayan		Ba' Liku
	Long Puak		Wa' Yagung		Long Rian
	Tang Paye				Pa' Yalau
	Tanjung Karya				

Source: Own fieldwork (2016)

In terms of accessibility, it is particularly challenging to reach Krayan, which sits on the high, flat plains in the interior of the island. This difficulty has been known for centuries. Early studies on the geographical condition of the highlands as part of a geological survey for the Batavian Oil Company (*Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij*) noted this (Schneeberger, 1945, p. 544). Also Tom Harrison, a prominent British polymath, who was credited for his considerable work in the interior of Borneo, noticed the inaccessibility of the area. He noted that European pioneers in these parts learned to go on foot instead of sitting in boats that were propelled by others (Harrison, 1959, p. 302; 1974, p. 18). Even today, Krayan can only be

18 The Indonesian customary ethnic division is not necessarily the same as the one in Malaysia. In Malaysia, for instance, the Dayak of the Borneo highlands comprise the Kelabit and Murut. See the work of (Janowski, 2005; Padoch, 1985; Zainuri, 2018),



**Map 4.3** Customary boundaries in Krayan

reached by light aircraft. The two most significant limitations regarding the operation of this light aircraft service are the weather condition and the limited regional government subsidies to sustain the service. Regarding the weather condition, the altitude of the Krayan highlands causes fluctuating weather conditions. On account of this, the flight service only operates under ideal weather conditions with good long-distance visibility. It follows that flight schedule changes are inevitable and frequent. To illustrate this, I have narrated below my experience to reach Krayan from Malinau, one of the regencies in Kalimantan Utara province.

#### **Box 4.1 Cancelled flight due to bad weather**

My first flight to Krayan was scheduled to depart from Malinau at 10:00 in the morning. On the day of my departure, I went through all the necessary procedures. I checked in, handed in my luggage and weighed myself at the counter desk. Thereafter, I proceeded to go to the waiting room 1 hour before departure. Unfortunately, 30 minutes before departure time it was announced that the scheduled flight was cancelled due to adverse weather conditions in Krayan, and that the flight was rescheduled for the next day at the same time. Fortunately, the flight did depart on schedule the next day.

Two types of flights serve the Krayan region, flights that are operated by Mission Aviation Fellowship and government-subsidized flights. The population of Krayan has long been relying on missionary aviation to transport passengers and goods within and outside the region. This service is commonly referred to as MAF. The government-subsidized flights serving the region came into existence after the MAF. The flight subsidy is the financial support by the central and regional government to lower the price of the tickets. The locals refer to the subsidized flight service as Susi Air. Figure 4.2 shows the flight schedule of Susi Air during my fieldwork in February 2016. The subsidized flight service is meant to facilitate the mobility of Krayan's locals heading to and departing from the central part of Kalimantan Utara province, such as Nunukan, Tarakan, Malinau, and Tanjung Selor. The price of the tickets includes additional costs for excess baggage. The ticket price varies according to the point of destination from the point of departure, Long Bawan, Krayan.

Because of the high demand for transportation, military planes that regularly transport Indonesian soldiers on border duty and their supplies also, if so needed, transport goods and other supplies for the benefit of the population.

The capital of the province of Tanjung Selor, the capital of the Nunukan regency, Tarakan City, and the capital of the Malinau regency are the four towns that have scheduled flights to Krayan. A combination of light aircraft and a boat is used to reach some destinations. While modes of transportation to reach Krayan are limited from the Indonesian side, the Krayan region is more accessible overland from Malaysia.

There is only one airport that serves the route from the Nunukan regency to Krayan, namely *Bandara Udara Nunukan*. A flight on this route can only be booked by being physically present at the ticket office on the actual day of the departure. An official explained to me that

JADWAL PENERBANGAN SUSI AIR		
1. LONG BAWAN – NUNUKAN	SENIN	Rp.390.000,-
2. LONG BAWAN – TARAKAN	SENIN - RABU - JUMAT - MINGGU	Rp.360.300,-
3. LONG BAWAN – MALINAU	SENIN - RABU - JUMAT - MINGGU	Rp.316.300,-
4. LONG BAWAN – TANJUNG SELOR	SENIN	Rp.390.000,-
<b>*OVER BAGASI 1 KG @ 33.000</b>		
<b>*CARGO</b>	Long bawan - malinau	@ 2.750,-
	Long bawan - tarakan	@ 3.190,-
	Long bawan - nunukan	@ 3.520,-
	Long Bawan - Tanjung Selor	@ 3520;
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Harga Tiket belum termasuk Airport tax</li> <li>• Harga Cargo belum termasuk biaya administrasi ( Rp. 2500; all rute)</li> <li>• Syarat dalam ketentuan berlaku</li> </ul>		

**Figure 4.2** The flight schedule serving the Long Bawan in February 2016

The information written on the paper translates as Susi Air Flight schedule

the reason for this is that there is a great demand for the limited seats that are available on the scheduled flights. Hence prospective passengers have to present themselves in person at the ticket office to prove their serious intention to travel to Krayan. He mentioned that in the past, the demand for tickets led to fraud: many people bought tickets only to sell them again to passengers at a higher price.

Although fraud can be avoided with the current reservation system, there are a few other issues. The official explained that there is only one person managing the bookings. This entails that prospective passengers from the entire Nunukan regency wishing to reserve a ticket depend on this one person's availability during office hours. Another problem is that the ticket office is not located at the airport. Passengers need to travel to the ticket office before knowing whether they will be able to buy a ticket to fly to Krayan on that same day. Thus, even though a passenger has a definite plan to go to Krayan, this might not happen. Travel plans might also be interrupted by the urgent transport of sick people, which takes precedence.

Twice a week there is a scheduled flight to Krayan from the regency of Malinau. When people wish to travel from Krayan to Nunukan via Malinau this requires a combination of transportation modes, that is, once they succeeded in procuring tickets. During my fieldwork in Tarakan, I met several Krayan locals whom I knew to be a group of village heads from Krayan Selatan. They explained that when they left Krayan Selatan, there was no direct flight available to Tarakan. They told me that their trip was necessary to report on development aid and the progress in development to the government of the Regency of Nunukan. So, in order to reach Tarakan, they first took a flight with light aircraft from Krayan Selatan to Malinau, and then they continued the trip to Tarakan (Regency of Nunukan) by speedboat.

Tarakan is the gateway to the Kalimantan Utara province. Not only does Tarakan serve as a transportation hub for the province but it also serves national and international routes. Generally, transport is by air but for an international trip, mainly to Malaysia, transport may also be by ship. Apart from the subsidized flights and the Mission Aviation flights, also a military helicopter serves the Krayan region from Tarakan. The military helicopter is a significant mode of transport since it can take large-sized goods. It is quite common for locals to transport big purchases from Tarakan by military helicopter. These purchases may include motorbikes and other bulky goods that are impossible to transport by light aircraft.

## 4.5. THE KRAYAN POPULATION

One of the ways to understand population dynamic is by looking at the demographic profile of a village (Smith and Hebinck, 2007, p. 272). In order to do this, in this research, there are two sources presenting Krayan's population figures: *Krayan in figures* published by Statistics Indonesia (*BPS-Biro Pusat Statistik*) of the Nunukan regency (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Nunukan, 2015a, 2015b) and the Krayan figures in *Monograph Krayan 2015* as recorded in the Krayan District Office. The figures of these sources are not always consistent. The officials of Statistics Indonesia noted that the inconsistency in the figures for the Krayan population is caused by the fact that many Krayan people live outside the region for long periods, for instance, to work as labourers in Malaysia, to pursue their education, or to work in other parts of Indonesia. In order to overcome this challenge, the officials make a concerted effort to implement the official survey standard which includes the number of family members living under the same roof within a period of 6 months. In this way, the data presented by Statistics Indonesia is a close representation of the actual population living in the Krayan region. They acknowledged that it is difficult to gather data regarding the accurate number of the population in the region. During the many attempts to record the number of people in households, locals often suggest to include family members irrespective of their absence during the actual collection of the data. They insist that their family members will return home and, hence, should be counted as a part of the Krayan population. More information on the migration of Krayan people is presented as part of the empirical findings in Chapter 7.

Meanwhile, the population figures that are presented by the District Office appear to be higher than those presented by Statistics Indonesia. Unlike the survey standard applied by Statistics Indonesia, the Krayan District Office employed a much more loose definition regarding the number of family members living under the same roof and the duration of this. The district official mentioned that Krayan fell in the category of regions that were not prioritized to receive government development aid. This particular category is related to the relatively low population density compared to other regions in Indonesia. In reality, the local population has an urgent need for development despite its official population number. Therefore, a provisional survey was performed by the District Office in an attempt to meet

the required population figures that would make Krayan eligible for government development aid. The survey was performed in line with the regional constitutional prerogative right of the Head of the District. The survey considered any family member of the local population and included those living outside Krayan and those living in Malaysia.

In this research, these two sources with different data are used in a complementary manner. I mainly refer to the data provided by Statistics Indonesia on the population in the region while I use the figures from the district of Krayan to present the ethnic composition (listed in table 4.5) as well as the livelihoods and educational background of the locals (listed in table 4.6) in the following sections.

The Krayan region comprises 89 villages, of which 65 are in Krayan and 24 in Krayan Selatan (as listed in table 4.4). These villages find their origin in the traditional villages that were relocated from the rainforest following the 1970 resettlement policy of the Indonesian government. This resettlement programme is elaborated on in Chapter 5.

According to the Statistics Indonesia report published in 2014, the total population in the Krayan region was approximately 9000 in 2014 (see table 4.4). Bearing in mind that many of the population live outside the region, these figures are lower than the figures recorded by the District Office. The use of these two sources of data are complementing each other in this research. Therefore these data are relevant to provide the general demographic characteristics of the region.

**Table 4.4** Demographic characteristics of Krayan and Krayan Selatan

District	Area (Km <sup>2</sup> )	Village Numbers	Male	Female	Population	Density (population/Km <sup>2</sup> )
Krayan	1 837	65	3 670	3 153	6 823	3
Krayan Selatan	1 757	24	1 114	997	2 111	1

Source: Krayan in figures, 2015; and Krayan Selatan in figures, 2015

#### 4.5.1. Ethnic composition

Dayak is the umbrella term commonly used for the native ethnic groups of Kalimantan. Tanasaldy (2012, pp. 29-35) defines the Dayak as an ethnic group and describes the Dayak identity on the basis of primordial and external criteria. Based on the former, the Dayak have a common primordial foundation in that many members of the Dayak ethnic group share relatively similar characteristics, while, based on the latter, the Dayak are an ethnic group according to external construction.

The Dayak Lundayeh form the main group of the ethnic groups residing in Krayan. The ethnic division in Krayan can be traced along with ethnicity-language and resource usage of the groups, which has led to the formation of customary boundaries (*wilayah adat*). Sellato notes that each group is entitled to specific areas along the river for wet-rice farming practices (Sellato, 1997). More on customary boundaries is presented in Chapter 5. The Lundayeh and

Lun Bawang are two prominent groups that share kinship relationships. The division between the Lundayeh and Lun Bawang finds its origin in the establishment of the national border: the Lundayeh reside on the Indonesian side of the border while the Lun Bawang lives on the Malaysian side.

The Krayan population consists of Dayak Lundayeh, and several other ethnic groups. The Lundayeh in Krayan differentiates themselves as *Lun Tana Lun*, *Lun Nan Ba'*, and *Leng Illu'* (Bakker and Crain, 2012, p. 114; Sellato, 1997). The majority of *Lun Tana Lun* and *Lun Nan Ba'* reside in the Krayan district. The *Leng Illu'*, *Sa' Ben* and *Punan* mostly reside in Krayan Selatan. The Punan ethnic group also resides in the Krayan region. The Punan are considered to be a nomadic group from the Borneo rainforest who decided to settle in the Nunukan district (Sellato, 1997, pp. 40–41).

Aside from the major local ethnic groups of the region, there are other ethnic groups, who migrated into the region, such as Javanese, Buginese (from the province of Sulawesi Selatan), Timorese, and others (as presented in Table 4.5). These groups initially arrived to fill jobs on a more temporary base: civil servants, missionaries, military, road construction workers, and traders. Later they decided to settle permanently in the region, particularly those who had since married local women (Ardhana *et al.*, 2004, p. 174). Over the years, the number of these groups has gradually increased as they attract family and friends by sharing the opportunities to make a living in Krayan.

**Table 4.5** Ethnic composition in Krayan

Ethnic composition	Numbers
Lundayeh	12732
Javanese	164
Buginese	107
Timorese	98
Lombok	58
Toraja	35
Madura	14
Others: Manado, Papua, Buton, Sunda, Banjar, Filipino, Tidung, Bali, Melayu, Kayan, Tagel, Kenyah	30

Source: Krayan monograph 2014 recorded in the District Office of Krayan

#### 4.5.2. Pursuing education

Earlier it was mentioned that one of the reasons for many Krayan locals living outside the region is to pursue education. Education in Krayan is limited to twelve-year compulsory education as prescribed by the government. It covers six years of elementary education (*SD—Sekolah Dasar*) for the age group 7 to 12, three years of junior secondary education (*SMP—Sekolah Menengah Pertama*) for the age group 13 to 15, and three years senior secondary education (*SMA/SMK—Sekolah Menengah Atas/Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan*) for the age group 15 to 18. In total, there are 27 elementary schools, 7 junior high schools, and 4 senior

high schools serving the Krayan and Krayan Selatan region (see table 4.6). In addition, there is 1 higher education institution in the region, namely, the Willfonger Theological Seminary (*STT Willfonger—Sekolah Tinggi Teologi Willfonger*). Despite the adequate number of schools, the lack of other learning facilities has been a longstanding problem that hinders the learning process. Two notable problems in the schools are that the school libraries have few or no relevant books to aid learning and that there is a lack of laboratory equipment. Hence, it is common for Krayan locals to leave Krayan to pursue their education elsewhere.

**Table 4.6** Number of Schools in Krayan

Districts	Elementary School <i>SD</i>	Junior High School <i>SMP</i>	Senior High School <i>SMA</i>	Higher Degree in Education <i>STT</i>
Krayan	21	4	3	1
Krayan Selatan	6	3	1	-

Source: Krayan in Figures 2015 and Krayan Selatan in Figures 2015

Regarding the educational background and livelihoods of the residents of Krayan, three points are worth noting. First, the information received from the District Office mainly refers to the district of Krayan. At the time of inquiry, such data were not available for the Krayan Selatan district. Second, for this study, the data source of the year 2014 was used, which was before the decentralization of the province. This was done in order to gather comprehensive demographic characteristics. Such comprehensive data were not available at the time of the fieldwork periods in 2015 and 2016. Despite the unavailability of hard and accessible data for the Krayan Selatan district, it is apparent that the two districts share major demographic characteristics that are relevant for this study. Table 4.7 presents the significant characteristics regarding the educational background of the population in Krayan region.

The high number of elementary schools in Krayan might well have resulted in a large number (2546) of Krayan locals who were recorded to have passed their elementary education. A mere number of 422 locals were recorded to have achieved a Bachelor's degree, and 34 people attained a Master's degree (see table 4.7). Though there are no recorded data regarding the universities Krayan locals enrolled in, they frequently continue their education in Tarakan and Nunukan in the Kalimantan Utara province and in Yogyakarta and Jakarta in Java. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

**Table 4.7** Demographic characteristics in the district of Krayan

Educational Background (highest qualification obtained)	Numbers of people
Not attending school	1408
Primary School	2546
Junior High School	2433
Senior High School	2417
Diploma 1	127
Diploma 2	111
Diploma 3	195
Bachelor	422
Master	34

Source: Krayan monograph (2014) recorded in the District Office of Krayan

### 4.5.3. Income generating activities

In the study, I refer to the economic activities that the locals undertake to generate income in order to sustain their households. In many cases, the locals are engaged in multiple economic activities rather than in one single activity (see table 4.8). It is common for locals to be a self-proclaimed wet-rice farmer and a livestock farmer. The farmers in Krayan can be divided into two types. Owners of a wet-rice field or a sugarcane field do not necessarily cultivate their own fields. They often employ others as labourers to do the sowing and harvesting. Labouring farmers refer to those who work on the fields but do not own the fields. Commonly the livestock owned and raised by the locals are buffaloes, pigs, cows, chickens, fish, and dogs. It is worth noting the contribution of dogs in income-generating activities. Though it is not recorded in figures, traditional hunting and gathering continue to be practised as income-generating activities in Krayan. Dogs are not only valued as domestic animals but also for their hunting capability when the locals are hunting for a game (Sellato, 2015, pp. 170-171). A well-trained hunting dog is very valuable as a means of securing a livelihood. (Dogs are also known to be traded within the region as food for human consumption.)

Creating handicraft also contributes to the household income. Examples of this are the *saung* (traditional round hat made from dried-woven straw), the *tikar* (plain-woven mat), the *tampi* (traditional winnowing tray) and the *bekang* (traditional carrying basket with straps on the back). These crafts are not only traded on the market in Krayan, but also in Malaysia. When a craft is produced for the Malaysian market, it is common practice that the crafts made in Krayan will be sold on a Malaysian market with the label 'Made in the Malaysian highlands'.

**Table 4.8** The locals' multiple livelihoods

Livelihoods	Numbers of people
Farmers	6739
Civil servants	410
Livestock farmers	370
Wet-rice field labourers	224
Handcrafters	165
Internships (casual)	154
Traders	139
Carpenters	99
Medical workers (doctors, midwives, nurse, helpers)	46

Source: Krayan monograph 2014, recorded in the District Office of Krayan

#### 4.5.4. Livelihood patterns

Household income is defined as the average monthly sum that a household earns from the total of all livelihood activities. Thus, the total household income refers to the combined incomes of all family members sharing the household or place of residence. It includes every form of income. In Krayan this commonly includes income from multiple sources which is earned irregularly. As the majority of Krayan locals work as farmers, their income is earned after the harvest period and in combination with other livelihood activities. For instance, it takes four months before rice can be harvested. During this period, the locals work as handcrafters so that their handicrafts could be traded or go hunting game and birds in the forest, which they can also trade. Also, to provide income, livestock such as buffalo may be sold or pigs. The locals rear pigs to augment their household income and as an investment. In the district of Krayan Selatan another source of income comes from the cultivation of *binamut* (*millet, dele arur*). Locals who work as civil servants make up a small number. Their income is earned on a monthly basis. Civil servants are, for example, District Office staff, headmasters, teachers and retired civil servants.

In the next section, I mainly focus on farming and trading activities since these are activities that contribute to the border crossing.

#### *Livelihood activities*

Tropical rain forests alongside large patches of rice fields are characteristic of the Krayan region (as depicted in figure 4.3). The Krayan region is also known to produce mountain rice called *adan* rice. The cultivation of *adan* rice contributes to the locals' livelihood. In addition to income-generating activities such as hunting and logging, most locals depend on rice production.

The majority of Krayan's adult population works as wet-rice farmers. Intensive wet-rice cultivation is the principal subsistence activity and the primary source of food for the locals (Janowski, 2005, p. 259; Padoch, 1985, p. 276; Sellato, 2002). The rice from this region is

prominently known as organic *adan* rice because it has been cultivated in the traditional way without using chemical fertilizers and pesticides, but only by using buffalo manure as fertilizer. Growing rice is labour intensive. The continued use of traditional methods of cultivation suggests that due to Krayan's geographical location in the forested mountains and hills, it might be difficult to import more modern agricultural technologies and machinery. The isolated location of Krayan makes it difficult to sell the product after the harvest. Besides the *adan* rice being for the use of the family, it is sold locally and in the neighbouring Malaysian villages that farmers have access to.

In addition, to be a farmer, it is common for the locals to earn an income by being a cattleman and a hand crafter. The production of handicrafts is often done by the female adults in the household alongside their involvement in major farming activities. Some handicraft products are *saung*, *tikar*, *tampi*, and *bakul*. These products are not only traded within the region or the province, but they are also traded in the markets across the border (Rozi, 2014, p. 113).



**Figure 4.3** The Long Bawan view from the aircraft

Source: © WWF-Indonesia/Ihwan Rafina<sup>19</sup>

19 [https://www.wwf.or.id/program/inisiatif/social\\_development/greenandfairproducts/beras\\_adan\\_tana\\_tam/](https://www.wwf.or.id/program/inisiatif/social_development/greenandfairproducts/beras_adan_tana_tam/)

The following section elaborates on other significant resources that are traded by the locals in shops at the Lawas market, Malaysia, which contribute to their households' sources of income.

### *Trading*

Trading activities in the highlands of Borneo were widespread prior to Indonesia's pre-independence period (Sellato, 1997; Tagliacozzo, 2000). These activities traditionally covered the trading of natural resources, notably non-timber forest products (Sellato, 2002). In those days, the locals of Krayan relied on natural resources not only for their own consumption but also to trade in order to sustain their livelihoods. These natural resources included agarwood, which is often used as raw material in the production of fragrance, and forest fruit. Also, today these resources, together with agricultural products, continue to provide income for many of the households in Krayan. The agricultural products include *adan* rice, cane sugar, millet, as well as mountain salt. The Krayan region is rich in non-timber forests where many agricultural crops are grown (Eghenter, 2005; Sellato, 2002). These resources contribute to the trading activities of the locals in the region and, in this way, generate income rather than in the central region, which is more difficult to access. In the sub-sections below, I will highlight the non-timber forest resources that contribute to the locals' livelihood since these are the main resources that facilitate cross-bordering to Malaysia.

#### *Gaharu (agarwood)*

Agarwood has a long history as one of the most valuable non-timber forest products in Southeast Asia (Sellato, 2002, pp. 41-43). Agarwood is a fragrant dark resinous wood that is formed in the heartwood of trees of the genus *Aquilaria* in response to wounding the tree and the subsequent infection by fungi such as *Fusarium*. This wood is in high demand for medicine, incense, and perfumes across Asia and the Middle East (Sellato, 2002, p. 41; Soeharto *et al.*, 2016, pp. 3-6).

In my fieldwork in Wa Yagung village, the most remote village in the central district of Krayan in Long Bawan, I met one of the locals who is actively involved in searching for *gaharu* in the forest. He explained that he is fortunate to collect this resinous wood from the forest since he could earn millions of rupiahs when he trades it in Malaysia. He mentioned that finding *gaharu* is one of his activities that generates the highest income and, so, makes it possible to provide for his family. He admitted that in the past it was easier to collect *gaharu* than nowadays when many people search for *gaharu*, while the trees are scarce.

Overharvesting of *gaharu* threatens the tree populations that produce agarwood. The trading of *gaharu* is a lucrative but irregular activity. Nonetheless, its high market value remains a major motivation to keep gathering *gaharu*. It is common for locals to cross (undocumented) into Malaysian territory in their search for *gaharu*.

### *Buffalo*

Buffaloes are vital to the locals' everyday lives. Buffalo is one of Krayan's most important livestock species, ranging in use by woodland hauliers to transport equipment, as a source of meat and milk, to complement customary and religious ceremonial activities (Wilson and Donnan, 2012, p. 26). Krayan locals cannot recall when the buffalo came to Krayan since they seem to have been there as long as they can remember. Pollard (1933, p. 148), as quoted by Sellato (1997, p. 37), noted that buffaloes were walked in from Sabah's coastal regions. Their origin is unclear, however. Buffaloes play several important roles in the region, such as in rice cultivation, in goods transportation, and for economic profit.

The buffaloes are integrally linked to the agricultural system. As part of the cultivation of wet-rice the buffaloes are let loose in the field after the harvest period to trample the earth. They are allowed to eat the weeds and the stumps of the rice plants, turn over the soil and fertilize it with their manure in the process. In this way, the rice fields are prepared for the next planting season.

There is an increasing demand for buffalo meat in Malaysia, particularly during the Muslim Idul Fitri festivities at the conclusion of the Ramadan period, which results in a reasonable profit. In sum, the significance of buffaloes for Krayan locals is threefold: first, to facilitate wet-rice farming; second, as a means of transport; and third, for meat production for Malaysia.

### *Adan rice*

As mentioned earlier in this section, *adan* rice is a native rice variety farmed throughout the Borneo highlands. Farming of this wet-rice is not unusual in inland Borneo (Eghenter and Langub, 2008, p. 286; Janowski, 1991; Padoch, 1983, p. 34; Sellato, 1997, p. 33). *Adan* wet rice farming in Krayan covers an approximate area of 5430 ha. The fields are located in the valleys of the Krayan Highlands. For centuries the Lundayeh locals have been transforming the valleys of the highlands into inundated rice fields (Padoch, 1983, p. 33).

The average annual production of *adan* rice is 4 to 6 tons (Humas dan Protokol Pemerintah Kabupaten Nunukan, Undated). A large part of the *adan* harvest is distributed in Malaysia and Brunei, while a lesser part is traded in Nunukan. This imbalance in the distribution is in principle caused by the poor condition of the roads and, hence, transportation challenges.

### *Mountain salt*

Lian and Lucy (1989), cited in (Sellato, 1993, pp. 276-277), noted that salt was a significant trade item both within the Kelabit<sup>20</sup> and Krayan highland communities and outside. Although

20 The Kelabit Highlands of Sarawak, Malaysia and the Krayan (also called Kerayan) highlands of Kalimantan, Indonesia, are highland plateaus separated by the Apad Wat mountain range in the interior of the island of Borneo ("apad" means mountain range, while "wat" means tree roots). The Kelabit and Lundayeh (of Krayan) often view themselves as a single group: the Lundayeh or 'Upriver People', or the Lun Lem Bawang Inan or 'people of the country'. See the work of (Amster, 2009; Bala, 2001; Bulan, 2003, 2011; Hitchner et al., 2009)

geographically, Krayan is far from the sea<sup>21</sup>, there exist salt springs in the region<sup>22</sup>. Nowadays, these springs are converted into concrete wells. Locals collect the brine, process it and so produce mountain salt for trading and for their own consumption.

Generally speaking, there are two villages that are currently active in salt production, namely, Pa' Kebuan and Long Midang. The locals continue to use the traditional process with the equipment that is provided through aid from the government (Gani, 2012, p. 3). To produce the salt, the following process is used: water is collected from the spring in buckets and poured into half an empty oil drum. The water is then boiled over a wood fire for three days until the salt particles appear. The next step is to dry the half-ready salt in the open air. Once the salt particles are dry, bamboo tubes are then filled with the salt. The salt tubes are then sold in Krayan and in Ba'Kelalan (Malaysia).

### *Sugarcane from Pa' Raye*

Krayan soil is suitable for sugarcane production. The locals in the Pa' Raye village are known for their sugarcane products. The sugarcane production is much less than the production of *adan* rice. It is one of Krayan's commodities sold in Malaysia<sup>23</sup> and, so, contributes to income generation.

The sugarcane production in Pa' Raye takes place at a small sugar mill. The current mill was built with aid from the government. The mill is made of wooden planks with zinc roofs and earth floors. This mill has several big pans. Sugar production is done in a traditional way. One of the locals explained that the production includes collecting the sugarcane stalks and transporting them to the mill. This is often done using buffaloes. Thereafter, the juice is extracted using a sugar cane press<sup>24</sup> (see figure 4.4) that is manually operated by the locals. The juice is then boiled in a pan that is heated up over a wood fire. During the boiling process, the juice is stirred continuously, and the impurities are removed. The heating and stirring process is continued until the juice turns into a thick brown paste, which is then cooled.

21 Singh (1998, p. 14) notes that the origin of the salt is unknown. However, the author offers two possible geological explanations: a report by Jordi (unpublished report of Sarawak Oilfields Ltd.) records that near another salt spring, at a place called Ba Kelalan, a rhythmic alteration of sandstone, siltstone and shale was logged. The sequence contains concretions of gypsum which can be a probable source of salts in the salt spring area. Another explanation is that the salt is generated from clay-sized particles that make up the Kelabit Formation in this region.

22 The region's oral history tells that once upon a time a Lundayeh hunter shot a squirrel with his blowgun. The squirrel fell into a spring. The hunter collected the squirrel and grilled the meat for his supper. He found that the meat tasted delightfully savoury. Soon after, the hunter went back to the spring where he shot the squirrel. He then worked out that spring water made the meat taste savoury. Ever since that time, the spring has been preserved as the source of salt for the Krayan region.

23 <http://www.beritasatu.com/ekonomi/314416-akses-terbatas-masyarakat-krayan-jual-produk-pertanian-ke-malaysia.html>. Last accessed 12 March 2020; <http://kaltim.antaranews.com/berita/9738/masyarakat-krayan-produksi-gula-pasir-sendiri>. Last accessed 12 March 2020; <http://kaltara.prokal.co/read/news/952-di-karayan-ada-gula-tradisional-dari-tebu>

24 <https://kayanmentaranganationalpark.com/wisata-dan-aksesibilitas/>. Last accessed 12 March 2020.



**Figure 4.4** Traditional Sugar Mill in Pa' Raye

#### *Millet*

In addition to *adan* rice farming, the locals also cultivate millet grains. Millet is mainly grown by the locals of Krayan Selatan, notably in the villages of Long Padi and Binuang. Fields of mountain rice are interspersed with patches of millet (locally pronounced as *binamut*). Binamut is known as a traditional highlands delicacy.

This millet is increasingly appreciated by buyers in Sarawak (Malaysia) and Brunei<sup>25</sup>. In Malaysia, *binamut* is considered to be an expensive dish. It is sold in delicatessen shops or in large supermarkets in the section with imported goods<sup>26</sup>.

During the harvest period, the locals sell their millet to Malaysian buyers. The millet is weighed and put in a sack (see figure 4.5). The locals mentioned that before there was a road leading to their villages, they had to carry the millet to the buyers. Currently, the Malaysian buyers come in their cars to their villages to buy the millet, and they often trade the millet for daily necessities such as sugar, coffee and gasoline.

25 <http://wwf.panda.org/?219992/Not-only-rice>. Last accessed 12 March 2020

26 <https://www.theborneopost.com/2016/09/25/cooking-talents-from-the-highlands/> Last accessed 12 March 2020



**Figure 4.5** Millet (Binamut) harvest

## 4.6. SUMMARY

The chapter began with the historical background of the Krayan region, together with the emergence of its border over time, which can be traced to the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the two ruling colonial powers, the Dutch and the British, laid claim to the island of Borneo. In this study, it is relevant to trace this historical timeline since it aids in understanding that the imposing of the State border between Indonesia and Malaysia finds its origin in the colonial past of these two states. Over the decades following Indonesia's Independence, Krayan underwent a series of administrative changes that contributed to the current cross-border dynamics in the region. The promulgation of regional decentralization in 1999 led to the autonomy of Krayan. Currently, the National Government is in charge of the development of the border region.

In terms of cross-border interaction, the chapter explains that the border crossing activities in the region have been induced by Krayan's geographical isolation from the main part of Indonesia's territory. While Krayan is easily accessible from Malaysia and *vice versa*, the region is relatively inaccessible from the side of Indonesia, which has been the case for centuries. These days, Krayan's accessibility from and to Indonesian territory mainly depends on a flight service using light aircraft. It follows that border crossing to Malaysia is common practice.

It was also discussed that the demarcation of the border between the two states splits up the ethnic group of the Dayak, which reside on both sides of the border. Kinship relations between the two local groups living in the border region, i.e. the Dayak Lundayeh and the Lun Bawang. These kinship relations encompass a shared cultural background. While the Lun Bawang is known to reside in Malaysia, the majority of the population in Krayan consists of Dayak Lundayeh, besides other ethnic minorities. Based on the population statistics obtained, it was mentioned that a sizable number of Krayan locals live outside the region to pursue education or for work purposes.

The chapter ended with a description of the key characteristics of the Krayan population, notably regarding their livelihood activities, and particularly those that required cross-border engagements. In the next chapter, Chapter 5, the background to the border crossing dynamics and border-regional development is outlined.



# 5

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## MULTIFACETED BORDER AND DEVELOPMENT IN KRAYAN

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“Can you imagine, if the Garden of Eden was damaged by two people, what could possibly happen to a national park that was inhabited by so many people ...?”

(Pak Lewi, 10 February 2016)

## 5.1. INTRODUCTION

The above quotation is what was said by Pak<sup>27</sup> Lewi, one of the customary leaders in Krayan, as I began our conversation regarding his concerns about the development in the Krayan region. This chapter describes the specific context of this research. Hence, the current role of the State border is discussed as well as its relevance pertaining to the developments in the Krayan region. In the previous chapter, it was discussed that the selection of Krayan as a research area is due to the ongoing cross-border interactions in the area. The cross-border dynamics are driven by the shared cultural background of the locals living in the area on both sides of the border and the current development in the region. In terms of the development endeavours, Krayan is a clear example of how border-regional development involves a range of development actors.

Indonesia's current state border is interlinked with its historical background. As described in the previous chapter, a series of historical events resulted in a multifaceted border. In Krayan, the borders manifest themselves in various ways, i.e., state border, nature reserve zoning, village boundaries, *lokasi* (location), church denomination, as well as customary boundaries. Also, increasingly the borders have come to play an important role in the preservation of natural resources. In this study, the demarcation of Kayan Mentarang National Park in Krayan is an example of this.

Indonesia's development endeavours largely focus on economic development. Consequently, the development policies and endeavours revolve around the State preserving and managing natural resources in order to increase national revenue. During the pre-Independence period, the smuggling of natural resources across the border led to the militarization of the region. Back then, the imposing of security and defence measures was the main strategy to secure the natural resources for the colonial powers. In post-Independence Indonesia, the various regimes and government structures continued to implement policies to preserve natural resources and continued to create a public infrastructure. In Krayan these national development endeavours resulted in instituting a national nature reserve, the status of which was later changed into a national park, as well as the establishment of a border agency. The implementation of the policy on the protection of natural resources also resulted in the construction of solid-ground roads, the building of schools of health centres, and the creation of a border crossing pass, which also fell under the umbrella of public infrastructure.

Besides the significant role of government in development, the development efforts also involved various non-government actors, both regional, national and international, including

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27 Pak is a common way of addressing a man in Indonesia. It is part of the etiquette in Indonesia that demonstrates respect, which is considered a key factor in social interaction. The use of Pak is similar to "Mr." or "Sir" in English.

actors from across the border. Significant non-government actors in Krayan's development are non-government organizations, missionary societies, and culture-based organizations which were involved in cross-border cooperation. Although the main focus of the latter organizations is the facilitation of mobility across the border to make it possible for the locals to fulfil their daily needs, the cross-border cooperation practices principally came into existence because of the shared cultural background of the groups living on both sides of the border. Several organisations promoting cross-border cooperation are SOSEK MALINDO (Socio-Economic Cooperation between Malaysia and Indonesia), ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), and HoB (Heart of Borneo). Of these, the first two are cooperative agreements between states.

In the next section, I will describe in detail the multiple borders in Krayan. The section thereafter focuses on border crossing occurrences. This is followed by a description of the border-regional development endeavours.

## 5.2. THE STATE BORDER

The emergence of the State border peaked at different moments. The emergence of the border in Krayan is in tandem with the overall border practices in Kalimantan as part of Indonesia's endeavour to demarcate the State's territory. The territorial state-border between Indonesia and Malaysia in Krayan is a tangible one. Locally, the State border is marked by military border posts, different flags, and the condition of the road. The 9 km border area begins at the Indonesian border post located in Long Midang village and ends at the Malaysia border post located in the Malaysian village of Ba' Kelalan. The territorial sovereignty is marked by each state's national flags that stand on the hills. The poor condition of the access road to the border characterizes the Indonesian part, while a good asphalt road runs through the Malaysian territory.

The State border is marked with visible signs in Krayan, other borders in Krayan have a different format, such as customary boundaries, ethnic divisions, church denominations, zonation of the Kayan Mentarang Nature Reserve which later became the Kayan Mentarang National Park. In addition, there are boundaries indicating the administrative villages and locations. The following section defines each border in Krayan as they are commonly perceived by the locals.

### 5.3. THE MULTIFACETED BORDER IN KRAYAN

The numerous border studies confirmed that in Kalimantan the border has existed for a long time (Amster, 2006; Eghenter, 2007; Eilenberg, 2012; Ishikawa, 2008; Sanders, 2005; Wadley, 2001). A description of the border takes into account the complexity of the historical, political, economic, and cognitive connotations within the context of practices and interactions across the border (Eghenter, 2007, p. 2). However, in order to understand the meaning and importance of the border in the perception of the locals, it is essential for this study to examine the border as a multifaceted phenomenon. Through differentiation of the various borders coexisting with the formal state border in Krayan, significant contrasts came to the fore. The following sections elaborate on the multifaceted border in Krayan.

#### 5.3.1. The official State border posts

As previously mentioned, the State border in Krayan is marked with visible signs. The State border manifests itself by means of flags, border monuments, military border, and immigration posts.

Originally there were two immigration posts at the border that were established by the Indonesian Immigration Office in order to monitor the cross-border interaction in the region. They were located in Long Midang, in the Krayan district, and in Long Layu, in the Krayan Selatan district. The immigration posts (as depicted in map 5.1) were set up so that locals with an official border crossing pass could cross the border into two different Malaysia states, i.e. through the border post at Long Midang to Lawas in Sarawak, and through the border post at Long Layu to Long Pasia in Sabah via the official immigration entry point at Long Pasia (Setiawan, 2020, p. 13). The border post in Long Midang allowed entry via the immigration checkpoint in Lawas, which was smaller than the official immigration entry point in Long Pasia. The locals mentioned that even though the border post at Long Layu gave them access to the official immigration entry point in Malaysia, they preferred to use the border checkpoint at Long Midang because the road from Long Layu to Long Pasia in Malaysia was a mere path leading through thick forest and difficult terrain, whereas the road from Long Midang to Lawas in Malaysia was much better and gave them more transport options, such as travelling by car, by motorbike, or on foot. As a consequence, these days, only the border post in Long Midang is in operation.

The border post in Long Layu was opened in 2012. It was closed in 2014. It is common knowledge among the locals that the reason for the closing down of the immigration post was because the immigration staff could not stand living in the region. The immigration staff who were sent to serve the area came from the central region. The locals mentioned that some staff wanted to leave because they were stationed too far from their family members.

Besides these official border posts, it is also possible to cross the border from Krayan by taking narrow paths through the jungle along the border. Often officials call these paths *jalan tikus* (mouse paths), and locals refer to them as *lewat hutan* (through the jungle). Any border crossing via these narrow paths is considered to be illegal.



Map 5.1 Border posts in Krayan

### 5.3.2. The Kayan Mentarang Nature Reserve and the Kayan Mentarang National Park

In the 1980s, Krayan was known to be part of the Kayan Mentarang Nature Reserve, which changed its status in 1996 and then became a National Park (FORCLIME-GIZ program, 2010). Although the change occurred many years ago, the locals still remember the event as significant.

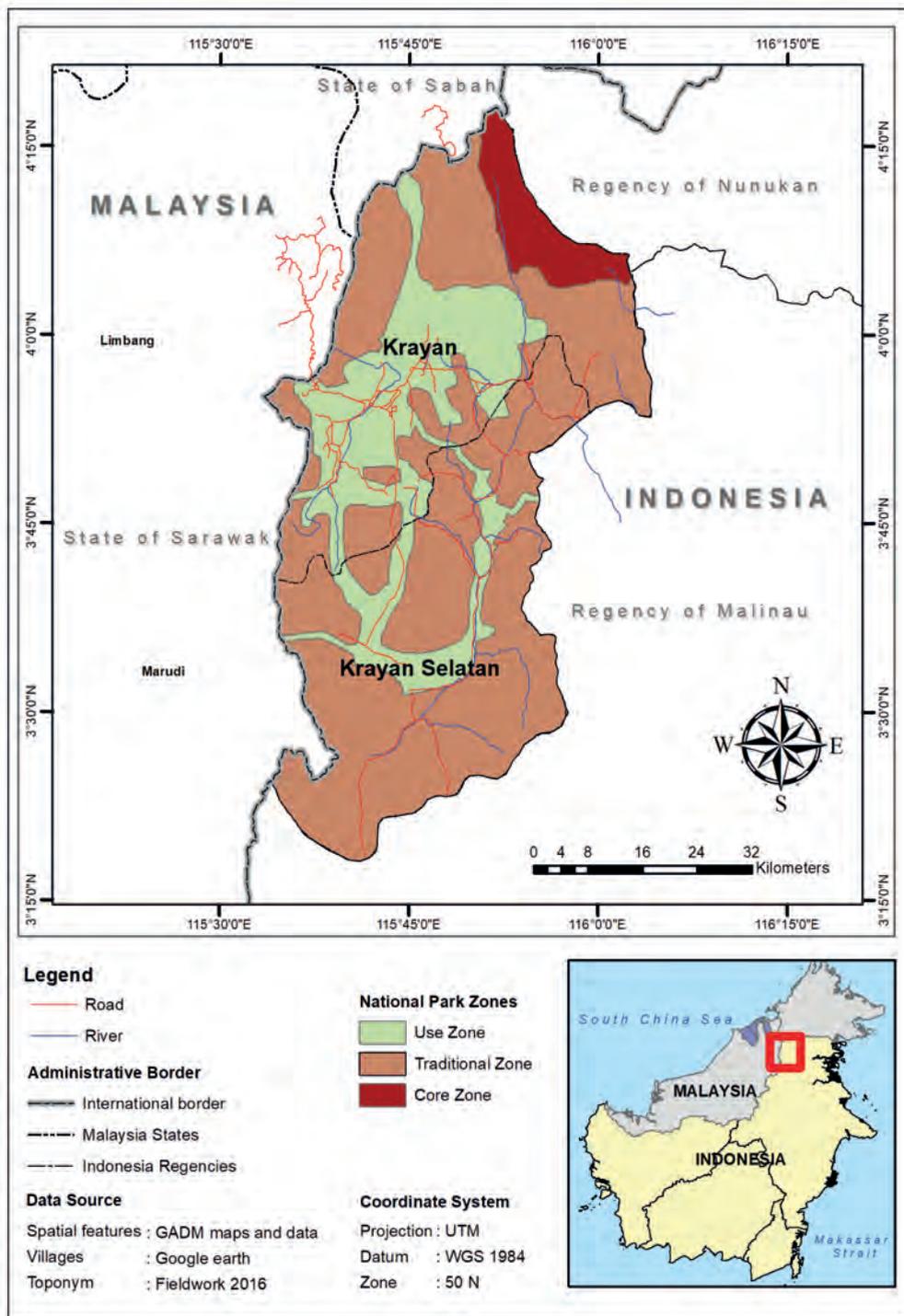
The establishment of the Nature Reserve and, later, the National Park was a consequence of the foreign policy implemented during the period of the New Order (as described in Chapter 4). The New Order regime promoted development through economic growth (Cooke, 2006, pp. 7–8; Tirtosudarmo, 1997, p. 298) and as part of this, it was government policy to issue timber concessions to foreign countries, which led to a rapidly increasing exploitation of timber outside the island of Java (Manning, 1971, pp. 37–38). In response to this, it became urgent in Kalimantan to redraw the map of the forest area as a way to counteract excessive timber exploitation.

The central government used to conserve Krayan as part of the Kayan Mentarang Nature Reserve established in 1980<sup>28</sup>. The decision to include Krayan in the Nature Reserve had as a consequence that any human activity was prohibited within the zone of the Reserve. The local population had not been involved in the decisions pertaining to the various conservation categories that were part of the National Park management, and this resulted in tensions between the locals and the government. During the years that followed, the locals - actively assisted by World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) - sought to preserve their way of living in a sustainable manner without causing harm to the Nature Reserve. This also led to an attempt to redraw the map of the Nature Reserve. The tension between locals and government was noted in a participatory mapping report by WWF in Krayan (PEC/WWF Kayan Mentarang, 1994). The report noted:

[...] the proposed recommendation by the community elders (that was delivered by the great customary leader of Krayan Hulu) during the meeting, which aimed to gather information to support changing of the status of Kayan Mentarang from Natural Reserve to National Park, was that the demarcation marking point that delimits Krayan as a Reserve as once done BIPHUT<sup>29</sup> could be resolved (PEC/WWF Kayan Mentarang, 1994, *Usulan Tokoh Masyarakat* section, para. 1).

28 Keputusan Menteri Pertanian No 84/Kpts/Um/II/1980, tanggal 25 November, berdasarkan Undang Undang RI No 5 Tahun 1967 tentang Pokok Kehutanan (Decree of the Minister of Agriculture No. 84/Kpts/Um/II/1980, 25th November, based on the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No 5 of 1967 concerning Forestry Fundamentals) source: [https://www.wwf.or.id/programme/wilayah\\_kerja\\_kami/kalimantan/kayanmentarang/](https://www.wwf.or.id/programme/wilayah_kerja_kami/kalimantan/kayanmentarang/)

29 BIPHUT (Balai Inventarisasi dan Pemetaan Hutan) is the operational unit from forestry that aimed for forest inventory and mapping.



**Map 5.2** Zoning of the Krayan Mentarang National Park

*Adapted from the Krayan District Office in Long Bawan.*

This mapping effort was then led in 1996 by a change in the status from National Reserve to National Park<sup>30</sup>. The National Park covers three districts, i.e., Krayan, Pujungan, and Malinau, and includes traditional zones. According to the regulations<sup>31</sup> of the Indonesian Ministry of Forestry, a traditional zone refers to an area within the National Park that can be utilized and managed by the people living within the area. The traditional zone assures that the basic needs of the people living there are met. Apart from a traditional zone, one or more core areas are defined. A core area refers to a protected area that acts as a reference for the natural state of the ecosystems in the National Park's biosphere.

The Krayan region as part of the Kayan Mentarang National Park mostly has the status of a traditional zone (see map 5.2). Only a small part on the northern side of the National Park has been defined as a core area. This zonation allows the locals to continue their activities within the conservation areas such as hunting, gathering and fishing to meet their basic needs.

Map 5.2 is a map showing the zoning of the part of the Kayan Mentarang National Park that is located in the Krayan region. The map is based on a photograph of a map that was displayed in one of the offices in the District Office in Krayan and which I converted as such without changing the information. At first, when I asked the staff whether they had a map that showed the zoning of the National Park, the staff's response was that they did not know whether such a map existed. I spotted this map, however, when I was waiting for staff members to avail themselves at the time of my visit to the District Office. The map represents one of the manifestations of the border, which was often mentioned by the locals when interviews touched upon their perceptions of the border.

The attempts to redraw the map of the Reserve by WWF decreased the tension between locals and government and were, generally, considered to be successful since the status of the Reserve changed to that of a National Park. Yet, the redrawing of the map also resulted in new boundary issues among different local groups and with the WWF. In the separate interviews with the locals in Krayan and with the WWF staff in the Malinau regency, both parties acknowledged that there was no consensus between them regarding the proposed zonation of the National Park as it had been mapped in 1998 by WWF. An explanation by one of the Krayan customary leaders is that the disagreement is about the name of the National Park: Kayan Mentarang. Kayan Mentarang refers to a watershed area that mostly covers the Malinau regency and only covers a small part of the Krayan district. The customary leader emphasised that Krayan is not the same as Kayan. The district is named after the Krayan River that flows in the region.

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30 Keputusan Menteri Kehutanan Republik Indonesia Nomor: 631/Kpts-11/96 Tanggal 7 Oktober 1996 (WWF, 1998) Decree of the Minister of Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia No 631/Kpts-11/96 dated 7th October 1996

31 Peraturan Menteri Kehutanan Nomor: P.56/Menhut-II/2006 Tentang Pedoman Zonasi Taman Nasional (Regulation of the Minister of Forestry No: P.56/Menhut-II/2006 concerning National Park Zoning Guidelines)

The zoning of areas in the Krayan region carries several relevant and important aspects in the discussion of the border in this study. These are 1) the delimitation and demarcation of the State border by the government as a contribution to economic development, and 2) the fact that zoning of the Nature Reserve and the National Park became embedded in the locals' perceptions of the border.

### 5.3.3. Administrative villages

As discussed in Chapter 4, prior to the 1970s a village in Krayan was known as a *kampong*. The villages used to be located in the dense tropical rainforest. Back then, a *kampong* consisted of ten or more households who lived together in one traditional longhouse (*Rumah Panjang*). The central government through the regional government then recommended that households living together in longhouses split up and that each household moves into a single house. This recommendation aimed to lower the risk of spreading diseases amongst people living as a collective group in one longhouse. According to the locals, the process of moving from the longhouse to new places within the region did not happen without a struggle. People were adamant that they wished to stay on their ancestors' land rather than relocating to other people's lands. Three villages that refused to submit to the policy are described in the following section. People could only be persuaded to move out of the longhouses to the new land when they heard of accidents of a single longhouse catching fire and when the district officials gave them an understanding that people living in one longhouse are prone to the spreading of diseases. Currently, there are 89 villages that are officially recognised as administrative villages in Krayan (as presented in map 5.3).

### 5.3.4. Location (*lokasi*) borders

For the locals in the Krayan district, the word 'location' refers to *lokasi*, while for the locals in Krayan Selatan a location is called a *klaster*. Both terms refer to a group of villages that resulted from the relocations. These villages were placed together at a strategic location by the government. A location is deemed strategic when it is close to an open area. In the past, the open areas were often used as airstrips since Krayan was only accessible by a light aircraft.

The villages in the Krayan region are grouped into 24 *lokasi*. As discussed in Chapter 4 and in this chapter, the locations were created in the 1970s as a result of the implementation of the resettlement programme under Suharto's presidency. In general, the underlying goals of the resettlement were for the government to provide the locals with basic amenities such as schools, health centres and good roads (Colfer, 1983, p. 1; Oktrivia *et al.*, 2018, p. 2; Tirtosudarmo, 2002c, p. 9).

The locals mostly refer to the resettlement programme as the regrouping programme (*program regrouping*). The programme meant to decrease the number of villages from 89 to 21 (Sellato, 1997, p. 45). Despite the fact that the number of villages was reduced, the *lokasi* emerged as an alternative way to comply with the government programme. On average, the *lokasi* combine the populations of three to eight former *kampongs*. The *lokasi* generally



**Map 5.3** Administrative villages in Krayan region

have schools (from pre-school to senior high school), functional access to the area such as an airstrip, and health services. The reason for the emergence of this kind of border is that the locals wished to retain the distinctive characteristics of their original villages (*kampongs*).

Four villages, Long Nawang, Pa' Raye, Wa Yagung, and Bungayan are exceptions. Three of these villages are still located at the sites of their original *kampongs* while also having the features of a *lokasi*. This came about because the village communities were concerned that if they complied with the government resettlement recommendations, their ancestral legacy would disappear and, as a consequence, they might lose their distinctive group identity. This identity is bound by the legacy of their ancestral grounds, which is their original *kampung*. Thus the villages intended to preserve their ancestral lands and refused to resettle elsewhere. The fourth village, Long Nawang, was moved from its former settlement area near the *lokasi* of Pa' Raye due to difficulties in water supply in its former area, that is, the community of Long Nawang needed to fetch water away from their village for their everyday usages (such as drinking, cooking and washing).

The *lokasi* is treated differently from an administrative village. A *lokasi* carries no official administrative acknowledgement. The term *lokasi* covers individual villages that are grouped together in one place. The *lokasi* provides practical coordination among individual villages, as the villages gained official recognition from the government. Each *lokasi* has its own distinct name (as presented in map 5.4). These names can be chosen in several ways, namely, by using the host village's name, through a lottery (where the possible names are from a combination of the name of the host village and the new villages), or by carefully creating new names.

The relevance in this study of the implementation of the village and *lokasi* borders is twofold: 1) the creation of another kind of border is triggered by government-led development; 2) the formation of villages and *lokasi* promotes the idea of a border as a process that continuously creates and re-creates itself.



**Map 5.4** *Lokasi* in Krayan region

### 5.3.5. Church denominations

Most Krayan locals embrace Christianity. Several church denominations exist in the region. The locals often explicitly described how the villages in Krayan can be distinguished according to the church that the locals are affiliated with. Three major church denominations exist in Krayan, namely, the GKII (*Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia/Indonesian Tabernacle of Gospel Church*), the GKPI (*Geraja Kristen Pemancar Injil/Christian Church of Light of the Gospel*) and the GBI (*Gereja Betani Indonesia/Indonesian Bethany Church*). The locals often mention that the Churches distinguish themselves through the different liturgies during the services.

Bakker and Crain (2012, pp. 115–116) further explain that these churches are split off from an erstwhile church in the highlands of Borneo, the KINGMI (*Kemah Injil Gereja Masehi Indonesia—Indonesian Gospel Temple Church*), which presently is known as the GKII. The different church denominations of Krayan are characterised by ethnic divisions in the region. KINGMI is referred to as largely for the *Lun Tana* communities, while the GPI (*Gereja Pemancar Indonesia*) that was formed later services the *Leng Ilu'* communities. The GBI (*Gereja Bethel Indonesia*) is known to have separated itself in 1998 from the KINGMI. It consists of *Lun Nan Ba'* communities.

The relevance in this study of the divisions in the church denominations are threefold: 1) it promotes a bordering process which involves ethnic divisions through the churches; 2) it promotes the continuity of bordering as a process beyond the ethnic identity; 3) it represents the manifestation of social boundaries that coincide with the national border.

### 5.3.6. Ethnic and customary borders

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the majority of the population of Krayan consists of the ethnic group Dayak Lundayeh. The name 'Lundayeh' refers to a collection of groups in the Borneo Highlands. It is the name they are commonly known as by their lowland neighbours (Bakker and Crain, 2012, p. 113). The main subdivisions of the Lundayeh living in the region are the *lun tanah lun*, *lun nan ba'*, and *leng ilu'*. Other Dayak ethnic groups who live in the region are the *Sa' Ben* and *Punan*.

Bakker and Crain (2012, p. 117) note that the influence of the Lundayeh customs (*adat*) is surprisingly strong throughout Nunukan. It follows that, besides the State administrative boundaries, the Krayan region also has customary boundaries. The boundaries are reflected in the village boundaries which are based on the watershed zonation by the elders. The customary village boundaries are seen as just as important as the regional boundaries. Five customary areas in Krayan are: Krayan Darat, which is situated at the upper stream; Krayan Tengah, which is situated in the middle of the river course; Krayan Hilir, which is situated downstream; Krayan Barat, which is situated on the western side of the river; and Krayan Timur, which is located on the eastern side of the river (Langub, 2006).

The ethnic group subdivision of the Lundayeh is relevant in this study since it manifests the presence of borders: 1) borders emphasize the persistence of distinctive group identities; and 2) borders foster diversity rather than a single, defined group of Lundayeh.

These multifaceted borders are revisited as indications and proof that border is interpreted in several forms by border locals. Despite the existence of an official state border, clearly, other kinds of border appear to be relevant in the life of Krayan locals. Nevertheless, in terms of border crossings, the border set by the State is to be the proper one. Table 5.1 summarizes the multiple borders in Krayan. The table describes each border type as it exists in the locals' perception, as well as its distinctive characteristics. The table substantiates the embodiment of the multifaceted border.

**Table 5.1** Multiple border definition as perceived by the Krayan locals

Border terms	Characteristics	Visible markings
State border	Frequently remembered through the events of the Confrontation (Konfrontasi) between Indonesia and Malaysia in the 1960s.	Flags, monuments, military border posts, immigration posts, border crossing passes.
Conservation area demarcation	Referring to the entire Krayan region as part of Kayan Mentarang National Park.	Forest, rivers, fences
Administrative units	Signified by the existence of the administrative villages, districts, regency, and province. Acknowledgement of government tiers in Krayan starting from the Village Head, up to the Head of the District, the Regent, and the Governor.	Village planks, locals' residential areas
Location ( <i>lokasi</i> )	Referring to an area consisting of a group of villages. Acknowledgement of the social position of the location leader.	Clustered villages along the road in Krayan
Church divisions	Acknowledgement of the regional leader of a particular congregation.	Church denominations (GKII, GBI, GPI)
Customary and ethnic boundaries	Frequently demarcating the locals' original kampong location. Referring to delimitation based on geographical features. An acknowledgement of the customary great leader and the customary Village Head. Referring to particular groups living within the area that is delimited by geographical features.	Forest, riverine, hills, paddy fields  Languages

Source: Own fieldwork (2015 & 2016)

## 5.4. CROSSING THE BORDER

Data on border crossings in Krayan are available. The immigration post at Long Bawan registers the official border crossings that is departures and arrivals via the immigration post on a daily basis<sup>32</sup>. The term official border crossing refers to a situation where a border crosser presents his or her border crossing pass upon departure from Indonesia and arrival from Malaysia to be stamped and registered by the immigration officials, as formally required.

32 This was the situation during my first fieldwork in 2015. A new immigration post was put into operation in Long Midang during my fieldwork in 2016. During my first fieldwork I was not granted permission to gather border crossing data from the immigration post in Long Bawan. I gathered the required data, however, during my visit to the regional immigration office in Tarakan during my second fieldwork.

It was described in Chapter 4 that prior to the actual border crossing, it is compulsory for locals to arrange an official border document called a border crossing pass (*pas lintas batas*). Table 5.2 lists the number of border crossing passes that were used to exit and enter Krayan as reported to the immigration post at Long Bawan. These data were obtained from the regional immigration office in Tarakan<sup>33</sup>. The data were collected by the officials of the regional office from the immigration post in Long Bawan. The data show the number of crossings of Krayan locals via the border exit/entry point located in the village Long Midang, as recorded from 2006 to 2015. As noted, the monitored border crossings from Krayan to Malaysia is larger than Malaysia to Krayan; the data also include the crossings by foreigners (*warga negara asing*) to and from Malaysia. The foreigners who cross the border in Krayan are people who do not reside in Krayan and neither are Indonesian citizens.

**Table 5.2** Number of registered border crossings at the Long Bawan immigration post.

Year	Indonesian		Foreigner	
	Departure	Arrival	Departure	Arrival
2006	735	181	113	N/A
2007	1914	316	207	N/A
2008	1161	324	105	115
2009	767	266	85	83
2010	757	197	62	68
2011	531	139	95	99
2012	2714	978	121	129
2013	3507	1044	306	326
2014	3120	1511	454	448
2015	4371	3244	2895	2896

Source: Report of border crossings recorded at the Immigration Border Post in Long Bawan to the Regional Immigration Office in Tarakan

Regarding the low number of arrivals in Krayan, the immigration officers in Krayan and in Tarakan, whom I interviewed in these locations, mentioned two crucial reasons. First, taking the route via the immigration posts means a detour for many border crossers. Hence, the locals prefer to return to their home village immediately rather than make a detour again via the immigration post to report their arrival. It is necessary for Krayan locals to have their border crossing pass stamped on departure from Krayan since going on a trip to Malaysia the immigration post cannot be avoided. Second, the shortage of immigration personnel working in the region makes it difficult to maintain a precise record of the border crossings.

33 Although the main Krayan immigration office is administratively located in the regency of Nunukan, the border crossing data is not available there. Instead, the data is available in the immigration office in Tarakan city.

At any one time, one official has to perform multiple tasks, which include handing out border crossing pass forms, verifying required documents, taking photographs, and stamping and recording border crossing passes. This puts immigration personnel under much pressure and may occasionally result in less precise registrations of border crossings, notably at peak moments. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study, the data in the table provide sufficient data regarding the border crossings.

The Head of the District mentioned that prior to 2006, the records regarding border crossings were inaccurate. This was because different forms of travel documents were used. It was not until 2006 that the border crossing pass was introduced as a formal travel document. This kind of document used to be in the form of a sheet of paper and had to be arranged in the Krayan District Office. The immigration staff in Tarakan mentioned that although the formation of the State of Indonesia took place in 1945, this travel document (border crossing form) only became compulsory in about 1986. The issuance of the border crossing pass was the result of the locals in the region frequently crossing the border into Malaysia. The formal border crossing pass was introduced in 2006 and replaced the border crossing form. The use of the border crossing pass also implied that the rights of Krayan locals to enter Malaysia became more secure compared to the situation in the past. From 2006 onwards, the immigration post was able to keep accurate records of official border crossings, at least for the outgoing flow.

#### **5.4.1. Tightened border controls**

In 2002, a large number of Indonesians working illegally in Malaysia were deported from Malaysia via the official border post in the city of Nunukan. Following this tragedy of the deportation, the Government at the level of the Regency tightened the regulations pertaining to the management of border crossing documents in that year. Prior to 2002, these immigrants had gone across to Malaysia in the hope that they could find work there. Generally, Malaysia welcomed Indonesians who wished to be employed in the various industrial sectors, especially in construction and on the plantations. The flow of Indonesian workers to Malaysia increased during the economic crisis that hit Indonesia from 1998 to 1999. Many of them went to Malaysia using illegal procedures, namely, through private work agencies (in Bahasa known as *calo*) (Departemen Kesehatan Republik Indonesia, 2003). People also crossed the border using small forest tracks and hidden river tributaries. In 2002, those who were not able to show their legal documents permitting them to work in Malaysia were deported back to Indonesia.

Nowadays, Indonesian workers seeking employment outside Indonesia are assisted by the Indonesian Labour Employment Agency (*PJTKI/Perusahaan Pengerah Tenaga Kerja Indonesia*) to arrange the required work-related documents. To go to Malaysia they have to pass the official exit and entry point in Tunon Taka harbour and produce evidence that they possess the required legal documents prior to departure. The actual implementation of the mandatory use of these legal documents also affected the mandatory use of the border crossing pass in Krayan.

### 5.4.2. The border crossing pass

A border crossing pass (see figure 5.1 for an example) is an official travel document for the locals living in the Indonesian border region. It is issued by the Director General of the Department of Immigration, Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia, and with the agreement of the Director General of Immigration in Malaysia. The issuance of the border crossing pass is to facilitate border crossing of the locals into adjacent border regions. These border regions include the provinces of Kalimantan Barat, Kalimantan Timur, Riau, and Kepulauan Riau. The border crossing pass is also the travel document needed to enter the Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak, including the coastal areas, as well as the Malaysian coastal areas of Melaka, Johor, Selangor, and Negeri Sembilan.



**Figure 5.1** The border crossing pass

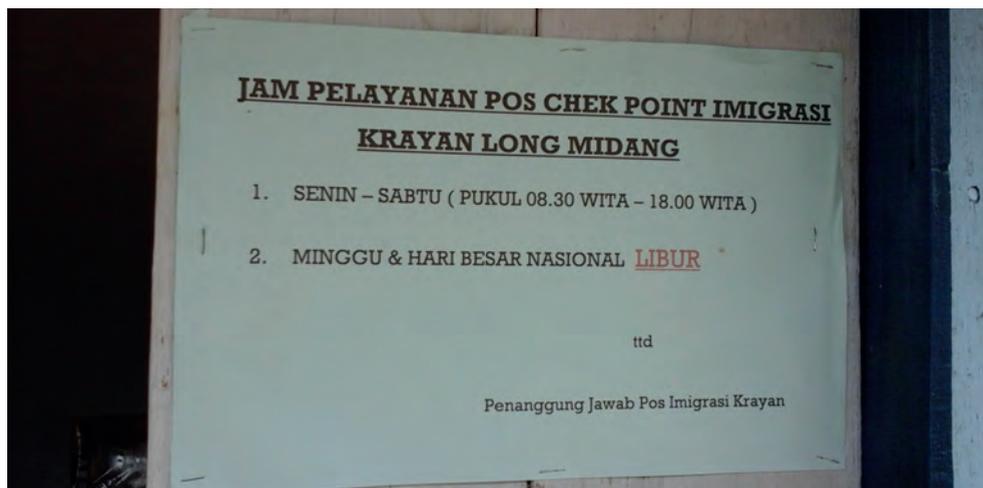
The use of the border crossing pass is restricted to the locals who permanently reside in the border regencies of Indonesia, such as the Nunukan Regency. The prerequisite to apply for the pass is to be able to show the Indonesian identity card (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk*) and to provide a recent photograph. The border crossing pass contains information such as the full name of the person, place and date of birth, local address, the signature of the immigration officer and the official immigration stamp. The border pass is valid for twelve months from its date of issue and is valid for multiple journeys. The permitted entry period for each entry is limited to 30 days. The fee for the document is IDR 75.000 (\$ 5).

Being in possession of a border crossing pass provides the locals with a feeling of security when they cross the border into Malaysia. One respondent, however, explained that there is no significant difference when comparing the situation before and after the implementation of the border crossing pass.

### 5.4.3. The immigration checkpoint

Border crossers are required to report themselves to the border checkpoint (Pos Lintas Batas Negara). Two types of border checkpoints exist in Indonesia, international and traditional ones<sup>34</sup>. In Krayan, the immigration checkpoint is a traditional one and is located in Long Midang<sup>35</sup>. This way, it is necessary for the locals to report themselves to immigration officers at the immigration checkpoint when they intend to leave for Malaysia. The immigration officers will request border crossers to show their border crossing pass and informally inquire about the purpose of their trip, the planned duration, and whether they have a family member or other contact person in Malaysia. The immigration staff records the border pass numbers in the official border crossing journal.

The immigration checkpoint serves border crossers from Monday to Saturday, starting at 06:30 in the morning until 18:00 in the evening. Figure 5.2 shows the working hours of the immigration checkpoint in Long Midang village. There is no service on Sunday and during national holidays. Even though the service officially runs from 06:30 until 18:00, the staff is not bound by these office hours but is allowed to be flexible in order to serve the needs of the locals in arranging the border passes provided the required documents are submitted. This is done to meet the locals' needs, particularly seeing the distance of their house to the immigration post. Nevertheless, the crossing itself is restricted to office hours.



**Figure 5.2** The working hours of the immigration post in Krayan

The information written on the paper translates as ‘The service hours of the Long Midang immigration post in Krayan. 1. Monday until Saturday (08:30 - 18:00 Local Time). 2. Sunday and major national holidays (Closed).

34 In terms of border crossing management in Indonesia, the border checkpoints (Pos Pemeriksaan Lintas Batas) refer to cross-border gates that are equipped with CIQ (Customs, Immigration and Quarantine) that serve residents of the border districts. Their official status is that of an Immigration Checkpoint. There are two types of immigration checkpoints: Type A, the international immigration check point where border crossers are required to show their passports or valid cross-border passes. Type B, the traditional immigration checkpoints where border crossers can only use cross-border passes (Sumarsono, 2012, pp. 18-19).

35 Before 2016, the locals who wished to go across to Malaysia needed to report themselves to the immigration post in Long Bawan.

#### 5.4.4. Military checkpoint

After passing the Immigration checkpoint but before entering Malaysia from Krayan, border crossers are required to pass the military checkpoint in Long Midang<sup>36</sup> as the last part of the process to enter Malaysia. Here border crossers face a procedure similar to what they experienced at the immigration checkpoint. The military staff will require border crossers to show their border pass and identity card. As at the immigration checkpoint, military staff will informally inquire about the purpose of their trip, the planned duration, and whether they have a family member or other contact person in Malaysia. Then the military staff will record the border crossing pass numbers in the official border crossing journal. A significant difference between the immigration and military checkpoint is that at the military checkpoint, soldiers will check the luggage of border crossers as well as their mode of transport.

Often a rather thorough security check by the border post soldier takes place on the return trip from Malaysia. Figure 5.3 shows a check of border crossers taking place as they return from Lawas (Malaysia). Generally, checks consist of informal interviews about the trip to Malaysia, about the contents of the luggage and the loads in the cars or on the motorbikes. These examinations aim to stop illegal goods such as guns, drugs and alcohol from entering Krayan. Nevertheless, the checks do not manage to prevent this since these items will be smuggled in via the many unguarded small paths through the forests along the border. The steep terrain of Krayan and the extensive border area make it possible for illegal goods to enter Krayan.

The military checkpoint operates from 06:00 in the morning until 18:00 in the evening. Unlike the flexibility of the immigration checkpoint, the military checkpoint has fixed hours. Thus, even if the border crosser has a valid travel document, the crosser is obliged to abide by the office hours. So, it is not uncommon for crossers to wait in line early in the morning at the border post before it opens.

The military border service in Krayan is manifested by the presence of the Indonesian military border guards. Regularly groups of military soldiers from different military units in Indonesia are posted in the region. These Indonesian border soldiers (*pamtas/pengamanan perbatasan*) will be stationed there for a period of six to nine months. Currently, the Malaysian and Indonesian soldiers jointly guard the border checkpoints in Long Midang (as seen in figure 5.3). Their service in the region includes safeguarding the security of the population, conducting regular controls of the border markings, providing the necessary civil support, and monitoring the border crossing activities. On several occasions, the military confiscated and destroyed illegal alcoholic drinks.

36 There are two military border units (known as Satgas Pamtas—Satuan Pengamanan Perbatasan) that serve the Krayan region in three different locations: Long Midang and Lembudud. Of the two border checkpoints, the post located in Long Midang is most used by the locals and has the one working immigration checkpoint.



**Figure 5.3** Security check at the military border post

During my fieldwork, I was able to talk with two border patrol guards regarding their roles in Krayan. They revealed that, besides monitoring the flow of goods and people passing the exit and entry points, their task also included monitoring the Indonesian border monuments that are distributed in the forest along the border. They do so by carrying a list of coordinates indicating the location of the monuments and by checking whether they are still in place, or have been overgrown by bushes, or are still recognizable. In some cases, where the paint has faded, they will re-paint the monuments in red and white, the colours of the Indonesian flag.

So far, I have discussed the mechanism of border crossings in Krayan. To a certain extent, the crossings are prompted by the shared cultural background of the border region locals. In the course of the years, these crossings have evolved with regard to the Krayan locals' purpose, which is to find employment in order to meet their daily needs. This tendency became very noticeable after the formation of Indonesia and Malaysia as independent states. In fact, the borders themselves have become more visible since the two states underwent different and disparate development processes. This is the reason that the border crossers are coming more from Indonesia than the other way around. Over the years, these border crossings have become an institutionalized phenomenon, at times encouraged and at other times restrained by the Indonesian government and non-government institutions. The aforementioned crossing practices described in this section may well operate because of the developments endeavours by the various Indonesian governments and international parties. In the next section, these aspects will be discussed further.

## 5.5. BORDER-REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ENDEAVOURS

Development in Indonesia is defined as the attempt to increase the welfare of the population. Development priorities are largely oriented towards expanding and improving infrastructure, education, and economic investment. These attempts mainly rely on government participation. In relation to the governance of development projects, the Indonesian administrative authority comprises central government (*pemerintah pusat*), government at the provincial level (*pemerintah provinsi*), government at the level of the regency and of districts/municipalities (*pemerintah kecamatan atau kota*), villages (*pemerintah desa*), and community neighbourhoods (*rukun warga/rukun tetangga*). The role of government at all levels is considered crucial in enabling border-regional development and so improving the welfare of the Krayan population. The term ‘border-regional development’ as it is used in this study refers to the development endeavours by the provincial, regency and district tiers of government, which are based on the vision and mission of the current president to prioritise the welfare of the population in Krayan.

Despite the prominent role of the government in development, development in Krayan has always involved other non-government actors. In the past, these actors included the two colonial powers, followed by missionary works, customary leaders (*adat*), and cross-border cooperation. In order to show the relevance of the border-regional development in Krayan, the primary focus is on these development actors. The following section gives details regarding their involvement starting at the pre-Independence period and continuing with the period after Independence.

### 5.5.1. Colonial powers and trading zone

As described in Chapter 4, until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the island of Borneo did not know any formal colonial or state borders. Prior to the arrival of the European colonising powers, the island was ruled by two powerful rulers, namely, the Sultan of Brunei and the Sultan of Sulu. So-called northern Borneo was part of Brunei’s territory, which was granted to the Sultan of Sulu in return for the Sultan’s assistance in quelling an insurrection (Meadows, 1962, p. 323). During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the European interest, and in particular the British interest, in North Borneo was growing. Partly this stemmed from the desire to have a base from which to protect the European trade routes with the Far East. The subsequent rule of Rajah Brooke represented the presence of British rule on the island.

To the Netherlands, the other colonial power at the time, the island of Borneo had little to offer in terms of the exploitation of natural resources compared to Java, which yielded large profits. It was merely in response to the growing expansion of British Northern Borneo that the Dutch directed their attention to the hinterland of the island (Dove, 2012, p. 12; Tagliacozzo, 2000, p. 91). To try and halt the British expansion in the northern part of Kalimantan (Borneo at the time), the Dutch government sent Dutch military and government officers into the vast interior of the region (Black, 1985, pp. 284-285).

The border of Indonesia in Kalimantan, thus, resulted from treaties between the Governments of The Netherlands and Great Britain in 1891, 1915, and 1928 (Haller-Trost, 1995, pp. 6-11; Subowo *et al.*, 2017). With the intention to regulate the trading zones and trading routes between the two states, the emergence of the border more or less followed physical boundaries, such as the watershed boundaries.

### **5.5.2. Missionary works**

Christianity is known to have arrived in Krayan in the 1930s. Bakker and Crain (2012) note that prior to the arrival of Christianity, the Lundayeh communities engaged in practices such as slavery and inter-community hostilities. Whoever lost the battle between ethnic groups would become the subject of slavery. Hence, slavery was both the cause and the consequence of inter-community hostilities (p.114). These practices changed once missionaries introduced Christianity in Krayan. The Christian teachings massively transformed the locals' traditional way of life. During my fieldwork in Krayan, the majority of the respondents told me how their habits of engaging in hostilities, getting drunk, leading a life characterised by lack of hygiene, and being illiterate had changed after the Christian missionaries began their work in the region. Their sense of gratitude shows in their familiarity with a particular preacher, James Preeswood, who was one of the first to arrive in the region. The only theological school in the region is named after him.

At present, the legacy of the Christian mission is present in the form of a light aircraft that serves the locals in the region. This mission-based aviation service is known as the MAF (Mission Air Fellowship). Initially, the aircraft was intended to support and advance the missionary work in the region and provide access to the remote areas of Kalimantan, particularly those in the interior, which back then was known as the Kalimantan Timur province. The availability of the aircraft was an initiative by the American Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) in September 1939. However, due to several unsuccessful flights by the CMA, the Alliance extended the service to include the MAF in 1970 (Lewis, 1995). The first flights, which served missionary work, had a tremendous impact on breaking the isolation of the region. For the first time, the locals became visible outside Krayan, and the world became visible to them. The MAF made it possible for locals to pursue education outside the region. The MAF is privately funded and operates independently of the Government. One of the locals told me that had the missionary works not continued providing this service, life in Krayan would not be as advanced as it is today. It follows that the locals credit the missionary societies and their services for developing their region.

### **5.5.3. Central government**

Over the past decades after Indonesia's independence, the Government's role in the development of Indonesia has often been emphasized. This is also true for the development in Krayan. In Krayan, the State's role takes on several formats, such as assigning to the region army personnel, police officers, and other state officials. Mostly, the Government's presence

in Krayan is marked by its involvement in development programmes. Some of the government programmes that are well-known by the locals are those relating to security and defence, resettlement (*regrouping*), decentralisation, the national nature reserve and the national park, the front veranda of the nation (*beranda depan bangsa*), and the nine national priorities agenda of the current (2014 - 2019) Indonesian presidential period, named NAWACITA<sup>37</sup>. The following is a discussion of these various development programmes implemented by the various government actors in Krayan:

### *From security and defence to economic development*

The State's policy related to border development received much attention after Indonesia's Independence in 1945. Up to the 1960s, generally, the border regions of Indonesia were underdeveloped. Although the State had formally taken shape, for the locals inhabiting the border regions, the border was not really a visible phenomenon. In the border region of Kalimantan this situation changed in the 1960s when the Indonesia - Malaysia Confrontation took place (as described in Chapter 4). Under Indonesia's first president, President Sukarno, during whose presidency the Confrontation took place, the State's policy was to prevent an invasion by Malaysia. To give effect to this, military units were posted at the Indonesia-Malaysia border, particularly in northern Kalimantan. This strategy created the awareness that in order to protect and defend Indonesia as a sovereign country, it is important to develop the border region.

Throughout the three decades of Suharto's presidency, the military approach (security and defence) remained a prominent strategy underlying the development of the border region, and, in particular, that of Krayan. Even though the military played a significant role during both Sukarno's and Suharto's presidencies, there are differences between the two presidencies. During the period of Sukarno's leadership, the focus on security and defence was to prevent a possible invasion by Malaysia into Indonesia's sovereign territory through Kalimantan. During the Suharto regime, the military took part in political activities. The Army's political activities aimed to strengthen the Army's position and destroy the communist party, PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*) (Yazid, 2013, p. 12). As a result, the Army's influence on Indonesia's political development (particularly after 1<sup>st</sup> October 1965) grew significantly and strengthened its position in national affairs.

For the Krayan locals, the changing regimes became evident through the changes in the development endeavours in the region, especially when the policy on development aid and forest management was implemented. This particular programme came into being through presidential instruction No 5/1993<sup>38</sup> and was put into effect in 1994 for a period of 5 years (Syahuri, 1999). The programme entailed that financial aid would be given to the

37 The term 'nawacita' originates from the Sanskrit word nawa, which means 'nine', and cita, which means hope, agenda, and desire.

38 Instruksi Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 5 Tahun 1993 Tentang Peningkatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan (Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia No 5 of 1993 concerning the Alleviation of the Increase of Poverty).

poor. This had the format of a revolving grant (*hibah bergulir*) and was to be used as capital to start up income generating activities. The programme included technical support by the government through the provision of coaching (*pembinaan*), counselling (*penyuluhan*) and encouragement (*motivasi*).

During the presidency of Sukarno the economic policy pursued by the Government was one of self-sufficiency, which changed when Suharto stepped up as Sukarno's successor in 1967. Suharto's regime meant a significant departure from the economic and foreign policies of the previous regime (Peluso, 1995, p. 388). This also entailed a major shift in the approach to the development of the border region. This became apparent in the management of natural resources, particularly of forests. The implementation of the Foreign Investment Act resulted in the release of permits to foreign logging industries. Under this policy<sup>39</sup>, a number of timber concessions in the outer islands of Java, called HPH (*Hak Pengusahaan Hutan*—Permits for the Forest Industry), were granted to foreign logging industries. By the end of 1989, this policy had resulted in granting foreign industries 294 of the 561 available concessions in East, South and Central Kalimantan, where the abundant forest resources had remained mostly unexploited (Barr, 2006, p. 22; Potter, 1996, p. 17).

The implementation of this policy caused the locals to regard forest zoning as the manifestation of the border. This was strengthened by the fact that the role of the military had been extended from mere protection of the Indonesian sovereign territory to include the guarding of the timber concessions.

### *The National Nature Reserve*

The economic development that took place during Suharto's presidency was in fact mainly related to forest management (Moeliono and Limberg, 2009, p. 33). This was based on the Consensus Forest Land Use Plan (*TGHK, or Tata Guna Hutan Kesepakatan*). The six categories of land use determined in the land use plan were unclassified lands, convertible forests, regular production forests, limited production forests, protected forests, and nature reserves/conservation areas (Peluso, 1995, p. 389). It is particularly in the establishment of the nature reserves/conservation areas that the border appears as a critical issue.

From 1980 to 1996,<sup>40</sup> The Krayan region was part of the Kayan Mentarang Reserve, a national nature reserve. The Kayan Mentarang Reserve was gazetted in 1980 (Boedihartono *et al.*, 2007; Peluso, 1995, p. 394). It was established in mountainous territory along the Kalimantan Timur-Sarawak border. It is worth noting that the status of the Kayan Mentarang Nature Reserve was the result of planning and mapping by the State and forest planners, which was done with no involvement or acknowledgement of the input by local people (Peluso, 1995, p. 389). The change in status from the national nature reserve to the National

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39 Foreign Investment Act No 1/1967.

40 Menteri Pertanian No 84/Kpts/Um/II/1980, tanggal 25 Nopember 1980, berdasarkan Undang Undang RI No 5 Tahun 1967 tentang Pokok Pokok Kehutanan (Minister of Agriculture No 84/Kpts/Um/II/1980, dated 25th November, 1980, based on the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No 5 of 1967 concerning the Principle of Forestry).

Park of Kayan Mentarang took place in 1996<sup>41</sup>. It follows that the zoning of Krayan as part of the National Park influenced the local perceptions of how borders are manifested in the region.

### ***Border agencies***

In Indonesia, the issue of border regions has increasingly received attention. Law No 43 of 2008<sup>42</sup> Indonesia's Sovereign Territory is considered to be the legislative act that defines a border region as an Indonesian region that is located along the border between two states (Badan Nasional Pengelola Perbatasan, 2011). In relation to border management, the law explicitly indicates that the management of Indonesia's border involves multi-level governance which includes regional development by the central government. Following this regulation, a government institution that specifically concerns itself with border region management and development was established. It is called *Badan Nasional Pengelolaan Perbatasan* (National Border Agency).

At the provincial level, this government body plays a role as a planning and coordinating institution of which the authority lies with the central government and which functions in cooperation with the district government, which are the government bodies responsible for the implementation of development projects. During my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to attend a seminar in Nunukan that was conducted by the National Border Agency. The officials of the Agency told me that because of the institution's normative role, they are unable to take action and implement the planned development projects in the border region. The Agency experiences this as an obstacle to facilitate border-regional development in a concrete way. Therefore, through this workshop, the officials hoped to achieve a common understanding of the Agency's intention to carry out feasible development projects. In line with this, Hidayat (2015, p. 96) explains that the Agency's challenge lies in its lack of capacity to coordinate the various government working units (SKPD), which entails that the Agency is not tasked with the implementation of the development programmes it has planned. The actual implementation is part of the government working units' tasks.

### ***Population resettlement (Resettlement Penduduk)***

At the beginning of this chapter, it was mentioned that in the Krayan region prior to the 1970s villages were known as *kampongs* and were located in the dense tropical rainforest. Back then, a *kampung* consisted of tens of households who lived together in one traditional longhouse, the so-called *rumah panjang* (Joint Communiqué, 1967, p. 4). In those days, the central government, working through the regional government, encouraged people who lived in longhouses to move into individual houses so as to protect people's lives as a group.

41 Keputusan Menteri Kehutanan No 631/Kpts-II/1996, tanggal 7 Oktober 1996 (Decree of the Minister of Forestry No. 631/Kpts-II/1996, 7th October 1996).

42 Undang-Undang No.43 Tahun 2008 tentang Wilayah Negara (Law No 43 of 2008 concerning State Territories).

The main risks that were often mentioned were the susceptibility of people living in a group to disease and fire. Under the presidency of Suharto the implementation of the programme to resettle indigenous Dayak communities meant that some 10 000 families had to move within the Kalimantan Timur province (Fulcher, 1983, p. 109). Since the scattered location of kampongs in the forest was seen as a major hindrance to provide development to the locals, the resettlement programme intended for locals to live closer to public amenities put in place by the Government.

This ‘regrouping’ process was underpinned by a national policy called the Resettlement Programme (*Respen/Resettlement Penduduk—pemukiman kembali penduduk*), which was part of the Five-Year Development Plan (Appell-Warren, 1985, pp. 10–12). Although on the surface it seemed similar to the Transmigration Programme (*Programme Transmigrasi*), which the government had implemented in the Kalimantan Timur province since 1957, the resettlement programme was different. The resettlement programme was directed to bring scattered indigenous groups and communities closer to public amenities (Colfer, 1983, p. 1; Fulcher, 1983, p. 108), whereas the transmigration programme aimed to optimize natural resource utilization and extraction by migrating people from Indonesia’s populous islands, such as Java, Madura and Bali, to less densely populated islands, such as Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Sumatra (Burbridge *et al.*, 1981, p. 237; Fulcher, 1983, p. 109; Hardjono, 1988, p. 430). Even though the programmes were different, their implementation in Kalimantan was intertwined with the Government’s goal to support the development of the islands outside Java, albeit in quite different ways.

The transmigration programme featured prominently in the interior of Kalimantan, but no transmigration took place in Krayan. This fact can be deduced from the ethnic composition of the locals in the region, with the main local ethnic group being the Lundayeh (as presented in Chapter 4. An official at the Regency of Nunukan explained that the reasons that Krayan was not a transmigration site were: 1) Krayan is geographically isolated, 2) Krayan lacks public transportation, and 3) Krayan lacks land that can be converted into agricultural land. Obviously, the geographical isolation of Krayan is the result of the limited transportation possibilities to reach the Krayan region. And, indeed, there is insufficient land that can be converted into agricultural land (paddy fields and plantations) to accommodate a relatively large number of transmigrants. Moreover, Krayan is situated in the highlands of Borneo, which means that the area is unsuitable for oil palm plantations (Wakker, 2006). This, too, may have contributed to the fact that the Krayan region was not seen as a relevant area for transmigration.

### ***Regional Autonomy (Decentralization)***

Habibie’s presidency brought significant changes to the level of regional legal autonomy (Bakker, 2009a). The process of decentralization took place throughout the presidency of Abdurahman Wahid, his successor, who is also well known as Gus Dur. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Krayan, which was formerly part of the Bulungan Regency, turned into an

administrative district within the Nunukan Regency in October 1999. As Bakker and Crain (2012, p. 117) noted, this resulted in changes in government and administration at the district level and, thus, in the way border-regional development was managed.

Following Law 22/1999, the term ‘decentralization’ (*desentralisasi*) defines the ‘Autonomous Regions’ (*Daerah Otonom*) as ‘the delegation of governance authority’ of the central government. These regions include provinces (*propinsi*), regencies (*kabupaten*), and municipalities (*kota*). On the one hand, the Law assigns authority to regencies and municipal governments to exercise principal governance functions in a wide range of fields, including public works, health, education and culture, agriculture, communication, industry and trade, capital investment, environment, land and cooperative manpower affairs. On the other hand, the Law provides relatively little authority, other than vaguely worded responsibilities to help manage the relations among district municipalities (Raharjo *et al.*, 2017, p. 11).

Coordination among the national, provincial and regency governments might have resulted in development of the border region. In the absence of this, the new multi-tier governance structure struggled to define and exercise authority in order to effectively implement border-regional development. In the Kalimantan border region, the move towards decentralisation created an opportunity to express the particularities of border-regional development.

Since 2008 the national border agency, BNPP (*Badan Nasional Pengelola Perbatasan*) has been tasked to engage in border-regional development in Indonesia. However, this agency has little authority in making decisions over border management that potentially can be implemented.

### *The front veranda of the nation*

The vision underpinning the development policies during the Megawati and Yudhoyono governments was to create the ‘world’s largest oil palm plantation’ in Indonesia, which was issued in 2004–2005 (Potter, 2008, p. 81; 2012, p. 274). The development of oil palm estates was not a new idea; it had existed since Dutch colonial times. McCarthy and Cramb (2009) note that during that time, the expansion of oil palm plantations was linked to the transmigration programme. The reason for this was that the labour needed to work at the estates was provided through the transmigration programme. Under Megawati and Yudhoyono’s presidencies, the implementation of oil palm plantations was a means to provide border-regional development.

The border region was described as a backward, remote area, lacking in transportation and access to information (Badan Nasional Pengelola Perbatasan, 2011; Setiawan, 2020). Its low population density, inadequate facilities for health and education, and high labour mobility were seen as characteristic of the region. The population’s economic base was described as ‘nomadic farming’ (*ladang berpindah*), a term that was both pejorative and true. Under the Megawati government, the Directorate General of Spatial Planning in Jakarta actively worked towards the development of land use in the border region in Kalimantan. The policy

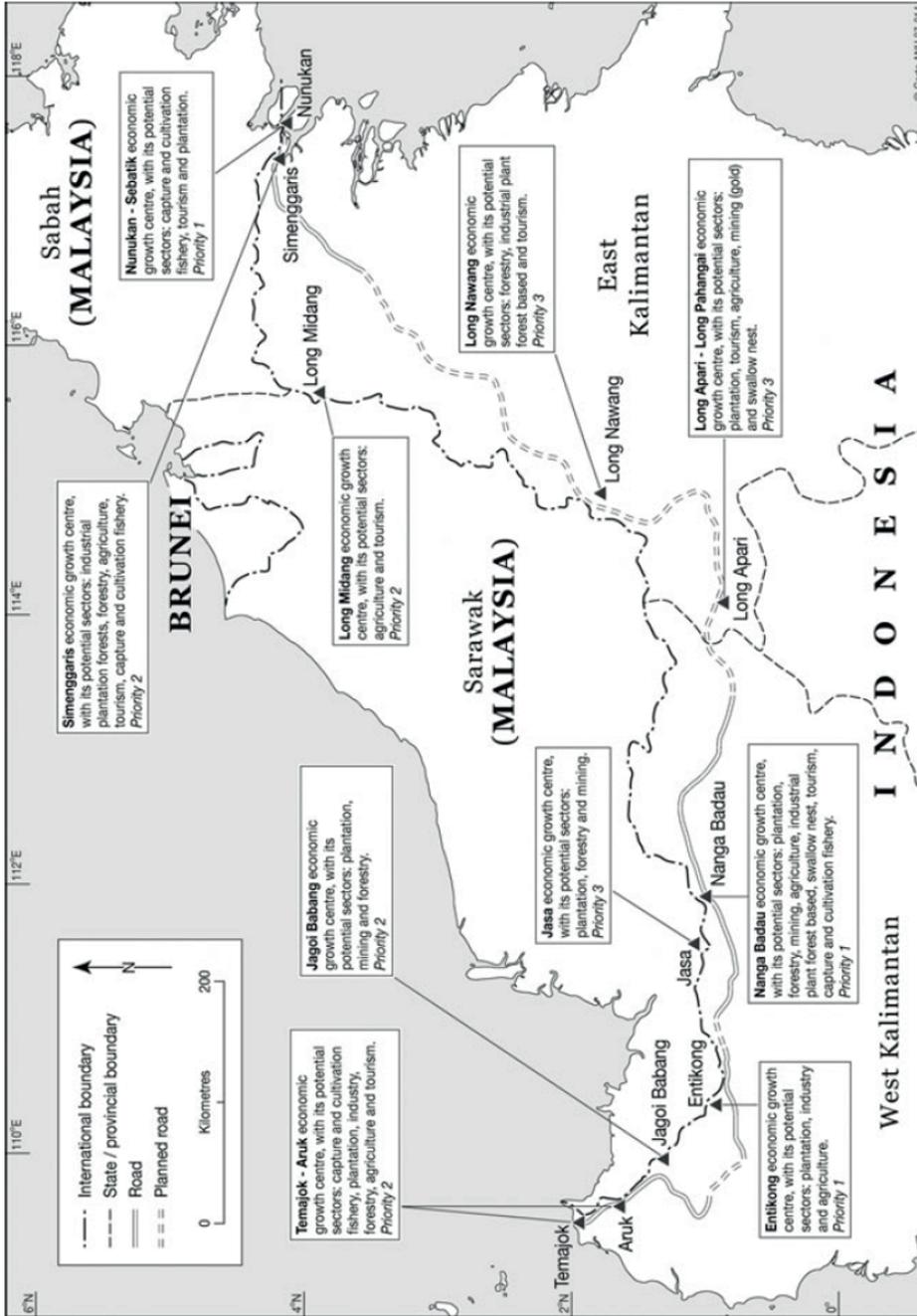
was named 'KASABA' (Kalimantan-Sarawak-Sabah)<sup>43</sup> and promulgated in the 7th Draft, 16<sup>th</sup> October 2003, Article 2 (Smith and Hebinck, 2007, p. 114). The aim was to turn the area from a peripheral backwater into the 'front veranda' of the nation and, so, into a symbol of pride. The implementation of the policy involved the identification of nine economic growth centres in the region along the Indonesian border in Kalimantan (see map 5.5). Since the spatial aspects of this strategic area were a priority, the implementation of the policy could not be left to individual districts but was coordinated by the central government. The joint goals were security, prosperity, and the environment (Edyanto, 2007; Hadi, 2008; Potter, 2009).

Under the presidency of Yudhoyono, an ambitious plan to develop oil palm plantations along the border with Malaysia at the beginning of 2006 was confirmed after consultations with Chinese investors (Potter, 2009, p. 97). It was expected that through this project, it might be possible to overcome border problems such as the illegal labour flow from Indonesia into Malaysia, as well as the lack of control over the wild border region with its rampant illegal logging and smuggling. The Indonesian government and sections of the palm oil industry became united in the Indonesia Palm Oil Commission (IPOC). One of their missions was to turn around the negative public image the palm oil industry had earned for its role in the demise of Indonesia's tropical rain forest and the massive forest fires and resulting haze in 1997-1998, and for its role in the widespread conflict between plantation companies and local communities.

This mega oil palm plantation project was launched in Indonesia under the banner of "*Bringing prosperity, security, and environmental protection to the Kalimantan border region*". The project was later called off after a business plan developed by the Indonesian State Plantation Corporation (PTPN) was circulated. The plan included a map that showed that the planned 1.8 million hectares of oil palm plantations would destroy the primary forests of three National Parks, that it would cut through rugged slopes and mountains that were utterly unsuitable for oil palm cultivation, and annihilate the customary land rights of the indigenous Dayak communities in the border region. In this sense, it was fortunate that the Krayan region in the highlands of Kalimantan is unsuitable for palm oil plantations (Wakker, 2006).

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43 KASABA identified six major border problems: (i) The economic disparity between Malaysia and Indonesia; (ii) The illegal Indonesian labour flow, especially through Nunukan; (iii) The destruction of Indonesia's protected forests; (iv) The shifting of border markers; (v) Weak customs facilities, which encouraged smuggling; and (vi) Weak infrastructure keeping the border regions isolated. Source: Direktorat Jendral (Ditjen) Penataan Ruang.



**Map 5.5** The planned border growth centre  
 Planned border growth centre Adapted from (Potter, 2009)

### *The nine national priorities agenda (NAWACITA)*

NAWACITA is the present development programme under the presidency of Joko Widodo. NAWACITA refers to the nine national priorities agenda of the 2014-2019 presidential period. The third priority on the nine national priorities agenda, namely the development of peripheral areas, is truly relevant to the development of the Kalimantan border region. In Bahasa Indonesia, the third priority is stated as follows:

To develop Indonesia's peripheral areas through strengthening the regions and villages within Indonesia's sovereign territory.

*Membangun Indonesia dari pinggiran dengan memperkuat daerah-daerah dan desa dalam kerangka negara kesatuan.*

Underpinned by this national agenda, there is currently much emphasis on border-regional development. Following President Joko Widodo's vision, the Indonesian central government has allocated a new, large and specific budget to support the development in the border regions and remote villages throughout Indonesia. This has brought a new breeze of hope to the region. This development aid is founded on the principle that regions do not necessarily need or desire identical development. After all, regions may have different demands based on regional characteristics, context and capacity. This approach to regional development is called asymmetrical decentralization (*kebijakan desentralisasi asimetris*)<sup>44</sup>. In response, locals have shown enthusiasm for this approach to bespoke development in their area and villages. During the fieldwork in the period of January - February 2016, Krayan locals were engaged in formulating a development plan that was to be proposed to the government at the district and regency levels. The budget needed and allocated will be based on the proposed development initiatives for each village. This process had the effect that the leaders in the village were given a more active and important role in the development of their villages as compared to the previous approaches to development which were much more centrally orchestrated.

#### **5.5.4. Customary authorities (adat)**

Culturally, as described in Chapter 4, Krayan is divided into five customary boundaries (*wilayah adat*). As discussed in Chapter 2, I particularly define the border as the division of the State, while boundary is seen as synonymous to frontier, which is considered to have a broader, intangible character than border. Krayan Darat, Krayan Hulu, Krayan Hilir, Krayan Barat, and Krayan Tengah are, thus, five customary boundaries. Each boundary has a great customary leader (*kepala adat besar*). As mentioned earlier, the division of these five boundaries finds its origin in the traditional usage of natural resources of each group as well as the conservation of

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44 <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3459960/nawacita-jokowi-jk-membangun-indonesia-dari-perbatasan>

each ethnic group in its own territory acquired through tribal warfare. Currently, this division in customary regions is maintained to sustain the Lundayeh sub-ethnic identities.

Building on the decentralization process that took place in Krayan after the Reformation era, and particularly after the establishment of Nunukan as a regency (as described in Chapter 4), a significant change regarding the impact of regional autonomy on ethnic groups in Krayan could be seen. According to Bakker and Crain (2012, p. 117), parallel to the decentralization process taking place, educated Lundayeh took up governmental strategic positions in the district and regency levels. The growing influence of the Lundayeh in government was used to obtain state recognition of the authority of customary (*adat*) leaders in Krayan and of the Lundayeh's control over most of the land in Krayan. In terms of this research, this signifies the existence of customary leaders alongside state leaders in the region.

The role of customary leaders has been expanded by the formation of the inter-ethnic Alliance of Indigenous People of the Highlands of Borneo (Forum Masyarakat Adat Dataran Tinggi: FORMADAT). FORMADAT was created in 2003 in connection with the Heart of Borneo Project (described below). It is a transboundary community-based organization led by customary leaders with the financial and organisational assistance of WWF-Indonesia (Hitchner *et al.*, 2009). FORMADAT is a grass-roots development forum and involves communities from the three ethnic-nations in the Highlands in Sabah, Sarawak, and Kalimantan that are related (Eghenter and Langub, 2008). These are the Lundayeh, the Lun Bawang, the Kelabit and Sa'ban people, who make up the native population in the region. FORMADAT attempts to preserve socio-cultural relations, as well as promote sustainable development including the preservation of the natural environment of the Highlands of Borneo. The sustainable development approach manifests itself in activities such as community-based ecotourism, organic farming and agroforestry, communication and information technology as well as the preservation of the cultural and natural heritage of the people of the Borneo Highlands (Eghenter and Jok, 2012).

In this study, FORMADAT campaigns for the Krayan locals to be active participants in collaborative development in accordance with the Heart of Borneo project and advocates for the recognition of the local communities' authority. This recognition of authority does not only limit itself to existing customary roles, but it also extends to the use of local natural resources (such as *Adan* rice and non-timber forest products, as discussed in Chapter 4) in a sustainable manner. Thus, advocating for local authority implies that 1) FORMADAT recognises the communities who claim the highlands as their ancestral land, and 2) FORMADAT takes into account the locals' sustainable way in securing their livelihoods, which had been their traditional practice anyway.

Regarding the locals' active participation, this implies that any development initiatives in the region recognise that sustainable development requires the ongoing involvement of the locals in order to continue practising the sustainable use of the resources in the region. In other words, FORMADAT emphasises the need for the locals to become independent in the way they practise sustainable development.

Some examples of the realization of sustainable development through FORMADAT's efforts are the establishment of a cultural field school to promote the locals' art and culture in *lokasi* Terang Baru (see Figure 5.4). Another instance is the fact that Krayan gained its first international award, the UNDP Equator prize<sup>45</sup>, for its *Adan* rice, which was awarded in France in 2015. Yet another example is the establishment of ecotourism in the Highlands of Borneo where the native communities reside.

FORMADAT has proven its significant role in driving the locals' participation in the development of Krayan. Nevertheless, FORMADAT is encountering some challenges, particularly concerning its funding as well as the limited availability of human resources. FORMADAT is dependent on WWF-Indonesia for its funding, which means that often the funding only becomes available as and when a concrete project is carried out by the organization in the field. For the locals, the implication is that the work that they perform for FORMADAT is considered a voluntary task and, thus, might not be paid. The same applies to the human resources needed to make sure that FORMADAT continues its work. Thus, because the participation is considered to be voluntary and not paid for, locals are often not interested in doing work for FORMADAT.



**Figure 5.4** The cultural field school by the Formadat

45 The UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) Equator prize is a biannual international award that recognizes outstanding local achievement in advancing sustainable development solutions for people, nature and resilient communities (See: [www.formadat.com](http://www.formadat.com) and [www.equatorinitiative.org](http://www.equatorinitiative.org), last accessed on 27 July 2017).

### 5.5.5. International cross-border cooperation

Border-regional development is not limited to the implementation of the Indonesian national development policies. It also involves international, regional and local initiatives that foster cross-border cooperation. To illustrate this, several forms of cross-border cooperation are described in this section, namely SOSEK MALINDO, ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and the Heart of Borneo Project.

#### *The Socio-economic cooperation between Indonesia and Malaysia (Sosek Malindo)*

Kalimantan is one of Indonesia's border regions. It is characterised by intense and direct interaction with Malaysia. Trade and social interactions are two sources of cross-border interaction, which are embedded in adjacent communities on both sides of the border. Traditionally, trading in the border region is mainly driven by the population's shared ethnic background. The cultural interaction between these communities has long led to economic activities between the groups, such as bartering and trading.

In the course of the aftermath of the *Konfrontasi*, these interactions were accommodated by an *ad hoc* Indonesia and Malaysia cooperation forum aimed to normalize the tension of the countries. In 1967 a cooperation agreement was signed between Indonesia and Malaysia. The agreement aimed to prevent the infiltration of communism<sup>46</sup> in the border regions and mainly focused on security and defence in the border region. With regard to the relations between Indonesia and Malaysia after the *Konfrontasi*, a security agreement between the two states resulted in the formation of the General Border Committee (GBC).

Later on, the agreement was extended to include social and economic cooperation (Bakker and Crain, 2012, p. 118; Hidayat, 2015, p. 97; Negara, 2017). The ensuing Border Trade Agreement (BTA) was ratified by the governments of Indonesia and Malaysia in Jakarta (Indonesia) on 24 August 1970 (Border Trade Agreement, 1970). The agreement regulated the amount and value of goods exported from Indonesia into Malaysia and vice versa (Yuval-Davis *et al.*, 2018, p. 14). For instance, the allowed value of goods to be exported and imported or to be traded was limited to RM 600 (Ringgit Malaysia). The agreement also regulated the obligation to be in possession of a cross-border legal document when crossing the land-based or maritime border between the two states.

Subsequently, a new bilateral cooperation agreement was signed by the two governments that include aspects such as ideology, and political, social, cultural and economic aspects, both in terms of the land-based and maritime border (Asmarani *et al.*, 2017; Hidayat, 2015, p. 97). This agreement that dealt with cooperation in the social and economic realms was

46 The joint military cooperation at that time was under the auspices of SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization). It aimed to deter the penetration of communism into Asian states. However, although Indonesia was against communism, it was not a member of SEATO see: The Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (Braibanti, 1957).

called SOSEK MALINDO (Sosial Ekonomi Malaysia Indonesia)<sup>47</sup>. It was ratified in the XII GBC court in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, on 14 November 1983 and went into action in 1984 (Negara, 2017).

In Krayan as part of the Kalimantan Utara province, the implementation of SOSEK MALINDO was based on working papers drafted by the province of Kalimantan Utara (Indonesia) and the State of Sabah (Malaysia). These working papers focused on the construction of a cross-border checkpoint in the port, the construction of cross-border checkpoints on land, the prevention of smuggling, the establishment of social, educational and health projects, as well as projects in the realms of economics and trade (Sudiar, 2014, p. 42). For the Kalimantan Utara province, the SOSEK MALINDO working group is led by the Head of regional planning and the development agency (BAPPEDA, Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah). Generally, the forum has annual meetings to discuss the progress of the working papers.

According to the officials who participated in the annual SOSEK MALINDO meetings, the forum has succeeded in achieving its goals, such as the implementation of border crossing passes, the improvement of infrastructure and the development of human resources. At the same time, the forum has also been considered to lack significant results. The reason for this is that the forum lacks authority because its role is limited to giving advice and express concerns with respect to policies related to the social and economic development of the border region. Nevertheless, officials mentioned that the annual meetings do serve as means to maintain cooperation.

### ***ASEAN Economic Community (Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN)***

As described in Chapter 4, Indonesia's involvement in ASEAN is widely credited to Suharto's regime. Initially, the focus of ASEAN was on regional peace and stability (Gindarsah, 2016). It then gradually shifted toward an agenda that was characterised by economic cooperation (Volz, 2006, p. 1). This included the free movement of capital and skilled labour (Hew and Soesastro, 2003, p. 293).

The next phase was the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). To implement the directives of the AEC regarding the relation between Indonesia and Malaysia, several organisations to facilitate the integration of the economic community of the two states must be recognised, such as the support of CIQS (Customs, Immigration, Quarantine and Security). Generally, on the Kalimantan–Malaysia border, the working of the AEC takes

47 The SOSEK MALINDO (Sosial Ekonomi Malaysia Indonesia) cooperation forum covers cooperation regarding (1) Socio-cultural aspects such as education, healthcare, art and culture, as well as youth and sport; (2) Economic aspects such as trade relations including industry and trade, agriculture, harbour/investment, tourism, human labour, natural resources and environment; (3) Security and defense aspects including border management (the land-based border post Pos Lintas Batas Darat/PLBD, and the maritime border post), and also cooperation regarding the prevention of smuggling as well as the improvement of the border infrastructure.

shape through the establishment of an integrated border checkpoint that incorporates CIQS services, an example of which is the border checkpoint at Entikong (Province of Kalimantan Barat) (Yovinus, 2016, pp. 26-27).

The government of the Nunukan Regency refers to the border checkpoint at Entikong as an example of achieving one of the goals set by the AEC. As a consequence, the governments of the Regency and the Districts use the example of Entikong example to promote the importance of upgrading the status of the current traditional border checkpoint in the village of Long Midang with the aim of improving the development of the residents of Krayan. Currently, this border checkpoint only serves the functions of immigration and security. One of the consequences of this attempt was that the immigration post that was formerly in Long Bawan was moved next to the border checkpoint in Long Midang.

### *Heart of Borneo (HoB)*

The Heart of Borneo Project (HoB) was established in 2007 and involves Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam. The HoB is a large-scale, tri-national transboundary initiative led by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). Its goal is to link conservation and sustainable development in the geographical 'heart' of Borneo (Hitchner, 2010, p. 320), that is, the rainforest. The Borneo rainforest is the single most significant area of rainforest left in Southeast Asia and is the third largest rainforest on earth and, in all likelihood, has the most diverse ecosystem. The trilateral cooperation has succeeded in establishing several national parks and conservation forests extending across international borders and across national administrative boundaries within the three states.

The HoB is unlike any conventional conservation project, which tends to be characterised by having a predetermined budget, measurable goals, and deliverable outputs that are implemented within set boundaries. Rather, in terms of its land and resources management, the HoB includes protected areas and ecological inter-connected areas, but the HoB leaves the exact area open to interpretation by actors taking part in the HoB. Accordingly, the HoB is a very loose network that, in a sense, is open to any organisation that is willing to collaborate with the HoB.

Within the context of Indonesia, the HoB is a government-led initiative in collaboration with NGOs. The Indonesian part of the project aims to protect the rich biodiversity of the rainforest in Kalimantan. In Kalimantan, in general, and in Krayan, in particular, this cooperation has resulted in the establishment of ecotourism in the earlier Taman Nasional Kayan Mentarang (the Kayan Mentarang National Park). In Krayan the ecotourism attractions include the traditional salt production in *lokasi* Long Midang (see figure 5.5), the tropical rain forest adventure, and the archaeological heritage (in the *lokasi* Terang Baru). The HoB FORMADAT represents the communities who are actively engaged in managing and protecting the ecotourism activities.



**Figure 5.5** The salt production as one of tourism attractions that is promoted under HoB initiative

The establishment of international cross-border cooperation is relevant to this study in two ways: 1) it promotes that the government contributes to the development of Krayan and so responds to Krayan's locals' desire for development.; 2) the established formats of formal cooperation legitimate the border crossings between the two states, and, so, support the locals in the border regions in the pursuit of their livelihoods.

## 5.6. SUMMARY

This chapter began by presenting Krayan, the research area, focusing on the presence of various kinds of borders in the region. Awareness of these borders is essential in order to understand the general context of the concept of the border in the region. The border is not merely conceived as the State border but is also associated with other types of demarcation in the region. Thus, in addition to the border appearing in the form of the State border, it also reveals itself as the zoning of the national park, the administrative boundaries of villages and locations, church denominations, and customary ethnic boundaries.

Like in many places elsewhere in the world, Krayan as a border region is considered a peripheral area that is located away from the central state. It is also regarded as a natural, resource-rich region. These conditions have had implications for the implementation of development plans in the region. The kind of development that is considered relevant to this research is economic development. This chapter, therefore, provided descriptions of economic development impacting the Krayan region. The earliest development attempts coincided with the emergence of the border in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, the border served to demarcate the trade route boundaries between two colonial powers, The Netherlands and Great Britain. Prior to Indonesia's Independence, the development of the region was primarily credited to the missionaries who arrived in the region in the 1930s and their ensuing projects. During the post-independence era, the development of the border regions in Indonesia evolved according to the particular vision and focus of each presidency. In general, the development which initially focused on security and defence was redirected and diversified in order to improve the locals' welfare. Although the earlier development emphasis was on security and defence, subsequent government endeavours were oriented to achieve economic development.

In the context of this research, the natural resource management is particularly relevant since this is a key aspect of the economic development of Krayan. As pointed out, natural resource management in Krayan has been an important part of the development agenda of the Indonesian government. Over the years, this focus has been translated into national policies centring on resettlement, national park formation, border agency formation, regional autonomy, establishing the 'front veranda of the nation', as well as the current development policy NAWACITA. The next two chapters (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7) will show the importance of cross-border interaction for border-regional development. In doing so, the discussion paves the way for an analytical examination of the relationship between these two aspects (discussed in chapter 8).



# 6

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## BORDER CROSSING PRACTICES AND EXPERIENCES

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“Actually, half of the people who live on the other side of the border of Sarawak and Sabah are our people. Just like my family, my mother’s siblings live there.”

(Pak David, 16 February 2016)

## 6.1. INTRODUCTION

The quotation above represents the perception of the majority of the Krayan locals that they cross the border for family purposes. Pak David is one of the few people who has held the position of village head for two terms. As described in Chapter 4, a village head is elected by the majority of the villagers for a period of five years. The fact that Pak David has been village head for such a long period shows that he is well-known and respected in his village. In Krayan this indicates that such a person is seen as having in-depth and broad knowledge regarding his environs. Pak David regularly travels to Malaysia to see the family on his mother's side, although he has never lived or worked in Malaysia. During my fieldwork, it transpired that the locals crossed the border into Malaysia not only for family purposes but also to try and find a paid job, to go shopping, to trade, and to attend cultural events.

In this chapter, empirical findings are provided regarding the locals' cross-border interactions. As mentioned, the data for these findings were gathered during the fieldwork periods from December 2014 - February 2015 and from December 2015 - March 2016. The data were collected by means of participant observation, surveys, and semi-structured interviews.

In the first chapter of this study, I argued that cross-border interaction in Krayan is not a recent phenomenon. Rather, cross-border interaction existed long before the formation of the State of Indonesia. It occurred because of the kinship relations of two adjacent communities on either side of the border. Furthermore, in that chapter, I argued that the current cross-border interaction is driven by insufficient development in the region.

Five research subquestions underpin this study. The first and second questions aim to obtain ground knowledge of Krayan border region and insights to border-regional development. Third question investigates the nature of the cross-border interactions and how these are perceived by the locals of Krayan. The fourth concerns the nature of border-regional development and the locals' perception of this development. The fifth question explores the relationship between cross-border interaction and development. Chapters 6 and 7 provide empirical evidence in order to place cross-border interaction within the context of border-regional development. In doing so, this paves the way for an analytical examination of the relationship between both aspects (as discussed in Chapter 8).

To answer the research questions, an analytical framework was set up in Chapter 2, where I argued that the actual realisation of cross-border interaction involves enabling and constraining factors. The present chapter presents the empirical findings pertaining to these factors. To this end, this chapter is crucial to show how the border is used in reality by the locals and how they then perceive the border.

One section in this chapter deals with the respondents' actual border crossings. It starts with a description of actual border crossings and an elaboration on these practices. Thereafter,

it describes the necessary procedures the locals are required to comply with in order to go to Malaysia, including procuring a border crossing pass and arranging transportation. In this study, the issue of transport is not related to the distance to be covered to get from one place to another, rather it is time it takes for locals to go from their village to reach their destination in Malaysia.

In the next section, the locals' perceptions are given regarding their border crossing. The main focus is 'border crossing as a common activity. I based this heading on how the locals' commonly refer to their cross-border interactions. To understand their perceptions, four themes are used. The first theme is the locals' intentions to cross the border. The second theme is the importance of their crossings. The third theme is illegal crossings. The section ends with the fourth theme, which is the locals' compromising ways to refer to their border crossings.

First, I will describe the characteristics of the 55 respondents involved in this research to place in context the locals' life in Krayan, including their border crossings. These characteristics also situate the locals with respect to the ongoing development endeavours in the region, which are described in more detail in Chapter 7.

## 6.2. RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS

Of the 55 respondents involved in the survey, 52 were male and 3 were female. As mentioned, the low number of female respondents is because of the general cultural understanding in the region that the head of the household is a male and that he is the one to provide the responses. Thus, the 3 female respondents who were willing to participate did so because of the absence of their spouse. Their spouses were either outside the village or Krayan region at the moment of data collection. In Chapter 3 the implications of this understanding have been described as part of the reflection on the research approach.

Age is an essential indicator in influencing the locals' individual border crossing practices. In this study, it is expected that age relates to the number of the border crossings. Hence, in the survey, the respondents' age is used as a factor that influences the locals' decision to go across. The age groups of respondents involved in this survey are listed in Table 6.1.

**Table 6.1** Respondents by age group

Respondents' age	n = 55	%
29 - 38	8	14.5
39 - 48	29	52.7
49 - 58	9	16.4
59 - 68	8	14.5
69 +	1	1.8

Source: Own fieldwork, 2016

To further obtain the characteristics of the border locals' lifestyle, one survey question was formulated asking for the duration respondents had resided in Krayan in relation to their age. The responses reflected four patterns: those who have lived in Krayan their entire lives, those who in the past worked and lived in Malaysia and then returned to Krayan, those who lived outside Krayan for study purposes in other parts of Indonesia (as presented in Chapter 5), and one respondent moved into the region because of his job.

The respondents who have lived in Krayan their whole lives confirmed that they would go to Malaysia occasionally. Respondents who worked in Malaysia during their youth and then returned to Krayan upon retirement<sup>48</sup> are mostly in the age range of 39 – 48 years old. Some respondents, generally in the age range of 29–38 years old, confirmed that they had lived in Krayan for less than 10 years. Most of these respondents studied outside the region, namely in Malang, Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Samarinda.

Although the respondents involved in this study differ in the periods and duration, they resided in Krayan. Most have characteristics that are common to the lifestyle of the Krayan border population. First, they have family members living on the Malaysian side of the border, and second, their livelihoods are interlinked with their border crossing practices. This means that their primary motivation is to visit family members, while they are also engaged in multiple income-generating activities that are interlinked with their border crossings. This interlinking is illustrated by their efforts to sell their (paddy) rice in Malaysia, or the stories they told about the time they were working in Malaysia. The explanation of this interlink is discussed in Chapter 8.

Regarding the respondents' highest level of educational attainment (as listed in Table 6.2), 44% of the respondents passed senior high school, and 24% passed Junior high school (9 years of compulsory education). Few of the respondents succeeded to go beyond compulsory education. 4% of the locals only pass the six years of primary education. 15% of respondents hold a diploma of vocational education and training, 9% are Bachelor graduates, and 4% are Master graduates.

**Table 6.2 Respondents' levels of education**

Level of education	n= 55	%
Not attending school	1	2
Primary School	2	4
Junior High School	13	24
Senior High School	24	44
Vocational education and training	8	15
Bachelor	5	9
Master	2	4

Source: Own fieldwork, 2016

48 The respondents perceived retirement from Malaysia as quitting a work or activity that generates income. However, the respondent would continue to do different paid jobs once they return to Krayan. Often the respondents mentioned to be retired from Malaysia as a way of explaining that they were quitting whatever jobs they had done in Malaysia.

In Chapter 4 it was mentioned that the locals are engaged in several economic activities to obtain an income. In this chapter, these economic activities are linked to the respondents' livelihood. Table 6.3 gives an overview of the 55 respondents' income-generating activities that contribute to their livelihoods. Note that the sum of the activities is higher than the actual number of respondents. The reason for this is that respondents engage in more than one income-generating activity in Krayan.

**Table 6.3** Respondents' income generating activities (multiple responses)

Type of economic activity	n = 55	% of answers	% of respondents
Crop farmer	50	54	98
Livestock farmer	25	27	45
Civil servant	9	10	16
Crafter	8	9	15
Other	1	1	2
Total	93	100	176

Source: Own fieldwork, 2016

98% of the respondents self-proclaimed that they were engaged in crop farming and 45% claimed they were in livestock farming. At the same time, they were involved in other jobs, such as being a civil servant and crafting. When crop farming is given as an income-generating activity, this means that in Krayan this person may be the owner of or worker on a wet-rice field, a *binamut* (sorghum) field, or a sugarcane field. The respondents who were engaged in wet-rice farming were also engaged in livestock farming. A livestock farmer in Krayan is characterized by the ownership of livestock such as buffaloes, pigs, cows, chickens, fish, and dogs.

From the survey, it can be discerned that 15% of the respondents are engaged in crafting. Crafting here refers to, among others, creating a traditional hat called 'saung', 'mattress', and 'bekang' (see figure 6.1). In Krayan, crafting is mostly done by the female adults in the family, and traditional methods are used. Observation during fieldwork revealed that the production of the artefacts depended on orders coming in and the availability of the raw materials. So the respondents would produce the types and numbers required. Orders may come from either Krayan or Malaysian traders. One respondent expressed that it has recently been difficult to get the specific plants needed for her work due to the increasing scarcity of these plants.



**Figure 6.1** *Bekang* (a) and *saung* (b).

16% of respondents worked as civil servants. In Indonesia a civil servant is someone who is a member of the civil service, who is employed by the State and is a government official. Civil servants have a steady monthly income. Therefore, employment as a civil servant is considered prestigious and civil servants are seen as an elite group who are respected. In the context of Krayan which is corroborated by the survey, civil servants also include those who are on the Government's retirement plan as well as district officials and soldiers. It must be noted that village heads and customary leaders are not categorised as civil servants even though they receive an income from the Government and even though their task is to serve the locals. Yet, they, too, are considered to be an elite group and are well-respected by the locals.

One person mentioned that he combined two jobs: he was involved in seasonal labour and, occasionally, in hunting. Working as a seasonal labourer means that a person will only be employed for a short period. Thus, in the context of Krayan they are hired when their skills are required during certain periods of the year, such as the harvest of the wet-rice, of the *binamut* (sorghum), or of sugarcane. Seasonal labour might also involve the felling of trees.

Regarding the average monthly household income, this is very variable, which means that Krayan locals receive their income in different amounts and at different times. So they may earn a high income in some months and a lower income in other months. All respondents

with the exception of one, were able to disclose their average earnings generated by their activities. The one person could not do so because of the high variability of his income. One respondent declared that the household's monthly average income is less than IDR 500,000 (about US\$ 35). The largest group of respondents (21.8%) declared that their average monthly household income was between IDR 2,000,000 - 2,999,999 (between approximately US\$ 140 - 210). 18% of the households earned an average monthly income between IDR 1,000,000 - 1,999,999 (between approximately US\$ 70 - 140). 10.9% of the households had an income between IDR 3,000,000 - 3,999,000 (between approximately US\$ 210 - 280). 5 respondents (9%) declared that their household's income was more than IDR 6,000,000 (about US\$ 425). These respondents worked as civil servants and were also farmers of wet-rice and livestock. Table 6. 4 shows the locals' average income range.

**Table 6.4** The average household's monthly income

Estimated Income (IDR)	n = 55	Respondents' percentage
Do not mention	1	1.8
Less than 500,000	1	1.8
500,000 - 999,999	8	14.5
1,000,000 - 1,999,999	10	18.2
2,000,000 - 2,999,999	12	21.8
3,000,000 - 3,999,999	6	10.9
4,000,000 - 4,999,999	8	14.5
5,000,000 - 5,999,999	4	7.3
more than 6,000,000	5	9.1

Source: Own fieldwork, 2016

### 6.3. BORDER CROSSING

One respondent recalled how in the past, it would take one week to travel from Krayan (Indonesia) to Lawas (Malaysia). The respondent expresses that the Krayan locals particularly suffer regarding the poor road access and the transportation difficulties to reach their village (as is discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5). Nowadays this can be done within a few hours as the road is now improved. The respondent stated that in terms of trading and shopping, the cross-border interactions seem to decrease somewhat since these days, Malaysians are coming to the Krayan region by car. Illustrations regarding these situations are provided in the following illustration box.

As described in Chapter 5, Long Midang is known as the official local entry and exit point. A trip by car from Long Midang (Indonesia), the closest village to the border, where the military border post and immigration post are located, to the Malaysian border post in Ba' Kelalan, requires a drive of approximately 2 hours through hilly terrain. It takes 7 more hours to reach Lawas, the Malaysian town, which is the town Krayan locals often refer to as their

final destination in Malaysia. The exact time required for this trip varies according to the means of transportation and the condition of the road. During periods of persistent rain, the road may be so muddy that travellers have to walk.

The actual possession of a border crossing pass by locals needs to be explained since it is relevant in describing the official cross-border interaction as recorded by the immigration office (as elaborated in Chapter 5). When locals aim to go to Malaysia, it is compulsory to have a border crossing pass. However, not every local who crosses the border to Malaysia necessarily owns a border crossing pass. The locals explained that this is so since their destination is not the Malaysian city, but any of the villages in Malaysia close to their home villages. So, in these cases they will cross the border without a border crossing pass. They explained that they would arrange for a border crossing pass once they intended to go to a Malaysian city. All 55 respondents have crossed the border, but a mere two-third of the respondents have a border crossing pass. In other words, although the border crossing pass is an official travel document for the locals to go to Malaysia, trips to Malaysia are not always done using this document. During the interview sessions that took place in the villages Pa' Dalan, Pa' Amai, and Pa' Upan in the district of Krayan Selatan, the respondents mentioned that they crossed the border into Malaysia some time ago without having a border crossing pass. They went to Pa' Dali, a Malaysian village close to their own district. One of the respondents mentioned that there was no harm in not having a border crossing pass since they would return to their village immediately. They would, however, arrange to have the border crossing pass if they planned to go to Malaysia for an extended period.

Regarding the locals' border crossings into Malaysia, the data revealed that this differed for respondents. Of the 55 respondents involved in the study, there were 13 respondents who went across in the period before 2005. 5 respondents declared that their last crossing took place between 2005 - 2010, and more than half (37) of the respondents went to Malaysia in the period 2010 - February 2016 (that is a month prior to the data collection).

### **6.3.1. Modes of transportation to go to Malaysia**

The geographical isolation of Krayan from Indonesia's more central areas entails that the accessibility of the Krayan region is a major challenge (described in Chapter 4). This situation is, however, totally different when entering Krayan from the side of Malaysia. During my fieldwork in 2016, I arranged a border crossing pass at the immigration office in Krayan. I then happened to meet a Malaysian man who told me that he was waiting for someone from Krayan who would like to be transported to Malaysia in his car. While engaged in a short conversation, he offered to transport me by car to Lawas, the nearby Malaysia municipality, for 95 RM-Ringggit Malaysian (about US\$ 20). This is a lower fee compared to the cost of a one-way air ticket from Krayan to Nunukan, in the central Kalimantan Utara province, which was approximately IDR 390,000 (about US\$ 30) at the time. This situation suggests that Krayan is more accessible from Malaysian than from the Indonesian side and at a relatively affordable cost. Indeed, to go to Malaysia, several modes of transportation over land can be

used, such as getting a car ride, riding a private (self-owned) motorbike, on foot, and driving one's own private car (see figure 6.5).

Often, in order to cross the border, locals will make use of one or a combination of modes of transport for their trip. This depends on their point of departure. The respondents residing in Long Bawan indicated that often they just drive to Malaysia. Whereas respondents living in more remote areas, such as the villages of Bungayan, Wa' Yagung, and Pa' Raye, need to combine their means of transportation. They may start off on a motorbike and then continue by car. Often their trip also meant walking when the road had become impassable as the result of rain. Since location and circumstances play such a crucial role, it is impossible for the locals to point at one single, clear preference of their mode of transport. Table 6.5 aims to serve as a representation of relative figures of conventional modes of transportation used by the locals to go to Malaysia. Furthermore, Table 6.5 shows that 48.1% of the respondents mentioned they are getting a ride, while 25% of them travel with a motorbike. Walking has been mentioned by 22%. There is only a proportion of 5% who mentioned that they take a private car when they go to Malaysia.

**Table 6.5** Means of transportation that locals take to go to Malaysia (multiple responses)

Cross-border transports	Responses		Per cent Respondents
	n	Percent answers	
Get a ride	37	48.1%	72.5%
Own motorbike	19	24.7%	37.3%
On foot	17	22.1%	33.3%
Own car	4	5.2%	7.8%
Total	77	100.0%	

Source: Own fieldwork, 2016

Regarding transport to cross the border into Malaysia, it is common for the locals to try and find a ride in a Malaysian car going back to Malaysia. One of the respondents whom I interviewed in Pa' Raye village was looking for a car to take him to Long Bawan in Malaysia. He wanted to attend a cultural event and had planned to be in Sepitang (Malaysia) for a week. He mentioned that most of the cars from Malaysia coming to Krayan carried goods previously ordered by the locals. So once the goods were delivered, these cars were available to transport people or agricultural commodities on their return trip to Malaysia.

During fieldwork, I observed that there was a transport service promoted in Krayan by a Malaysian transport service. These services were advertised to the locals by means of business cards. Figures 6.2 shows such a business card.



**Figure 6.2** Business card for cross-border transport

There hardly exists such a service on the Indonesian side of the border. In the fieldwork it was found that this is because it is very difficult to deliver Indonesian cars to Krayan. It is less complicated to distribute motorbikes since these can be loaded onto a helicopter, which is not an option for cars.

#### **Box 6. 1 The challenge of getting an ambulance**

In 2013 the Government at the regency level had a plan to ship an Ambulance to Krayan by helicopter. The plan was not carried out as it was not possible to do so. The government then shipped the Ambulance from Malaysia. They loaded the Ambulance in a container and then shipped it from the regency of Nunukan to Tarakan by sea. Then, from Tarakan, the container was transported by sea to the town of Tawau (Sabah, Malaysia). From Tawau, the container was transported by road to Kota Kinabalu, heading to Lawas (Sarawak, Malaysia), and from there to Ba Kelalan in Krayan.

Observation during the fieldwork revealed that despite the difficulties of getting cars to Krayan, there were cars parked at the houses of locals, which did not have number plates (see figure 6.3). The owners of these cars said that they had bought them second-hand in Malaysia and only drove them within the Krayan region. They were unable to arrange number plates for the ‘Malaysian’ cars because they are Indonesian citizens.



**Figure 6.3** Cars without number plates in front of a house in Krayan

### 6.3.2. The value of border crossing pass

A border crossing pass is the official travel document for locals in the Indonesian border region that allows them to travel to Malaysia and back (as described in Chapter 5). The border crossing pass is valid for one year from the date of issue. Its validity is restricted to 5 km distance from the border or from the closest Malaysian municipality, Lawas (Sarawak)<sup>49</sup>. Some locals, however, travel beyond the assigned border crossing pass area. That is, they go to Sipitang, mentioning that their family members, who are of the Lundayeh ethnic group, live there.

At the time of the data collection, 67% of respondents acknowledged that they had a border crossing pass, which they used when going to Malaysia. While the rest of the respondents did not own a border crossing pass. Yet, this group mentioned that they were able to go across the border.

One of the respondents, Pak Elias, who is a cultural activist in Krayan, describes his experience of being invited to come to Sipitang for a cultural event even though he did not have a passport, merely a border crossing pass. As indicated, Sipitang is located beyond the border crossing pass area validity. This means that if locals of Krayan intend to go beyond the area where the border crossing pass is valid, they are obliged to have a passport. He, however, was reassured by the people in Sipitang that he would have no problem going to Sipitang since many members of his family, namely Lundayeh, live there. He mentions:

49 Source: Annexure C: the list of exit/entry points and area of access of the Indonesian and Malaysian Border Area based on point to point. Duplicate of the agreement between the Government of The Republic of Indonesia and The Government of Malaysia on border crossing in Bukitting on the twelfth day of January in the year two thousand and six (in Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Melayu and English text).

Yes, I have a border crossing pass and a passport now. Therefore, every time I am invited to come there (Malaysia), I am obliged to arrange these documents so that my trip is secure, although I am trespassing the distance for which the border crossing pass is valid. [In the past, I could go there without a passport]. This was possible since we have a sort of shared ethnic agreement. I still have my family who takes care of my visit there. Whenever there was a border patrol checking the car that I happened to ride in at the time, I just said that I was with my family. In this way, I can skip the border patrol. Sometimes, I can even go further (outside the designated area) to Sabah. Although I am aware that I am running the risk of violating the border crossing policy (in terms of not having a passport), I ask their<sup>50</sup> reassurance that it's going to be okay for me to go there. Nevertheless, now that I am holding a passport, I feel secure to travel there through the official border gate in Tarakan or Tawau.

(Pak Elias, 21 January 2016)

### 6.3.3. Frequencies of going across to Malaysia

Regarding the frequency of going across to Malaysia, the majority of the respondents mentioned that they could not recall exactly how often they had crossed the border. They mentioned that the occurrence of going to Malaysia depended on the actual need to do so. Hence, at times they may go very often or hardly ever, depending on their need. For the respondents, there is an inseparable association between the frequency of their crossings and their reasons for going to Malaysia. A description of the respondents' intentions to cross the border into Malaysia was presented in the previous section.

The locals' frequency of going across to Malaysia is made up of irregular occurrences. By irregular here is meant that the crossings lack consistency in terms of the occurrence of their departure from Krayan and their return from Malaysia. This implies that the locals can not specify the specific times of their crossings, nor are they able to tell how often they go. In the survey results, this irregularity is presented under the heading 'can not specify'. Often, this category is combined with frequent crossings (as listed in Table 6.8). Subsequently, it can be noted from the table that an irregular period appears as the prominent category across the entire border crossing activities of respondents when they go to Malaysia.

From Table 6.6, it can be noted that three particular motivations to cross the border, namely, family visits, shopping, and working, highlight the frequent crossings. Moving from the highest to the lowest frequency in crossing, just under half of the respondents (27) mentioned that they are frequently visiting their family across the border but could not specify the number of visits. As many as 21 respondents indicated that the purpose of their visit to Malaysia was shopping for once up to four times a year. Interestingly, 15 respondents presented their motivation to work in Malaysia as the reason to frequently cross the border, but it is apparent that 30 respondents are never using this intention to go to Malaysia. Further, even though the respondents appear to frequently visit their family, 33 respondents indicated that they never go to Malaysia attending their cultural events.

50 Pak Elias family members who live in Malaysia

**Table 6.6** Frequency of cross-border activities

Intentions	Never	1 to 4 times per year	Frequent <sup>51</sup>	Total
Working	30 54.5%	10 18.1%	15 27.3%	55 100.0%
Shop	17 31.5%	21 39%	16 29.6%	54 100.0%
Leisure	31 56.4%	10 18.1%	14 25.5%	55 100.0%
Family Visit	4 7.7%	21 40.3%	27 51.9%	52 100.0%
Cultural Event	33 60.0%	15 25.5%	7 12.7%	55 100.0%

Source: Own survey, 2016

From the survey result, it was also found that locals never solely go to Malaysia for the purpose of attending cultural events (33). 14 respondents mentioned that they would go to Malaysia once a year to attend a cultural event. 31 respondents mentioned that they never went to Malaysia for the sole purpose of leisure, while 16 respondents mentioned that they combined leisure with shopping.

Regarding the locals' frequency of going across, this largely depends on their specific purposes. This is illustrated by one respondent's story who had been the village head of Wa' Yagung for two periods. Currently, he is well-known as a traditional healer and for his prescriptions of traditional medicine. For 21 years, he lived in Sarawak (Malaysia) and then returned to Wa' Yagung village in 1991. During his stay in Malaysia, he attended Islamic higher education and he had a family in Malaysia, which is a different family from the one that is currently living with him. He is often visited by people from Indonesia and Malaysia who are interested in studying the usage and working of herbal plants. Although he now lived in Krayan permanently, he would go to Malaysia every now and then. He mentioned that, generally, people in Krayan have no particular schedule when and how often they would go to Malaysia, but he did indicate this frequency from his own experience. He may go to Malaysia as frequently as he can. He mentions:

That depends, Ma'am. If we only want to have fun by going to Malaysia, we can go anytime. (...) in this way [for example in] for one month, we then can go back and forth to Malaysia for many times.

(Pak Daniel, 30 January 2016)

51 The respondents were unable to mention the exact numbers of their crossing to Malaysia because they had forgotten about their actual visits. Usually the locals do not record their individual crossings or write an account of these because they consider their crossings as part of their everyday life. Although they have a border pass, their crossings are not always reflected by the record on their pass. Also, the respondents were unable to recall the motivations for crossing and the frequencies. This is because the crossings are often driven by a combination of motivations.

## 6.4. DESTINATIONS

In terms of the respondents' destinations in Malaysia, they mentioned several places in Sabah and Sarawak as their destinations. Long Pasia, Sipitang, Keningau and Kota Kinabalu are places in the Malaysian State of Sarawak that are often mentioned. In addition, Ba' Kelalan, Murudi, Pa' Dali, Lawas, Long Banga, Kuching, Miri, Bintulu, and Bario are places in the Malaysian State of Sabah that are mentioned (see map 6.1 and 6.2).

### Box 6.2 Delivery of goods from Malaysia

Early one morning, I witnessed several pick-up trucks with Malaysian number plates loaded with construction materials getting into Krayan (see figure 6.4).

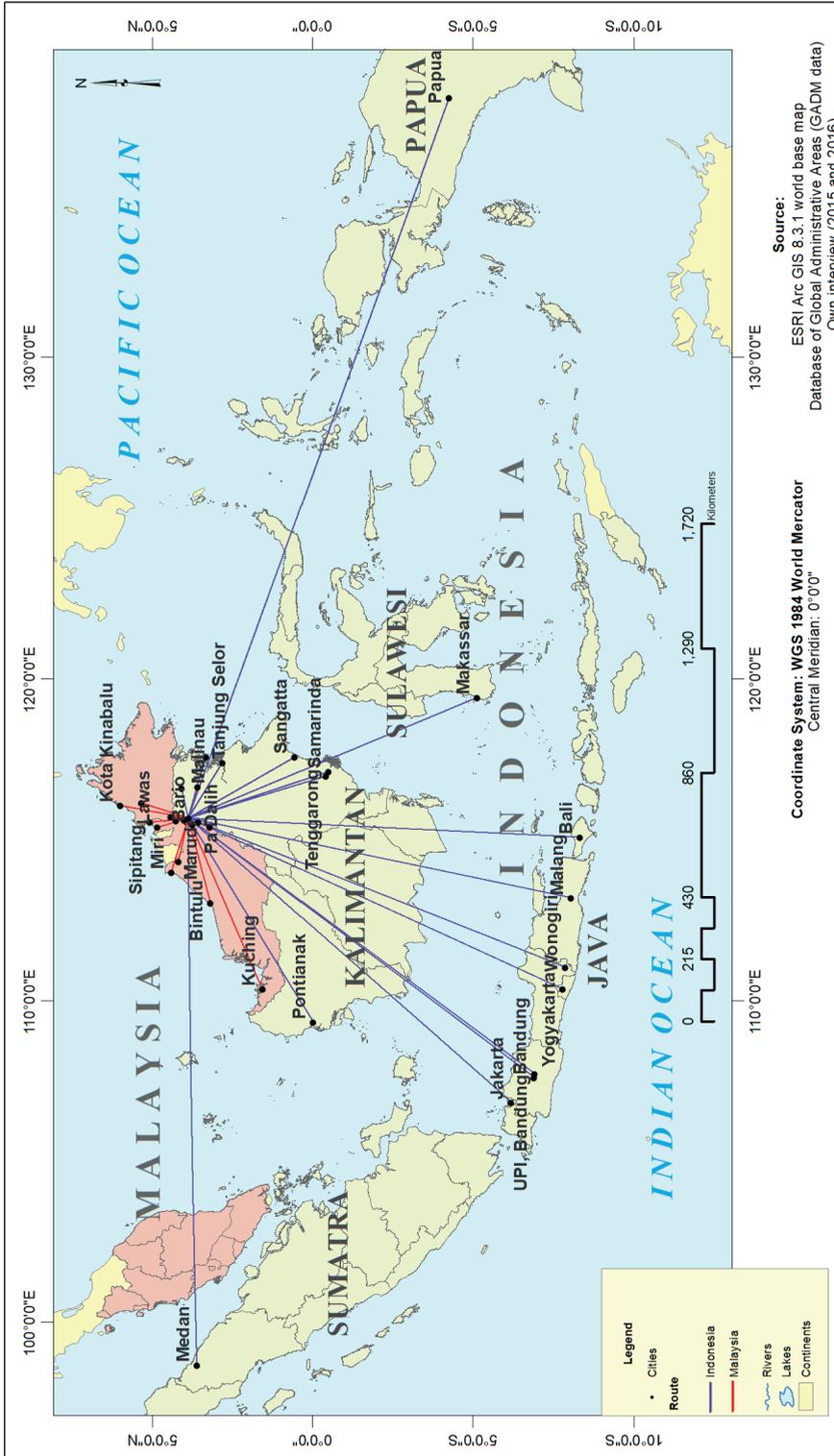


**Figure 6.4** A Malaysian car transporting goods to Krayan

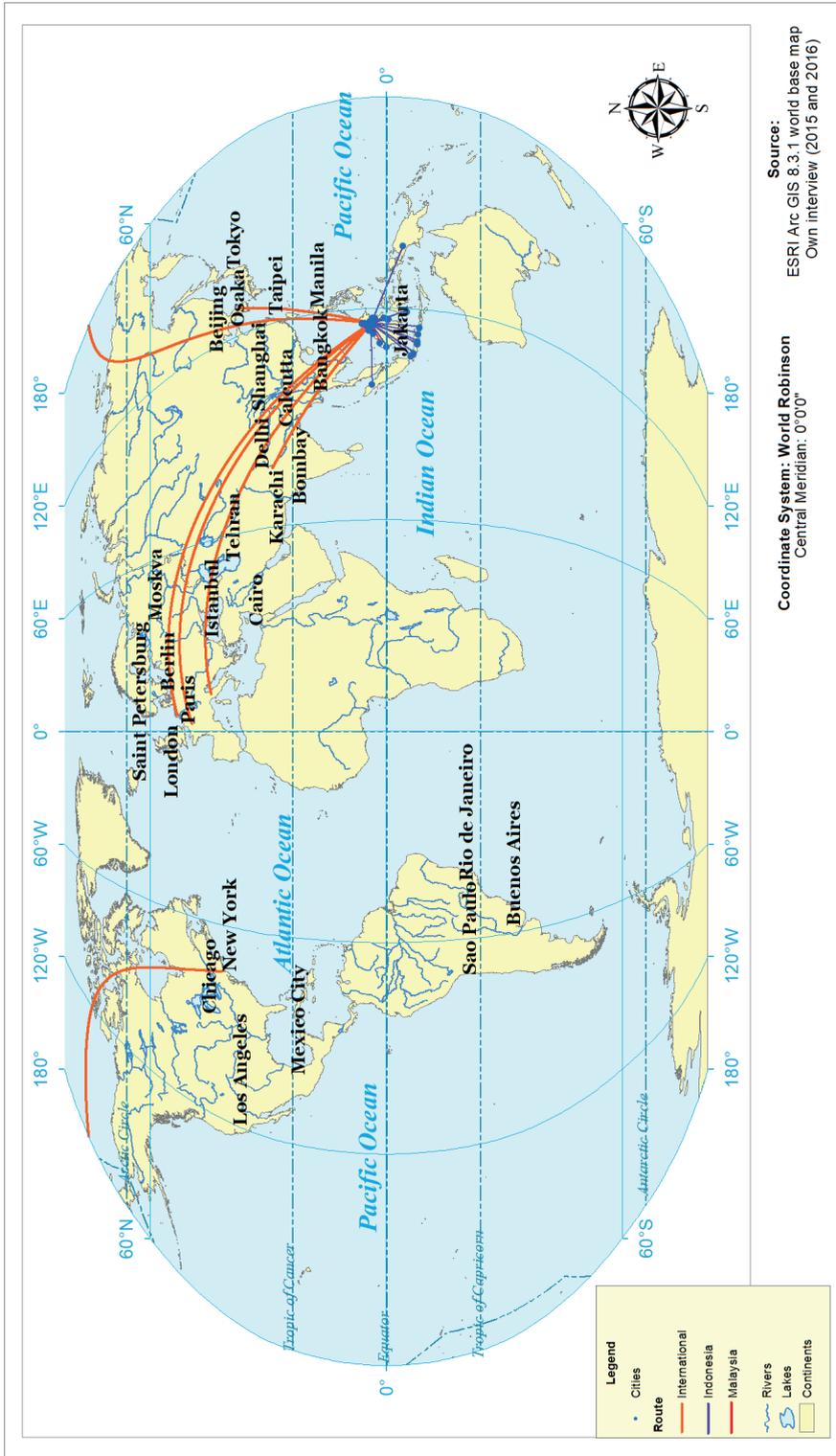
During fieldwork, I witnessed a Malaysian car parked in front of the house of one of the respondents. Some people were busy filling bottles with fuel that delivered by this car. (See Figure 6.5).



**Figure 6.5** Filling bottles with petrol from the tank of a Malaysian trader



**Map 6.1** Overview of the respondents' destinations from Krayan



**Map 6.2** Krayan respondents' border crossing across the world

## 6.5. INTENTIONS TO CROSS

The official state border between Krayan and Malaysia has resulted in separating groups belonging to the Dayak community, namely, the Lundayeh on the Indonesian side and the Lun Bawang on the Malaysian side of the border. The official border, nevertheless, has not stopped locals from crossing the border. It is common for the locals to say that they cross the border because they have a family with a shared ethnic background living on the other side of the border. However, many of the respondents have crossed the border for other purposes as well.

The locals' perceptions regarding their intention for crossing the border is elaborated on in Chapter 7. Table 6.7 lists the respondents' intentions for crossing the border. Subsequently table 6.7 below lists the respondents' intentions for crossing the border. Every respondent has mentioned visiting family as the main reason for crossing the border. According to the collected data, their visit is then combined with other activities, such as shopping, working, spending leisure time, as well as attending cultural events.

**Table 6.7** Respondents' intentions for border crossing (multiple responses)

Intentions	n=55	Percentage of responses	Percentage of respondents
Family Visit	51	33.3	98.1
Shop	39	25.5	75.0
Work	25	16.3	48.1
Leisure	20	13.1	38.5
Cultural Event	18	11.8	34.6
Total	153	100	294.3

Source: Own fieldwork, 2016

The respondents showed less to no indication that they would go to Malaysia to seek medication or medical treatment, or education. This is because the Malaysian government stipulates that medical treatment and education services are restricted to people who are Malaysian citizens, which then must be proven by showing a Malaysian Identity Card (IC).

### 6.5.1. Relational motives

For the Krayan locals to be able to cross the border into Malaysia is to have the address of the family whom they intend to visit and who can act as contact persons in Malaysia, and who will provide shelter or even a job when they are in Malaysia. It is not necessary, however, for such contact persons to be a close relation since in Krayan the concept of family extends beyond the nuclear family, which is similar to the concept in Malaysia. In fact, siblingship is the mode for proper 'kin-like' behaviour between neighbours or co-villagers. In the local perception, siblingship is not merely applied to full brothers and sisters, but it is extended to include

cousins in one's own and his or her children's generations, and the siblings of parents and grandparents in previous generations (Carsten, 1998). Siblingship, thus, is a form of kinship that goes beyond regular bloodlines (Bakker, 2009a, p. 208).

Maintaining extended family relations is also a reason for locals to go to Malaysia. During the community group discussion in the village of Wa' Yagung a respondent stated:

Yes, let me add, it is also about kinship, about family. Indeed, we went there, Ma'am, because of our family, especially from here to Malaysia. Well, like this uncle of mine, there are many of my uncle's family there. Yes, from my mother's side, there are two of her siblings there. They live in Malaysia and in Sarawak, which is the reason why we go there. We want to go to Malaysia because we have our family there.

(Village Community Group Discussion in Wa' Yagung, 31 January 2016)

An illustration of nuclear family relations comes from Pak John's family. Pak John lives in Binuang, Krayan Selatan. Recently his daughter married a Malaysian man who lives across the border. She returned from Malaysia to Krayan to spend the Christmas period there till the beginning of 2016. Pak John arrived in Krayan from Malaysia in mid-January 2016 after he had taken his daughter back to her husband and family-in-law.

A female respondent in one of the community groups' discussions explained that she often goes to Malaysia to visit a family member. As she continued her story, she explained that she has four children. One of her children who had graduated had gone to Malaysia to find a job with a better income compared to what he had in Krayan and now lives in Malaysia. Furthermore, two of her daughters were married to Malaysians and live in Malaysia. Thus, she would go to Malaysia at least two to three times a year to visit her children.

Although she indicated that the marriage between her daughters and Malaysians had contributed to her crossing the border regularly, respondents argued that the Government had also played a role in the locals' decisions to move to Malaysia. One respondent explains:

[...] Well, it is because of this Ma'am. Because at this downstream here, many of the villages were abandoned, moved by the Government to move closer to Long Bawan

(Village Community Group Discussion in Wa' Yagung, 31 January 2016)

Referring to the location of their village which is remote in comparison with other local villages, the local pastor explained that:

Why do we stay in this place, Ma'am? It was in 2004 if I remember correctly, when Pak Servianus was the District Head, it was when the District Head in Krayan Induk moved the locals of Wa Yagung near Long Bawan. Well, why do we resist and do not want to be moved, Ma'am, is because we think that this is the customary land of our ancestors. That is the first reason. The second is that all the inheritance of our

ancestors is with us. It's like the rice paddy fields, houses, fruit. Those are all here. We don't want to leave all these, now if we are moved, Ma'am, will the Government be willing to guarantee and provide rice paddy fields for us and also build some houses for us? Now, rather than allowing ourselves to be transferred and to build new things for us, it is very difficult. Well, it's better for us to stay in this place

(Village Community Group Discussion in Wa' Yagung 31 January 2016)

Other respondents also explained that the fact that they owned land had been a factor they had taken into account when deciding to return to their villages. As one respondent said, "if we live in another place, we only go for work, but we may not own a piece of land."

In spite of transportation difficulties, locals returned to Krayan. When asked what had been their reasons to return to their village, one respondent said that even though they were physically there (in Malaysia), their thoughts, however, are here (in Krayan). This was confirmed by another participant in the group discussion in the village of Wa' Yagung. As one of the respondents explained:

It is because I am the only one who goes to Malaysia, while I have my parents and my wife living in Krayan.

(Village Community Group Discussion in Wa' Yagung 31 January 2016)

### 6.5.2. Economic motives

When it comes to economic motives, there are two major reasons that drive the respondents' border crossing, namely work and cross-border trading and delivery of goods.

In terms of work, Malaysia has a great demand for labourers to work in the oil palm plantations and in construction (McCarthy and Cramb, 2009, p. 115). This attracted Krayan locals to seek jobs in Malaysia, and was the cause of the out-migration in the region (Ardhana *et al.*, 2004, p. 171). Mainly, the work done by Krayan migrants is in construction, seasonal work in the paddy fields located in Malaysia, and gathering agarwood (*gaharu*) in the forest to be sold to Malaysia.

During the interviews and group discussions, locals often indicated that the difference in the value between Indonesian and Malaysian currency was one of the main reasons to look for a job in Malaysia. A respondent in the group discussion in Pa' Raye village mentioned that compared to Indonesia, locals might earn nearly twice as much in Malaysia than in Indonesia. He stated:

What makes us attracted to go to Malaysia is the issue of currency exchange, exchange of Rupiah. And second, it is easy to find a job there. If we are looking for a job here, if it's for one day, nowadays, yes on average, for one day today, it's 100 thousand Rupiah<sup>52</sup>. [...] there, if it is considered from the total amount, it's 50

52 Equals to US\$7

Ringgit<sup>53</sup> one day, that's it, or 70 Ringgit<sup>54</sup> for one day. Then we can compare that the currency exchange is higher there [Malaysia] than in here [Indonesia]. That is why the people here are not interested in looking for a job here. So it's good for us to go there. Like that. That's what makes our community here more interested in finding a job in Malaysia [...]

(Village Community Group Discussion in Pa' Raye 01 February 2016)

According to another respondent, this situation occurred in the years 2009 and 2011. A member in one of the community group's discussions explained that the currency exchange rate had been an influencing factor in their decision to go to Malaysia. He made a statement that was representative of the comments of many respondents:

That year, the first year was until 2009, or 2011. We consider that the currencies of Indonesia and Malaysia were not the same. The reason why we went to Malaysia all this time, because of the 1 Ringgit exchange, it's almost 3000 Rupiah<sup>55</sup>. Or almost 2000 Rupiah<sup>56</sup>. There was also a period where the currency reached 4000 Rupiah<sup>57</sup>. We take money from Malaysia to exchange here; 1000 Ringgit is 3,000,000 Rupiah<sup>58</sup> for the past year. So, for us as border locals to go there, what is it called, because the Malaysian currency is better than the Indonesian.

(Village Community Discussion Wa' Yagung 31 January 2016)

None of the respondents explicitly indicated to what extent their border crossings had been influenced by these fluctuations. It must be noted that it is common for the locals of Krayan to use both the Indonesian Rupiah (IDR) and Malaysian Ringgit (MR) for buying and selling. Out of the 55 respondents, more than half mentioned that the use of the two currencies is relevant for the economic transactions in the region.

Another factor relates to the availability of financial means. Since there may be other urgent claims on the family's finances, it is difficult to plan the frequency of the crossings in a given period. The decision to cross the border also depends on a person's needs, for instance, for daily necessities. Pak Samuel, one of the household heads, explains it as follows:

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53 Equals to US\$ 12

54 Equals to US\$ 17

55 Equals to US\$ 0.20

56 Equals to US\$ 0.10

57 Equals to US\$ 0.30

58 Equals to US\$ 200

I can go 5, 6 times a year as needed if we need materials here because we purchase all *sembako* (the nine fundamental daily needs<sup>59</sup>) there, everything. When ours have run out, we'll then go. We go for a day, or two days, sometimes we leave in the morning, and the next day we will already return, just only stay overnight.

(Pak Samuel Pangeran, 27 January 2016)



**Figure 6.6** Delivery of goods from Malaysia

In regard to cross-border trading and delivery goods, in Krayan, trading is done through transactions involving money exchange and barter. It is common for the locals to barter with Malaysian traders during the harvest period and exchange their rice for daily necessities such as coffee, sugar, and cooking oil. The background to this is that the supply of groceries to Krayan fluctuates and, hence, cannot be depended on. Thus, the locals are highly dependent on the grocery supplies from Malaysia. Typically, groceries that are in high demand are sugar, coffee, cooking oil, vegetables, and bottled gas for cooking<sup>60</sup>. To meet this demand, these goods can be purchased in Malaysia and then transported by persons who themselves need the items. Alternatively, the goods can be procured in Malaysia and transported by people who are specifically asked to do so (see figure 6.6). These people would take orders of

59 In Bahasa, *sembako* stands for *sembilan bahan pokok* (the nine fundamental daily needs). These items include 1) rice, sago and corn, 2) granulated sugar, 3) vegetables and fruit, 4) beef, chicken and fish, 5) cooking oil and margarine 6) milk, 7) eggs, 8) Kerosene or liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) for cooking and 9) iodized salt.

60 In Krayan, next to the kerosene and wood, gas is used as a fuel to cook on. The gas is purchased from a particular gas seller, or from a grocery store that is licensed by particular gas companies in Malaysia to sell gas.

grocery items to be bought before heading off to the market in Malaysia. This cross-border trip involves at least two people with their own motorbikes. This arrangement is made in anticipation of a break-down or accident. The representatives are paid based on the amount of goods they can load on their motorbikes. Other common cross-border trading practices the respondents mentioned were the selling of livestock such as buffaloes, pigs, and chickens to Malaysia. They would then spend the profit in Malaysia to purchase daily necessities.

### 6.5.3. Socio-cultural motives

Weddings, harvest celebrations and occasional cultural meetings are events that prompt locals to cross the border between adjacent communities. Above, it was mentioned that a family in Krayan is defined as a group of people having a shared cultural background regardless of which side of the State border they live. Accordingly, going across to Malaysia with the purpose of attending cultural events is a necessary activity to sustain kinship relations.

Pak Isak Surang is the great customary leader of Krayan Barat. In 2015 he went to Malaysia to attend a cultural meeting related to Formadat (as described in Chapter 5). On this trip, he also meant to visit his family. He mentioned that there was no particular plan of when the meeting would take place. The meeting might take place occasionally.

Previously, it was mentioned that locals often combine several reasons why they wish to cross the border into Malaysia. Such a combination often depends on the multiple identities of the individual. One of the respondents, who is a cultural activist, stated that often his intentions to go to Malaysia were linked to his knowledge about and skill in playing traditional music. On one occasion, he was invited by a Malaysian church to play traditional music during an event organised by the church. The respondent stated:

There are those in the religious field, visiting each other there, church activities. Sometimes I enter the country to play music. The last time when I went there, they asked me to welcome their church's guests with a traditional music performance. So, they began to be willing to have positive collaboration. This way, I am happy that we can collaborate.

(Pak Elias Y, 21 January 2016)

The locals' motivations for border crossing can be summarized as follows: 1) To visit family. For Krayan locals, the concept of a family extends beyond their nuclear family. Being family is also characterized by a shared local language and culture. 2) To find work and trade. The work that is conducted by the locals is construction labour, seasonal work on the rice paddies, gathering agarwood (*gaharu*) to be sold to Malaysia. To trade. In Krayan trading includes transactions involving the exchange of money and those involving bartering. It is common practice for the locals to exchange their rice with Malaysian traders for goods for daily consumption during the harvest period. 3) To attend a cultural event such as weddings, harvest celebrations and cultural meetings.

### Box 6.3 Confiscated alcoholic beverages

The security checkpoint at the border post of Long Midang in Krayan aims to monitor not only the flow of people but also the flow of goods that are crossing the border out of and into Krayan. This military checkpoint is staffed by the Border Military Unit (Satuan Petugas Pengamanan Perbatasan/SATGAS PAMTAS). The Unit's soldiers are on duty for a period of six to nine months and originate from different regions and provinces in Indonesia. Soldiers rarely find illegal imports during a border check. There have been a few occasions, though, where they impounded illegally imported alcoholic beverages and destroyed these. Apparently, it is very well possible to smuggle alcoholic beverages to Krayan since it is difficult to monitor the mountainous terrain and the extensive borderland. Generally, this allows for illegal goods to be smuggled into Krayan.

After I had landed, I went to the district head office to introduce myself. As I entered the office, the majority of staff was getting ready to go to the border post in Long Midang. The District Head explained to me that they were about to witness the destruction of alcoholic beverages smuggled from Malaysia and confiscated from small shops in Krayan where they were sold illegally (see figure 6.7). He also explained that a similar event took place six months ago. Since the District Head was going to attend the event, he invited me to come along. And so I went on a one-hour car ride with district officials to Long Midang.



**Figure 6.7** Confiscated alcohol

The officials claimed that the alcoholic drinks were brought to Krayan via small paths in the jungle and then distributed to several small shops in Krayan by anonymous people. Although formally the Indonesian government enforces a ban on alcohol distribution, this is not a strict ban but a policy that imposes high taxation on the distribution of alcohol and selling in mini markets and small shops. Therefore, selling alcohol drinks in small shops in Krayan is claimed to be illegal not only regarding the restriction but also regarding how it entered and is distributed in the region.

## 6.6. THE IMPORTANCE OF CROSSINGS

The responses regarding the importance of crossing the border have diverse and multiple layers. Thus, respondents found it challenging to clearly indicate the degree of importance they attached to their border crossings. Rather, they would qualify their responses with additional information. For instance, according to the respondents, it is crucial that they go across the border to the nearest Malaysian city to visit family and then combine this with the opportunity to find work and/or do some shopping. Table 6.8 shows the importance of border crossings indicated by the locals. The table uses six activities to show the border crossing intentions that Krayan locals performed as everyday practices.

**Table 6.8** Importance of going to Malaysia

Intentions	Not Important	Important	Very Important	Total
Working	7 21.2%	16 48.5%	10 30.3%	33 100.0%
Shop	6 15.0%	26 65.0%	8 20.0%	40 100.0%
Leisure	12 46.2%	13 50.0%	1 3.8%	26 100.0%
Family Visit	3 5.8%	31 59.6%	18 34.6%	52 100.0%
Cultural Event	4 17.4%	14 60.9%	5 21.7%	23 100.0%

Source: own survey, 2016

Overall, it can be seen that border crossings for a family visit carry the highest degree of importance (35%) and are seen as important by about 60% of the respondents. Travelling to Malaysia to shop is considered to be important or very important by appr. 85% of the respondents. Attending cultural events is seen by about 61% as important. Crossing the border for leisure turned out to be seen as not important by almost half of the respondents.

### *Compromising life in Krayan*

In the perception of the Krayan locals, going across the border to Malaysia to find a job is not necessarily a positive experience. In quite a few instances, the locals who crossed the border into Malaysia expected to be supported by their family in Malaysia, but it turned out that they were treated unpleasantly and sometimes were looked down upon. The Krayan locals, who managed to go to Malaysia, are to accept the unpleasant treatment from their so-called family members in order to achieve their intention to have a paid job. In a way, the locals are to compromise their crossing between the negative behaviour of the Malaysian and their intention to find a paid job.

The story of Pak Damus illustrates this. Pak Damus is one of the few village heads in the Krayan region who was elected for two periods. In the past, he lived and worked in Malaysia for at least 15 years. Besides Malaysia, he also worked in Brunei. So, most of his productive years he spent away from Krayan. Pak Damus attended senior high school, although he could not finish his studies because of his parents' financial limitations. He then went to Malaysia to make a living, and he worked for a timber company. He worked in different locations in Malaysia such as Sabah, Sarawak, Kota Kinabalu, and Kuching. He mentioned that his type of work was not work in an office, but he was a labourer. He recalled that many of his peers who, like him, went to Malaysia to find work took jobs as farmhands and labourers in construction. When he worked in Malaysia, Pak Damus used to travel back and forth to Krayan to see his family and his home village. He would spend two weeks up to one month in Krayan before returning to Malaysia. Although the general perception is that Malaysia provides Krayan locals with opportunities to improve one's life, Pak Damus also experienced the other negative, side of this reality. Having lived and worked in Malaysia for years, Pak Damus would hope for support from his kins in Malaysia. Unfortunately, he was treated as an inferior being by his family members in Malaysia, and he felt underestimated. This was a bitter experience. He remarks:

[...] when we first went there, miss, they considered us as we have no self-respect. There is no pride. Yes, go and ask them. If not, to find a job, so just ask anyone here. When we entered Malaysia, they used to say that we are poor Indonesians, they say that. We were given a job, they said we are looking for a salary, we did what we were told to do, but they only have a cleaning job for us. That's why I said that we didn't have any pride ther.

(Pak Damus, 16 February 2016)

He describes that, although he speaks a language similar to that of the people in Malaysia, this did not really benefit him when he was working there. He indicated that although he had worked full time in Malaysia, he continued to be treated as a lower caste and needy person.

Another respondent recounted a similar experience when he went across the border to Malaysia. Pak Salmon Ating has been a civil servant in the Krayan region since 1986. Prior to this, he worked in Malaysia as a labourer felling trees. He tells how he was suffering while working in Malaysia, and had the feeling that he and his fellow workers from Krayan were seen as slaves. He recounts:

It's quite a suffering, Ma'am. It's quite suffering for the Krayan people to enter Malaysia. If people say it's comfortable for Krayan people to go to Malaysia, it's a lie. What's good about going there. We work there. We worked like slaves, we finished our job, but we were not paid for it. We claimed for our salary, we were harsh, if we filed a report to the police, we went to jail. In the 80s I was jailed. I worked in Brunei

but I went to Kota Kinabalu on Christmas and New Year to celebrate with my family. But at that time, there were some people from Malinau who worked in Lawas, Misin, who ran away because their salary was not paid. So there was an immigration check, and I was there. So was arrested and jailed for 17 days. [...] I was investigated and put on trial twice. [...]. I was investigated and put on trial twice. [...]

(Pak Salmon A, 08 February 2016)

Even though Pak Salmon Ating disliked crossing the border looking for work in Malaysia, he continued doing so in order to earn a living. He felt it was a great pity that he was treated as if he had entered Malaysia illicitly.

## 6.7. SUMMARY

This chapter gave an overview of actual cross-border interactions and locals' perceptions of the purpose and significance of these border crossing practices. The chapter began by presenting Pak David's case. In order to account locals' experiences in the region, this chapter then continued by describing the characteristics of respondents involved. Next, the focus was on the locals' border crossings including the frequency of going across to Malaysia, the modes of transportation they used and the border crossing pass arrangements. The remainder of this chapter then accounts for the respondents' insights on how they value their border crossings as part of their everyday activities.

I have presented the finding that the locals' socio-cultural backgrounds and livelihoods are closely related to their intentions to cross the border. It was also postulated that the locals' kinship relations extended beyond the bloodline and that these kinship relations were activated and utilized for specific purposes, such as shopping and finding a paid job. The extended kinship relations were maintained through participation in cultural events. In the next chapter, Chapter 7, the focus will be on development since poor development in Krayan is often referred to as a major driver causing the border crossings to continue until the present day.

# 7

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## BORDER-REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACTORS AND EXPERIENCES

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The Government has recognised Krayan as a customary right. This land is no longer the State's land. This is called customary land. This is the reason custom (*adat*) has a vital role in performing development in a particular border area in the District of Krayan. All physical construction of anything made by the local government, from the central, regional, district governments, must be known and approved by the custom (*adat*). If not, then it's a no go. The reason is the regional regulation. So it watches over all the affairs related to this land. Now, if we ask about it, what kind of development is not placed on the land surface? There isn't any. Therefore, all development, whatever its name is, as long as it is located on the land surface, then the custom has the right over the development.

(Pak Yakub Melai, 20 January 2016)

## 7.1. INTRODUCTION

Pak Yakub Melai is one of the five great customary leaders in Krayan. At the time of the interview, he was the leader of Krayan Hilir. The quotation above emphasizes that customary rights in Krayan have been regulated and that it is crucial to take into account the role of custom (*adat*) in the development of Krayan as a border region. This quote, in particular, refers to the importance of recognizing that the land surface, where any tangible forms of developments in Krayan will take place, is part of customary land. The quote also indicates that apart from the role of custom, the Indonesian Government at three administrative levels is involved in the developments in the region. Thus, Pak Yakub explicitly mentioned that any development carried out by the Government, whether at the central, regional (*propinsi*), or the regency (*kabupaten*) level, must take into account the role of custom since the local people themselves are development' actors in the border region of Krayan. Building upon this concept, this chapter presents the development in Krayan.

So far, cross-border interaction in Krayan has been presented through a description of the frequency of locals going to Malaysia and their arrangements to go across to Malaysia. As part of this also the locals' perceptions regarding their border crossings have been presented. This elaboration of the locals' crossings can not be understood in isolation from the histories discussed in Chapter 4 and border-regional developments in Chapter 5. Accordingly, this chapter expands this argument further by explaining the state of developments in Krayan through the locals' perceptions.

I have outlined in Chapter 1 that the locals' current border crossings are not only driven by the kinship relations of the inhabitants of the two adjacent border regions but that these have also resulted from insufficient development of the Krayan region. Hence, this chapter describes the need for tangible forms of the developments, notably economic development (see also Chapter 2), which might influence the locals' border crossing. The importance of this chapter is twofold: first, it helps to gain an understanding of how the locals perceive that development determines their border crossings and how development, or the lack thereof, is identified by them; second, in doing so, the awareness by the locals of the link between border crossings and development can be empirically recognised.

In Chapter 2, it was argued that the state's role in development is to create and maintain favourable conditions for economic development within their sovereign territory and also that the configuration of economic development comprises territorial access, infrastructure, and human capital. Thus, the State of Indonesia's role in economic development in Krayan has manifested itself in the development of infrastructures, such as the construction of roads, public hospitals, telecommunication towers, and schools. In this chapter, I present development in the region in terms of the main development actors and the implemented development programmes.

The implementation of security and order, natural resource management, and public infrastructure construction present a state-centric picture of the State's dealing with development affairs during the past presidential periods. These development programmes resulted from decisions made at the level of the central government, which then affected both regional and local dynamics. In addition, actors at the regional and local levels played a role in the development of the region and influenced the national programme.

The implementation of the border trade agreement, the formation of Socio-Economic Malaysia Indonesia (SOSEK-MALINDO/*Sosio Ekonomi Malaysia Indonesia*) and the Alliance of the Indigenous People (FORMADAT/*Forum Masyarakat Adat*) are examples of cross-border cooperation that was undertaken by the Governments of Malaysia and Indonesia, but which were fed by the border crossing dynamics at the local level. The CMA (Christian Mission Alliance), ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asia Nations) through its recently established AEC (ASEAN Economic Community) as well as NGOs (notably the WWF), show that developmental activities involve not only national, regional, and local actors but also involve international actors. The next section focuses on the actors that are engaged with the development in the Krayan region. Thereafter, the respondents' perceptions on the development in the region are presented. The chapter then ends with a summary as a prelude to the following chapter which focuses on an analytical discussion of findings in this study.

## 7.2. BORDER-REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN KRAYAN

As mentioned in the previous chapter, together with kin relationships, the insufficient development in Krayan has been the condition that drives the Krayan locals' border crossings. In terms of development, research on cross-border interaction in relation to development within the region suggests that mobility has been influenced by insufficient public infrastructure development within the region (Wu, 2001, p. 28), which impacts the actual border crossings. Within the accepted role of a modern state, the Government is understood to be responsible for the provision of public infrastructure to serve its citizens. In this study, despite the presence of some regional, local and international development actors, the Government of Indonesia is seen as the prominent actor tasked with providing public infrastructural developments. In the remainder of this section, I expand the role of the Government as the central actor of developments in the region through the respondents' knowledge. Such developments are represented through the infrastructural projects, including road construction, flights' subsidy, telecommunication tower, immigration posts improvements, developments fund and the construction of a public hospital in the region.

### 7.2.1. Principal actors in border-regional developments

Along with the Government, other principal development actors that are recognised by respondents are the missionary societies and the customary leaders. It is understood among

the respondents that the development in the region was greatly influenced by the missionary societies. As described in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the arrival of the missionaries in the 1930s was a pivotal event in the history of Krayan. Long Bawan, the capital district of Krayan has been known to be the basis for the missionary work in the region (Amster, 2009, p. 316). Another set of development actors are the customary leaders. The customary system in Krayan is led by the customary leaders. To a large extent, their deliberations and recommendations are respected and valued by the Krayan locals. The customary leaders are officially recognised by the Indonesian governance system. In terms of the suitability of development plans, the customary leaders' concerns play an important role in the decision making process. After Independence, also the Indonesian Armed Forces were involved in the development in Krayan, to a certain extent. Their role is mainly linked to the maintenance of security and order in the border region. All in all, these actors have been referred to by the respondents as the principals' actors contributing to development in the region. The following is the description of their roles.

As discussed in Chapter 2, development in this study is defined as attempts of the state in sustaining the citizens' welfare. It follows that to attain this within their sovereign territory, it is the state's task to create and maintain favourable conditions for economic development. In its efforts to do so, the state will employ institutionalisation to create enabling (and constraining) conditions to reach the defined development goals. In Krayan these attempts include diverse developments' actors, the development programmes, and the institutions employed to foster and implement the region's development. Thus, a survey question posed to all respondents in this research helped identify the actors playing a role regarding developments in the region, and also indicated the importance of their roles, which confirmed that the development in Krayan involves diverse actors and that each actor contributes differently to development. This forms part of the analysis regarding the enabling and constraining factors in the development of the Krayan region.

Table 7.1 presents all the actors mentioned by the respondents. The Government's role was mentioned approximately 33%, followed by customary leaders (28%), religious leaders (25%), the Armed Forces (14%). Based on the information from the respondents, no other actors appeared to play a role in Krayan's development.

**Table 7.1** Actors who play a role in the Krayan region's development

Development actors	Responses		Percentage of response of cases
	n = 55	Percentage of answers	
Government	54	32.5	98.2
Religious leaders	42	25.3	76.4
Customary leaders	46	27.7	83.6
Armed Forces	24	14.5	43.6
Total	166	100.0	

Source: Own fieldwork, 2016

From the table it is clear that the Indonesian Government is considered to be the most prominent actor in Krayan's development. The following section elaborates on the government-led development practices, as perceived by the respondents.

In these two following subsections, I present the contributions of each actor regarding the form of developments employed in Krayan. Furthermore, respondents' perceptions of the roles of each actor are discussed in the subsequent section of this chapter.

### 7.2.2. Government-led developments in the border region

In Chapter 2 it was discussed that in a modern state, the State through its government, has the principal responsibility to deliver security, health and education, economic opportunity, good governance, law and order, and a fundamental infrastructure (transport and telecommunications), which are elements essential in constituting a welfare state. Accordingly, a set of questions was formulated focusing on infrastructure to explore the respondents' views regarding this aspect. Infrastructure is understood to include road construction, providing subsidised flights, telecommunication tower installations (base Transceiver stations), the establishment of immigration services, the establishment of joint border guarding between Indonesia and Malaysia, villages apparatus coaching, provision of village development aid, and public hospital construction. Respondents acknowledged that these aspects of development were to be driven by the Government. The sections below are the respondents' explanations of each of these aspects of development.

#### *Road construction*

The most critically required development in the Krayan region is the construction of roads. The poor state of the roads has been a crucial issue for the locals for several reasons: they need these for the distribution of goods for daily use, for their own mobility, and for social interaction within the region. The geographic location of Krayan, situated in the Borneo highlands, hampers territorial access to the area from the central regions in Indonesia in general and in the province of Kalimantan Utara. The respondents described that in the past, they would walk along pathways through the dense forest for four weeks in order to reach the nearby central region of the Malinau Regency. During the trip, they would carry sufficient food supplies and tools needed to ensure they would reach their destination. When the aim of their journey was to buy goods, they would have to physically carry the purchased goods on their return trip. In contrast, the locals recalled that in the past, it required a minimum of a four days' walk to reach Lawas<sup>61</sup>, the nearest town in Malaysia. In other words, it would be easier to go to Malaysia, instead of crossing the forest to Malinau.

61 Lawas is a small frontier town in the north-eastern corner of the State of Sarawak in Malaysia. The distance from Ba' Kelalan (the Malaysian village closest to Krayan) to Lawas is approximately 137 Km. The road is a former logging trail, which can be bad during the rainy season and can mostly only be negotiated by four-wheel drive cars.

In 2011 a new road project was begun connecting Krayan to Ba' Kelalan, the Malaysian village closest to the border. This was undertaken by a private company from Brunei, and was initiated and funded by a philanthropic Bruneian businessman, Awang Damit. According to the respondents, Awang Damit was of Dayak Lundayeh descent, but he took on Bruneian citizenship. Nevertheless, the geographical isolation of the Krayan locals grieved his heart, and, therefore, he took the initiative to build a road. One customary great leader mentioned that Awang Damit had done this because he continued to care for the region he hailed from (Ciptanto, 2011; Rozi, 2014). In order to remember his contribution to the development of the region, the road, starting in Long Midang village, is named after him (see figure 7.1). The new road now makes it possible to make the trip from the village of Long Midang, Krayan, to Ba' Kelalan (Malaysia) by motorbike or car in four hours. Another advantage of the new road is that in addition to reaching adjacent Malaysian villages, it also allows border crossers access to the closest Malaysian district, Lawas, by car in less than nine hours.



**Figure 7.1** The construction of a new road traversing Kalimantan

Although the construction of the new road from Long Midang (Krayan) to Ba' Kelalan (Malaysia) is completed, its condition in Krayan is different from that of a Malaysian road. During the fieldwork, the district head invited me on a trip to Ba' Kelalan. The difference between the condition of the road in Indonesia and that in Malaysia was obvious: from the last Indonesian village, Long Midang, to Ba' Kelalan, the road up to the border is mostly a mixture of gravel, stones and earth (see Figure 7.2).



**Figure 7.2** Road condition close to the border of Krayan (Indonesia) with Malaysia<sup>62</sup>

The different condition of the road in Ba' Kelalan (Malaysia) territory is clear (see figure 7.3). Instead of a mixture of gravel, stones and earth, the road has been tarred. There are also official traffic signs on the road, unlike in Indonesian territory, where there are no official traffic signs.



**Figure 7.3** Road condition in Ba' Kelalan (Malaysia)<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The picture was taken at the end of Indonesian territory where Malaysian territory begins.

<sup>63</sup> The picture depicts asphalt road in the nearby Malaysian village as we enter Malaysia territory. The blue road signs on the left side are immediately visible as soon as we enter Malaysian territory.

According to the respondents, recently, the availability of transport overland from Malaysia to Krayan has seen a marked increase. The new road has made it possible for cars from Malaysia to enter Krayan loaded with goods for daily living as well as construction materials to be traded in Krayan. As to the respondents, this dependency on Malaysia is to a large extent, the result of insufficient development provided by the Indonesian government.

### ***Subsidized flights***

A necessary step purposely taken by the Indonesian Government was to subsidise flights from and to Krayan. This is done through the Government structures at the levels of the province and the regency. The subsidy aims to keep the costs low of transporting passengers and goods and so provide locals with access to the areas outside Krayan and so improve their mobility. In terms of transporting passengers, the subsidy significantly reduces the airfare that the price of one regular ticket (not subsidised) would equal that of three subsidised tickets. Governments at the provincial and regency level specifically subsidise one flight firm, Susi Air, to provide the flight service from/to Krayan.

The high cost of transportation is a crucial factor and results in goods in Krayan being expensive. To remedy this, the subsidy on the transport of goods aims to lower the cost of transporting goods by plane to Krayan. Because of the subsidy, the price of goods arriving by plane in Krayan excludes the cost of transportation. The effect of this is that Krayan locals pay the price for goods that is similar to what people pay in the central regions in the district and province (such as in the Regency of Nunukan or in Tarakan city). This subsidy is known by the respondents as SOA (*Subsidi Ongkos Angkut*), which is a subsidy for the transport of goods.

### ***Telecommunication tower***

The district official at the Transportation, Telecommunication, and Information Services (*DISHUBKOMINFO/Dinas Perhubungan Komunikasi dan Informasi*) in Nunukan Regency mentioned several programmes that had been implemented in Krayan such as extending the airfields in the capital district of Krayan and Krayan Selatan, entering into a cooperation agreement with a telecommunications provider to establish a BTS (Base Transceiver Station) installation, together with the Indonesia-Malaysia joint committee regulating radio wave transmissions (as the radio waves from Indonesia and Malaysia often interfere with each other), and providing post-delivery services. According to the respondents, the installation of the telecommunication tower would accommodate their need for communication to areas outside Krayan and would be one way of dealing with information hindrances caused by the geographical isolation of the region.

### ***Immigration post improvement***

The immigration service has existed since the 1980s. The district officials at the immigration office hoped that more attention would be given to improving the status of the immigration

post to become an official border gate like what was done at the Kalimantan Barat border gate. The officials mentioned that the current status of the Krayan immigration office is such that it provides limited rights and security for locals from the Indonesian border area who are travelling to Malaysia.

### *Border security and defence*

The Government-led developments in the Krayan region are closely linked with the approach to security and defence. In this study, the security and defence approach is related to the presence of military service in the region. This approach dates back to the period prior to Indonesia's formation as a state. In the Tagliacozo study of the entire Anglo-Dutch Frontier from 1865 to 1915 (cited in (Potter, 2009), border-regional development was intimately linked with massive smuggling. By extension, Obidzinski indicated in Potter (2009) that after World War II, the smuggling trade was primarily over water, evolving in the 1960s and 1970s into a two-way movement of raw materials from Kalimantan to Sabah and Sarawak in exchange for consumer goods. This way the security approach was established in guarding the occupied territory at the time. Further, this approach is still relevant until today (as is discussed in Chapter 6).

### *Village development aid (ADD - Anggaran Dana Desa)*

Village development grants (*Anggaran Dana Desa—ADD* and *Dana Desa—DD*) are relatively new forms of development aid initiated under the current President Joko Widodo. Unlike under previous presidencies, where development aid was given to the regional and local officials, the ADD and DD grants are directly given to the locals. The locals can use the grants independently towards village development and with full responsibility. Once the villages manage to implement the development, the village apparatus will assist in providing for the expenses. In this way, development can be accomplished based on the particular needs of the individual villages in the region.

Before the funding is granted, the villages' officials need to formulate their village development plan, after which an agreement is reached with the appropriate level of central government. The allocation process of the grant is as follows: First, the villages' officials formulate the development goals needed to improve the population's welfare. Such goals might be road construction in the village, the construction of village offices, the building of public toilets, and the renovation of bridges. These are not particularly new development goals; over time, the same items have been asked for. However, in the past, these demands could not be met due to budget limitations. Thus the villages repetitively proposed the need for these physical constructions to the central government as a way to make the Government aware of their needs in the hope that they might ultimately also be met.

In the new system, the village development plan will be considered at the district level together with development proposals by other villages in the district. In order to formulate the district development plan, the village development plans will be discussed with the district

official together with the regional people's representative council at the regional level (*DPRD/Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) and other stakeholders in the district in order to prioritise the requests for each village and incorporate the participation of the private plantations in developing the region. Then, when the district level development plan is finalised, it will be discussed by the provincial official together with the central government and the people's representative council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia/DPR-RI*) and the people's consultative assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia/MPR-RI*) in the National Development Forum in Jakarta. The final decision regarding the developments' priority and the amount of the development grant will be taken by the central government. The appropriate development aid will then be distributed to the villages through the provincial and district governments.

This way of providing development aid is seen as effective, although there are some difficulties attached to the actual use of the grant. Some village heads have insufficient knowledge to draft the financial plan needed to implement the proposed development programme. Despite the support of the district official in providing guidelines on reporting and despite the provision of technical assistance, the villages' apparatus<sup>64</sup> tend to feel overwhelmed by the required details of guidelines. The guidelines contain information about the various categories of income and expense based on a set of regulations and working sheets that need to be completed by the villages' apparatus. According to the village apparatus, some of the difficulties they encounter lie in understanding the instructions because of the formal legal terms in the guidelines, which they find too complicated to understand and too difficult to relate to their own practice.

#### **Box 7.1 Problems with working sheets**

The working sheets that are provided in the guidelines of the use of village fund allocations are confusing to the village apparatus. The blank spreadsheet provided contains formatted titles and subtitles (such as office building expenses, road construction, and stationery). The village apparatus finds it challenging to match these with the expenses that they made, or want to make. Moreover, they find it difficult to understand that they have to provide invoices for services used. One of the examples is the delivery service, which is mostly conducted without invoices. The apparatus fears that they do not know how to provide evidence for these kinds of transaction, even though the alternative exists to provide evidence by using a legal stamp. In addition, the apparatus feels that they fail to draft the appropriate financial report. Fortunately, other village apparatuses who had completed their own report provided assistance.

64 The village apparatus in this study refers to Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2014 concerning village. Village apparatus is the staff element that assists the Village Head in policy formulation and coordination which is accommodated in the Village Secretariat, and the element supporting the Village Head's duties in implementing policies which is accommodated in the form of technical implementers and regional elements.

### *Villages' officials technological coaching (Bimtek-Bimbingan Teknologi)*

In April 2015, 89 village heads were newly inaugurated for a period of five years. They had been elected in their own village by the locals and thus addressed as village apparatus. Two-thirds of the new village heads had never held such a position and possessed minimum educational background. The district officials, through a government institution named as *Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat dan Aparatur Desa* (the Agency of Community Empowerment and Village Government), were tasked to equip the new village heads with organizational knowledge and the necessary technical skills required during their period of office. The district officials arranged for some groups to visit a village in the province of Jawa Barat to learn from this village, which was considered to be the most successful village because of the way it carried out its administrative task.

The newly elected village heads regarded this as a leisure trip, and they hardly focused on its principal goal. They recalled that the visit to the village in the Jawa Barat province was felt to be too short and, thus, there was very little that they learnt from the trip, also because they had a tight schedule and spent much time in dense traffic. They did enjoy, however, seeing the contrast between their own villages and the one they visited. They noted that the main difference was caused by the level of education of the village heads in Bandung who mostly had a higher education degree.

Regarding the technical coaching, the village heads were all provided with a working laptop to enable them to work efficiently, even though the village apparatus had very little experience using a laptop or any other computer device. Some village heads mentioned that their difficulties were not only caused by their lack of knowledge of using a computer, but also by the very profane reason of the lack of electrical power in their villages to power the laptop. The electricity in their villages is on from evening to midnight (from 18:00 to 00:00), and this, they felt, was the reason they had not been able to familiarise themselves with the workings of the computer as well as they could have.

### *Public hospital building*

For quite some time, the provision of health care has been a prominent issue in Krayan. All villages have a small Community Health Sub-centre (PUSTU/Pusat Kesmas Pembantu) and there is one Health Centre at the Sub-district Level (PUSKESMAS/Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat) in Long Bawan, which serves the population of the 89 villages in the Krayan district. These centres, however, can only provide limited healthcare services since they depend on available staff and other healthcare services. Normally, PUSTU in Krayan is staffed by one or two nurses and a midwife. PUSTU provides immunization and is engaged in communicable disease programmes. PUSKESMAS provides maternal and child healthcare services, general outpatient curative and preventive healthcare services, pre- and post-natal care, immunization, and is also engaged in communicable disease programmes. PUSKESMAS is staffed by several general practitioners and less than 10 nurses. PUSTU and PUSKESMAS, however, are not able to cope with critically ill patients and often send these patients to a

high-level healthcare service outside Krayan, such as the one in the district of Nunukan. This situation often creates an additional financial problem for the patients since going to Nunukan district means an increase in the cost of medical treatment, which they may not be able to afford.

In order to meet the Krayan population's demand to increase the provision of public healthcare, a type D public hospital has been in the process of being built since 2014 in Long Bawan, the capital district of Krayan. A type D *Pratama* hospital is a hospital that can offer health care services and facilities but these are limited. A type D *Pratama* hospital<sup>65</sup> is in principle staffed by 4 general practitioners, 1 dentist, 2 nurses to care for three in-patients, 1 head of pharmacy, 1 pharmacist, and 1 support staff or pharmacist. The physical construction of the hospital was completed in the beginning of 2017<sup>66</sup>. At the time of writing this research report, the hospital is not yet operational due to the absence of doctors as well as medical equipment. Also, the hospital's power supply, namely the electrical grid, has not been installed yet.

For a long time, the people in the Krayan region have had the wish to have access to healthcare practitioners, such as physicians, general practitioners, nurses, and midwives, who would be available to serve the population when so needed. The locals mentioned that most of the medical practitioners posted in Krayan originate from outside Krayan and are posted in the region for a short period. Once their work contract is over, they tend to leave the region and rarely return to serve the population. The locals are aware that the duration that the medical practitioners spend in the region contributes to getting a steady position in any medical institution outside Krayan. In some cases, the practitioners might not even finish their contract because they feel they are too far away from their family staying outside Krayan.

### 7.2.3. Cross-border cooperation

Regarding the impact of cross-border cooperation on the development of Krayan, several forms of cross-border cooperation were established in order to accommodate the locals' needs, such as Sosek Malindo, and Formadat (also see Chapter 5).

Another example of this cooperation is an ASEAN programme called ASEAN Economic Community (AEC, in Bahasa Indonesia: MEA-Masyarakat Ekonomi Asean). Pak Servianus, who was the former district head of Krayan and currently serves as a government official of the Agency of Development Planning (BAPPEDA) of the Nunukan regency, revealed his thoughts about the AEC (MEA) in his speech at the opening of a development meeting in Long Bawan. He stated that although this programme had been recently established as something new, cross-border trading between two adjacent border villages had existed for a long time. He said:

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65 Peraturan Menteri Kesehatan Republik Indonesia Nomor 24 Tahun 2014 (the regulation of the minister of health of the Republic of Indonesia No. 24 of 2014)

66 <http://lintasbenuanta.com/kaltara/2-rumah-sakit-pratama-di-perbatasan-tunggu-kelengkapan>

It's only for us. In Jakarta it seems like this is new stuff. MEA, in the context of MEA, for border communities, you don't have to do anything anymore, so it's not necessary to speak of it. Indeed, it has been done from one generation to another, regardless of the name of the barter trading system, for example. That is already in the context of the MEA. Now, this is the advantage of [living and hence practising border crossings as everyday routine at] the border regency. This is our opportunity. Ma'am, if you look at Sebatik<sup>67</sup>, I take Sebatik as an example. Sebatik is only 15 minutes away from Tawau. If you enter Tawau and walk around at 4 o'clock in the morning, the community has already begun to sell some local produce. The agricultural products are sold on the boats. From the coconut produce, bananas, they can sell 3 commodities from one, what is this item called, a product. Bananas, banana cobs, banana leaves, and banana stems. 4 commodities. It can be sold there.

(Pak Servianus, 10 February 2016)

It was mentioned in an earlier section of this chapter that the missionary societies and the Government have played an important part in the development of Krayan. Also cross-cultural cooperation has played a role in development. In the context of Krayan some cross-border cooperation is done through FORMADAT (*Forum Musyawarah Masyarakat Adat Dataran Tinggi Borneo*).

Pak Yakub Melai, a great customary leader of Krayan Hilir, confirms that FORMADAT was founded to accommodate the community. He mentioned that one example of FORMADAT's contribution to development was that after a discussion on how to improve the economic condition of the people in the customary regions, an agreement was reached, and FORMADAT assisted in drafting a proposal for foreign funding such as from Germany, France or other countries. Pak Yakub explained that these countries are WWF donors. He explained that FORMADAT has been working in cooperation with the WWF. Two successful projects through this cooperation were the building of a traditional house which functioned as a cultural centre, named as *Rumah Sekolah Adat* (cultural school) in Terang Baru village and the formal recognition of *adan rice* as organic rice that is cultivated in Krayan.

Regarding the production of *adan rice*, FORMADAT was awarded the UNDP Equatorial Prize in 2015<sup>68</sup>. This is a prestigious award given to communities that are advancing innovative solutions for people and nature in order to create resilient communities across the globe. The Krayan locals not only regard this award as an appreciation of preserving the tradition of the traditional rice paddies, but also as a confirmation of the shared kinship ties that bind the communities of the Borneo highlands. FORMADAT also plays a role as an advocacy network and lobbies actively for greater security in land tenure, the rights of indigenous people, and the protection of the forest.

67 Sebatik is one of two districts in the regency of Nunukan that border both Malaysia and Indonesia (as is discussed in Chapter 4)

68 [http://equatorinitiative.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=924&Itemid=1171&lang=en#forum-masyarakat-adat-dataran-tinggi-indonesia-malaysia](http://equatorinitiative.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=924&Itemid=1171&lang=en#forum-masyarakat-adat-dataran-tinggi-indonesia-malaysia)

In terms of SOSEK MALINDO, there were only officials who could make an account on this matter. These officials stated that this forum aims to improve the welfare of border locals. In their meetings, this forum discusses strategic issues in the border between Indonesia and Malaysia, in Kalimantan or Borneo in general. The membership of the forum is divided according to regions that territorially border each adjacent area. For instance, Kalimantan Barat is part of SOSEK MALINDO with Sarawak (Malaysia). While provinces of Kalimantan Timur and Kalimantan Utara are in cooperation with Sabah (Malaysia). Strategic issues that are discussed such as drugs infiltration, illegal logging, shifting of border markers, flow of goods and the departure of the locals from and into each other border regions. One official notified that though their participation in SOSEK MALINDO may not have a significant authority in a decision-making process, their participation serves to monitor and prevent any Malaysian regulation that may disadvantage Indonesia. According to the officials, SOSEK MALINDO was organized at the provincial level and the involvement in this forum is represented by government institutions. Subsequently, as a result of strategic issues, any discussion made in this forum tends to be secretive and may not be made public. Therefore this cooperation may not be familiar for the Krayan locals in general.

### **7.3. PERCEIVED DEVELOPMENT**

Following the description of the existing developments in Krayan, this section centres on how the respondents think about the influence of the development of the border region on their cross-border interactions. In doing so, I aim to show the nuances in their views on development endeavours. I will focus on two topics, that is, how do the respondents perceive the influence of the development actors and how do they regard the contribution of the actual infrastructure developments on their border crossing interactions.

#### **7.3.1. Perceptions regarding the development actors**

As mentioned earlier in section 7.2.1, the development actors in Krayan comprise the Government, customary leaders, religious leaders, and the Armed Forces. In the eyes of the majority of the respondents, particular development endeavours are associated with certain development actors. Hence, at the beginning of this section, I will show the respondents' views of each actor and the involvement of each actor in Krayan's development. I will then continue by describing the respondents' perceptions of the government-led development endeavours since the Government is seen as the prominent actor with respect to the current development in the region.

Many of the respondents mentioned that the missionary societies contributed to improving the condition of Krayan's population long before the Government became involved. According to local oral history passed on from generation to generation, interethnic wars were frequent before the arrival of the missionaries. The victors in the wars would decapitate

their enemies and hang the heads in front of their longhouses, after which a feast was held where the winners would drink alcoholic beverages made of fermented rice, named locally as *tuak*. The arrival of the missionary societies in the region transformed the locals' lives such that these interethnic wars were discontinued.

The respondents expressed their great appreciation for the role of the missionaries in the region and also acknowledged the importance of the Government in development, particularly after Independence. The respondents also mentioned customary leaders and, to a lesser extent, the Indonesian Armed Forces as development actors in the Krayan region.

Table 7.2 shows how the respondents perceived the importance of the different actors' involvement in Krayan's development. It is important to see that the involvement of each development actor is valued differently. These findings substantiate the forms of enabling and constraining factors linked with the development in Krayan leading to the current cross-border dynamics (discussed in Chapter 8). It can be seen, for example, that a large number of respondents regard the roles of the Government (83.3%) and of the religious leaders (53.1%) as very important. The respondents felt that the role of customary leaders is of important (58.3%).

**Table 7.2** The importance of the actor's involvement in the development

Development Actors	Important	Very Important
Government	16.7%	83.3%
Religious leader	46.9%	53.1%
Customary leader	58.3%	41.7%

Source: Own fieldwork, 2016

Each actor has a different role and through a variety of instruments and mechanisms, contributes differently to, for instance, the provision of public infrastructure, to the improvement of living conditions – particularly with regard to the preservation of local customs, and to the provision of security. The following section contains respondents' descriptions of actors who have played an important role in Krayan's development.

### Government

When talking about the development efforts by the Government, many respondents pointed out that several newly installed public facilities serving the locals' needs show the role of the Government. These public facilities include telecommunication towers, improved roads, power supply, educational services, and health care services. The empirical findings reveal that when the development aspect is discussed, the locals are most critical of the Government's role. Generally, the respondents felt that these facilities were available in Krayan but did not function optimally or even poorly, so the respondents hardly had the opportunity to enjoy these services and facilities. This situation then caused the respondents to question whether the Government really wanted to give specific attention to the development of Krayan.

Particularly intriguing was one of the responses in a group discussion. As I invited the respondents to talk about how they felt about the development in their village, an elder suddenly reacted strongly and stated:

Does the Government even care about our lives at the border?

(Village Community Group Discussion in Wa' Yagung village 31 January 2016)

The respondent then indicated a mismatch between the functioning of the central government and the regional one. He mentioned that although the central government had allocated the development aid budget, the regional government had stopped this funding to the locals, even though the locals continued to ask for the funds. The respondent also mentioned that, as far as he could recall, the current condition in the border region was not really any different from that under the previous presidencies. The respondent stated that even though Habibie's presidency had brought a significant change with respect to the level of formal regional autonomy, these changes did not have any significant impact on the border region, and certainly not in Krayan. He stated,

[...] After Pak Harto, his successor arrived, who it, Pak Habibie, there was nothing. Indeed, there was Pak Harto and Pak whoever it was, but we did not feel anything different. [...]

(Pak Isak, 16 February 2016)

I asked the respondents about their perceptions regarding the Indonesian Government supporting the development in their region. Table 7.3 presents the responses.

**Table 7.3** Respondents' perception regarding the Indonesian Government's support to development

Respondents' responses	n = 55	%
Very supportive	18	32.7
Supportive	16	29.1
Medium supportive	14	25.5
Not very supportive	5	9.1
Do not know	2	3.6
Total	55	100.0

Source: Own fieldwork, 2016

### *Religious leaders*

The importance of the role of religious leaders can be understood from their impact on improving the locals' way of life, that is, changing from the old traditional ways to the current way of life so that even though Krayan is seen as an underdeveloped region due to its

geographical isolation, the locals are able to survive and live their lives. For the respondents, the role of the religious leaders in Krayan is closely associated with the missionary societies working in the region.

A number of respondents explained that the role of religious leaders is to provide moral values and guidance when carrying out development projects in the region. This sentiment can be traced back to Krayan's past, through the work that was done by the missionaries, who at the time performed ministries of service focusing on education, literacy, health care, and influencing the old traditional way of life. Because of the missionaries' influence, the locals' lives gradually transformed. Development then was also about an advancement regarding the locals' circumstances in accordance with the faith-based morals taught by the missionaries. According to the respondents, up to these days, the missionaries are seen as religious leaders and pioneers of development, hence their status in the esteem of the respondents.

### *Customary leaders*

The role of customary leaders in Krayan is inseparable from the locals' lives. The Lundayeh customary leaders' influence is very much present (see Chapter 5). In principle, the customary leaders deal with local issues. In Krayan, customary leaders are known for their in-depth knowledge about their culture. Their role in the development of the region is seen as prominent, particularly regarding their knowledge of whether certain development endeavours suit the cultural context of Krayan.

However, there is also a different view so as to the role of customary leaders. One respondent felt that too much emphasis on customs can hinder the rolling out of the Government's development programme in Krayan. Considering the excerpt at the beginning of this chapter, where it was stated that any government-led developments project in Krayan are required to be in alignment with the cultural settings, ensures participation of the customary leaders in decision-making processes and their continual support during the implementation phase of the project. Otherwise, any developments project intended in the region might not be able to be implemented fully. In this case, although villages of Wa' Yagung, Pa' Raye and Bungayan (as described in Chapter 5) are not immediately outlining the role of the cultural leaders in the present day, these villages represent the decisions made by the customary leaders in the past. That was to remain in their original villages despite the Government recommendation to resettle. These villages aptly represented a partial success of government-led infrastructure projects to improve the villages.

### *Indonesian Armed Forces*

In the context of Krayan, the term Indonesian Armed Forces refer to two types of soldiers serving the region. These are *Koramil/Komando Rayon Militer* (Military Rayon Command supervising and controlling the region) and *Satgas Pamtas/Satuan Tugas Pengamanan Perbatasan* (Border Security Patrol Unit). Koramil is primarily tasked to monitor and suppress domestic dissent, which is done through a system called territorial management (*pembinaan*

*teritorial or pembinaan wilayah*) at district level. Meanwhile, Satgas Pamtas is primarily monitoring the border crossings from Malaysia to Indonesia and vice versa, that is, both the legal and the illegal crossings. To the respondents, generally, the differences between both types of military units were negligible. In addition to their functions, the units can be differentiated according to the duration of their stay in Krayan. A unit of Koramil is known to have settled in the region. Further, the soldiers of Satgas Pamtas serve the region for a period of 6 - 9 months. In terms of their role in development, Koramil is commonly associated with supporting the Krayan locals, and also Satgas Pamtas' contribution to development is acknowledged by the locals. Both of their contributions are related to the maintenance of security and order in the region.

One of the two soldiers from the unit of border security patrol I talked to mentioned that the military is actively supporting any infrastructure construction that takes place in Krayan, for instance, by working together with the locals to build new road pavement.

### 7.3.2. Perceptions regarding projects

As mentioned in Chapter 3, a population's satisfaction with the provision of public infrastructure is an indication of the success of government-led development. This section elaborates on how the locals perceived the development of public infrastructure in the border region. A set of questions was formulated to examine the locals' satisfaction or lack thereof with the Government's endeavours to provide public infrastructure in Krayan and how the public infrastructure contributed to their cross-border interactions. They were asked to particularly reflect on the Government's contribution to health care services, job opportunities, education, improved transportation, environmental protection, access to telecommunications and information, access to goods to meet daily needs, the supply of electricity, and access to potable water. From the survey, it is impossible to make a differentiation between the roles of the different tiers of government in development projects existing in Krayan. Subsequently, Table 7.4 shows the respondents' levels of satisfaction with the development efforts by the Indonesian government in Krayan regarding these nine types of public infrastructure. It can be seen that the majority of respondents are dissatisfied.

**Table 7.4** Respondents' satisfaction with the existed public infrastructure in Krayan

No	Development Practices	Strongly Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
1	Health Service	5.5%	52.7%	21.8%	14.5%	5.5%
2	Job Opportunities	9.1%	41.8%	23.6%	23.6%	1.8%
3	Education Service	7.4%	51.9%	22.2%	14.8%	3.7%
4	Transportation	14.5%	45.5%	21.8%	14.5%	3.6%
5	Telecommunication and Information	40.0%	47.3%	5.5%	7.3%	0.0%
6	Daily Goods	16.4%	47.3%	25.5%	10.9%	0.0%
7	Electric Supply	41.8%	41.8%	10.9%	5.5%	0.0%
8	Clean Water	10.9%	40.0%	18.2%	27.3%	3.6%

Source: Own fieldwork, 2016

## Dissatisfaction

I have mentioned earlier that according to the respondents, the Indonesian government is very supportive regarding the border-regional development in Krayan. Nevertheless, the respondents felt that the government-led development projects to improve the condition in Krayan had been rather a negative issue. In Krayan's context, this refers to the fact that where the development projects were implemented in the region, this hardly resulted in successfully meeting the locals' needs. For instance, many of the infrastructural developments were not completed and ready to be used. Examples of this are the inadequate supply of electricity, abandoned telecommunication towers, lack of learning support material at schools, and the lack of available goods to meet daily needs. Bainus and Sudiar (2016, p. 226) state that the current development endeavours in the border regencies (Malinau and Nunukan) in the province of Kalimantan Utara do not contribute to the improvement of the locals' welfare. This was confirmed by many of the respondents. They are of the opinion that the Government's development programmes have not achieved the intended goals. Following, I will elaborate on the general feelings of the respondents in regard to the projects.

A crucial issue is the adequate supply of electricity. This, however, is not the case in Wa' Yagung. Although the Government had built an installation to provide electricity, the power is continually being switched on and off. One respondent explained:

Yes, this [electricity] is one thing that we are very proud of. It was given by the Government even though it lived and died, lived and died. Yes, that was what the Government gave us, but there are also many other things. Well, if we have our judgment, Ma'am, we compare it with other villages. We are really left behind here, in the villages of Wa' Yagung and Bungayan. If we go to another place, in Long Umung, Ma'am, wow, there are a lot of activities, many things have been built. If we ask, 'where is it from?' They say 'from the Government'. Why is there none in Wa' Yagung? Why is there none in Bungayan? We are not aware of what the problem is here, Ma'am. Well, that's the problem. Indeed, help from the Government for the community, especially at the Malaysian border, is actually quite maximal. But the way this arrangement is, as Pak Herison said, we are not aware of. Is there anyone who arranges for it? Now, that's my additional thought, Ma'am.

(Village Community Group Discussion in Wa' Yagung, 31 January 2016)

These feelings of dissatisfaction toward the Government's endeavours in the villages also pertain to road construction. The respondents described that they were once granted funding, under the name fuel replacement (*pengganti Bahan Bakar Minyak*) to build a trail in the midst of the forest, for which they collectively dug up the soil in preparation for a newly paved road. Although this funding enabled the locals to have access because of the new road, they still feel that too little has been done to construct roads to their village regardless of the proposals which they have submitted to the Government for years. A respondent mentioned:

Well, this is my experience here every year, Ma'am. The Government must hold a meeting or make a development meeting. The Government said yes. We always propose this road from Wa' Yagung to Long Umung so motorcycles and vehicles can enter this area. It is proposed every year, and there is actually a grant allocated to our community here, but it reaches up to the district level, but it is not enough.

(Village Community Group Discussion in Wa Yagung, 31 January 2016)

The respondents acknowledged that there is an issue with the way development is taking place, namely that in Krayan this is not done in an equitable way. The local church elder explained:

[...]. Now, I'm adding a little bit about the aid from the Government for the community in the Krayan district on the Malaysian border, Ma'am. In my mind, Ma'am, the aid for the community, the Government aid for the border locals is indeed maximal. The sum can be considered as quite significant. But Ma'am, it seems like we are marginalized [or left behind], especially for us, the people on the Malaysian border. Indeed, we have heard the budget is allocated for the border, but we see what the Government is building. We don't know. Now that's the problem, the second for the people here, Wa' Yagung and Bungayan, Ma'am, actually the community aid is good. But for the budget, we are left behind, Ma'am.

(Village Community Group Discussion in Wa' Yagung, 31 January 2016)

This dissatisfaction also became clear as the respondents expressed their opinions about the Government's provision of health care in the region. To some degree, the locals are satisfied with the existing health care services in their village, since a prominent traditional healer and former village head resides among them, as explained by the church elder:

We are grateful to God to say that for Wa' Yagung and Bungayan, there is a man from us who is able to prescribe what we need to consume to recover our health. This is Pak Daniel<sup>69</sup>.

(Village Community Group Discussion in Wa' Yagung, 31 January 2016)

On the other hand, this satisfaction was not extended to the health service provided by the government health care sub-centre, PUSTU (Puskesmas Pembantu). This discontent is particularly related to the lack of medical staff. One of the respondents explained:

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69 Pak Daniel is one of the elders of his village, Wa' Yagung. In Krayan he is also known for his role as traditional healer and for his traditional medicine. Pak Daniel's participation in this study is described in Chapter 6 section 6.4.

Well, in 1 year maybe 3 or 2 visits took place here, and for the past 2 years, yes, we are thankful for the PUSTU and the officers. But Ma'am, the officer is not always available [smile] at this health care unit. Yes that is the problem.

(Village Community Group Discussion in Wa' Jagung, 31 January 2016)

Another issue adding to the respondents' feelings of dissatisfaction lies in the difficulties for locals to make use of the health insurance, the BPJS (*Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial*). The respondents explained that they are glad to know that there is an affordable option for health insurance, but in order to access the health insurance policy, they need to pay the monthly contribution by the bank. Therein lies the problem; they cannot make these payments since there is no bank locally. There is a bank in Long Bawan, the capital of the district of Krayan, but it involves an extra cost to travel to Long Bawan from their village, a cost that is more or less equal to the total of the health cost. Hence, the locals, generally, choose not to register themselves as health insurance policyholders. A respondent described it as follows:

Regarding BPJS, it's quite often, I think when it comes to BPJS, that there are times when we are happy, and sometimes we are not happy, because every month we paid for it, and we paid for the third grade<sup>70</sup>, it's 25 for one month, and the second, then there is no bank in Krayan. Well, how can we as border locals here, how can we have this progress, we can also enjoy BPJS to get there, but outside of that we also have many thoughts in our mind, Ma'am, why do we have to pay every month, well if we don't pay every month, whether we like it or not, no good for us. Likewise, it comes back to the full payment, so this is my information to the community that if you meet the health department, the people up there, it is likely only for an interview.

(Village Community Group Discussion in Wa Yagung, 31 January 2016)

Regarding this quotation, it is clear that although the locals are glad that there is now a possible reduction of health costs because of the government health insurance, the insurance itself does not really reduce the entire health cost because of the travel cost they incur.

Another aspect that raises great concern with the locals relates to the provision of education in their villages, for instance, regarding books and tools to support the school subjects. Subsequently, the respondents described that many children in the village have a low motivation to attend school. Several children are known to have stopped attending school even though they attended a junior high school in Long Bawan, the district capital. Some parents openly mentioned that their children are considered mediocre pupils and that they have low self-esteem and, thus, do not want to continue going to school.

70 There are three grades of Healthcare BPJS that determine the kinds of and the cost of medical treatments are covered. As in 2015, the monthly premium for the first grade was equal to US\$ 4.25; second grade was US\$ 3; and third grade was US\$ 2.

In addition to the nine aspects of development discussed, a respondent mentioned that he felt that the role of culture was a relevant development issue in his village. He expressed his concern about the current absence of arts and cultural events. He recalled that he had participated in cultural training during the period 2005–2010, where the participants, amongst other things, discussed the development of the region and, as part of this, particularly considered the role of customs in determining the customary boundaries. Somehow, however, such cultural events had not taken place over the past couple of years. He then explained that, in fact, the customary boundaries were more and more becoming an issue. This was because many Krayan locals who had been away were now returning to Krayan and this was creating pressure on the need for land.

One respondent expressed his dissatisfaction by comparing current and past development endeavours by linking them to particular presidencies and focusing on the development aid and forest management policies. The respondent remembered that financial aid was granted to the locals in order to develop their region in late 1993 during President Suharto's presidency. The respondent mentioned:

Ah, I don't really know about the 50s, but that's just the election. Whatever development it is, those policies are not felt. There is no such development in this area, only during the years of our Independence, after Independence under the leadership of Pak Harto [Suharto]. Indeed, it was quite felt. Because there used to be IDT<sup>71</sup> aid, what's its name, the Disadvantaged Village, I forget, what instruction, I forget what IDT was, so that was a direct aid. In one village, one household, there was an aid, in which one person received 4 million Rupiah because it was cheap at that time.

(Pak Isak, 16 February 2016)

### *Mixed feelings*

Many respondents indicated that although generally, they are dissatisfied with the implemented developments, they are also, to a certain extent, satisfied with certain aspects of the Government's development endeavours in Krayan. Thus, they have mixed feelings about some of the programmes. An instance in this regard is the Teaching Support Program, called the SM3T<sup>72</sup> (*Sarjana Mendidik di Daerah 3T*).

71 In 1993 the Indonesian population who lived in poverty was estimated to be 25.9 million. Thus, on 27 December 1993, the Indonesian government issued a straightforward poverty reduction policy that was known as the IDT Programme (Program Inpres Desa Tertinggal)—a government aid programme to support fringe villages in Indonesia. This programme was established through a presidential instruction No.5/1993.(Syahuri, 1999) "Implementasi Kebijakan Program Inpres Desa Tertinggal (Idt) Di Kabupaten Dati Ii Kotawaringin Timur; (Studi Kasus Di Desa Bapinang Hulu Kec. Pulau Hanaut)" (Master, Universitas Gadjah Mada); *ibid.* The programme was put into effect in the 1994/1995 financial year for a period of 5 years.

72 SM3T (Sarjana Mengajar Daerah Terdepan, Terluar, dan Tertinggal) in English this translates as Scholars teaching in the most remote, disadvantaged, and frontier region. SM3T is a short-term solution to the lack of teachers in remote areas.

Pak John, the village head in Binuang, explained how his village experienced the benefit of having such teachers in the schools in his village. He explained that the programme had been running in his village for three years now and that the villagers very much appreciated the educational support provided. He felt enthusiastic about hosting the teachers, who came from outside Krayan, to teach the children in the village. He mentioned that despite his appreciation for the programme, he would like to have a situation where more permanently employed teachers would live in the region since the village had a shortage of teachers. So, although he valued the educational support aspect, at the same time, he wished to express his dissatisfaction with other aspects of development such as the provision of health care, transportation, telecommunications, electric power supply, and the condition of the roads.

In the past, Krayan was ignored by everyone. We only received attention during the Confrontation in 1964. The battle with Malaysia began here. Now there was a cessation in 1976, so it's stopped. Only since then the locals in Krayan were noticed by people because the army came here and looked around. So then they started to pay attention to Krayan. We were noticed, but they only said yes, just like that, but there was no follow-up. I do not know from where. Only once we saw. Pa 'Awang Damit made that road since we found out about it. There was only that road. Now they have returned home.

(Village Community Discussion in Bungayan, 31 January 2016)

This sense of having mixed feelings about the government-led development endeavours is caused by the fact that the respondents witnessed several improvements over the years related to job opportunities, education service, and the supply of potable water. At the same time, the development efforts as they stand hardly served their needs. During the interviews, two particular aspects came to the fore, namely, the subsidy on goods for daily living and access to transportation. Pak David, one of the village heads who had been in this position for two periods, explained:

Yes, that's what I told this person, this soldier. I said, "If it were me, Sir, we are considered a family. Krayan is considered to be a child who has lived alone since he began to grow up, separated from his parents. He is independent."

(Pak David, 03 February 2016)

He further explained that he had never lived or worked in Malaysia but that he did travel to Malaysia to visit his family from his mother's side. He pointed out that the ongoing development projects had created job opportunities for people in his village since the project implementation demanded that local people work on the project.

Pak David mentioned that the supply of subsidised goods to meet daily needs is ineffective, especially when considering the distribution and actual price of the goods. He explained

that the delivery of the goods in Long Bawan and their subsequent distribution to particular parties, such as brokers and stores, in Long Bawan did not benefit people in his village, Long Umung. His people still had to travel to Long Bawan to get the goods. To make the trip, they had to buy fuel and they would have to pay extra to the brokers/stores where the subsidized goods were delivered. Comparing the price of Indonesian subsidised goods with that of the Malaysian products, the difference was very small, so, in fact, he preferred Malaysian products over the government-subsidised Indonesian products because in terms of quantity and price, the Malaysian products were more available and reasonably low-priced compared to the subsidised goods, which were, also, often out of stock because they depended on the Government's periodic subsidy.

Regarding the subsidized flights that are provided through the central and regional government, Pak David said that although he and other people might enjoy these flights, he did not feel positive about this. His reasons were that the subsidized flight service had a limited flight schedule such that the current service in Krayan is only from two locations (Long Bawan, the capital district of Krayan, and Long Layu, the capital district of Krayan Selatan), which meant that smaller and more remote villages like his own village felt marginalised. Apart from this, the flights were not always available throughout the year. Another reason for Pak David's dissatisfaction was that the aircraft could only accommodate eight passengers per trip.

He recalled past government periods and pointed out that with regard to the current government subsidies, there is a resemblance between the presidency of President Suharto and that of President Susilo Bambang. A similar government subsidy programme took place in 1993. He mentioned that it was during that year that the Krayan locals experienced the advantages of the government-subsidised goods. The programme called fuel replacement (*pengganti Bahan Bakar Minyak*) was operations under the Presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Under this programme, the locals had received a grant to build roads in their region.

Pak David was quite sceptical about the government subsidy programme recently put in place. He remarked that in the coming months, subsidised fuel from the State Oil and Natural Gas Mining Company, Pertamina (*Perusahaan Pertambangan Minyak dan Gas Bumi Negara*), would be available in Krayan. He had serious doubts about this programme as he was aware that the subsidy would go to certain parties instead of directly benefiting the local population.

As mentioned, Pak David indicated that, generally, because of the availability of the goods, he preferred the goods for daily living to come from Malaysia. He did point out, however, that there existed some tension between the traders in Ba' Kelalan (Malaysia) and the people from Krayan (Indonesia). The reason for this was that in the past when the road to Lawas (Malaysia) was in bad condition, the Krayan locals would purchase their daily supplies from Ba' Kelalan. Now, with the newly improved road connecting Ba' Kelalan to Lawas town, the Krayan locals tended to travel to Lawas to buy their supplies and have the goods transported from Lawas town instead of purchasing their goods from Ba' Kelalan.



**Figure 7.4** A local carrying wood in his bekaang

Pak Yakub, other respondent, mentioned that he often received invitations for meetings with the central government in Jakarta. On many occasions, these meetings were about development matters and, therefore, he would often accept the invitations. When I asked him for his opinion on the goods subsidised by the Government as one particular development effort, he mentioned that the subsidised goods were still a little more expensive than what could be bought from Malaysia. He described:

So, eh, what's it called? If a human being wants to live, inevitably, we have to look for our needs in that place. That is why, if I were called for a meeting in Jakarta, I often mention, Garuda is on my chest, but our stomach is Malaysia

(Pak Yakub Melai, 20 January 2016)

At some point, the respondents expressed hope that the development endeavours by the Government might improve, as the pastor said:

Yes, that's for additional information, Ma'am, why do we always go to Malaysia? It is actually not that we don't respect Indonesia, just like what Pak Herison said, indeed

Wa Yagung and Bungayan, Ma'am, since the independence of Indonesia, this is the life of the local people here. Walking, right, carrying stuff in *bekang* on our back. Well, unlike other people, if at somebody else's place the motorbike is always with us, and it stops right up to, near our house, right? We're happy if we can get off and get on our vehicle right at our house. But it's difficult here, right. Now please tell us how we can help the people here. There is the community's aspiration [if only] the Government wants to pay attention to the people here.

(Village Community Group Discussion in Wa' Yagung village, 31 January 2016)

## 7.4. SUMMARY

In the respondents' perceptions of ongoing development in Krayan, ample references were made to the prominent involvement of the Indonesian government in improving the lives of the people in the region. This chapter dealt with the development of Krayan and the locals' perceptions thereof. Considering Pak Lewi's views regarding the developments occurring in Krayan, set out in the beginning of this chapter, the Government is considered to be the key actor in facilitating and supporting whatever developments take place in the region.

Regarding existing development endeavours in their region, the respondents, in particular, referred to the visible government-led development projects in the region, such as subsidised flights, road construction, the village development fund, the construction of telecommunication towers, and the construction of public hospitals. Although the respondents mainly credited the Government for its role in providing development, they also emphasised the early efforts of missionary societies as development actors in Krayan long before the Indonesian Government became a presence in Krayan.

One aspect this chapter has not examined is the explicit relationship between border crossing processes and border-regional development. In the following chapter, this relationship will be discussed by applying the theoretical framework set up in Chapter 2.

# 8

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## GARUDA IS ON MY CHEST, BUT MY STOMACH IS IN MALAYSIA

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Knowing that our daily goods are coming from Malaysia, we often say, *Garuda is on my chest, Malaysia Ringgit in my stomach*. For we rarely receive daily goods from Indonesia.

(Pak David, 03 February 2016)

## 8.1. INTRODUCTION

When asked about their perceptions regarding the development in their region, the expression *Garuda di dadaku*, *Malaysia di perutku* is often heard among Krayan locals. When they say *Garuda di dadaku* (“Garuda in my chest”), this is often accompanied by placing the right hand on the chest, a gesture that is associated with pride and with readiness to go into battle. *Malaysia di perutku* (“Malaysia is in my stomach”) is said with a grin while the hand moves to the stomach. This part of the expression stresses the point that regardless of the fact that they are Indonesian citizens, for their daily needs, they need to turn to Malaysia.

Thus the expression *Garuda di dadaku*, *Malaysia di perutku*, indicates the tension between national pride and dependence on Malaysian resources. This tension plays a significant role in the cross-border relations described in this study. In the context of Indonesia, national pride is associated with the sense that under all circumstances the State is able to provide for the citizens’ basic needs. It follows that the intensity of the cross-border interactions in Krayan has led to the popular thinking that border locals possess less nationalism compared to Indonesians who reside further away from the border. However, according to the Krayan locals, going across the border is just a means of meeting their daily needs and, so, does not lessen their sense of national pride in Indonesia. Furthermore, as Indonesians and as individuals who share a cultural background with the people across the border (in Malaysia), the locals described in this study find themselves in circumstances marked by duality, where they need to maintain the balance between citizenship and ethnic background while dealing with pragmatic needs. Thus, the notion of *Garuda di dadaku*, *Malaysia di perutku* aptly captures the duality of living in the border region.

The primary aim of this chapter is to explain the findings of the study, with reference to the three research questions posed in Chapter 1 and the conceptual framework of border crossing dynamics (proposed in Chapter 2). I intend to highlight the processes involved in the cross-border interactions. In order to do so, the border is viewed as a process rather than an outcome. This process of bordering is observable by paying attention to the respondents’ perceptions about their border crossings in relation to the state of development in Krayan. In this chapter, I will show how border crossing practices are not only related to the border locals’ sense of national pride but rather to the pragmatics of daily life in the border region.

In the previous two chapters, I presented the findings based on inquiries regarding cross-border interactions and the state of development in the region, as well as the locals’ perceptions thereof. This chapter starts off by arguing how cross-border dynamics may in part fulfil the locals’ need for development. Thus the operationalisation of bordering is presented in the context of their experience and views on border-regional development in Krayan. This is followed by a discussion of the link between cross-border interaction and development in the region.

This chapter continues with five sections, with each part focusing on particular points of this discussion. The first section begins by outlining cross-border interaction, briefly returning to the conceptual framework (see Chapter 2). In this section, I propose a division to examine how cross-border dynamics come into existence characterised as *accepted* and *contested*. To operationalise this framework, empirical evidence (discussed in the previous chapters) is used as representations. Empirical evidence reveals that the State's role in border crossing is signified by the border crossing pass arrangements and the existing border checkpoints. The pass is to be used as an official travel document (discussed in Chapter 5), while the border checkpoints serve to monitor the security as well as the flow of people and goods entering into and exiting from Krayan. The *accepted border crossings* are represented by border crossings that are in compliance with the State's rules (discussed in Chapter 6), whereas the *contested border crossings* are represented by border crossings taking place regardless of or in non-compliance with the State's regulations. Subsequent parts of this section discuss the analysis of the empirical findings based on the conceptual framework. The empirical evidence aids in the analysis of the border crossings in association with the border-regional development in Krayan. The analysis serves to highlight how these border crossings are prompted by, even though not directly resulting from, the (lack of) development in the region.

The second section consists of a discussion of the border dynamics between Indonesia and Malaysia taking into account historical perspective and centres on the evolution of the State border in Kalimantan, and in Krayan in particular. This part is important for three reasons. Firstly, it illustrates how the interaction of local communities living on either side of the border is not impeded by the formation of the states of Indonesia and Malaysia. Secondly, it shows the disparity in development in the two border regions. Thirdly, it discusses the fact that, as a consequence, Krayan as a region experiences limitations concerning its economic and infrastructural development.

It also discusses the making and remaking of the border in Krayan and how the process of bordering affects the Krayan locals' everyday life. In this section, the conceptual framework of cross-border dynamics is used to discuss the empirical findings.

After the formation of the State of Indonesia, Malaysia and Indonesia underwent their own evolution, resulting in distinctive development situations. The third section analyses this process by treating development as a prominent aspect that reflects the formation of the modern state. In this section, attention is paid to how to a large extent, the cross-border interactions are prompted by border-regional development issues. This leads to the examination of the Krayan locals' way of meeting their needs. Next, it is outlined how the locals value their cross-border interactions to meet their needs with respect to their livelihoods and their customary and social identities.

The fourth section of this chapter examines how border-regional development in Krayan has influenced the locals' sense of nationalism. It is shown how the locals' sense of nationalism is shaped by their pragmatic needs and must be placed in the context of insufficient development in the region (as discussed in Chapter 7). In the fifth section, the

expression '*Garuda di dadaku, Malaysia di perutku*' is used to examine this and explain the duality of living in the border region further.

## 8.2. FRAMEWORK FOR CROSS-BORDER INTERACTIONS

The cross-border interactions referred to in this study concern the direct relationship between the locals living in the border region of the State of Indonesia and the existence of, or lack of, border-regional development. This section positions border crossing as a phenomenon that finds its origin in the Krayan locals' need for welfare and development. Thus, I regard border crossing as the Krayan locals' efforts and instruments to achieve welfare. Although the means to provide for the locals' welfare are supposed to be provided by the State through development in the border region, the fact that this is insufficient triggers cross-border interactions.

Building on this, I argue that the locals' attempts to meet their needs for welfare create a condition in which certain practices and ways of perceiving them are driven by the existing developments' limitations. By this condition is meant a collection of means and rules that have been routinized. These means and rules serve as strategic instruments that are employed to achieve the intended goals and are treated as routine practices. This implies that compliance with these rules become an enabling factor, whereas non-compliance with the rules may exist where they act as a constraining factor. In this sense, border crossing requires a precondition that reflects compliance with and/or non-compliance with the rules in order to make the border crossing happen. It is in this sense that border making takes shape and the institutionalisation of structure and agency can be observed.

Bearing in mind that the compliance with and the non-compliance of the rules may sound appealing in an effort to explain the enabling and constraining conditions of the locals' border crossings, the empirical findings have shown that there were additional consequences, namely that the engagement with the given rules generated different degrees of cross-border interactions and meanings. In the conceptual framework (Chapter 2), these cross-border dynamics have been divided into two general categories.

In Chapter 2, it was proposed that to understand cross-border activities, there is a need for a conceptual framework that highlights the link between the State (and its institutions) and the locals (and their identity). This conceptual framework is depicted in figure 2.3 (Chapter 2). As mentioned earlier, I regard border-regional development as the current catalyst for border crossings. I use the term 'current catalyst' to highlight the fact that border crossing has been in existence from before the State of Indonesia was formed when it was driven by kinship relations. Contemporary border crossing, however, is not only driven by kinship relations but also by the uneven border-regional development that took place after the formation of the State of Indonesia.

Through the proposed conceptual framework, two categories of cross-border dynamics have been identified. Referring to the framework, the two cross-border interaction categories

suggest that the presence of both the State and the border locals are essential in determining the nature of cross-border interactions. Inherent in these categories is that the coexistence of values and behaviours is integral to the border crossings. Thus two categories of cross-border interactions are defined as *accepted* and *contested*. Furthermore, I have defined the roles of the State and those of the border locals to emphasize their contribution to the border crossings and highlight their distinctive roles in shaping and reshaping the bordering process.

Repeating these categories shortly, *accepted* border crossing captures a situation where the cross-border interaction gains acceptance by both the State and the border locals. The *accepted* border crossing consists of circumstances that encourage and support cross-border practices. If a border crossing takes place in non-compliance with the rules, the border crossing is considered a *contested* border crossing. This kind of crossing consists of circumstances where the cross-border interaction is challenged by the State, while at the same time, the locals continue to cross the border. The category of *contested border crossing* captures the existence of tension surrounding border crossing practices. Each of these categories consists of sub-categories in accordance with the degree of cross-border interaction. The term 'degree' is used here to indicate relative circumstances rather than an absolute situation. The following gives the description of each sub-category.

The category *accepted* cross-border interaction can be divided into the sub-categories (1) *accepted and regulated/stimulated* and (2) *accepted and necessary*. The first sub-category means that the border crossing practices are officially recognized by the State and legitimized by means of regulations that accommodate border crossing. The second sub-category refers to border crossings that are to a certain extent supported by the State so that the locals living in the border region can continue with their daily, necessary activities.

The second category, *contested* cross-border interaction, relates to the situation when the border crossing is challenged to a certain degree. In a sense, three degrees of contested border crossing lead to the sub-categories (1) *contested and condoned*, (2) *contested and uncertain*, and (3) *contested and 'illegal'*. The *contested and condoned* border crossing reflects a crossing where the border crossing is constrained, but, at the same time, it is approved relative to a certain goal. The *contested and uncertain* border crossing occurs when border crossing takes place under circumstances that are not stable. This situation arises when the adjoining states experience internal, if not local, tensions within their territory irrespective of a possible border crossing. The *contested and 'illegal'* border crossing reflects a situation where the border crossing takes place regardless of any restrictions imposed by the State, such as strict border control and monitoring the flow of people and goods.

In order to examine the border crossings, the empirical findings consisting of the presentation and perceptions regarding border crossing and border-regional development have been described in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, respectively. This description allows for a close examination of border crossing and development and for a portrayal of the link between their border crossing practices and border-regional development.

Taking the formation of the ideal modern state as a point of departure including the notion that the modern state must provide conditions for the welfare of its citizens, the discussion will focus on the emergence of the State border and will then centre on the link between the State and development, the implication being that the current cross-border dynamics have resulted from the interaction of these domains. In this study, I refer to the domain in general terms to describe aspects that constitute *locals* and *states*.

Treating the concepts of *structure* and *agency* as equally analytically important, I begin by defining the State as a *structure* that operates at a macro level and by defining the locals' combined purposes as factors constituting *agency* operating at a micro level. The locals' border crossings can then be regarded as the embodiment of the generated interaction between structure and agency. This precondition, however, is not absolute. In different circumstances, the locals' combined purposes may be referred to as *structure*, while the State's involvement may be referred to as *agency*. The awareness that structure and agency can interchange is essential in the discussion of the dynamics of cross-border interaction in this study.

The agency factors are revealed by the empirical findings (described in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7), i.e. the actual border crossings into Malaysia and the frequency with which they take place. Yet this agency is a response to the existing disparity in the level of development of the State of Indonesia compared to the State of Malaysia, which in this study is treated as 'structure'.

Next, I will reflect on the conceptual model in light of the empirical findings in order to examine how the structure is influenced by the locals, notably through their border crossing practices.

### **8.3. THE MAKING AND REMAKING OF THE BORDER IN KRAYAN**

After the establishment of the State border between Indonesia and Malaysia, the two states had a different economic development. The fact that Indonesia's independence was gained through battle, whereas Malaysia's liberation from British rule was through diplomacy, led to different endeavours by the two states to develop. Indonesia had suffered destruction and had to build the State of Indonesia from scratch. Malaysia could, to a certain extent, preserve assets originating from the British occupancy, such as public infrastructure. It follows that in terms of public infrastructure, Indonesia appears to be less developed than Malaysia. The difference in development between Indonesia and Malaysia became obvious when the direction of the border crossings in the Krayan region was examined, namely that the border crossings tend to be more towards Malaysia than the other way round. According to the Krayan locals, this is because, compared to Indonesia, Malaysia, with its advanced development, is perceived as a place offering better opportunities to better one's life.

Studying the Krayan region offers insights into the intricate process of how the border is constantly made and remade. This process is not only the doing of the State. It is also generated by the social interaction by the border locals. In terms of the role of the State, based on the empirical findings, this process is represented by the state-led development projects in Krayan. In terms of the role of the Krayan locals, this process is highlighted by the dynamic interplay between the locals' identity as Indonesian citizens, their identity as part of an ethnic group located on both sides of the border, and their need to fulfil daily needs and make a living.

Referring to the research setting, borders are embedded in diverse formats in the Krayan locals' everyday lives. As described in Chapter 5, to the locals of Krayan, the border appears in formats such as the State border, customary boundaries, church denominations, village administrative boundaries, and the zonation of the Kayan Mentarang National Park. The empirical findings show that the locals have not exclusively defined 'border' by emphasizing one particular format over the other formats. Yet, when it comes to cross-border interaction, the locals refer to the State border between Indonesia and Malaysia as the major border.

Below, the framework of the cross-border dynamics is used to discuss the empirical findings. This framework is used to explore the driving forces behind the border crossing practices of the Krayan border locals. The findings highlight that the locals' crossings are prompted by a combination of insufficient state-led development in the border region and the socio-cultural background of the border locals. In the light of this, I will advance the categories of *accepted* and *contested* border crossings, which play a role in the process of making and remaking the border. It must be noted that these two categories are not necessarily discrete categories because, in reality, they appear to coexist and be intertwined in the locals' practices and perceptions.

### 8.3.1. Accepted border crossings

The first category is the *accepted border crossings*. This kind of crossing portrays a situation where the border crossing complies with the State's rules. It implies that the border crossings are officially accepted and recognized by the State as a means to support, if not improve, the border locals' lives. It can also be understood as the State seeking to mark its existence through strategies that support the locals' everyday life in the border region. One of the State's strategies is the implementation of a border pass (discussed in Chapter 4). As mentioned, the category of *accepted border crossings* can be divided into two sub-categories: (1) *accepted and regulated/stimulated border crossings*, and (2) *accepted and necessary border crossings*.

#### *Accepted and regulated/stimulated*

*Accepted and regulated border crossings* take place when the border crossings are officially recognized, and the locals' border crossings are regulated by the State. An instance of this is the issuing by the State of a border pass. This pass was the result of the Border Trade Agreement (BTA) between Indonesia and Malaysia finalised in 1967 (discussed in Chapter 5).

The border pass is an effort by the State to accommodate the border crossings of locals who share a cultural background (Pamungkas, 2017, p. 125). It can be said that the existence of a border pass as a necessary travel document legitimizes the State's power over the Krayan locals who are ethnically related to others on the Malaysian side of the border.

The use of a border pass as a travel document to go to Malaysia is only granted to locals who reside in the State border region. It shows the State's presence through the power to authorize the mobility of Krayan locals between the two states. The issuance of the border pass 1967 was prompted by the frequent border crossings of Krayan locals into Malaysia with the purpose of visiting their families and shopping (as discussed in Chapter 5). Another illustration of the *accepted and regulated* cross-border interactions is the cross-border cooperation between the two states. It can be said that the border crossings in Krayan have contributed to the development in the region by encouraging both *bottom-up* and *top-down* cooperation between Indonesia and Malaysia. These types of cooperation are characterised according to the forces that shape them. In this study, the *bottom-up* cooperation refers to FORMADAT and Heart of Borneo. The *top-down* cooperation refers to SOSEK MALINDO and the AEC (Asean Economic Community). These two forms of cross-border cooperation have been discussed in Chapter 5. It must be noted here that Krayan locals do not necessarily give credit to these two types of cooperation and their concrete contributions to development in the region. The implemented development projects in the region indicate that the *top-down* cooperation initiatives coexist with the *bottom-up* initiatives.

### *Accepted and necessary*

*Accepted and necessary* border crossings refer to border crossing practices that are considered to be essential and reasonable. The term *necessary* has a wide definition and implies incidental, necessary, useful, or conducive border crossings that are needed to accommodate the Krayan locals' basic needs, particularly such needs that cannot be fulfilled in the Krayan region. In reality, these types of crossings take place when the motivations for crossing are not specifically listed in the formal regulations (Border Crossing Agreement) but explicitly left open as other purposes that are agreed upon by the parties involved in the border crossing.

The border pass can be seen as an instrument that accommodates and, yet, restricts the locals' crossings. Since the border pass serves as a legal document that secures the locals' visits to Malaysia, it enables the mobility of the locals. Nevertheless, the border pass also restricts the mobility of the locals because it is only issued to locals living in the border region. It legitimises only specific reasons for crossing the border and is only valid for certain areas in Malaysia. In terms of the border pass regulations, the activities that are allowed include visiting relatives, social/culture, border trade, government duty and any other purposes agreed upon by parties (Raharjo *et al.*, 2017). It must be noted that the regulation does not list activities such as attending school or having health treatment as prohibited activities. Thus, if border locals aim to go to Malaysia for these two purposes, their crossings are considered to be necessary and do not violate the formal regulations and the reasons for crossing the border are *accepted and necessary*.

### 8.3.2. Contested border crossings

Border crossings are considered contested when they are challenged by the State, whilst there is a certain degree of felt necessity by the locals to proceed with the border crossings. Based on their degree of contestation, contested border crossings can be divided into three categories: (1) *contested and condoned border crossings*, (2) *contested and uncertain border crossings*, and (3) *contested and illegal border crossings*.

#### *Contested and condoned*

The category *contested and condoned* border crossings reflects cross-border interaction where the crossing is officially constrained but unofficially permitted because of specific concerns. The term ‘condoned’ implies that the cross-border practices may occur with permission of the State despite the fact that the official regulations restrict this. In reality, this type of crossing takes place based on the understanding that the crossings support the border locals’ essential needs.

The *contested and condoned* cross-border dynamics arise as part of income generating activities of the Krayan locals. Three examples that appear in this study (that is discussed in Chapter 6) include carrying a number of essential goods more than what has been regulated, not having border crossing pass while going to Malaysia, and working petty jobs in Malaysia by using border crossing pass. First, in Krayan, the most typical examples of this condoned practice occurs when Krayan locals cross the border knowing that this is a contested act to purchase goods to meet basic needs and return with a quantity exceeding the allowed weight, such as bringing back more sugar than the permitted weight of one kg.

Second, in terms of the border crossing pass, some of the locals who did not have a border pass still managed to cross the border. In this case, for them, the State border does not seem to be a reality to reckon with. In instances like this, the relatives on the Malaysian side of the border stand guarantee for the Krayan relatives crossing the border to visit them. This is often treated by the border officials as an adequate though unofficial reason for crossing, and thus acceptance, which enables the locals to cross the border without hindrance. Third, in terms of working, often the Krayan locals go to Malaysia for temporary jobs there as irregular workers working in the paddy field and in sawmills.

#### *Contested and uncertain*

The *contested and uncertain* border crossing, as mentioned, refers to border crossings taking place in less stable circumstances. For instance, the border crossing occurs when the two adjoining states experience national tensions, which then leads to local tension, and as a result, disadvantage the mobility of the locals. A particular feature of this type of border crossing is that the locals are aware that their border crossings may cause increased restrictions imposed by the State.

The *contested and uncertain* sub-category captures the locals’ need for fulfilment of their everyday needs. Despite the subsidized goods provided by the Government of Indonesia

(as discussed in Chapter 7), the locals continue to buy Malaysian products. The *contested and uncertain* border crossings can be attributed to the irregularity of the distribution and availability of the subsidized goods as well as the actual price of the goods. These conditions make that the locals remain reliant on Malaysian products and, so, they encourage border crossing. Another source of uncertainty/irregularity can come from variations in the level of enforcement of rules, i.e. what is tolerated at some moments is not tolerated in other situations.

### ***Contested and illegal border crossings***

The *contested and 'illegal' border crossing* reflects a border crossing that continues to take place regardless of the State's restrictions. This restriction entails strict border control to monitor the flow of people and goods. An instance of illegal border crossing is the smuggling of alcoholic drinks and the excessive amount of goods entering the border region unbeknownst to the border control (as described in Chapter 6).

### **8.3.3. Recapitulation**

Having examined the border crossing dynamics in Krayan, it has become clear that the *contested border crossings* created the locals' awareness of the existence and role of the state border, as well as the awareness that this is, particularly, linked to the State's role to support, if not provide for, the basic needs of the Krayan locals. With the State neglecting this role, it enforces the locals to cross the border regardless of the border crossing regulations established by the State. In sum, the *contested border crossings* highlight the interplay between the State (through its regulations) and local individuals (through their specific (urgent) intentions) who cross the border. Furthermore, as far as the border crossings continue to take place, this represents a fuzzy circumstance, one that cannot curb the crossings. To a large extent, this can be attributed to the shared cultural background, which is perceived to be the most significant aspect in enabling border crossings.

## **8.4. THE INSTITUTIONALISED BORDER CROSSING**

Building on the previous argument, crossing the State border is referred to as an institutionalised activity that is practised by border locals. Thus, rules are implied in order to enable and constrain border crossing occurrences. These rules are set by the border locals themselves and by the State based on different normative orders that play a role, often at the same time. These rules are binding and also facilitate the crossings. The compliance with and non-compliance of the rules are principles surrounding border crossings.

As mentioned, through this study, I aim to highlight the processes involved in the practice of border crossing. These processes relate to the negotiations undertaken and the struggles experienced to achieve the locals' intended goals. In terms of negotiations, such processes

may be apparent in the locals exchanging insights and/or stories with the border officials in order to be permitted to cross the border. In terms of struggles, such processes refer to the individuals' intentions to cross the border even though they know that this does not conform to the regulations but does not cause harm. In fact, it can be argued that the intentions underlying the category of *contested border crossings* form the most productive force driving border crossings. It is productive in a sense that the contested border crossing is able to create or produce three different degrees of crossings related to the forces that generate it.

The embodiment of the border crossing is encouraged by attributes of the State and by those of border locals. One attribute that is influential in defining the border of each domain is referred to as a *frontier*. In this study, a frontier is characterised by *fuzzy* features that can be moulded and bent. Frontiers in the State's domains are typified by means of the implementation of border crossing regulations, while the frontier characteristics of the border locals are expressed by the locals' perception that their identity is interchangeable (and not bound by the State border).

An alternative is to understand the term *frontier* in this study as an attempt to conceptualize development in the region as an evolving structure, where the individual locals represent an agency. I argue that in this study, development can be considered a structure because of its nature as one of the State's core mandates, carried out through a systematic polity consisting of a large number of institutions that functionally contribute to the State's core functions. In this context, development must be seen as an institution since development involves the setting of norms and rules in order to achieve the State's purported goal. Thus, 'structure' in this study refers to structural aspects of development that are associated with what the State should provide, i.e. road construction, access to central amenities, availability of daily goods, and basic services such as education and health care. When these structural aspects lack or are insufficient, it will lead to the locals' agency to cross the border in order to fill the gap.

Because cross-border interaction results from the interplay of the State (and its institutions) and the locals (with their identity and needs), it is essential to describe the attributes of the locals who in this study are regarded as *individual agencies* who practise frequent border crossings. These attributes contribute significantly to their ability to engage in the bordering and re-bordering process as and when this suits their needs. These observations regarding the locals' attributes can be placed in context by referring to the concept of interchangeable (multiple) identities, which then connects with the discourse on nationalism.

Focusing on the restraining and enabling aspects as factors that generate the appearance of these multiple identities, for analytical purposes, I posit identity as the embodiment of *duality*. In a sense, identity can be both a restraining and an enabling factor. It restrains when it excludes individuals who are considered to have a different cultural background. Identity may enable when it allows an individual to be part of a particular group based on a shared cultural background. Whether identity is restraining or enabling depends on the particular structure that surrounds it. In this study, identity takes the form of a sense of nationalism

ignited through a purposive interplay between the two border communities on either side of the border.

Furthermore, I argue that identity is treated as both the producer and the product of the bordering process. Identity is a perceived agentic-actor that emerges from a predetermined structure, which, in this research, is represented through state membership and membership of an ethnic group. From this perspective, identity is thought of as a bordering process. It is embodied in the locals of Krayan in the sense that they are Indonesian citizens as well as members of the large ethnic group of the Dayak.

Based on the foregoing, I argue that the emergence of the frontier characteristics come about because of insufficient development in the Krayan region and the socio-cultural background of the border locals. The following sections examine the lack of development and the shared socio-cultural background as these appear in the empirical findings.

#### **8.4.1. Insufficient development**

I argue that the status of the border-regional development is an integral factor that functions as a catalyst for border crossings. The discussion in the section on the history of the border of Indonesia also dealt with the emergence of the modern state in Krayan. This section looks into the advancement of the modern state in Krayan, and particularly where this relates to development and the implications when development is insufficient.

Before the advent of the modern state, the services and goods that contributed to the well-being of people of a particular traditional group would be provided through the traditional governance system (discussed in Chapter 2). In modern times, this governance system has been substituted by a state system. To a great extent, the State is tasked to provide for the citizens' welfare by means of development. Failure to do so will result in the citizens' attempts to meet their own welfare needs. In border regions, these attempts take the form of border crossings. This is particularly relevant in the Krayan context.

In Chapter 1, it was discussed that the insufficient development in Krayan appears to be one of the preconditions that encourages the locals' border crossing activities. The empirical findings discussed in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 showed that the Krayan locals' border crossings indeed involve a process of bordering at the interface of the locals' perceptions regarding the development in their region.

These findings are supported by three constructs of development practices. The first relates to physical constructions, such as the provision of transportation, telecommunications and information, access to daily goods, and the supply of electricity. The second relates to human resource support, which includes access to sufficient health care, the creation of job opportunities, and access to education. The third factor deals with the provision of potable water.

Referring to the development in Krayan region, the respondents in this study mentioned that the major factor prompting their border crossings concerned the lack of development in their region. The Krayan locals felt that for the State of Indonesia, the development of the

region was not a priority. The respondents mentioned that they, as citizens of the State had a right to enjoy a similar level of development as elsewhere in Indonesia since the current lack of development made them feel insecure.

In fact, as far as Krayan locals are concerned, the Government has not given full attention to the development that Krayan needs. Many of the Government's efforts to develop the region have not succeeded in improving Krayan's locals' everyday lives. According to the assessment of the respondents, they are particularly dissatisfied with the government-led infrastructure projects (discussed in Chapter 7). As examples of this, they mentioned the poor condition of the roads, the dysfunctional telecommunications parabolic antenna, the irregular subsidizing of flights, of daily necessities, as well as the poor management of the availability of subsidized goods.

The locals' demand for better basic amenities such as roads, education, and health care are examples of the State not meeting the obligations to its members. The State is a political organization covering a particular territory (Paasi, 1996, p. 39), and the State of Indonesia is a large organization constituting a political body. It is demarcated by its territory and has Indonesian citizens as members of the organization. A state without citizens is not a state. Therefore, a consensus between the State and its members is established. To enlist people as willing members of the State, they are promised certain benefits that extend their welfare and provide them with security. In this, I refer to Johnston (1989), who mentions that the State must obtain social consensus, whereby all people in its territory accept specific rules for action in society, and that the State must ensure adequate conditions for production, which points to the provision of infrastructure through which production and exchange can take place. The state must also guarantee social integration by ensuring the social welfare of all citizens, with particular attention to the welfare of the poor and exploited groups within society, and it must control the executive, that is, the administration and regulatory agencies (Johnston, 1989, p. 326).

#### **8.4.2.A shared socio-cultural background**

Another key precondition for the locals' border crossing relates to their socio-cultural background and their income-generating activities. In relation to this first factor, the respondents mentioned that, in addition to insufficient development, another major factor prompting border crossing had to do with the socio-cultural background they shared with people living on the other side of the border. In reality, the Krayan locals' intentions to cross the border mostly incorporate economic activities. It can be said that the locals are not merely leaving Krayan for Malaysia to maintain kinship relations. Everything they do in Malaysia is meant to meet the needs they are unable to fulfil in Krayan.

In this research, when using the term 'kinship relations', this refers to the locals' cultural background they share with communities in the adjacent region across the border. This shared cultural background has enabled the Krayan locals to cross the border as part of their everyday lives. In Krayan region, the major population group is of the Dayak Lundayeh

ethnicity. The interaction between the Dayak groups in Indonesia and Malaysia existed long before the establishment of the two states. Prior to the formation of the two states, the “border” was not perceived as a “state” border but rather understood as a prominent geographical feature defined by the physical landscape, such as dense forests, the course of rivers, hills, and mountains. These geographical features marked one area from another. Moreover, in terms of culture, the Krayan locals mentioned that prior to the formation of the two states, the border was primarily an ethnic division separating various Dayak groups on Borneo. This was a customary division, with the Lundayeh inhabiting the highlands and the Lun Bawang residing mostly on the plains.

For the Krayan locals, the motivation to preserve the kinship relations across the border has been a major factor to cross the border. However, as said earlier, their current border crossing is not only driven by having a shared-cultural background but is also driven by the need for economic activities such as income generating activities, like paid work and selling products such as rice, as well cattle and handicrafts. Procuring an income would enable them to buy goods and groceries to take back to Krayan.

According to the respondents, going across to find work in Malaysia does not always yield positive results. Instead, the Krayan locals may be treated in an unpleasant way and maybe looked down upon by the family in Malaysia (discussed in Chapter 6) so much so that the Krayan locals feel they are considered inferior.

Amster (2006) describes how Krayan locals who come to Malaysia are seen as inferior. The author’s fieldwork was conducted in the Kelabit highlands in Malaysia, but identifies the influence of the cross-border interaction of the Krayan locals in Kelabit as well. He noted that:

Throughout my fieldwork over the last decade, I noted many examples of the ways in which Berian<sup>61</sup> and other outsiders were treated in ways that marked them as inferior. From small comments by villagers, such as “bring your shoes inside, otherwise, they might be stolen by Berian workers,” to more deeply institutionalized practices of keeping Indonesia’s wages low, such acts have the overall effect of marginalizing and demeaning these people as outsiders. [...] (Amster, 2006, p. 219)

This inferiority sense finds its origin in the mass migration of Indonesians to Malaysia that has taken place since the 1980s (Spaan *et al.*, 2001). The reason for this migration is that the development endeavours in Malaysia after its independence created a high demand for labourers (Departemen Kesehatan Republik Indonesia, 2003). As the inflow of migrants from Indonesia increased, they became more conspicuous both in rural areas and in the cities, and in many Malaysian media Indonesian migrants were associated with crime and prostitution (Spaan *et al.*, 2001).

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61 Berian is one of villages located in Krayan.

With regard to border crossing as a purposive interplay of the border locals to meet their basic needs, the locals developed a set of institutions to organise their crossings. In Chapter 2, it was discussed that institutions are based on norms and behaviours that have persisted over time with the purpose of serving collectively valued purposes (Uphoff, 1993, pp. 614-615). In a similar vein, the border locals intentionally arrange their border crossing and have developed norms and behaviours to achieve their particular purposes for the crossing, such as finding work and shopping.

In terms of work, as mentioned above, respondents mentioned that they sometimes received unpleasant treatment from their relatives when they found work in Malaysia. In this example, the locals would put up with this unpleasant treatment as long as they had a paid job.

Another illustration where different norms applied is the following: It is mandatory for Krayan locals to have a border pass in order to cross the border. However, as discussed in Chapter 6, many respondents mentioned that often they do not have a pass when they go to shop in a nearby Malaysian village. The reason that the aim of their crossing is to visit family and, so they are not spending a long time at their destination, and hence, they do not need a border pass. This norm is counter government regulations. It results from the locals' own insights in their particular context of the region, and this local norm is established as a way of meeting the locals' specific needs, such as shopping. It can be argued that the institutions established by the border locals aim to enable the locals to achieve their particular purposes in crossing the border.

## 8.5. THE SENTIMENT OF NATIONALISM

Earlier it was mentioned that the locals' sentiment of nationalism depends on the state of development in Krayan. Since respondents associated any sentiment of nationalism with insufficient development in the region, the pragmatic need of the locals to meet their everyday needs would take precedence.

The locals' awareness of nationalism and its link to their border crossing activities cannot be discussed without first examining the concept 'nation' and the elements that it consists of. In this section, I briefly revisit the debate surrounding the concepts of 'nation' and 'state' and the emergence of nationalism in relation to the empirical findings in this study.

As discussed in the conceptual framework in Chapter 2, a *nation* is defined as a group or a community (of people) who are, among other things, interlinked by common similarities such as myths, language, beliefs, and religion. The notion of the State relates to a form of governance over a sovereign territory; it is a concept that has emerged in modern times. Before turning to apply the notion of nationalism in an attempt to reflect on the development in Krayan, I will turn to the embodiment of development in a modern state, and I will highlight the responsibility of a modern-state to its members (citizens).

In this study, Indonesian nationalism is defined as a strong affection towards the sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia. This definition dates back to Indonesia's colonial era when the colonialization triggered the pursuit of freedom, that is, to be free from the shackles of colonialism. This pursuit of freedom required numerous battles and great sacrifices by Indonesia's national heroes, and nationalism manifested itself as a strong sense of patriotism. Indonesia proclaimed its independence from The Netherlands on 17 August 1945. The United Nations formally acknowledged the date of the independence as 27 December 1949.

As far as can be traced from the literature, the sense of nationalism in Krayan only emerged after Independence during the Confrontation (Konfrontasi) between Indonesia and Malaysia from 1963-1965. The oral history narrated by the respondents in the interviews indicates that this period is particularly relevant. During the Konfrontasi, Indonesia's armed forces were stationed in Krayan to guard the border of Indonesia's territory. The respondents reminisced that for them, this was the first time that it was acknowledged that Krayan was part of Indonesia. They indicated that before the Konfrontasi, they were only more or less aware that Krayan was part of Indonesia. Some older respondents mentioned that, as far as they could recall, after Independence in 1945, the State border did not change. They explained that this was different during Konfrontasi. At that time, Krayan locals were helping the army carry their weapons. They showed the soldiers the paths to take and cooked for them. It follows that in terms of development endeavours, the aspects of security and defence have been key elements of the state-led development, which has influenced the way the border in Indonesia is seen, and, particularly, the border in Krayan.

In the context of the Krayan region, from the perspective of *patriotism*, the sense of nationalism is intertwined with state-led development. This entails that nationalism is configured by the State of Indonesia by means of its development endeavours. It follows that the concept of nationalism is rooted in feelings of pride that the State is able to provide for the needs of its citizens by means of development. Consequently, from the perspective of the locals as citizens of the State, failing to meet the development goals may result in the questioning of the State's roles.

Nevertheless, regarding the characteristics of nationalism as having pride and feeling patriotic duty, Krayan's locals see themselves as nationalists. This was obvious when respondents mentioned that they conceived themselves as those who guard the border of the sovereign state of Indonesia at the edge of its territory. Earlier in this chapter, it was discussed how the emergence of the State border is intertwined with the Konfrontasi. The Konfrontasi revitalized the locals' sense of nationalism, including their readiness to sacrifice their lives for their country, Indonesia. Backed by oral history as told by the locals, once the Konfrontasi was passed, Krayan's locals felt reaffirmed that they were part of Indonesia. Subsequently, with Krayan being part of Indonesia, they felt they deserved what all Indonesia's citizens deserved, that is, to be part of and enjoy the development of Indonesia as a country.

Additionally, the rise of nationalism in Krayan has also provided the locals with an incentive to demand from the State that it carries out its responsibility to its citizens by fulfilling the

promise of national development. The sentiment to challenge the State stems from the way in which the national development agenda was carried out during the regime of President Suharto (discussed in Chapter 5).

The locals' ability to meet their daily needs leads to an operationalizing of their identity not as a fixed product but as a process. Identity is then constantly produced and reproduced since the two adjacent local communities share a similar ethnic background. When respondents state that visiting a family member on the other side of the border is a major motivation to cross the border, this is a representation of shared *ethno-nationalism*, which supersedes their membership of the State. It can be argued that in this way, Krayan locals demonstrate (another variant) of nationalism that does not merely refer to patriotism. It is the latter point that provokes the debate on nationalism in this study. The next section elaborates on how my reflection on the concept of nationalism has been used to outline the locals' responses regarding the development in their region. At least once, the respondents were asked about their perceptions of development.

The empirical findings reveal that Krayan's locals seem to have interchangeable identities, which assist in them complementing the insufficient development in their region. From the locals' perspectives, being an Indonesian is associated with living on Indonesian territory and owning a border pass when they plan to go to Malaysia, but even though a border pass is an official requirement to cross the border, some locals will go across to Malaysia without a pass, because, as they explained, it is natural to visit one's family in the nearby (Malaysian) village. The definition of family as expressed by the locals resonates with what Carsten (1998) defined as siblingship, that is, each person is part of a more or less indivisible sibling set. The family here does not merely refer to the nuclear family members but also extends to a group of people who in the past originated from the same village and then moved to Malaysia. It can, thus, be said that the locals' identities stretch beyond the national territorial border of Indonesia.

## 8.6. GARUDA IS ON MY CHEST, BUT MALAYSIA IS IN MY STOMACH

The Krayan locals' border crossings are arranged and organised differently at various levels and institutions. The border crossings of the locals are prompted by the geographical isolation of Krayan and shared cultural background (described in Chapter 4), along with the government regulations and development practices in the region (described in Chapter 5), and are based on the border locals' perception regarding their border crossings and development of the border region thereof (described in Chapters 6 and 7).

*Garuda di dadaku, Malaysia di perutku* (Garuda is on my chest, Malaysia is in my stomach) is a saying that is often used by locals living in Krayan's border region. The expression typifies the border locals' sentiments of nationalism whenever they speak about their cross-border practices as an implication of the insufficient border–regional development in Krayan.

I will use this saying to discuss how it is used in order to understand how the locals' border crossings relate to their sentiments of nationalism. Inherent to the saying *Garuda di dadaku, Malaysia di perutku* is that it is a representation of a *duality* in the border locals' sentiments of nationalism. The expression shows coexisting values and behaviours related to the locals' border crossings. On the one hand, nationalism is expressed in line with *ethno-nationalism* (a sense of belonging to a group with shared ethnicity). On the other hand, nationalism is expressed in line with a *civic-territorial* ideal (a sense of being patriotic to Indonesia as a state).

With reference to Connor (2004) term of *civic-territorial nationalism*, I argue that the Krayan locals' sense of nationalism refers to the loyalty to the State of Indonesia as locals living on Indonesian territory in spite of their frequent border crossings to Malaysia. Even though the Indonesian government does not carry out its responsibility to provide all necessary and nominal public amenities to its local nationals, the Krayan still very much see themselves as citizens of Indonesia. The close interaction of the locals with certain aspects (people, opportunities) in the neighbouring state appears as another form of nationalism, one that Connor refers to as *ethnic-genealogical nationalism*.

Concerning the link between the nation and the Garuda as the national emblem, in this study, the concept of 'nation' is viewed as a kind of boundary process and the Garuda is seen as an instrument to enhance the formation of the Indonesian nation through patriotic values. It is argued that this is compatible with the 'imagined community' as this was termed by Anderson (Anderson, 2006).

The locals' determination to continue to live in Krayan in the midst of failing development has resulted in questioning their perceptions of nationalism. The Krayan locals still hold their feeling of patriotism towards Indonesia close to their hearts (their chests), even though for the fulfilment of their daily needs, they turn towards Malaysia.

It can be said that the Krayan locals' sense of *civic-territorial nationalism* is complemented with *ethnic-genealogical nationalism* so that the locals can meet their daily needs. These dual conditions of nationalism coexist as one inseparable being. This implies that reflecting on the locals' cross-border interactions, it seems that nationalism (a sense of patriotic duty to the home country) does not overshadow the difficulties of living in a geographically isolated region such as Krayan. The pairing of the two sentiments in one saying (*Garuda di dadaku, Malaysia di perutku*) represents a contrast between two distinct sets of values that are considered conflicting but are at the same time complementing: the one cannot be replaced by the other one. The above discussion describes and examines the mechanism of nationalism embodied on a micro-scale, that is, as presented by the local respondents, rather than on the macro level, that is, from the State's perspective.

Returning to the central question of this study, whether cross-border interactions play a role in border-regional development and *vice versa*, it was examined how the dynamics of cross-border interaction influence the border-regional development in Krayan, although they do not directly influence border-regional development. On the contrary, to a certain extent, the poor state of development in Krayan is one of the causes of the border crossing by Krayan's locals.

## 8.7. SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with the analysis of cross-border interaction and development based on the empirical findings. The empirical evidence was examined by reflecting on the cross-border dynamics conceptual framework discussed in Chapter 2. This conceptual framework was used as an analytical tool to categorise, classify, and segment cross-border interaction in general, and in Krayan in particular, such in order to generalize and systemize the complexity of cross-border interactions. Since the cross-border interactions in Krayan were found to be a rich, complex phenomenon, this conceptual framework enables a comprehensive examination.

In the first general grouping of border crossings, which were termed as *accepted*, the central common factor is individual agency. These border crossings gained acceptance both from the State and the locals. *Accepted and regulated/stimulated* describes a condition where the border crossings gain support from both states, Indonesia and Malaysia, and where the support aims to enhance the interaction between the border locals on either side of the border. *Accepted and necessary* reflects the condition where the State supports the cross-border interaction when it is deemed a necessary crossing and provides protection during the crossing.

In the second general grouping of border crossings, which I termed as *contested*. This is a situation when the cross-border dynamics are the subject of conflict between the State (as a 'structure') and the locals' agency. In a sense, this is the space where the border is constructed and deconstructed depending on the locals' needs. Notwithstanding the contestation by the State, this is also where the locals draw the boundaries of what enables them to cross the border and what constrains this. The sub-category *contested and condoned* reflects a situation where control is imposed by the State. Paradoxically border crossings are condoned in so far that the cross-border interaction does not cause harm and is thought to have pragmatic value if it serves the locals' needs. *Contested and uncertain* reflects a situation where the cross-border interaction that is controlled by the State is uncertain. The sub-category *contested and 'illegal'* reflects the situation where the border crossing will take place and where the State's strict border control and monitor over the flow of people and goods are wilfully disregarded.

It is through the concepts of structure and agency that the process of making and remaking the border by the locals is captured and, through this, the institution at play. In this study, since border crossing is a direct response to insufficient state-led development, border crossings are regarded as institutional acts. This implies that to serve the locals' strategic purposes, such as fulfilling their needs to achieve welfare, the border is redrawn as needed, and order is established.

Development is defined as an institutional act aimed at improving the locals' welfare. Development constitutes two key elements. First, it requires a series of routinized acts that enable progress towards the desired development. Second, any development implementation

requires the involvement of actors. In other words, it can be said that the combination of institutions and actors are necessary to achieve the development.

The border is regarded as an open-ended process that is activated, deactivated, or reactivated as a result of the interaction between the enabling and constraining elements inherent in a particular situation. These elements are not necessarily fixed as either an enabling element or a constraining element. Their roles are subject to change. For instance, Krayan's geographical location in the highlands of Borneo restricts access to the region from Indonesia to transport by air, while the region is well-accessible overland from the nearest Malaysian village. The geographical condition then constrains the access to Krayan from other parts of Indonesia, and at the same time, this condition has enabled cross-border interaction. Thus, it can be said that on the one hand, Krayan's geographical location is an enabling element leading to interaction with Malaysia, while the geographical location acts as a constraining element regarding the interaction with Indonesia.

In this chapter, the existence of the multi-faceted border in Krayan was explained. It must be noted that the definition of the traditional border has its limitations, whereas the more contemporary definition of the border aims to include the complexities inherent in the current border. Both concepts remain crucial concepts for border studies, and, in particular, they may provide insights when exploring the dynamics of the border. I have also highlighted the emergence of the sentiment of nationalism generated through the interaction of multiple identities that are necessary to meet the Krayan locals' needs within a context of insufficient development. The concept of nationalism was given a broad definition, not only referring to feelings of patriotism but also referring to loyalty to a shared-cultural background.

The Krayan locals understand the concept of border as having multiple aspects such as customary boundaries, ethnic divisions, church denominations, conservation areas, village administration, locations, as well as the State border. Referring to Tivey (1981a, p. 2), these boundaries belong to two types of governing systems. The customary boundaries, ethnic divisions and church denominations denote the traditional system of governing people in groups, whereas the conservation area boundaries, the village administration boundaries, and the boundaries of provisional locations were imposed after the emergence of the borders of Indonesia as a modern state. Although any discussion about borders in Krayan must take into account these multiple aspects, this research has focused on the discussion of the State border, the aim being to highlight the substantive role of border crossing within a context of border-regional development. The multifaceted border in Krayan is built (or constructed) in accordance with the parallel existence of multiple identities in Krayan. The multiple identities in Krayan are shaped by political status, economic developments and demography.

I have exemplified the Krayan locals' cross-border interactions with Malaysia in the context of border-regional development by referring to the much-used expression: *Garuda di dadaku, Malaysia di perutku* (Garuda on my chest, Malaysian is in my stomach). Insufficient development of the border region and a shared cultural background are the two aspects that provoke this expression. The expression signifies that the locals of Krayan reflect on

nationalism in two ways: Firstly, the Garuda is the symbol of their home state, Indonesia. Other symbols of nationalism that Krayan locals show is speaking the Indonesian language and referring to the Indonesian government as being responsible for development. Secondly, the actual fact that the expression is used is also a pronouncement of their decision to remain in Indonesia's territory despite the fact that Malaysia has contributed to their well-being.

Indonesia as a modern state appears as a large organization mandated to provide its members with development as a reciprocal act in response to their availability as Indonesian citizens. Modernization is characterized by the improvement of people's welfare. This welfare can be achieved through road construction, the provision of education, and health care. The formation of the State of Indonesia is, thus, inherently accompanied by demands for development so that the State evolves into a modern state.

The Krayan locals feel that Indonesia does not pay enough attention to the development of their region. If development is a reciprocal response by the State, the locals, as members of the State of Indonesia, have a right to be provided with the development that is comparable to what the Government provides elsewhere in Indonesia. The empirical findings have shown, however, that such expectations remain unfulfilled. The shortage of access roads to Krayan is a telling feature that contrasts the development in Krayan with that in other regions in Indonesia. If only there was a good access road to Krayan, the region might become a well-developed region. Although the development endeavours are poor, Krayan's locals have reconciled themselves to the situation since if they intend to stay and live in the region it is more advantageous to accept poor development than not receiving any development at all.



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## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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## 9.1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation describes a study on cross-border interaction within the context of regional development in the border region of Indonesia and Malaysia. The dissertation particularly focuses on the linkage between cross-border interaction and border-regional development in Krayan. It is argued that this linkage involves a dynamic interplay between the border as an outcome and the border as a process. This dynamic interplay can be attributed to the formation of the states of Indonesia and Malaysia as well as the development endeavours that can be expected as part of emerging modern states.

Border crossing is not a recent phenomenon in the Krayan region. These practices have long existed and date back to before the colonialization period. What is new in the current border crossing is that these practices are much more closely linked with the role of Indonesia as a modern state. The actual formation of the State of Indonesia is seen as the separator making the border more tangible and concrete compared to before Independence. The implementation of national policies such as on order and security and on natural resource management demonstrate the State's role in dealing with matters of development. Many of these policies resulted from central government decisions but affected the regional and local dynamics. On the other hand, regional and local practices also contributed to the national policy on development. The implementation of the border trade agreement with Malaysia, the formation of SOSEK-MALINDO and FORMADAT are examples of this. On the international level, the CMA (Christian Mission Alliance), and ASEAN through its recently established AEC (ASEAN Economic Community) and the NGO's (WWF, CIFOR) are examples that development is not merely a national, regional and local concern, but is also viewed as important internationally.

Also, it can be argued that particular national situations and policies contributed to border crossing. The Konfrontasi during the period 1963-1965 brought about strict control on border crossing, whereas under the presidency of Suharto, Indonesia opened up to cooperation with foreign governments, which made the border more fluid. Based on this, it can be said that the presence or absence of tension between Malaysia and Indonesia affects the flow of border crossings.

A prominent motivation that is central to the continued dynamics of border crossing is the cultural background that is shared by the two communities on either side of the border. Even though the process of modernization, that is, state building and its associated development practices, have brought fundamental changes to the traditional communities, it is also widely acknowledged that the modern features of developing societies have not necessarily replaced all traditional elements. On the contrary, it is said that traditional modes of thought and behaviour continue to influence the workings of modern institutions.

As argued, the way nationalism is perceived by Krayan locals within the context of cross-border interaction can be explained by three factors: the limited success of the State to fulfil its development commitment to the border locals, the shared kinship and cultural

background of the border communities, and the maintenance of livelihood through these kinship relations.

Following this recapitulation, a response to the five research questions is provided. This will be followed by a brief discussion on how the findings relate to these. Using the expression *Garuda di dadaku, Malaysia di perutku* the section will briefly explain how cross-border interaction is perceived by the Krayan locals, how they view border-regional development, and how cross-border interaction plays a role in the border-regional development at the Kalimantan border, and particularly in Krayan. The last section of this chapter presents principal recommendations generated by the research findings. This section particularly fleshes out the implications of finding that cross-border interactions by border locals are not necessarily a barometer indicating their affection for the home country. Instead, border crossing is a means to live in a geographically isolated region. From this point of view, border research should strive for a contextualized approach to provide insights that could be useful in border-regional development.

## 9.2. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Cross-border interaction, particularly in the Kalimantan border region, has shifted some interpretations about the border. Initially, the border was merely linked to a geographical and/or state-territorial boundary. Over time this has been augmented to include other aspects such as economic and socio-cultural aspects, which, as found in this study, predate the formation of the State border between Indonesia and Malaysia. The study of cross-border interaction, including the socio-cultural aspects, has provided insights on how borders can be perceived, that is, not as rigid geographical and state boundaries, but rather as fluid and abstract borders that can be extended and negotiated by a range of actors, such as by the Krayan border locals, as described in this study.

Going across to the neighbouring State of Malaysia has been an important yet normal practice for many of the locals of Krayan. Activities such as visiting family, shopping, looking for a paid job, attending religious and cultural events are common motivations driving this cross-border interaction. To the locals, their interaction with Malaysia is a mere pragmatic decision to meet their needs, some of which are caused by a context of insufficient development in the Krayan region.

With respect to the sentiment of nationalism, although Indonesians living in the central areas of Indonesia view the Krayan locals' border crossing to Malaysia as showing a lack of nationalist love for the Republic of Indonesia, the locals themselves would deny this and argue that their loyalty to Indonesia is not to be questioned. Regardless of their geographical isolation and the insufficient development of the region, they have resolved to continue living at the edge of the country and see themselves as guardians of the Republic's sovereignty.

I have argued that the cross-border interaction of the locals does not necessarily mean that the insufficient development of the region negatively affects the locals' affection for

Indonesia. The often-used expression *Garuda di dadaku, Malaysia di perutku* (Garuda is on my chest, Malaysia is in my stomach) embodies the life of the Krayan locals, and provides a lens to examine the relationship, albeit contested, between the concepts of border crossing, lack of sufficient development, and nationhood in Krayan.

In the following sections, the conclusions related to this study are presented according to the five research questions with which this study set out. Therefore I begin with describing what the Krayan border region looks like, after which I discuss the state of development in the region. Thereafter I present the types of and role of cross-border interactions, followed by key insights related to border-regional development. Finally, the relationship between cross-border interaction and border-regional development in Krayan is discussed.

### **9.2.1. Krayan as border region**

The first research subquestion formulated is: *'What is the historical-geographical context of the Krayan border region?'* Krayan as a border region in this study, is considered as a peripheral area that is located far away from the central state. This depiction of Krayan as peripheral area can be approached through four key periods of time, through an outlining of the administrative structure of Krayan, through insight in human mobility in the region, and through an overview of its general population characteristics. Chapter 4, therefore, provides the foundational knowledge of the Krayan region.

The border itself, but also its role in Krayan, has been continually changing over the last century. In Chapter 4 we discussed four key periods that were indicative of the emergence of Krayan as a border region. First, the border was regarded as a trading zone by colonial powers in the pre-independence to independence in 1945. Second, the border was etched as a State border from independence to *Konfrontasi* (until the mid-sixties). Third, the border was marked with increased border security during the new order (up to late nineties). Lastly, its role changed again during the course of the reformation era (turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century - onwards).

The first period differs from the others primarily in terms of how the border was not apparent as a demarcated and territorially based delineation but rather according to economic activities of colonial powers. The second phase thus provided a first shift to a conceptualisation of the border as a state border. The last two periods then shifted the attention more to the way governments sought to act out on developmental concerns through local interference and presence, indicated amongst others by further manifestations of the State border.

The formation of the Indonesian border in Krayan during the third phase involved a series of particular events. These events were: 1. the posting of Indonesian armed forces in 1963-1965 at the border with Malaysia, 2. the regrouping policy in the 1970s, as well as 3. the zonation of the Kayan Mentarang Nature Reserve and National Park. These interventions sought to achieve two goals: From the State's perspective, the rationale of these policies was to provide the region with sustainable development. Secondly, the implemented policies were part of Indonesia's reorientation as a state. Yet these goals were not entirely attained. The reason

for that is related especially to a kind of resistance by the Krayan locals to the formation of the State caused by their continued recognition and use of customary boundaries continue alongside the State border.

With decentralization, a key aspect of the reformation era, border regencies and districts were also officially acknowledged in an attempt to optimise developments in the border region in Indonesia. In other words, it can be said that the move toward decentralisation prompted an opportunity to highlight particularities of border-regional developments. For Krayan region, this led to the formation of the province of Kalimantan Utara in 2012.

As regards human mobility in the region, in Krayan this is limited by the geographical landscape as, with few roads connecting Krayan to other parts of the Indonesian side of Borneo, whilst other forms of transport (notably aeroplanes) have limited capacity. This limitation explains the relatively low diversity of ethnicities amongst the local population. With regard to livelihood opportunities, the limited mobility in the region affects the scope and type of income generating activities available to locals. For instance, in spite of the abundance of rice, sugarcane and mountain salt harvested in the region, the locals are unable to easily distribute these harvests to markets outside their own region. Furthermore, high dependence on forest resources and traditional ways of farming also point to limited access and general hardship of life in Krayan.

### 9.2.2. The arena of development actors in Krayan

The second research subquestion is: '*What is the arena of actors involved with development in Krayan*' Development in this study is regarded as State interventions intended to augment citizen welfare (Chapter 2). The implementation of developments of any kind by various governmental agencies in Krayan often also resulted in remanifestations of multiple forms of border.

Multiple forms of border have been in long existence in Krayan. They are state borders, national park zoning, administrative villages, *lokasi* (location) borders, church denominations as well as ethnic and customary boundaries (as discussed in Chapter 5). These borders are part and parcel of the lives of the locals. These forms of border are drawn from different elements that prevail in the region, whereby each emphasizes different facets of the border, such as state imposed border (state border, national park zoning and administrative villages), borders initiated by locals (*lokasi*) and borders set along cultural-religious lines (e.g. church denominations, and ethnic/customary boundaries). As discussed in Chapter 2, missionary work provided a significant contribution to changes in local life and are considered to have helped pave out enduring peace between rivalling communities whilst also providing literacy to these communities, alongside all manner of other cultural-religious influences. These interventions were arguably much more holistic in their developmental nature and oriented on augmenting local livelihoods than the governmental interventions that followed much later, which were more oriented on state security and higher scale socio-economic development.

Although the missions seemed less concerned with larger economic developments at the time, locals do consider them as an integral element of the total of developmental interventions brought to their villages and region at large. For example, MAF (the Mission Aviation Fellowship) has been serving the need for transportation to and from the region long before the government made similar services available to the region. Accordingly, the missions are looked upon favourably by the locals in helping them somewhat overcome their immobility in securing better income earning opportunities, tertiary education, and thereby also knowledge of better developmental prospects outside the region. The dynamics of development in Krayan have been associated with the coming together of economic and political interests among the government, the non-government and the local's agencies.

### 9.2.3. The multifaceted border

The third research subquestion is: *'What cross-border interactions take place out of Krayan, and how are they perceived by Krayan locals?'*

In order to understand the cross-border interaction in Krayan, this study has reflected on the concepts of *border*, *boundary* and *frontier* as well as *interaction*. The *border* is characterized by it being both *static* and *dynamic*. A static border refers to a demarcation practice that is more or less stable. A dynamic border refers to the dynamic practices and processes of bordering. Frequently, in referring to static borders, the terms *borders* and *boundaries* appear to be used interchangeably. The term *frontier* is used to highlight the bordering process. Furthermore, *interaction* is defined as a purposive interplay that aims to achieve particular goals.

This study finds that the border appears to be multifaceted and involves processes of institutionalization. In Krayan, borders have different forms: customary regional boundaries/ethnic divisions, church denominations, conservation area zonation, village administrative borders, location (*lokasi*) boundaries, and the State border (as discussed in Chapter 5). These forms of the border are the result of three major forces, namely cultural background, religious association, and state intervention. Institutionalization in this research refers to a set of rules that are employed and embedded in Krayan locals' minds to enable an interaction process. Interaction refers to the purposive interplay of the locals' agency with any potential development agencies in their effort to meet their needs resulting from the lack of sufficient development in Krayan.

In this study, the concept of border refers to a state-territorial demarcation process. Mountains, rivers, and forests are examples of how a classical border is being understood. However, contemporary borders include other aspects such as the degree of interaction, cognition and perception, and tangibility. The imposing of the state-territorial border upon the natural border that is formed by riverines and forests in the border area of Krayan between Indonesia and Malaysia dates back to the colonial era, which in turn has been ingrained in the locals of the two adjacent border regions. Research in the Krayan region offers a window of opportunity to gain insight in the intricate processes of how a border is constantly produced and reproduced

through the social interaction of the locals from the adjacent areas on both sides of the border.

This study showed that the border appears in multifaceted forms. In the Krayan context, even though the border is largely perceived as the State border, other forms of border are valued as important by the Krayan locals. Such borders are the Kayan Mentarang National Park zonation, village administrative borders, location (*lokasi*) borders, customary boundaries, and church denominations. These multifaceted forms of border have come about and have been transformed through the enforcement of a range of development endeavours/programs by different development actors in Krayan. For example, the zonation of the Kayan Mentarang National Park and the establishment of the village administrative borders were executed under the national development agenda. The *lokasi* borders were enacted by local leaders in order to coordinate the logistics of the distribution of services in the region. The customary boundaries were formed in accordance with the ethnic background of Krayan's locals. Lastly, the church denominations refer to the locals' membership of a particular church denomination in Krayan. Although the border as a concept was not defined by the respondents as such in relation to these different border forms, when it comes to cross-border interaction, the Krayan locals will refer to the State border between Indonesia and Malaysia as the main border. It is in the context of the State border that border crossing was studied.

Krayan is geographically situated at the highland of Borneo. Its geographical location makes the region difficult to access over land. Up to this day, Krayan is only accessible by light aircraft from Indonesia's central regions. Consequently, the mobility of people and the distribution of goods from the central regions to Krayan and *vice versa* are constrained by its geographical isolation.

While the access over land to and from Krayan is restricted from Indonesia, the region is relatively easily accessible from the nearby villages and towns in Malaysia. Hence, it is inevitable that there is a close interaction with Malaysia to meet the Krayan locals' daily needs, such as the need for sugar, oil, fuel, coffee. This can partly be explained by the difference in development in the regions on either side of the border. Compared with the Krayan region, the border region of Malaysia notes a generally higher level of development. This is seen in phenomena such as good primary roads connecting nearby Malaysian border villages with other towns in Malaysia, a good distribution flow of daily goods to Malaysian border communities, and well-established public infrastructure (such as schools, electricity, public markets). Furthermore the solid currency rate of the Malaysian Ringgit, as compared to the Indonesian Rupiah is reason to engage across the border.

Also, cross-border interaction has been part and parcel of the everyday lives of the Krayan locals. People living in the current border regions have shared cultural and historical roots for centuries (Wadley, 2005; Janowski, 2005; Lumenta, 2011), so this interaction goes back to long before the establishment of the two states. The Dayak ethnic groups are closely related. They live in a common, isolated geographical area and speak a common language. It follows that prior to the formation of the two states, the "border" was not perceived as a "state border"

but rather understood as a feature defined by the physical landscape, such as a dense forest, the course of rivers, and the contours of hills and mountains. These geographical features separated one area from another. The Krayan locals indicated that before the formation of the two states, the border primarily separated the various Dayak ethnic groups on Borneo. The name Dayak Lundayeh refers to the ethnic Dayak groups in Indonesia, while the name Lun Bawang refers to the Dayak ethnic groups in Malaysia. Customarily, the Lundayeh inhabit the highlands and the Lun Bawang reside in the relatively flat areas. For the Dayak on both sides of the border, the need to preserve the relationship with family across the border was the initial motivating factor to cross the border, and, in fact, it still is a prominent driver. These days, however, for the Krayan locals, an additional driver to continue their border crossing practices is the unevenness of regional-economic development on either side of the border, or to put this more succinctly, the insufficient development in the Krayan region. It seems that the formation of the two states, and the years thereafter, have not affected the Krayan locals' border crossing practices. Subsequently, in order to legitimise the border crossing of the Krayan locals, the Indonesian government introduced a border pass.

When the border is referred to as a *process* rather than an *outcome*, this implies that the border is seen as an open-ended process. This means that the border (whether activated, deactivated or reactivated) results from the interaction of the enabling and constraining elements of a situation. These elements are not necessarily assigned a fixed, specific role. They may act either as an enabling element for some time or as a constraining element at another time. In other words, their roles are subject to change. For instance, Krayan is situated in the highlands of Borneo, where the accessibility from Indonesia to the region is restricted to aerial service. However, the region is overland accessible from Malaysia. Thus, it can be argued that the geographical condition that constrains the accessibility of Krayan from Indonesia has enabled the cross-border interaction of Krayan locals with Malaysia. In other words, on the one hand, the geographical condition functions as an enabling element with respect to the interaction with Malaysia, whereas the geographical condition also acts as a constraining element with respect to the interaction with Indonesia.

#### **9.2.4. Lack of government attention**

The fourth research subquestion that this study seeks to answer is: '*How do Krayan locals perceive and relate to the state of development of their region?*'. In order to provide an answer, this study has reflected on the concepts of *state formation* and *development*.

The study has found that the local population viewed development in the region as primarily the result of the combined influence of some key developmental actors. These actors reflect the different ways they contribute to development in the region, such as customary leaders, non-government actors (specifically the missionary societies, the WWF and FORMADAT), and government. It must be noted here that, even though the government is considered to play a crucial role, its overall influence is considered lacking, particularly as regards the development of infrastructure in Krayan (as discussed in Chapter 7). With

respect to this role of government, it is thereby also worth noting that tension exists among the different administrative levels of government, that is, the central, provincial, and regional (regency and district) tiers of government, concerning the implementation of border-regional development in Krayan.

In order to better understand the aforementioned respondents' perceptions on the development endeavours in Krayan, the discussion focused on the development in Krayan in relation to the formation of Indonesia as a modern nation-state. The State of Indonesia as an organization, is obliged to provide for its citizens. This obligation is seen as a form of reciprocity by the State to its citizens. In a modern nation-state, this is characterized by the State's efforts to improve people's welfare, which can be achieved through the construction of good roads, the provision of education and health care. To put it simply, the successful economic development of a modern nation-state shows itself in the government's efforts to ensure the welfare of its members. In this way, economic development is associated with a state of welfare. This point of view is relevant when considering how Krayan's locals perceived development. The locals associated development with the improvement of people's welfare through the availability of basic amenities in the region such as roads, education services, and health care centres. In Krayan, road construction is seen as part of the task of the government, while the provision of education and health care tend to be credited to missionary societies. Nowadays, though, the medical staff of health centres have been made part of the government program.

Following the formation of the State border between Indonesia and Malaysia, the two states have undergone distinct economic development. The independence of Indonesia that was gained through struggle and Malaysia's independence from the British that was achieved through diplomacy has resulted in different development endeavours by the two states. In the aftermath of violent struggle and destruction, Indonesia had to build up the State from scratch. In contrast, Malaysia was in a position to make use of the existing public infrastructure, which marks the foundation of a new modern state. As a consequence, the border region of Kalimantan is less developed than the Malaysian part of Borneo. In Krayan, these distinct levels of development have given rise to the locals' intentions to cross the border into Malaysia.

### **9.2.5. The role of cross-border interaction in border-regional development**

With regard to the fifth research subquestion: '*How does cross-border interaction play a role in border-regional development, and vice versa?*'. Respondents involved in this study highlighted that when it comes to development, it is partly their dissatisfaction with state-led development in the Krayan region that prompted them to cross the national border. Thereby respondents would almost always mention their sense of nationalism whenever they expressed their dissatisfaction with the state of development of public infrastructure in the region.

To summarize, this study has examined the role of cross-border interaction in border-regional development and *vice versa*, basing this on the empirical findings and using the cross-

border dynamics conceptual framework set out in Chapter 2. The study has found that the Krayan locals engaged in two major types of border crossing, namely *accepted* and *contested border crossings* (discussed in Chapter 8). The term *accepted border crossings* implies that the Krayan locals' border crossings are in compliance with the Indonesian government regulations. In the case of *contested border crossings*, the Krayan locals regarded their border crossings to be not fully in compliance with the government's border crossing regulations, but that the border crossings still took place because they served the needs of the Krayan locals.

Practises of border crossing in Krayan occur at the interface of, on the one hand, the locals' needs and intentions, and on the other hand, the developmental impact of the state. Accordingly, the border locals have developed a set of practices and routines to organise their crossings. These intentions to cross the border are family visits, shopping, to attend cultural events, to find a paid job, and/or leisure. These are inherent in the shared cultural background of the two local communities on either side of the border or a reflection of the geographical isolation and resultant lack of development of Krayan.

Final remark concerning the fifth research question is as follows: To a large extent, it was found that cross-border interaction does not directly influence border-regional development. Rather it was the opposite: inadequate development in Krayan forced locals to go across the border.

### **9.2.6. Linking cross-border interaction with border-regional development**

Following the prior sub-sections, which elaborated on each of the subquestions, I now return to the main question of this dissertation, namely '*What is the relationship between cross-border interaction and border-regional development in Krayan, Kalimantan?*'.

This study finds that the connection between the two aspects is essentially connected to a certain 'nationalist' sentiment, of which the first realization dawned with the opening of this thesis, where I shared a headline from CNN Indonesia that highlighted the dual reality of the lives of border locals in the Krayan border region. That is, on the one hand, the border locals in Krayan are Indonesian by citizenship. Yet, on the other hand, despite this citizenship, they do need to cross the border to Malaysia to meet various daily necessities.

Following a study of the geographical-historical background of the region, as well as state formation processes, especially those linked to local development, and taking into account locals' experience and perception, it emerges that the relationship between cross-border interaction and border-regional development in Krayan can be traced to border locals' viewpoints on nationalism. In this study, it was found that the sense of nationalism of the Krayan locals conflicted with their need to engage in cross-border interaction for their livelihoods because the level of border-region development was insufficient. It led to the much related local saying: *Garuda di dadaku, Malaysia di perutku* (Garuda is on my chest, but Malaysia is in my stomach).

With respect to the nation and the Garuda, the formation of a nation can be seen as a process to also mark a boundary. Thereby the symbol of the Garuda is an instrument to strengthen Indonesia as a nation through the patriotic values that the Garuda stands for. Referring to Connor's terms of a civic-territory, I argue that the Krayan locals' sense of nationalism is well portrayed in their loyalty to Indonesia and their desire to continue to live in Indonesia. This is seen as independent of their frequent border crossing to Malaysia to fulfil their daily needs. At the same time, the close interaction of the locals with neighbouring communities across the border may be regarded as another form of nation construction, one that Connor refers to as *ethnie-nation*.

Based on these research findings, it can be concluded that the cross-border interaction of the Krayan locals and the development endeavours in the border region are strongly connected. This interrelationship is embodied in multiple and interchangeable identities of the locals. That is, they are nationalist as Indonesian citizens and ethno-nationalist as belonging to the Dayak ethnic group.

### 9.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

This study sought to establish a better understanding of the dynamics of cross-border interaction at the Kalimantan border, the border between Indonesia and Malaysia, within the context of the border-regional development in Kalimantan. Understanding the cross-border interaction dynamics provides insights which may be useful in future border-regional development endeavours in Indonesia, in general, and particularly in the Kalimantan border region. Based on the findings, this study has attempted to come to an in-depth understanding of the different ways cross-border interaction is perceived as a compliment to the government-led development endeavours. Here I would like to make three possible recommendations for further research.

Firstly, this study has found that the shared cultural background of the two adjacent communities on either side of the border has been an important element in the locals' intentions to cross the border. This study finds that the major motivation for Krayan locals to go to Malaysia is predetermined by the kinship relations among the two local border communities, which have been in existence from long before the formation of the State of Indonesia and Malaysia. Furthermore, over the years, the contrast in development between the two states has been the reason that more border crossings take place from Indonesia to Malaysia than the other way round. These days the Krayan locals are not only going to Malaysia to visit their family, but their border crossing has also been driven by various other motivations such as seeking a paid job, shopping, and trading. The maintenance of kinship relations, however, has invariably been the prime motivating vehicle to both envisage and carry out other reasons to go to Malaysia. Hence, this study recommends a broadening of border research to better understand the role of the socio-cultural background of the locals.

In so doing, development endeavours that involve cooperation between adjacent states can be pursued without these being blocked by sentiments of nationalism.

Secondly, the study has shown that the development in Krayan involves various non-government actors. The early developments in Krayan have been credited by the locals to the missionary societies in the region. Also involved in development are non-government organisations, such as the WWF and the Heart of Borneo. In addition, the communities on either side of the border also participate in the development endeavours in Krayan through FORMADAT. Based on these findings, this study recommends the importance of considering the roles of non-government actors as relevant actors contributing to the development in border regions. This is to say that government intervention in border-regional development is not an *a priori* given that it excludes other actors. Thus, if research is to be done on development, also the contributions from a range of non-government actors need to be highlighted. The concept of state welfare that stems from the mandate of a modern nation-state may explain the relations between economic development and government-led public infrastructure development. However, it shall not ignore the role of other actors in development. Following Amartya Sen's suggestion to approach development as a multi-institutional environment that involves explicit and implicit features embedded in economic development, this multi-institutional approach can be utilized to highlight the role of non-government development actors. For further study, it is then crucial to consider a range of non-government actors.

Thirdly, this study has noted that a series of historical events have impacted on the border formation and the ongoing developments. Based on the research findings, any future border-regional development efforts should better consider the role of historical events shaping the border locals' perception of living in the border region. This, in turn, will help to develop a deeper knowledge of, and a greater appreciation for, the particular circumstances that make border regions so different from other regions. This should also take into account the history of failed prior development endeavours in a border region, such as Krayan.

This research has also shown that there is a gap among the different tiers of government concerning development endeavours. For instance, the district government feels that pertaining to development there is a lack of understanding between the district, provincial, and national levels of government. This study has found that particularly with respect to the coordination among institutions, each institution involved in the implementation of border-regional development requires a deeper insight into the development needs in Krayan in order to find the implementation with the best fit.

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SUMMARY  
SAMENVATTING  
RINGKASAN  
APPENDIX INTERVIEW GUIDE  
AND QUESTIONNAIRES  
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT  
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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## SUMMARY

PhD. Dissertation:

Garuda is on my chest, but my stomach is in Malaysia: Interaction in the context of development in the Indonesian–Malaysian border region.

Generally, border crossing has been seen as contributing to globalization and influencing development both nationally and locally, and it has become a topic engaging border scholars, states and local people. Cross-border interaction has offered opportunities to contribute to the development of a border region. At the same time, however, cross-border interaction has also resulted in restrictions, which impact development. When speaking about the relationship of border crossing with development, often aspects such as nationalism, border security and defence, as well as economic development are mentioned as important. However, these aspects inevitably tend to overshadow the role of the social and cultural aspects of the locals' border crossing. This study shows that the border crossing taking place between Indonesia and Malaysia does not merely concern nationalism, security and defence, or economic development but is also tightly linked with the cultural background shared by the local communities on either side of the border. In Krayan (Indonesia), the relationship between cross-border interaction and (insufficient) development is apparent in the locals' everyday lives.

This study investigates the border crossing of Krayan's locals into Malaysia as a means of meeting their daily needs, which cannot be met in Krayan because of the poor state of development of the region. People living in the more central areas of Indonesia tend to regard the Krayan locals' border crossing into Malaysia as a sign of decreasing loyalty, and hence a lack of nationalistic pride, towards the State of Indonesia. In contrast, the Krayan locals feel that their sense of nationalism and loyalty to the State of Indonesia is proven through their persistent wish to live in an area at the very edge of the country's territory, regardless of the lack of development in Krayan. Living on the border with Malaysia, the locals see themselves as guardians of the sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia. Another factor is that in Krayan border crossing has long been part of life and existed prior to the formation of the two states. Crossing the border into Malaysia continues to be a matter of visiting family members, where 'family' includes all individuals who have a common cultural background and live on either side of the border. Also, as the respondents explained, the poor development in the region forces them to go to Malaysia and this does not compromise their loyalty to the State of Indonesia. The locals mentioned the expression *Garuda di dadaku, tapi Malaysia di perutku* (Garuda is on our chest, but our stomach is Malaysia), which aptly depicts that they hold Indonesia in their hearts even though their livelihoods are supported by Malaysia.

This study is part of the New Indonesian Frontier Programme, Kalimantan, as the general research area was selected because it was expected to provide insights leading to an increased understanding of the frontier characteristics of multifaceted borders. Thus, the

first chapter provides a general introduction to the cross-border interaction at the Indonesian and Malaysian border with specific reference to the Krayan region in Kalimantan. Attempting to gain a deeper understanding of the frontier characteristics in Krayan, the study focused on the main question: *What is the relationship between cross-border interaction and border-regional development in Krayan, Kalimantan?* The main research question was broken down into three research subquestions:

1. What is the historical-geographical context of the Krayan border region?
2. What is the arena of actors involved with development in Krayan?
3. What cross-border interactions take place out of Krayan, and how are they perceived by Krayan locals?
4. How do Krayan locals perceive and relate to the state of development of their region?
5. How does cross-border interaction play a role in border-regional development and vice versa?

### **Conceptualising border and development**

The conceptual framework is put forward in Chapter 2. To understand how cross-border interaction results from the interplay of *border* and *development*, the key concepts related to these aspects are elaborated. Part of the discussion centres on the way the *border* is understood in disciplines such as geography, geopolitics, sociology, anthropology and psychology. In this manner, the debate on how the term has been broadly discussed can be addressed and thus able to maintain the compatibility of border definition that is discussed in this study. The discussion highlights that borders can be seen as a process rather than as a product. With the border perceived as a process, the bordering process generates the formation of a nation. Examining the concept of a nation and the formation of a modern state then leads to a discussion of two types of nationalism, namely nation-state and ethnically-state nationalism.

Next, the concept of *interaction* is explored centring on spatial interaction and social interaction to comprehend how interactions are embedded in the concept of border. Thereafter, in order to understand how the interactions are operationalized, the concept of structuration is discussed, leading to interaction being defined in this study as the purposive interplay aiming to achieve the intended development.

To clarify the relationship between cross-border interaction and development, this study discussed economic development as the predominant development endeavour. That is, the Indonesian government's economic development endeavours as a means to improve the welfare of Krayan's people alongside the improvement of security and defence at the border with Malaysia. Since development is associated with increasing economic development, part of the discussion is how well public infrastructure became a prerequisite for development in a modern state. Here specifically, reference is made to Robert-Cribb's development framework.

Also discussed is how as the result of modernity, the idea of the nation-state in Indonesia contains overlapping complexities. These complexities are captured in the expression *Garuda di dadaku, tapi Malaysia di perutku* (Garuda on my chest, but Malaysia is in my stomach), which is often used by Indonesian border locals to indicate the extent of their dissatisfaction regarding development in their region, such that they have to go to Malaysia to fulfil their daily needs while remaining loyal to Indonesia. The phrase reflects the intersection of related complexities, namely perceiving the nation-state (Indonesia) as the result of the bordering process and seeing the need for economic development as part of the formation of the State of Indonesia. The link between the border and the development is expanded by positing that the border shall not be seen as a product but as a process. Hence development can be seen as a driving force causing the bordering process to continue.

This chapter ends with the formulation of the conceptual framework aiming to understand the relationship between cross-border interaction and border-regional development in Krayan, Kalimantan, which is the main aim of this study. To highlight the distinctive aspects involved in cross-border dynamics, two categories are defined, that is, *accepted* and *contested*, cross-border dynamics, with each category consisting of subcategories. In this, the roles of the state and that of the border inhabitants are defined to emphasize their significance in sustaining border crossings.

### **Using a mixed method to gather data**

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the research methodology used to gather the data. The chapter describes data collection techniques and data analysis procedures employed. As the research (sub)questions required different research methods, this chapter explains the involvement of the Krayan locals in surveys and interviews, as well as data collection procedures and instruments. Since the goal of this research is to provide insight into the dynamics of cross-border interactions in the Kalimantan border region within the context of border-regional development, surveys and semi-structured interviews were used as part of the mixed method. In terms of respondents, fifty-five respondents were involved in the survey, and forty-four participants took part in the interviews, which served to gain in-depth insight into their border crossing experiences. All participants in the interviews also responded to the survey questionnaire. The participants involved in this research were selected based on how far they live from the Indonesian border post, namely at a near, medium or far distance from the border. In addition, semi-structured interviews were carried out with government officials who happened to be available at that time.

### **The research area: the Krayan region**

The contextualisation of Krayan as a research area is discussed in Chapter 4. The selection of this research area directs the attention to four issues: the historical background, the administrative structure, the region's accessibility, and the population characteristics.

The historical context to the presence of the state border in Krayan is given, tracing its origin to the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the two ruling colonial powers, the Dutch and the British, laid claim to the island of Borneo. Thus, the state border between Indonesia and Malaysia finds its origin in the colonial pasts of these two states. Thereafter, the administrative borders in the region have been outlined since Indonesia's independence in 1945. The original state borders were established by the colonial powers to regulate trade routes, and they were mainly based on prominent geographical features. Hence, the border area, including Indonesian territory in northern Kalimantan mostly consists of hilly terrain, which has serious consequences for the region's accessibility. Lastly, the chapter describes the characteristics of the population living in the Krayan region.

### **A multifaceted border and development in Krayan**

The next chapter, Chapter 5, contextualises the multifaceted border and the implemented development in the Krayan region. It describes how the border in Krayan is embedded in the Krayan locals' life in multiple forms. The different forms of the border are associated with customary boundaries, ethnic divisions, church denominations, conservation zonation, administrative borders (village and location), and the state border between Indonesia and Malaysia. Border crossing is seen as an obvious consequence of these many borders. Defining each of these forms of border requires placing them in their specific contexts. Such definitions often depend on with whom the concept is being discussed. In one way or another, the formation of these multiple borders has been influenced by the developments brought to Krayan, and the chapter describes some of the development endeavours in the region.

### **Respondents' border crossing experiences**

Chapter 6 describes the respondents' actual border crossings and how they view these. The descriptions are derived based on their current border crossings, the frequencies of these, the means of transportation used, and the border crossing pass arrangements. In addition to these individual accounts also the actual border crossings are presented as indicated by the data recorded by the immigration post in Krayan. These two approaches were used to show that not all of the locals' border crossings are necessarily reflected in the recorded data. It was found that border crossing often takes place even if an individual does not possess a border pass, and, thus, the crossing may not be recorded by the immigration post.

This chapter highlights that even though a major motivation to cross the border is to visit family members in Malaysia, this is often combined with other purposes. Some common purposes are seeking a paid job, shopping, and attending religious or cultural-religious events.

Besides explaining how border crossing is a common practice in the lives of the people of Krayan, this chapter also draws attention to another aspect of border crossing, one that causes daily tensions, namely the smuggling of goods. The chapter ends with the respondents' accounts of negative border crossing experiences.

## **Respondents' accounts: the state of development in Krayan**

This study shows that the ongoing cross-border interaction of the Krayan locals is related to the state of development in the region. The locals' experiences of and perceptions on development in their region are discussed in Chapter 7. Based on the respondents' accounts, aspects related to development such as the role and importance of development actors and that of the Government are portrayed. Also, the various forms of cross-border cooperation are highlighted.

In terms of the actors involved in border-regional development, the respondents mentioned the Government, religious leaders, customary leaders, and armed forces. Of these, the Government's contribution to development appears to be the most prominent when compared to those of the other actors. The Government's role is seen as important in terms of the establishment and improvement of public infrastructure in Krayan, such as constructing roads, subsidising flights, building telecommunication towers, and improving immigration posts. Other government-led endeavours are the posting of Indonesian armed forces as border guards, coaching village administrations in the use of technology, and building public hospitals. Even though the respondents mentioned cross-border cooperation arrangements, the role of cross-border cooperation is viewed as far less prominent to stimulate development compared to the role of Government.

This section is followed by an account of the respondents' perceptions regarding the Government's involvement in the development of the region. It was found that in spite of the acknowledgement that the role of Government is important, the respondents indicated various degrees of dissatisfaction, particularly with the government-led endeavours in the domain of public infrastructure.

## **Garuda is on my chest, but Malaysia is in my stomach**

Having discussed the respondents' personal accounts regarding their border crossings as well as the state of development in their region, the next chapter (Chapter 8) examines the link between cross-border interaction and border-regional development in Krayan. This discussion is in line with the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2 and centres on the meaning and role of the cross-border interaction. Next, the significance of cross-border interaction is placed in the context of the evolution of the border. Also, by probing the meaning of the oft-heard expression 'Garuda di dadaku, Malaysia di perutku', the relationship between cross-border interaction and development is analysed.

The first section of this chapter outlines the border crossing dynamics framework of this study. The second section deals with the discussion of the border between Indonesia and Malaysia from a historical perspective and centres on the evolution of the state border in Kalimantan, and Krayan in particular. This section explains how the formation of Indonesia's state border in Kalimantan cannot be separated from the role of the colonial powers, culminating in the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia (Konfrontasi) in the early sixties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the light of the formation of a modern-state,

economic development was carried out in the form of public infrastructure construction and improvement in order to enhance and accelerate its economic development. The third section analyses the making and remaking of the bordering processes in Krayan and how these processes affect the Krayan locals' everyday border crossings. In the fourth section, it is examined how the making and remaking of bordering processes as the result of development reflect the formation of the modern state. How border-regional development in Krayan has influenced the locals' sense of nationalism is analysed in the fifth section. Then, by employing the border crossing dynamics framework set out in Chapter 2 the empirical findings are analysed in the next section, specifically the findings that relate to the locals' border crossing and the border-regional development in Krayan. The analysis of the link between the locals' cross-border interaction and development in Krayan is extended by probing the meaning of the expression *Garuda di Dadaku, Malaysia di Perutku*. It turns out that this expression lays bare the dispute found at the intersection of the formation of the modern state and the meaning of nationalism. The conclusion is that the locals' cross-border dynamics refer to a purposive interaction to fill the gaps left by lacking development in Krayan. The interaction is purposive since it may operate in a flexible manner in order to attain the set goal. This quality of flexibility is enabled by the cultural background shared by local communities on either side of the border and prompted by the insufficient development in Krayan.

### **Concluding remarks**

The conclusions of this study are drawn in Chapter 9. This chapter consists of four sections. The first section discusses the overview of the context of cross-border interaction in Krayan. Next the research findings are highlighted by returning to the three research subquestions as well as the theoretical framework that forms the basis for the study. This is then followed by a brief discussion on how the findings relate to these.

Based on the research findings, it is emphasised that the cross-border interaction of the border locals is not necessarily a measurement of their affection for Indonesia. Rather, border crossing is a means to live and subsist in a geographically isolated region.

My recommendations are that based on this study the scope of border studies in Indonesia is extended to include the 'border' as an active process where its activation is subject to a constant changing of the interplay between enabling and constraining factors, which are embedded in the locals' daily lives. Viewing the 'border' in this way, it might be possible to achieve development that goes beyond sentiments of nationalism and the establishment of border security and defence. Taking this route, the intended economic development of this isolated region could be pursued through mutual cooperation between adjacent states.

### **A new framework to examine border crossing practices**

It is argued that the border crossing dynamics framework set out in this research could contribute to a new approach in the analysis and understanding of the practice of border crossing in association with border-regional development. The framework used in this study

is deemed to be a better and fairer tool when analysing border crossing practices since it distinguishes between two types of border crossings: *accepted/stimulated* and *contested* border crossings. Additionally, this framework allows for further differentiation within these categories by addressing additional features. In this way, the framework offers greater flexibility within its categories by acknowledging specific features that may not justify a certain border crossing type to be generalised (or compensated) by other types of border crossings.

This framework acknowledges the structures, the individuals' agency, as well as the processes that intertwine border crossing practices with border-regional development. In doing so, the framework addresses and at the same time questions the *a priori* assumption that border crossings are prompted by insufficient development. This study presents some insights by the border locals that were previously overlooked and showed the agency of individuals often not acknowledged in the past. Thus, the border crossing dynamics framework provides a way to look beyond the obvious and to include the perceptions of the border locals which are often left unobserved.

## SAMENVATTING

Ph.D. Proefschrift:

Garuda staat op mijn borst, maar mijn maag is in Maleisië: Interactie in de context van ontwikkeling in de Indonesisch-Maleisische grensregio.

In het algemeen wordt het passeren van een grens (ook wel ‘grensoverschrijding’ of in het Engels ‘border crossing’ genoemd) gezien als een bijdrage aan globalisering en beïnvloeding van ontwikkeling, zowel op nationaal als lokaal niveau, en het is een onderwerp geworden dat grensgeleerden, staten en lokale bevolkingen bezighoudt. Grensoverschrijdende interactie (interactie waarbij een grens gepasseerd wordt) biedt mogelijkheden om bij te dragen aan de ontwikkeling van een grensregio. Tegelijkertijd heeft grensoverschrijdende interactie echter ook geleid tot beperkingen, die ontwikkeling beïnvloeden. Wanneer wordt gesproken over de relatie tussen grensoverschrijding en ontwikkeling, worden vaak aspecten als nationalisme, grensbeveiliging en grensverdediging, alsmede economische ontwikkeling, genoemd als belangrijke aspecten. Deze aspecten hebben echter onvermijdelijk de neiging om de rol van de sociale en culturele aspecten van grensoverschrijding door de plaatselijke bevolking te overschaduwen. Deze studie toont aan dat grensoverschrijding tussen Indonesië en Maleisië niet alleen te maken heeft met nationalisme, veiligheid en defensie, of economische ontwikkeling, maar ook nauw samenhangt met de culturele achtergrond die de plaatselijke gemeenschappen aan weerszijden van de grens delen. In Krayan (Indonesië) is de relatie tussen grensoverschrijdende interactie en (onvoldoende) ontwikkeling zichtbaar in het dagelijks leven van de lokale bevolking.

Deze studie onderzoekt de grensoverschrijding van de lokale bevolking van Krayan naar Maleisië als een middel om in hun dagelijkse behoeften te voorzien, die in Krayan niet vervuld kunnen worden vanwege de slechte staat van ontwikkeling van de regio. Mensen die in de meer centraal gelegen gebieden van Indonesië wonen, zijn geneigd de grensoverschrijding van de lokale bevolking van Krayan naar Maleisië te beschouwen als een teken van afnemende loyaliteit, en dus een gebrek aan nationalistische trots, ten opzichte van de staat Indonesië. De inwoners van Krayan daarentegen menen dat hun gevoel van nationalisme en loyaliteit aan de Staat Indonesië blijkt uit hun hardnekkige wens om in een gebied aan de uiterste rand van het grondgebied van het land te wonen, ongeacht het gebrek aan ontwikkeling in Krayan. Omdat zij aan de grens met Maleisië wonen, ziet de plaatselijke bevolking zichzelf als bewakers van het soevereine grondgebied van de Republiek Indonesië. Een andere factor is dat in Krayan, het passeren van de grens al lang deel uitmaakt van het leven, en reeds bestond vóór de vorming van de twee staten. De grens naar Maleisië passeren is nog steeds een kwestie van familieleden bezoeken, waarbij “familie” alle personen omvat die een gemeenschappelijke culturele achtergrond hebben en aan weerszijden van de grens wonen. Zoals de ondervraagden verklaarden, dwingt de slechte ontwikkeling in de regio hen ook om naar Maleisië te gaan, zonder dat dit hun loyaliteit aan de staat Indonesië in het gedrang

brengt. De plaatselijke bevolking noemde de uitdrukking *Garuda di dadaku, tapi Malaysia di perutku* (Garuda staat op onze borst, maar onze maag is Maleisië), die treffend weergeeft dat zij Indonesië in hun hart dragen, ook al worden hun middelen van bestaan door Maleisië gesteund.

Deze studie maakt deel uit van het programma *New Indonesian Frontier Programme*. Kalimantan werd als algemeen onderzoeksgebied gekozen, omdat verwacht werd dat het inzichten zou opleveren die zouden leiden tot een beter begrip van de grenskenmerken van veelzijdige grenzen (*multifaceted borders*). In het eerste hoofdstuk wordt dan ook een algemene inleiding gegeven op de grensoverschrijdende interactie aan de Indonesische en Maleisische grens, waarbij specifiek wordt verwezen naar de Krayan-regio in Kalimantan. In een poging een dieper inzicht te krijgen in de kenmerken van de grens in Krayan, richtte de studie zich op de hoofdvraag: *Wat is de relatie tussen grensoverschrijdende interactie en grens-regionale ontwikkeling in Krayan, Kalimantan?* De hoofdonderzoeksvraag werd opgesplitst in drie onderzoeksdeelvragen:

1. Wat is de historisch-geografische context van het Krayan-grensgebied?
2. Wat is de arena van actoren die betrokken zijn bij de ontwikkeling in Krayan?
3. Welke grensoverschrijdende interacties vinden plaats vanuit Krayan, en hoe worden deze door de plaatselijke bevolking van Krayan ervaren?
4. Hoe ziet de plaatselijke bevolking van Krayan de ontwikkeling van hun regio en hoe verhoudt zij zich daartoe?
5. Hoe speelt grensoverschrijdende interactie een rol in de ontwikkeling van de grensregio en vice versa?

### **Conceptualisering van grens en ontwikkeling**

Het conceptuele kader wordt in hoofdstuk 2 uiteengezet. Om te begrijpen hoe grensoverschrijdende interactie voortvloeit uit de wisselwerking tussen grens en ontwikkeling, worden de belangrijkste concepten met betrekking tot deze aspecten uitgewerkt. Een deel van de discussie gaat over de manier waarop de grens wordt begrepen in disciplines als geografie, geopolitiek, sociologie, antropologie en psychologie. Op deze manier kan het debat over de manier waarop de term in brede zin is besproken, worden aangekaart, en kan de compatibiliteit van de grensdefinitie die in deze studie wordt besproken, worden gehandhaafd. De discussie benadrukt dat grenzen eerder als een proces dan als een product kunnen worden gezien. Met de grens opgevat als een proces, genereert het grensproces de vorming van een natie. Het onderzoek naar het concept van een natie en de vorming van een moderne staat, leidt vervolgens tot een bespreking van twee soorten nationalisme, namelijk natie-staatsnationalisme en etnische-staatsnationalisme.

Vervolgens wordt het begrip *interactie* onderzocht, waarbij de nadruk ligt op ruimtelijke interactie en sociale interactie om te begrijpen hoe interacties zijn ingebed in het begrip grens. Om vervolgens te begrijpen hoe de interacties worden geoperationaliseerd, wordt het

concept van structurering besproken, waardoor interactie in deze studie wordt gedefinieerd als de doelgerichte wisselwerking die tot doel heeft de beoogde ontwikkeling te bereiken.

Om de relatie tussen grensoverschrijdende interactie en ontwikkeling te verduidelijken, wordt in deze studie economische ontwikkeling besproken als het belangrijkste ontwikkelingsstreven. Dat wil zeggen, het streven van de Indonesische regering naar economische ontwikkeling als middel om het welzijn van de bevolking van Krayan te verbeteren, naast de verbetering van veiligheid en defensie aan de grens met Maleisië. Aangezien ontwikkeling wordt geassocieerd met toenemende economische ontwikkeling, is een deel van de discussie hoe goed de openbare infrastructuur een eerste vereiste is geworden voor ontwikkeling in een moderne staat. Hier wordt specifiek verwezen naar het ontwikkelingskader van Robert-Cribb.

Ook wordt besproken hoe, als gevolg van de moderniteit, het idee van de natie-staat in Indonesië overlappende complexiteiten bevat. Deze complexiteiten komen tot uiting in de uitdrukking *Garuda di dadaku, tapi Malaysia di perutku* (Garuda op mijn borst, maar Maleisië zit in mijn maag), die vaak door de Indonesische grensbewoners wordt gebruikt om de omvang van hun ontevredenheid over de ontwikkeling in hun regio aan te geven, zodat zij naar Maleisië moeten gaan om in hun dagelijkse behoeften te voorzien, terwijl zij trouw blijven aan Indonesië. De uitdrukking weerspiegelt de kruising van verwante complexiteiten, namelijk het waarnemen van de natiestaat (Indonesië) als het resultaat van het grensproces en het zien van de behoefte aan economische ontwikkeling als onderdeel van de vorming van de Staat Indonesië. Het verband tussen de grens en de ontwikkeling wordt uitgebreid, door te stellen dat de grens niet als een product, maar als een proces moet worden gezien. Ontwikkeling kan dus worden gezien als een drijvende kracht die het grensproces voortzet.

Dit hoofdstuk eindigt met de beschrijving van het conceptuele kader, welke is bedoeld om de relatie tussen grensoverschrijdende interactie en grens-regionale ontwikkeling in Krayan, Kalimantan, te begrijpen – wat tevens het hoofddoel van deze studie is. Om de onderscheidende aspecten van de grensoverschrijdende dynamiek te belichten, worden twee categorieën gedefinieerd, te weten *aanvaarde* en *betwiste* grensoverschrijdende dynamiek, waarbij elke categorie uit subcategorieën bestaat. Daarbij worden de rol van de staat en die van de grensbewoners gedefinieerd om hun betekenis voor de instandhouding van de grensovergangen te benadrukken.

### **Gebruik van mixed-methods om gegevens te verzamelen**

Hoofdstuk 3 geeft een overzicht van de onderzoeksmethode die is gebruikt om de gegevens te verzamelen. Het hoofdstuk beschrijft de gebruikte dataverzamelingstechnieken en data-analyseprocedures. Aangezien de onderzoeks(deel)vragen verschillende onderzoeksmethoden vereisten, wordt in dit hoofdstuk de betrokkenheid van de lokale bevolking van Krayan bij enquêtes en interviews toegelicht, evenals de procedures en instrumenten voor dataverzameling. Aangezien het doel van dit onderzoek is inzicht te verschaffen in de dynamiek van grensoverschrijdende interacties in het grensgebied van

Kalimantan in de context van grensregionale ontwikkeling, werden enquêtes en semi-gestructureerde interviews gebruikt als onderdeel van de mixed methods. Vijfenvijftig respondenten namen deel aan de enquête en vierenvestig deelnemers aan de interviews, die dienden om diepgaand inzicht te krijgen in hun ervaringen met grensoverschrijding. Alle interviewdeelnemers hebben tevens de enquête ingevuld. De deelnemers van dit onderzoek werden geselecteerd op basis van hoe ver ze van de Indonesische grenspost wonen – namelijk op korte, middellange of grote afstand van de grens. Daarnaast werden semi-gestructureerde interviews uitgevoerd met overheidsfunctionarissen, die op dat moment toevallig beschikbaar waren.

### **Het onderzoeksgebied: de regio Krayan**

De contextualisering van Krayan als onderzoeksgebied wordt besproken in hoofdstuk 4. De keuze van dit onderzoeksgebied richt de aandacht op vier zaken: de historische achtergrond, de bestuurlijke structuur, de toegankelijkheid van de regio, en de bevolkingskenmerken.

De historische context van de aanwezigheid van de staatsgrens in Krayan wordt gegeven, waarbij de oorsprong wordt herleid tot de 18e eeuw toen de twee heersende koloniale machten, de Nederlanders en de Britten, aanspraak maakten op het eiland Borneo. De staatsgrens tussen Indonesië en Maleisië vindt dus zijn oorsprong in het koloniale verleden van deze twee staten. Daarna zijn de bestuurlijke grenzen in de regio geschetst sinds de onafhankelijkheid van Indonesië in 1945. De oorspronkelijke staatsgrenzen werden door de koloniale machten vastgesteld om de handelsroutes te regelen, en zij waren hoofdzakelijk gebaseerd op prominente geografische kenmerken. Het grensgebied, met inbegrip van het Indonesische grondgebied in Noord-Kalimantan, bestaat dan ook grotendeels uit heuvelachtig terrein, hetgeen ernstige gevolgen heeft voor de toegankelijkheid van de regio. Tenslotte beschrijft het hoofdstuk de kenmerken van de bevolking die in de Krayan-regio woont.

### **Een veelzijdige grens en ontwikkeling in Krayan**

In het volgende hoofdstuk, hoofdstuk 5, wordt de context geschetst van de veelzijdige grens en de uitgevoerde ontwikkeling in de regio Krayan. Er wordt beschreven hoe de grens in Krayan in meerdere vormen is ingebed in het leven van de lokale bevolking van Krayan. De verschillende vormen van de grens worden geassocieerd met gewoontegrenzen, etnische scheidslijnen, kerkdenominaties, beschermde zones, bestuurlijke grenzen (dorp en locatie), en de staatsgrens tussen Indonesië en Maleisië. Grensoverschrijding wordt gezien als een voor de hand liggend gevolg van deze vele grenzen. Om elk van deze vormen van grenzen te definiëren, moeten zij in hun specifieke context worden geplaatst. Dergelijke definities hangen vaak af van met wie het begrip wordt besproken. De vorming van deze meervoudige grenzen is beïnvloed door de ontwikkelingen die zich in Krayan hebben voorgedaan, en het hoofdstuk beschrijft enkele van de ontwikkelingsinspanningen in de regio.

## Respondents' border crossing experiences

Hoofdstuk 6 beschrijft de feitelijke grensoverschrijdingen van de respondenten en hoe zij deze ervaren. De beschrijvingen zijn gebaseerd op hun huidige grensoverschrijdingen, de frequentie daarvan, de gebruikte vervoermiddelen en de regelingen omtrent passen voor grensoverschrijding. Naast deze individuele beschrijvingen worden ook de feitelijke grensoverschrijdingen gepresenteerd, zoals aangegeven door de gegevens die door de immigratiepost in Krayan zijn geregistreerd. Deze twee benaderingen werden gebruikt om aan te tonen dat niet alle grensoverschrijdingen van de plaatselijke bevolking noodzakelijkerwijs in de geregistreerde gegevens zijn terug te vinden. Er werd vastgesteld dat grensoverschrijdingen vaak plaatsvinden, zelfs als een persoon niet in het bezit is van een grenspas, en dat de grensoverschrijdingen dus misschien niet worden geregistreerd door de immigratiepost.

In dit hoofdstuk wordt benadrukt dat, hoewel het bezoeken van familieleden in Maleisië een belangrijke reden is om de grens over te steken, dit vaak met andere doeleinden wordt gecombineerd. Enkele veel voorkomende doelen zijn het zoeken van een betaalde baan, winkelen, en het bijwonen van religieuze of cultureel-religieuze evenementen.

Dit hoofdstuk legt niet alleen uit hoe grensoverschrijding een veel voorkomende praktijk is in het leven van de mensen van Krayan, maar vestigt ook de aandacht op een ander aspect van grensoverschrijding, een aspect dat dagelijkse spanningen veroorzaakt, namelijk de smokkel van goederen. Het hoofdstuk eindigt met het relaas van de respondenten over negatieve ervaringen met grensoverschrijding.

## Het relaas van de respondenten: de stand van de ontwikkeling in Krayan

Uit dit onderzoek blijkt dat de voortdurende grensoverschrijdende interactie van de plaatselijke bevolking van Krayan verband houdt met de stand van de ontwikkeling in de regio. De ervaringen van de lokale bevolking met en hun perceptie van de ontwikkeling in hun regio worden besproken in hoofdstuk 7. Op basis van de verhalen van de respondenten worden aspecten van ontwikkeling zoals de rol en het belang van ontwikkelingsactoren en die van de regering in beeld gebracht. Ook worden de verschillende vormen van grensoverschrijdende samenwerking belicht.

Wat betreft de actoren die betrokken zijn bij de ontwikkeling van het grensgebied, noemen de respondenten de regering, religieuze leiders, leiders van gewoonten en strijdkrachten. De bijdrage van de regering aan de ontwikkeling lijkt het belangrijkste in vergelijking met die van de andere actoren. De rol van de regering wordt als belangrijk beschouwd voor wat betreft de totstandbrenging en verbetering van de openbare infrastructuur in Krayan, zoals de aanleg van wegen, de subsidiëring van vluchten, de bouw van telecommunicatietorens en de verbetering van immigratieposten. Andere door de regering geleide inspanningen zijn het stationeren van Indonesische strijdkrachten als grenswachters, het coachen van dorpsbesturen in het gebruik van technologie, en het bouwen van openbare ziekenhuizen. Hoewel de ondervraagden melding maakten van grensoverschrijdende samenwerkingsregelingen, wordt de rol van

grensoverschrijdende samenwerking veel minder prominent geacht om de ontwikkeling te stimuleren, dan de rol van de regering.

Dit hoofdstuk wordt gevolgd door een uiteenzetting over de perceptie van de respondenten met betrekking tot de betrokkenheid van de regering bij de ontwikkeling van de regio. Geconstateerd werd dat, ondanks de erkenning van de belangrijke rol van de regering, de respondenten in verschillende mate van ontevredenheid uitten, met name over de door de regering geleide inspanningen op het gebied van de openbare infrastructuur.

### **Garuda staat op mijn borst, maar Maleisië zit in mijn maag**

Na de bespreking van de persoonlijke verhalen van de respondenten over hun grensoverschrijdingen en de stand van de ontwikkeling in hun regio, wordt in het volgende hoofdstuk (hoofdstuk 8) ingegaan op het verband tussen grensoverschrijdende interactie en grens-regionale ontwikkeling in Krayan. Deze discussie sluit aan bij het theoretische kader dat in hoofdstuk 2 is gepresenteerd en draait om de betekenis en de rol van de grensoverschrijdende interactie. Vervolgens wordt de betekenis van de grensoverschrijdende interactie geplaatst in de context van de ontwikkeling van de grens. Ook wordt, door de betekenis van de vaak gehoorde uitdrukking *Garuda di dadaku, Malaysia di perutku* te onderzoeken, de relatie tussen grensoverschrijdende interactie en ontwikkeling geanalyseerd.

De eerste paragraaf van dit hoofdstuk schetst het kader van de dynamiek van de grensovergang in deze studie. Het tweede deel behandelt de bespreking van de grens tussen Indonesië en Maleisië vanuit een historisch perspectief en concentreert zich op de ontwikkeling van de staatsgrens in Kalimantan, en Krayan in het bijzonder. In dit gedeelte wordt uiteengezet hoe de vorming van Indonesië's staatsgrens in Kalimantan niet los kan worden gezien van de rol van de koloniale mogendheden, culminerend in de confrontatie tussen Indonesië en Maleisië (Konfrontasi) in het begin van de jaren zestig van de 20e eeuw. In het licht van de vorming van een moderne staat vond de economische ontwikkeling plaats in de vorm van de aanleg en verbetering van de openbare infrastructuur, ten einde de economische ontwikkeling te bevorderen en te versnellen. Het derde deel analyseert het maken en opnieuw maken van de grensprocessen in Krayan en hoe deze processen van invloed zijn op de dagelijkse grensoverschrijdingen van de inwoners van Krayan. In de vierde paragraaf wordt onderzocht hoe het maken en opnieuw maken van grensprocessen als gevolg van de ontwikkeling de vorming van de moderne staat weerspiegelt. Hoe de grensregionale ontwikkeling in Krayan het gevoel van nationalisme van de plaatselijke bevolking heeft beïnvloed, wordt geanalyseerd in het vijfde deel. Vervolgens worden aan de hand van het in hoofdstuk 2 beschreven kader van dynamische grensoverschrijding, de empirische bevindingen in de volgende paragraaf geanalyseerd, in het bijzonder de bevindingen die betrekking hebben op de grensoverschrijdingen van de lokale bevolking en de grensregionale ontwikkeling in Krayan. De analyse van het verband tussen de grensoverschrijdende interactie van de lokale bevolking en de ontwikkeling in Krayan wordt uitgebreid door na te gaan wat de betekenis is van de uitdrukking *Garuda di Dadaku, Malaysia di Perutku*.

Het blijkt dat deze uitdrukking het geschil blootlegt dat zich voordoet op het snijpunt van de vorming van de moderne staat en de betekenis van nationalisme. De conclusie is dat de grensoverschrijdende dynamiek van de plaatselijke bevolking verwijst naar een doelgerichte interactie om de leemten op te vullen die zijn ontstaan door een gebrek aan ontwikkeling in Krayan. De interactie is doelgericht, omdat zij op een flexibele manier kan functioneren om het gestelde doel te bereiken. Deze kwaliteit van flexibiliteit wordt mogelijk gemaakt door de culturele achtergrond die de lokale gemeenschappen aan weerszijden van de grens delen en wordt ingegeven door de ontoereikende ontwikkeling in Krayan.

## Slotopmerkingen

De conclusies van deze studie worden getrokken in hoofdstuk 9. Dit hoofdstuk bestaat uit vier delen. In de eerste paragraaf wordt een overzicht gegeven van de context van grensoverschrijdende interactie in Krayan. Vervolgens worden de onderzoeksbevindingen belicht door terug te komen op de drie onderzoeksdeelvragen en het theoretisch kader dat de basis vormt voor het onderzoek. Daarna volgt een korte discussie over hoe de bevindingen zich tot deze vragen verhouden.

Op basis van de onderzoeksbevindingen wordt benadrukt dat de grensoverschrijdende interactie van de grensbewoners niet noodzakelijkerwijs een maatstaf is voor hun genegenheid voor Indonesië. Grensoverschrijding is eerder een middel om te leven en te overleven in een geografisch geïsoleerde regio.

Mijn aanbevelingen zijn dat op basis van deze studie de reikwijdte van grensstudies in Indonesië wordt uitgebreid tot de 'grens' als een actief proces waarvan de activering onderhevig is aan een voortdurende verandering van het samenspel tussen stimulerende en beperkende factoren, die zijn ingebed in het dagelijks leven van de lokale bevolking. Door de "grens" op deze manier te beschouwen, zou het mogelijk kunnen zijn om een ontwikkeling te bereiken die verder gaat dan gevoelens van nationalisme en het instellen van grensbeveiliging en -verdediging. Op deze manier zou de beoogde economische ontwikkeling van deze geïsoleerde regio kunnen worden nagestreefd door middel van wederzijdse samenwerking tussen aangrenzende staten.

## Een nieuw kader om de praktijken bij grensoverschrijding te onderzoeken

Er wordt betoogd dat het in dit onderzoek uiteengezette kader van de dynamiek van grensoverschrijding kan bijdragen aan een nieuwe benadering van de analyse en het begrip van grensoverschrijding, in samenhang met de ontwikkeling van grensregio's. Het in dit onderzoek gebruikte kader wordt beschouwd als een beter en eerlijker hulpmiddel bij het analyseren van grensoverschrijding, omdat het onderscheid maakt tussen twee soorten grensoverschrijdingen: *aanvaarde/gestimuleerde* en *betwiste* grensoverschrijdingen. Bovendien maakt dit kader een verdere differentiatie binnen deze categorieën mogelijk door in te gaan op aanvullende kenmerken. Op die manier biedt het kader een grotere flexibiliteit binnen zijn categorieën door specifieke kenmerken te erkennen die niet kunnen rechtvaardigen

dat een bepaald type grensoverschrijding wordt veralgemeend (of gecompenseerd) door andere types van grensoverschrijdingen.

Dit kader erkent de structuren, de individuele agency, alsmede de processen die grensoverschrijdingspraktijken verweven met grensregionale ontwikkeling. Op die manier stelt het kader de a priori aanname aan de orde, dat grensoverschrijdingen worden ingegeven door onvoldoende ontwikkeling, en stelt het deze aanname tegelijkertijd ter discussie. Deze studie presenteert een aantal inzichten van de grensbewoners die eerder over het hoofd werden gezien, en toont de agency van individuen die in het verleden vaak niet werden erkend. Het kader van dynamische grensoverschrijdingen biedt dus een manier om verder te kijken dan het voor de hand liggende, en een manier om de percepties van de grensbewoners – die vaak niet worden waargenomen – in de studie te betrekken.

## RINGKASAN

Ph.D. Disertasi:

Garuda di dadaku, tapi Malaysia di perutku: Interaksi dalam konteks pembangunan di wilayah perbatasan Indonesia-Malaysia.

Secara umum, lintas batas dapat berkontribusi terhadap globalisasi dan mempengaruhi pembangunan baik secara nasional maupun lokal. Topik perbatasan kemudian telah menarik perhatian para akademisi, negarawan dan masyarakat. Wawasan mengenai interaksi lintas batas telah membuka peluang untuk memahami kontribusinya pada pengembangan wilayah perbatasan. Namun pada saat yang sama, interaksi lintas batas juga mengakibatkan adanya pembatasan yang berdampak pada pembangunan. Ketika berbicara tentang hubungan lintas batas dengan pembangunan, seringkali aspek-aspek seperti nasionalisme, pertahanan dan keamanan perbatasan, serta pembangunan ekonomi menjadi topik-topik yang sering dibahas. Namun, aspek-aspek tersebut cenderung menutupi adanya peran aspek sosial dan budaya dari penduduk yang tinggal di perbatasan. Studi ini menunjukkan bahwa perlintasan perbatasan yang terjadi antara Indonesia dan Malaysia tidak hanya menyangkut nasionalisme, keamanan dan pertahanan, atau pembangunan ekonomi, tetapi juga terkait erat dengan latar belakang budaya yang dimiliki oleh masyarakat lokal di kedua sisi perbatasan. Di Krayan (Indonesia) hubungan antara interaksi lintas batas dan pembangunan terlihat dalam kehidupan sehari-hari masyarakat setempat.

Studi ini mengkaji perlintasan batas penduduk Krayan ke Malaysia. Lintas batas ini oleh masyarakat merupakan sarana pemenuhan kebutuhan sehari-hari yang tidak dapat dipenuhi di Krayan karena minimnya keadaan pembangunan di wilayah tersebut. Masyarakat yang tinggal di daerah yang lebih sentral di Indonesia cenderung menganggap penyeberangan perbatasan penduduk Krayan ke Malaysia sebagai tanda menurunnya loyalitas dan kurangnya kebanggaan nasional, terhadap Indonesia. Sebaliknya, masyarakat Krayan merasa bahwa rasa nasionalisme dan loyalitas kepada Indonesia mereka telah terbukti melalui keputusan mereka untuk terus tinggal di daerah yang paling ujung dari wilayah negara, terlepas dari minimnya pembangunan di Krayan. Penduduk setempat memandang diri mereka sebagai penjaga wilayah kedaulatan Republik Indonesia. Penduduk juga menganggap kegiatan melintas batas di Krayan sudah lama menjadi bagian dari kehidupan mereka dan bahkan sudah berlangsung sebelum terbentuknya kedua negara. Melintasi perbatasan ke Malaysia dilakoni dengan motivasi mengunjungi anggota keluarga. Dalam hal ini 'keluarga' mencakup semua individu yang memiliki latar belakang budaya yang sama dan tinggal di kedua sisi perbatasan. Selain itu, seperti yang dijelaskan oleh responden, buruknya pembangunan di wilayah tersebut menyebabkan mereka untuk pergi ke Malaysia. Meskipun mereka melintas batas, ini tidak mengurangi kesetiaan mereka kepada Indonesia. Penduduk setempat menyebut ungkapan *Garuda di dadaku, tapi perutku Malaysia*, sebagai gambaran bahwa mereka memegang Indonesia di hati mereka meskipun mata pencaharian mereka didukung oleh Malaysia.

Studi ini merupakan bagian dari riset New Indonesian Frontier Program. Adapun perbatasan Kalimantan dipilih sebagai daerah penelitian karena diharapkan dapat memberikan wawasan yang mengarah pada peningkatan pemahaman tentang karakteristik *frontier* (persinggahan) yang ada di perbatasan. Selanjutnya, bab pertama memberikan pengenalan umum tentang interaksi lintas batas di perbatasan Indonesia dan Malaysia dengan referensi khusus tentang wilayah Krayan di Kalimantan. Untuk memahami lebih dalam tentang karakteristik *frontier* di Krayan, studi ini berupaya untuk menjawab pertanyaan penelitian utama: *Apakah hubungan interaksi lintas batas dengan pembangunan kawasan perbatasan di Krayan, Kalimantan?* Pertanyaan penelitian utama ini kemudian dipecah menjadi lima sub pertanyaan penelitian sebagai berikut:

1. Apakah konteks historis-geografis wilayah perbatasan di Krayan?
2. Apakah arena aktor yang terlibat dalam pembangunan di Krayan?
3. Interaksi lintas batas apakah yang terjadi di Krayan, dan bagaimanakah persepsi penduduk setempat terhadap interaksi tersebut?
4. Bagaimanakah persepsi penduduk Krayan tentang pembangunan dan bagaimana mereka merelasikan pembangunan tersebut dengan pembangunan perbatasan di Krayan sendiri?
5. Bagaimanakah interaksi lintas batas berperan dalam pembangunan perbatasan wilayah dan sebaliknya?

### **Konseptualisasi batas dan pembangunan**

Untuk memahami bagaimana interaksi lintas batas dihasilkan dari interaksi perbatasan dan pembangunan, konsep-konsep kunci yang terkait dengan aspek-aspek ini diuraikan dalam Bab 2. Bagian dari diskusi berfokus pada bagaimana perbatasan dipahami dalam disiplin ilmu seperti geografi, geopolitik, sosiologi, antropologi dan psikologi. Dengan cara ini, perdebatan bagaimana istilah tersebut dibahas dan dibatasi menurut studi ini. Pembahasan yang ada menerangkan bahwa perbatasan dapat dilihat sebagai proses daripada sebagai produk. Perbatasan yang dipersepsikan sebagai suatu proses merujuk pada suatu proses pembentukan suatu bangsa. Menelaah konsep bangsa dan pembentukan negara modern kemudian mengarah pada pembahasan dua jenis nasionalisme, yaitu nasionalisme *negara-bangsa* dan nasionalisme *etnie-negara*.

Selanjutnya, konsep interaksi dibahas dengan menitik beratkan pada interaksi spasial dan interaksi sosial. Penitik beratan ini untuk memahami bagaimana interaksi tertanam dalam konsep perbatasan. Setelah itu, untuk memahami bagaimana interaksi dioperasionalkan, konsep strukturasi dibahas yang mengarah pada interaksi yang didefinisikan dalam penelitian ini sebagai interaksi yang bertujuan untuk mencapai pembangunan yang diinginkan.

Untuk memperjelas hubungan antara interaksi lintas batas dan pembangunan selanjutnya dibahas pembangunan ekonomi sebagai upaya utama pembangunan. Secara khusus pembangunan dalam studi ini dimaknai sebagai upaya pembangunan ekonomi oleh pemerintah Indonesia untuk meningkatkan kesejahteraan masyarakat Krayan seiring dengan peningkatan keamanan dan pertahanan di perbatasan. Karena pembangunan dikaitkan

dengan peningkatan pembangunan ekonomi, bagian pembahasannya adalah bagaimana infrastruktur publik yang baik merupakan prasyarat bagi pembangunan sebagai negara modern. Di sini secara khusus referensi dibuat untuk kerangka kerja pengembangan Robert-Cribb.

Dibahas pula bagaimana sebagai akibat dari modernitas, gagasan negara-bangsa di Indonesia mengandung kompleksitas yang tumpang tindih. Kerumitan ini terekam dalam ungkapan *Garuda di dadaku Malaysia di perutku* yang sering digunakan oleh penduduk perbatasan Indonesia untuk menunjukkan tingkat ketidakpuasan mereka terhadap pembangunan di daerah mereka, sehingga mereka harus ke Malaysia untuk memenuhi kebutuhan sehari-hari, sambil tetap setia kepada Indonesia. Ungkapan tersebut mencerminkan perpotongan kompleksitas terkait, yakni mempersepsikan negara-bangsa (Indonesia) sebagai hasil proses perbatasan, dan melihat kebutuhan pembangunan ekonomi sebagai bagian dari pembentukan negara Indonesia. Keterkaitan antara perbatasan dan pembangunan diperluas dengan mengemukakan bahwa perbatasan tidak boleh dilihat sebagai produk tetapi sebagai proses. Oleh karena itu, pembangunan dapat dilihat sebagai kekuatan pendorong yang menyebabkan berlanjutnya proses perbatasan.

Bab ini diakhiri dengan rumusan kerangka konseptual yang bertujuan untuk memahami hubungan antara interaksi lintas batas dan pembangunan daerah perbatasan di Krayan, Kalimantan yang menjadi tujuan utama penelitian ini. Untuk menyoroti aspek-aspek khas yang terlibat dalam dinamika lintas batas, tiga kategori didefinisikan, yaitu, dinamika lintas batas yang diterima (*accepted border crossing*) dan diperdebatkan (*contested border crossing*), dengan masing-masing kategori terdiri dari subkategori. Dalam hal ini, peran negara dan penduduk perbatasan digaris bawahi untuk menekankan signifikansi mereka dalam mempertahankan penyeberangan perbatasan.

### **Mixed method dalam Pengumpulan Data**

Bab 3 memberikan gambaran umum tentang metodologi penelitian yang digunakan pada penelitian. Bab ini menjelaskan teknik pengumpulan data dan prosedur analisis data yang digunakan. Hal ini karena (sub) pertanyaan penelitian memerlukan metode penelitian yang berbeda. Oleh karenanya bab ini menjelaskan tentang keterlibatan masyarakat Krayan sebagai responden survei dan peserta wawancara, serta prosedur dan instrumen pengumpulan data. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk memberikan wawasan tentang dinamika interaksi lintas batas di wilayah perbatasan Kalimantan dalam konteks pembangunan wilayah perbatasan, untuk itu survei dan wawancara semi terstruktur dengan metode campuran (*mixed method*) digunakan sebagai prosedur pengumpulan data dan selama analisis. Dari segi responden, lima puluh lima responden dilibatkan dalam survei, dan empat puluh empat peserta mengambil bagian dalam wawancara, yang berfungsi untuk mendapatkan wawasan mendalam tentang pengalaman lintas batas mereka. Semua peserta dalam wawancara juga menanggapi kuesioner survei. Partisipan yang dilibatkan dalam penelitian ini dipilih berdasarkan seberapa jauh mereka tinggal dari pos perbatasan Indonesia, yaitu pada jarak yang dekat, sedang

atau jauh dari perbatasan. Selain itu, wawancara semi terstruktur dilakukan dengan pejabat pemerintah yang sedang berada di tempat saat proses pengumpulan data berlangsung.

### **Krayan sebagai Daerah Penelitian**

Kontekstualisasi Krayan sebagai wilayah penelitian dibahas pada Bab 4. Pemilihan wilayah penelitian ini berfokus pada empat hal yaitu latar belakang sejarah, struktur administrasi, aksesibilitas wilayah, dan karakteristik penduduk.

Konteks historis keberadaan perbatasan negara di Krayan kemudian dibahas dengan menelusuri asal muasal perbatasan di abad ke-18 yaitu ketika dua kekuatan colonial, Belanda dan Inggris, berkuasa dan mengklaim pulau Kalimantan. Berdasarkan hal ini diketahui perbatasan negara antara Indonesia dan Malaysia berasal dari masa kolonial kedua negara ini. Setelah itu, batas administratif di wilayah perbatasan Kalimantan didirikan sejak kemerdekaan Indonesia pada tahun 1945. Batas negara yang pada awalnya ditetapkan oleh kekuasaan kolonial untuk mengatur rute perdagangan, didasarkan pada fitur geografis yang menonjol. Oleh karena itu, wilayah perbatasan termasuk wilayah Indonesia di Kalimantan bagian utara sebagian besar merupakan wilayah perbukitan yang berakibat serius terhadap aksesibilitas wilayah tersebut. Terakhir, bab ini menjelaskan tentang karakteristik penduduk yang tinggal di wilayah Krayan.

### **Perbatasan dan pembangunan multifaset di Krayan**

Bab berikutnya, Bab 5, mengkontekstualisasikan perbatasan yang memiliki manifestasi beraneka segi dan juga penjabawan tentang pembangunan yang dilaksanakan di wilayah Krayan. Bagian ini secara khusus menggambarkan bagaimana pemahaman perbatasan di Krayan tertanam dalam kehidupan masyarakat dalam wujud berbagai bentuk. Perbedaan bentuk perbatasan tersebut terkait dengan batas adat, pembagian etnis, denominasi gereja, zonasi konservasi, batas administratif (desa dan lokasi), dan batas negara antara Indonesia dan Malaysia. Penyeberangan perbatasan dilihat sebagai konsekuensi nyata dari banyak perbatasan ini. Mendefinisikan masing-masing bentuk perbatasan ini membutuhkan penempatannya dalam konteks spesifiknya. Definisi semacam itu sering kali bergantung pada siapa konsep tersebut dibahas. Dalam satu atau lain cara, pembentukan perbatasan ganda ini dipengaruhi oleh perkembangan yang dibawa ke Krayan, dan bab ini menjelaskan beberapa upaya pembangunan di wilayah tersebut.

### **Pengalaman melintasi perbatasan oleh responden**

Bab 6 menjelaskan tentang interaksi lintas batas berdasarkan pengalaman dari responden dan bagaimana mereka melihatnya. Deskripsi tersebut diturunkan berdasarkan pada penyeberangan perbatasan mereka saat ini, frekuensinya, alat transportasi yang digunakan, dan pengaturan jalur penyeberangan perbatasan. Selain rekening perorangan tersebut juga disajikan perlintasan batas sebenarnya seperti yang ditunjukkan oleh data pos imigrasi di Krayan. Kedua pendekatan ini digunakan untuk menunjukkan bahwa tidak semua

penyeberangan perbatasan penduduk setempat dengan sendirinya tercermin dalam data yang dicatat oleh pos imigrasi. Ditemukan bahwa penyeberangan perbatasan sering terjadi meskipun seseorang tidak memiliki izin masuk, sehingga penyeberangan tersebut tidak dapat dicatat oleh pos imigrasi.

Bab ini menyoroti bahwa meskipun motivasi utama untuk melintasi perbatasan adalah mengunjungi anggota keluarga di Malaysia, hal ini sering kali digabungkan dengan tujuan lain. Beberapa tujuan umum adalah mencari pekerjaan berbayar, berbelanja, dan menghadiri acara keagamaan atau budaya-agama.

Selain menjelaskan bagaimana lintas batas merupakan praktik yang lazim dalam kehidupan masyarakat Krayan, bab ini juga menyoroti aspek lain dari lintas batas yang menimbulkan ketegangan sehari-hari, yaitu penyelundupan barang ilegal. Bab ini diakhiri dengan akun responden tentang pengalaman negatif melintasi perbatasan.

## **Pandangan Responden Mengenai Pembangunan di Krayan**

Studi ini menunjukkan bahwa interaksi lintas batas yang sedang berlangsung di masyarakat Krayan terkait dengan keadaan pembangunan di wilayah tersebut. Pengalaman dan persepsi masyarakat tentang pembangunan di daerahnya dibahas pada Bab 7. Berdasarkan uraian responden, aspek-aspek yang terkait dengan pembangunan seperti peran dan pentingnya para pelaku pembangunan dan Pemerintah, digambarkan dalam bab ini. Berbagai bentuk kerjasama lintas batas juga disorot.

Dalam hal aktor yang terlibat dalam pembangunan daerah perbatasan, responden menyebutkan pemerintah, tokoh agama, tokoh adat, dan tentara. Selanjutnya, kontribusi pemerintah terhadap pembangunan tampak paling menonjol jika dibandingkan dengan para aktor lainnya. Peran pemerintah dipandang penting dalam hal pembangunan dan peningkatan infrastruktur publik di Krayan, seperti pembangunan jalan, subsidi penerbangan, pembangunan menara telekomunikasi, dan perbaikan pos-pos imigrasi. Upaya lain yang dipimpin pemerintah adalah penempatan angkatan bersenjata Indonesia sebagai penjaga perbatasan, melatih pemerintah desa dalam penggunaan teknologi, dan membangun rumah sakit umum. Meskipun para responden menyebutkan pengaturan kerja sama lintas batas, namun peran kerja sama lintas batas dipandang kurang menonjol untuk mendorong pembangunan dibandingkan dengan peran pemerintah.

Bagian ini dilanjutkan dengan penjelasan tentang persepsi responden tentang keterlibatan pemerintah dalam pembangunan daerah. Diketahui bahwa meskipun mengakui pentingnya peran pemerintah, para responden menunjukkan berbagai tingkat ketidakpuasan, terutama dengan upaya yang dipimpin oleh pemerintah dalam domain infrastruktur publik.

## **Garuda di dadaku, tapi Malaysia di perutku**

Setelah membahas persepsi pribadi responden mengenai perlintasan perbatasan mereka serta keadaan pembangunan di wilayahnya, bab selanjutnya (Bab 8) membahas keterkaitan antara interaksi lintas batas dan pembangunan wilayah perbatasan di Krayan. Pembahasan ini

sejalan dengan kerangka teori yang disajikan pada Bab 2 dan berpusat pada makna dan peran interaksi lintas batas. Selanjutnya, makna interaksi lintas batas ditempatkan dalam konteks evolusi perbatasan. Selain itu, dengan menggali makna ungkapan yang sering terdengar '*Garuda di dadaku, Malaysia di perutku*', dianalisis hubungan antara interaksi lintas batas dan pembangunan.

Bagian pertama dari bab ini menguraikan kerangka kerja dinamika lintas batas dari studi ini. Bagian kedua membahas tentang perbatasan antara Indonesia dan Malaysia dari perspektif sejarah dan berpusat pada evolusi perbatasan negara di Kalimantan, dan Krayan pada khususnya. Bagian ini menjelaskan bagaimana pembentukan perbatasan negara Indonesia di Kalimantan tidak lepas dari peran kekuatan kolonial yang berpuncak pada konfrontasi antara Indonesia dan Malaysia (*Confrontation*) di awal tahun enam puluhan abad ke-20. Dalam rangka pembentukan negara modern, pembangunan ekonomi dilakukan dalam bentuk pembangunan dan perbaikan infrastruktur publik guna meningkatkan dan mempercepat pembangunan ekonominya. Bagian ketiga menganalisis pembuatan dan pembuatan ulang proses perbatasan di Krayan dan bagaimana proses ini mempengaruhi penyeberangan perbatasan sehari-hari penduduk Krayan. Pada bagian keempat dikaji bagaimana proses pembuatan dan peremajaan tapal batas hasil pembangunan mencerminkan pembentukan negara modern. Bagaimana pembangunan daerah perbatasan di Krayan mempengaruhi rasa nasionalisme masyarakat dianalisa pada bagian kelima. Kemudian, dengan menggunakan kerangka dinamika lintas batas sebagaimana diatur dalam Bab 2, temuan empiris dianalisa pada bagian selanjutnya, khususnya temuan-temuan yang berkaitan dengan lintas batas penduduk setempat dan pembangunan daerah perbatasan di Krayan. Analisis keterkaitan interaksi lintas batas masyarakat dengan pembangunan di Krayan diperluas dengan menggali makna ungkapan *Garuda di Dadaku, Malaysia di Perutku*. Ungkapan ini ternyata mengungkapkan perselisihan yang ditemukan di persimpangan antara pembentukan negara modern dan makna nasionalisme. Kesimpulannya, dinamika lintas batas penduduk setempat mengacu pada interaksi yang bertujuan untuk mengisi celah-celah yang ditinggalkan oleh pembangunan yang kurang di Krayan. Interaksi tersebut beroperasi dengan cara yang fleksibel untuk mencapai tujuan yang ditetapkan. Kualitas fleksibilitas ini dimungkinkan oleh latar belakang budaya yang dimiliki oleh masyarakat lokal di kedua sisi perbatasan, dan didorong oleh pembangunan yang tidak memadai di Krayan.

### **Suatu framework baru untuk menganalisa interaksi lintas batas**

Sebagaimana telah dibahas bahwa framework dinamika lintas batas yang ditetapkan dalam penelitian ini dapat berkontribusi pada pendekatan baru dalam analisis dan pemahaman tentang praktik lintas batas dalam kaitannya dengan pembangunan wilayah perbatasan. Framework yang digunakan dalam studi ini dianggap sebagai alat yang lebih baik dan dapat menganalisa praktik lintas batas karena membedakan antara dua jenis penyeberangan perbatasan: penyeberangan yang diterima (*accepted border crossing*) dan diperdebatkan (*contested border crossing*). Selain itu, framework ini memungkinkan diferensiasi lebih

lanjut dalam kategori ini dan mengakomodir variasi tingkat lintas batas yang ada di masing-masing kategori lintas batas yang ada. Dengan cara ini framework dinamika lintas batas ini menawarkan fleksibilitas yang lebih besar dalam kategorinya dengan mengenali dan mengidentifikasi kekhususan yang tidak bisa digeneralisasikan (atau dikompensasi) oleh jenis interaksi lintas batas lainnya.

Framework ini mengidentifikasi struktur, *agency* oleh individu, serta proses yang berhubungan dengan lintas batas dengan pembangunan daerah perbatasan. Dengan demikian, pada saat yang sama framework ini membahas dengan kritis perihal asumsi apriori bahwa interaksi lintas batas didorong oleh pembangunan yang tidak memadai. Studi ini menyajikan beberapa wawasan oleh penduduk lokal perbatasan yang sebelumnya terabaikan dan menunjukkan *agency* individu yang sering tidak diakui. Dengan demikian, framework dinamika lintas batas memberikan cara unik masalah lintas batas melalui persepsi masyarakat perbatasan yang seringkali tidak tergal.

## APPENDIX INTERVIEW GUIDE AND QUESTIONNAIRES

### Appendix A Guide for Semi Structured Interview with Respondents

Dear research participant,

Thank you for your availability in taking part in this research project. This research is aimed to gain an understanding and insight of what it means to live on the Kalimantan border, the border between Indonesia and Malaysia. The results of this interview are confidential and are restricted for scientific purposes only.

Kindly Regards,  
Lidya Lestari Sitohang

Topics	Interview Guide / Questions
Introduction / the suitability of respondents situation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Greetings and introducing the aims of the interview</li> <li>2. Could you describe and introduce yourself?</li> </ol>
Information about the current situation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. How long are you living in this area?</li> <li>4. Could you describe how the daily situation in this area (kampong, village) is?</li> <li>5. What do you do in making your living?</li> <li>6. Where does the activity take place?</li> </ol>
Cross-border Interaction	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. What are the reasons that you travel across to Malaysia?</li> <li>8. What do you really like or dislike from Indonesia and Malaysia?</li> </ol>
Development	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Does it help you to cross-borders? i.e. Job opportunity, trade, shop</li> <li>10. How do you think your cross-border related to development take place</li> <li>11. How would you describe the presence of the Indonesian military army in the region?</li> </ol>
Nation Identity	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. How would you describe your nation's identity?</li> <li>13. What language do you speak daily?</li> </ol>
Suggestion	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>14. What recommendations will you suggest to the Indonesian government to support the contacts with the neighboring states?</li> <li>15. Do you have anything to add regarding the situation living on the border?</li> <li>16. What do you think of this interview?</li> </ol>

## Appendix B Questionnaire Survey Questions

This questionnaire is the adapted version of the actual one. This adaptation is aimed to facilitate the coding system during data analysis. Thus, the version reproduced here contains similar questions carried out during the in-depth fieldwork, with the question numbers changed in line with their coding system for analysis.

Dear research participant, we are currently investigating cross-border interaction in the context of Kalimantan border-regional development. The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain the insight of the borderlander who live in Kecamatan Long Bawan, Nunukan, Indonesia.

We are thankful for your voluntary participation. Please note that there is no correct or incorrect answer. All the given responses will be confidential and will be restricted to this study.

Thank you for your participation.

Kind Regards,  
Lidya Lestari Sitohang

**Instructions: select with a check mark (v) the best alternative.**

### CROSS-BORDER INTERACTION IN THE CONTEXT OF KALIMANTAN BORDER A Questionnaire survey of household in Kalimantan Border Areas

Respondent No. :

Place of survey:

1. **Demographic Information [Di]**
2. Respondents Gender: Male \ Female
3. Age:
4. How long have you lived in this area?
5. Do you have a border pass?

## 2. Cross- Border Pattern [CB]

1. Where do you live?
  - a. Indonesia. Specify \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Malaysia. Specify \_\_\_\_\_
2. Are you living with your family?
3. How many members of your family live with you?
4. Do you own a border pass?
5. Do you go to Malaysia?
6. When is your recent visit to Malaysia?
7. What do you do when you go to Malaysia?

Activities	Yes	No
Work		
Shopping		
Trade		
Leisure		
Family and friends visit		
Customary event		
Other:		

8. Please indicate of how important the following possible reasons for travelling to Malaysia

Reasons for crossing the border	Undecided	Not Important	Important	Very Important
Work				
Shopping				
Trade				
Leisure				
Family and friends visit				
Customary event				
Other:				

## 9. How often do you and your family travel to Malaysia?

Reasons for crossing the border	Daily	Once a year	Twice a year	Three times a year	Four times a year	Never	Other:
Work							
Shopping							
Trade							
Leisure							
Family and friends visit							
Customary event							
Other:							

## 10. Please indicate what is the means of transportation that you take when you go to Malaysia?

Get a ride	Own motorbike	On foot	Own car	Other:

## 3. Your Own Cross-Border Travel and Contacts [YO]

- Do you participate in any activities which operate on both sides of Indonesia and Malaysia?  
Yes / No. If Yes, continue to question number 2 below
- Are there any regular meetings that you attend regularly? Yes/No
- What currency do you use for financial transactions?

IDR (Indonesian Rupiah)	MR (Malaysian Ringgit)	Other:

## 4. NATION IDENTITY [NI]

- Do you live in Krayan (Indonesia territory)? Yes / No
- How would you describe your own identity? Would you think of yourself primarily as ...

Indonesian	Malaysian	Local Ethnic	Other:

- What languages do you speak most often?

Bahasa Indonesia	Malay	Local Language	Other:

## 4. Please indicate how strongly you would agree or disagree with the following statement?

Statements	Do not know	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. The cross-border was more culturally engaged than after both countries established						
2. The establishment of border between two states increase the cross-border practices						
3. I prefer to live in Indonesia rather than in Malaysia						
4. The shared cultural ties is more important than citizen distinction						

## 5. DEVELOPMENT DIS(SATISFACTION) [DS]

## 1. Please indicate who plays a role in the Krayan Development?

Government	Custom Leader	Religious Leader	Soldier	Other:

## 2. Please indicate the importance of each role

Roles	Not answering	Not important	Moderately Important	Very Important
Government				
Religious leader				
Custom leader				
Soldier				
Other:				

## 3. Please indicate how the government have supported the development in Krayan

Less Supportive	Moderately supportive	Supportive	Very supportive

## 4. Please indicate how strong you would satisfy or dissatisfy with the following statement

Statements	Strongly dissatisfy	Dissatisfy	Neither satisfy nor dissatisfy	Satisfy	Very satisfy
Health Service					
Job Opportunities					
Education Service					
Transportation					
Environment					
Telecommunication and Information					
Daily Goods					
Electric Supply					
Clean Water					

## 5. Please indicate how agree or disagree upon statements below

Statements	Don't know	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree
1. The use of IDR and MR in daily transaction is relevant in the region						
2. The cross-border interaction supports the life in this border						
3. The soldiers support the people in the border						

## 6. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTIC (SE)

## 1. Please indicate what you do for a living?

Cattlemen	Crafter	Civil Servant	Farmer	Other:

## 2. Please indicate your monthly gross income

1	Less than 500,000 IDR
2	500,000 - 999,999
3	1,000,000 - 1,999,999
4	2,000,000 - 2,999,999
5	3,000,000 - 3,999,999
6	4,000,000 - 4,999,999
7	5,000,000 - 5,999,999

## 3. Please indicate how satisfied you are with your income above

Strongly Satisfy	Satisfy	Neither satisfy nor dissatisfy	Dissatisfy	Strongly Dissatisfy

## 4. What is your latest education degree

Not attending	Primary School	Junior high school	Senior high school	Diploma	Bachelor	Master	Other:

Thank you very much for your time and help

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lidya Lestari Sitohang was born in 1986 in Tenggarong. She obtained S.Si (Bachelor of Science) in Geographical Information Science and Regional Development from faculty of Geography in Gadjah Mada University, with research Electronic Atlas of Water Resources in the regency of Kutai Kartanegara, province of Kalimantan Timur, Indonesia. At the same university, she was awarded the excellent scholarship by Indonesian Directorate General of Higher Education (DIKTI), the ministry of Education and Culture of Republic of Indonesia for her master. During her master program she was also awarded CNRD (Center for Natural Resource Development) scholarship by German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for master student exchange at Cologne University of Applied science. She obtained M.Sc in the Master Program on Planning and Management of Coastal Area and Watershed with thesis Flood Hazard Assessment and Coping Mechanism of a Local Community (A case study in Tenggarong district).

She started her PhD in 2013 jointly with the department of Geography, Planning and Environment in Nijmegen School of Management, at the Radboud University. Her PhD research is part of New Indonesian Frontiers Project that has been part of SPIN (Science Project Indonesia Netherlands). For her PhD, she spent research period both in Krayan border region and in Nijmegen. She was awarded the excellent scholarship for PhD students by Indonesian Directorate General of Higher Education (DIKTI). During her PhD trajectories, she was also awarded Radboud Internationalisation Grant for writing her dissertation.

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