Policy Dynamics on Management of the Indonesia-Timor Leste Border Area (Study in North Central Timor Regency)

Dinâmica de Políticas sobre Gestão da Área de Fronteira Indonésia-Timor-Leste (Estudo na Regência do Norte-Centro de Timor)

Dinámica de políticas para la gestión de la zona fronteriza entre Indonesia y Timor Oriental (estudio en la regencia de Timor Central del Norte)

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ABSTRACT

Developing the Indonesia-Timor Leste border area in the North Central Timor (NCT) Regency is necessary as it acts as a front porch of the country. The border area requires proper management to represent Indonesia to the international community, especially in Timor Leste. Many problems in the NCT border area require serious attention from both central and local governments. This qualitative descriptive research discovered the dynamics of the development in the border area, which includes regional policies, problems, and management targets in the NCT border area. The results showed that since 2004, the Regional Government of NCT Regency issued various policies favoring the border area with infrastructure development and economic approaches to ensure the welfare of surrounding communities.

Keywords: development; management policy; border area.

RESUMO

O desenvolvimento da área fronteiriça Indonésia-Timor Leste na Regência Centro-Norte de Timor (NCT) é necessário, uma vez que funciona como uma porta de entrada do país. A área fronteiriça requer uma gestão adequada para representar a Indonésia perante a comunidade internacional, especialmente em Timor-Leste. Muitos problemas na zona fronteiriça dos TNC requerem uma atenção séria por parte dos governos central e local. Esta pesquisa qualitativa descritiva descobriu a dinâmica do desenvolvimento na área fronteiriça, que inclui políticas regionais, problemas e metas de gestão na área fronteiriça do TNC. Os resultados mostraram que, desde 2004, o Governo Regional da Regência do NCT emitiu várias políticas que favorecem a área fronteiriça com desenvolvi-

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mento de infra-estruturas e abordagens económicas para garantir o bem-estar das comunidades vizinhas.

Palavras-chave: desenvolvimento; política de gestão; área de fronteira.

RESUMEN

Es necesario desarrollar la zona fronteriza entre Indonesia y Timor Leste en la Regencia de Timor Central Norte (NCT), ya que actúa como un porche delantero del país. La zona fronteriza requiere una gestión adecuada para representar a Indonesia ante la comunidad internacional, especialmente en Timor Leste. Muchos problemas en la zona fronteriza del NCT requieren una seria atención tanto de los gobiernos centrales como de los locales. Esta investigación descriptiva cualitativa descubrió la dinámica del desarrollo en la zona fronteriza, que incluye políticas regionales, problemas y objetivos de gestión en la zona fronteriza del NCT. Los resultados mostraron que desde 2004, el Gobierno Regional de NCT Regency emitió varias políticas que favorecen el área fronteriza con desarrollo de infraestructura y enfoques económicos para garantizar el bienestar de las comunidades circundantes.

Palabras clave: desarrollo; política de gestión; zona fronteriza.

1 INTRODUCTION

The ultimate goal of development is actualizing a prosperous and equitable society. It is executed in a planned manner based on efficient and rational choices to reach the predetermined goals. In addition, development should have priorities and meet the needs of present and future generations to achieve effective, sustainable results (Wibowo, 2012; Runa, 2012).

Therefore, development must be designed so everyone can feel and enjoy its benefits, consistent with national development goals as stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. Specifically, these goals are protecting the entire nation, improving public welfare, educating the communities, and participating in implementing world orders based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice (Budianta, 2010).

However, in practice, the implementation of development has not been evenly distributed, nor has it provided welfare to all Indonesian citizens. There are still many problems with poverty, progress gaps in the western and eastern regions, urban and rural areas, inequality between rich and poor, education and border zones identified with rural, marginal, underdeveloped, and underprivileged regions (Hasan, 2018) left behind, and isolated.

Undeveloped border areas can be reviewed through the unavailability of basic facilities and infrastructure, low levels of community welfare, quality of education, and low access to health services (Sudiar, 2017). Hendrayady (2018) stated that border areas have strategic issues related to slow economic growth, lack of basic social services, energy availability, infrastructure, access to telecommunications, and high illegal activities.

Other problems are the slow implementation of policies related to border management, the existence of different conflicts of interest in each region, and different visions and missions in planning the border

area (Firdaus, 2020). One of the basic reasons for this is border management has used a safety belt approach for a long time, resulting in the neglect of socio-economic development. Research by Tobu, Arman and Mamengko (2023) found several problems in border area management, including the existence of paradigm or orientation errors in border area management, disharmony in legal regulations which causes delays in development in border areas, as well as institutional conditions which also add to the ineffectiveness and efficiency of development implementation in border areas.

This condition is ironic, considering that the border zone is a strategic area that has a vital role in determining the scope of sovereignty, natural resources, and the security and integrity of the state (Bangun, 2017). Thus, development policies to manage border areas should be a priority and must be implemented.

A prominent program in the national mid-term plan (Yudha *et al*., 2020) includes integrated border area management. Since 2010, the government has established the National Border Management Agency (Badan Nasional Pengelola Perbatasan - BNPP) through Presidential Decree No. 12 of 2010 to optimize the management of border areas.

There are still many problems in the early stages of its implementation, like overlapping authorities between sectors and institutions, poor coordination due to sectoral egos, and unequal priorities. However, the government has shown its alignment in policies to manage borders more efficiently in this institution. More concretely, the government then formulated a major program for managing state territorial boundaries from 2011 to 2025 with an approach to security, welfare, and environmental sustainability, focusing on defense, security and law, regional economics, and the social aspects of border areas. This approach to a border area management plan includes various stages of strategy, coordination, priorities, also real and consistent development progress (Koespramoedyo *et al*., 2003).

One of the areas directly adjacent to another country, Timor Leste, is the North Central Timor (NCT) Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province (NTT). After the referendum in 1999, the Province of East Timor (now the State of Timor Leste) declared itself detached from the Republic of Indonesia and was sovereign as an independent country, which impacted changing the administrative boundaries of NCT Regency with Oekusi Regency (East Timor) to become national borders.

As one of the regencies located in the border area, North Central Timor Regency was an area that was still experiencing underdevelopment where the quality of human resources was relatively low, and accessibility, infrastructure, and supporting facilities for human activities were still very limited (Julqurniati; Susanty, 2019). Even from the socio-economic sector, the level of welfare of people in border areas was very low. Economic activities were still traditional and far behind other community groups outside the border area (Priyanto; Diwyanto, 2014). In addition, NCU also experienced border delimitation and demarcation caused by border points that have not reached an agreement (Julqurniati; Susanty, 2019); the existence of illegal border crossing due to strong

cultural dynamics where the people of TTU and Timor Leste have similar histories, origins, customs, languages, and religions (Seran, 2019); smuggling of natural resources (fuel oil and other basic needs) due to economic demands (Zaenuddin, 2014); the existence of illegal trade caused by a very significant price disparity when sold in Timor Leste and high consumer demand (Nahak; Widhiyoga; Dipokusumo, 2021); poverty which has a widespread impact on the issue of reaching access to education needs (high illiteracy rates, dropping out of school, unemployment), health (bad nutrition, high infant and maternal mortality), as well as the powerlessness of the community to fully participate in the development (Oki, 2021).

However, since the establishment of the National Border Management Agency in 2012 and Presidential Decree No. 179 of 2014, the management of border areas has been improving. The Presidential Regulation makes all sub-districts in the border zone a priority location, and the Kota Kefamenanu sub-district becomes the Center for National Strategic Areas (Pusat Kawasan Strategis Nasional - PKSN). Since then, regional development policies in the NCT Regency have been directed at developing infrastructure, security, tourism, and agriculture. It cannot be denied that the border was an area that was often used for smuggling and illegal trade. Therefore, in the border area, it was necessary to place military posts with complete weapons to protect the country's sovereignty from conflicts and external threats. However, the problem of border areas was not only defense and security but also economic, social, and cultural. Domination of the security approach (security approach) was beneficial for the state, but it was often detrimental to the people of the border region (Suswanta; Efendi; Suranto, 2017). Therefore, there was a paradigm shift in the approach to managing borders from a security approach to a prosperity approach. This approach assumed that border issues were not only geopolitical but also sociological. The threat to state sovereignty was not only external but also internal. The government's main capital to strengthen security in border areas was the proper level of welfare of border communities. Border area security would not be possible to realize if the people living in border areas are neglected for their welfare (Suswanta; Efendi; Suranto, 2017).

This research was intended to observe the dynamics of border area development, including management, problems, targets, and policies for managing the NCT Regency at local and national levels.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

A nation's level of commitment to border management is demonstrated, among other things, by the presence of a complete and well-defined set of legal-formal regulations. The Indonesian government demonstrated its seriousness by passing Law Number 43 of 2008 concerning State Territory, which does not establish state borders along with border coordinates. According to international law, determining state territorial boundaries unilaterally is not permitted; instead, agreements between nations in the form of border agreements are required. The nations with

which Indonesia shares land and maritime boundaries, as well as the rules governing state borders at the federal and regional levels of government, are all explained under this legislation. Ganewati Wuryandari asserts that state government policies, market forces in commerce, the political influence of citizens in both nations, and cultural components of society must all be taken into consideration while implementing border area management (Tobu; Arman; Mamengko, 2023).

Indonesia's borders are still concerning today in several ways. The lack of public and private initiatives and programs has left many border towns economically behind. Security personnel find it extremely challenging to routinely check the lengthy borders on land and in the sea.

When examining the dynamics of border issues, we find that they entail many different and intricate variables, including politics, social and economic issues, defense and security, state sovereignty, and jurisdiction (Tobu; Arman; Mamengko, 2023). In general, border management between nations involves three primary concerns: (1) establishing land and maritime borders; (2) ensuring border regions are secure; and (3) developing border areas. There are still many challenges in addressing many concerns around these three primary difficulties, particularly those about institutional factors. In addition, the underdevelopment of the special border areas between Indonesia and Timor-Leste has resulted in several cross-border legal violations, including illicit mining, trading, human trafficking, smuggling of goods, fishing, robbery (also known as sea piracy), and so forth (Tobu; Arman; Mamengko, 2023).

Sources of law regarding Indonesian territory and border management are contained in the Laws of the Republic of Indonesia, including Republic of Indonesia Law No.26/2007, Republic of Indonesia Law No.17/2007, Republic of Indonesia Law No.27/2007. Then it was revealed in RI Ministerial Decree No.13/2017, RI Ministerial Decree No.26/2008, RI Presidential Decree No.5/2010, RI Presidential Decree No.12/2010, and RI Ministerial Decree No.31/2010.

As one of the regions located in the border area, NCT Regency also has many problems. Previous studies suggested that two major issues frame the problem in the NCT Regency. The first issue is defense and security, related to border delimitation and demarcation, illegal border crossings, smuggling, and illegal trade (Badan Pengelola Perbatasan Daerah, 2018). Based on the memorandum of understanding between the two countries in 2005, 4% of the land borders have not been agreed upon, namely the 2.6 kilometers or 142.7 hectares of the Bijaelsunan segment (Raharjo, 2014). However, its implementation raised problems because the agreement was considered to be detrimental to the people in the border area, especially in the TTU Regency. After all, the determination of state boundaries did not involve the community and did not take into account the socio-cultural aspects (customary agreements) that the two border communities have carried out (Kolne, 2014). Therefore, the "rat road" is an alternative that was a mainstay for communities around the border for smuggling and illegal border crossings (Seran, 2019).

The second issue is the socio-economic conditions of border areas. They are identical to areas that are still underdeveloped, which is caused

by: a) isolated/remote areas with low accessibility; b) low human resources (HR); c) high poverty rates; d) unavailability or limited regional facilities and infrastructure for the community 9 (Hasyim; Subagiyo, 2017). The poverty rate in NCT Regency was quite high at 22.28% in 2020 (Pemerintah Kabupaten Timor Tengah Utara, 2016). This high rate is triggered by limited access to the government's national services. As a result, the quality of education and health are low (Listyawati; Ayal, 2018). High destitution is also a structural factor that may lead communities into conflict (Raharjo, 2016).

Developing the large regional potential of the agricultural sector could minimize these two big issues. The agricultural land in NCT occupied up to 194,700 Ha (72.92%), causing the community to rely mostly on the agricultural sector. Therefore, the NCT government has prioritized agriculture for regional development (Fkun; Pareira, 2021) to crop products, such as corn, green beans, peanuts, pepper, cashew, cassava, and candlenut (Kennedy *et al*., 2019a). Villages in the NCT Regency act as production centers as most of them have the potential for agricultural activities (Samsul, 2012). However, in reality, this potential is still inadequate, reflected by low agricultural productivity. In addition to erratic climate factors that cause low rainfall, access to marketing is also the reason for this decline (Fkun; Pareira, 2021).

3 METHODS

This research on developing the Indonesia-Timor Leste Region in North Central Timor Regency used a descriptive method with a qualitative approach and literature studies. The descriptive method compiled descriptions organized according to facts and accurate information related to various characters and relationships of various social phenomena studied (Kennedy *et al*., 2019a). Therefore, the results systematically, factually, and accurately described progress in border area development.

A qualitative approach was used to collect data through in-depth interviews with the Head of the National Border Management Agency, the Head of the Governance Section, and several community leaders. Interviews were conducted freely and unstructured to create a comfortable atmosphere for the informants to provide information. Furthermore, in conducting the analysis, this study did not use statistical figures but rather descriptively described the reality observed. Moreover, this study also conducted literature reviews by examining sources of information in related documents, including the Medium-Term Development Plan of the NCT Region, the Border Area Profile of the Republic of Indonesia, the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste, and other supporting documents.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Overview of the Border Area in NCT Regency

NCT Regency is in East Nusa Tenggara Province, which borders on land with the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste, especially the Oekusi District. Geographically, the length of the land frontier between NCT Regency (Indonesia) and Oekusi District (Timor Leste) reaches 104.5 km and crosses 41 villages spread over 10 sub-districts in NCT Regency and 11 villages (suco) laid out in 4 sub-districts in the Oecusi District. In more detail, the sub-districts and villages bordering Indonesia and Timor Leste can be seen in the following table 1.

Table 1 – Names of Districts and Villages in the Border Area

No	District/Sub-District	Village/Suco
Indonesia		
1	Mutis	Naekake A, Naikake B, Tasinifu
2	Miomafo Barat	Manusasi
3	Bikomi Nilulat	Tubu, Nilulat, Haumeni Ana, Sunkaen, Nainaban, Inbate
4	Musi	Batnes
5	Bikomi Tengah	Buk, Sono
6	Bikomi Utara	Napan, Haumeni, Tes, Banain A, Banain B, Banain C
7	Naibenu	Sunsea, Bakitolas, Benus, Manamas
8	Insana Utara	Humusu Wini, Oesoko
9	Biboki Anleu	Oemanu, Ponu, Tuamese, Maukabatan, Motadik
10	Biboki Moenleu	Oepuah, Oepuah Utara
Timor Leste		
1	Pante Makasar	Nipane, Costa, Naimeco
2	Oesilo	Bobometo, Usi Takeno
3	Passabe	Abani, Malelat
4	Nitibe	Banafi, Lela Ufe, Usi Taco, Bene Ufe

Source: The Border Area Profile of the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste, 2018.

Considering the number of sub-districts and villages bordering Timor Leste, the central government established regulation No. 26 of 2008 concerning National Spatial Planning (RT/RW). It made the capital city of Kefamenanu a Regional Activity Center (Pusat Kegiatan Wilayah - PKW) and a National Strategic Activity Center (Pusat Kegiatan Strategis Nasiona - PKSN). Regional Activity Centers (PKW) are service centers for various provincial and district/city activities. Meanwhile, the Center for National Strategic Areas, Kefamenanu City, functioned as an urban area designated to encourage the development of border areas of

the State. This was by the PKSN function as a center for state defense and security activities and a center for customs, immigration, quarantine, and security services. The challenges faced by PSKN Kefamenanu were: accessibility in border areas, lack of clean water due to little rainfall, poor sanitation, and growing housing needs at the border (Rukajat, 2018). These sub-districts became priority locations for the development of border areas. The Regional Activity Center (PKW) is the service center area for various provincial and district/city activities. The National Strategic Activity Center (PKSN) is designated to encourage the development of national border areas.

4.2 NCT Regional Development Policy

The NCT Regional development policy related to the border has begun with the long-term regional vision of 2005–2025, stating "to realize a prosperous, just, democratic, and independent area of NCT Regency as the front porch of the Republic of Indonesia." The phrase "front porch of the Republic of Indonesia" confirms that NCT is the frontier and reflects Indonesia's performance internationally, especially for neighboring countries.

This vision was also further strengthened by the mission of increasing regional competitiveness, improving the quality of human resources, having good and clean governance, and developing regional strategies to accelerate regional development and independence. This acceleration should build regional independence by developing regional strategic areas and improving the economy of surrounding communities.

For this reason, the regional government has also scheduled special priorities to organize the development of the city of Kefamenanu as a center for government services and services, develop the north coast area as a growth center capable of supporting the regional economy and optimize the development of border areas as the front porch of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia to achieve national interests. On the border, namely arranging the area so that it looked beautiful and charming to reflect Indonesia's image to the outside world (Sosilowati *et al*., 2019).

4.3 Indonesia-Timor Leste Border Issues in NCT District

The border area management policies require the proper implementation to solve many problems at the Indonesia-Timor Leste border. According to Badan Pengelola Perbatasan Daerah (2018), these problems include:

a) Delimitation and Demarcation

Delimitation is the stage of determining state border lines, while demarcation is the confirmation of border marker points. The problematic and often conflicting points on the land border between NCT Regency and Oekusi District are in the following Table 2.

Table 2 – Troubled Segments in the Frontier Region

No	Segment	Location
1	Unresolved	Bijalea Sunan-Oben, Manusasi village
2	Unsurveyed	Subina, Pistana, Nefo Nunpo, Tubu Banat
3	Bah Ob-Nelu	Sunsea village

Source: The Border Area Profile of the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste, 2018 (analyzed).

After the 1999 referendum, the administrative boundaries between the Provinces of NTT and East Timor became national boundaries. This change raised separate problems for most people in the border areas between Indonesia and Timor Leste, one of which was related to the traditional boundaries (customary boundaries) that were passed by state boundaries which from the beginning referred to the Dutch and Portuguese agreements. In addition, there were also problems related to economic and trade relations that existed before. One of these was demonstrated by the enclaved Oecusse residents, who depend on cross-border trade to supply basic commodities (Badan Pengelola Perbatasan Daerah, 2018).

To overcome this, several agreements were made between countries.

The two countries agreed in 2013 to the unsurveyed segment. However, problems still arose because the Indonesian citizens wanted recognition of their customary rights, including the territory of Timor Leste, and there were different views of each party regarding national borders for the unresolved segment. The people of Passabe-Oekusi wanted the state boundaries to conform with the 1904 Treaty which defined the boundaries of the territories of Portugal (in Oekusi) and the Netherlands (in TTU) by using natural boundaries, namely the river that stretched between the two areas. However, this was not accepted by the TTU people because, after a decade, there has been a major shift in the shape of the river flow due to dynamic changes in the river caused by natural activities such as rain, floods, and natural disasters. This caused the boundary line to change following the shape of the river flow and was considered to be entering the TTU area. Even TTU residents who were in the border area, namely in the village of Manusasi, opposed this idea because of the existence of their customary community's land. They claimed the land based on various customary agreements that had been made by the kings of the Kingdom of Bikomi (TTU) and Ambenu (Oekusi) in the past as part of the Atoni Meto tribal community (Seran, 2019).

For the Bah Ob (Nelu) segment, the NCT community assumed the boundary line moved by the Oekusi community by 230–400 meters with a length of up to 1.5 km, in which there are gardens and ancestral graves of the Nelu residents.

Based on the flow of the above problems, it can be concluded that one of the triggers of the problem was the difference in interpretation of the treaty/agreement (Kalembang; Korbaffo, 2022).

This condition, if allowed to drag on, will potentially become an existential threat in the form of aggression, territorial violations, armed

rebellion, sabotage, espionage, armed terror, threats to sea and air security, and communal conflicts (Suswanta; Efendi; Suranto, 2017). The issue of national borders determined the limits of a country's jurisdiction in enforcing a country's laws to prevent transnational crimes due to weak supervision in border areas coupled with economic and socio-cultural inequality in border areas. Therefore, the government needed to provide a definite and clear legal umbrella regarding border areas and coordinate in supervising and developing border areas with local governments and other relevant agencies (Raharjo, 2018).

b) Illegal border crossing

Citizens who live around national borders often cross illegally. Distinctively, the people around the border areas do not consider this activity unlawful. It is habitual due to the close kinship between the peoples of Indonesia and Timor Leste. The motives include visiting family and traditional needs.

From a historical point of view, people living on the island of Timor, in general, still have family ties and cultural similarities.

However, the presence of colonialism, namely the Dutch and Portuguese in a period that was not too far apart, led to a war to fight for the colony. To minimize the war, in 1854, the Dutch and Portuguese agreed to separate the territory of Timor into (two) parts, namely western Timor, controlled by the Dutch, and East Timor, controlled by the Portuguese. This separation simultaneously forced the people of Timor Island to split into two, namely East Timor and West Timor. Even after colonial rule, this separation was further strengthened by the referendum policy, which resulted in social divisions between pro-integration and pro-independence and a firm separation of the territorial boundaries of the two countries after the 1999 referendum, which undermined the family ties and cultural conditions of the community (Septarina, 2014).

However, the separation did not make the family ties and cultural condemnation disappear. People in the border areas of Indonesia (T'TU) and Timor Leste (Oekussi) continued to maintain this family relationship by visiting each other and performing traditional rituals together. Many communities in both countries have gardens and raise livestock across borders and vice versa. Because of this, two different versions of boundary crossing appeared. On the one hand, people saw it as a habit that could strengthen social relations between them. On the other hand, the state and the United Nations view it as illegal if the border crossing did not go through the cross-border post that has been provided and was carried out without official documents (Dhosa *et al*., 2020).

Faced with this condition, the two countries agreed to carry out a policy of using the Cross Border Pass (PLB) as an official travel document to replace passports (and visas) for people living permanently in the land border area of Indonesia - Timor Leste. The provisions were PLB valid for 1 (one) year, for several trips, with a stay in Timor-Leste (for Indonesian citizens) for 10 (ten) days and can be extended 2 (two) times or for a maximum of 30 (thirty) days and the area of validity was only limited to directly adjacent sub-districts as stipulated in the provisions of the 2003 Arrangement. Therefore, it was not allowed to use PLB to enter Timor-Leste territory

outside the designated area (Badan Pengelola Perbatasan Daerah, 2018). The purpose of granting PLB was to make it easier for traditional communities on the border of the two countries to visit each other and other traditional activities, such as traditional ceremonies, sports activities, and traditional trade (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018).

Based on the policy, the problem of border crossers should be addressed. But in reality, the number of illegal crossers was increasing. The State Policy provides PLB to the community, on the one hand, providing convenience to the community, but on the other hand, it causes friction and discrimination against citizens through unequal access to fair rights as citizens. In practice, the distribution of cross-border cards was uneven and, thus, unfair to all citizens living in border areas. Even though along the Indonesia-Timor Leste border, there were many regions and citizens, especially economically disadvantaged people (Encarnacao, 2022).

In addition, the process of administering data on people who have PLB was also still not optimal. The result was that data storage became untidy, and data search was often difficult due to difficulties in presenting reports. In addition, immigration officers also found it difficult to control the length of time of each border crosser, considering that the data collection carried out was still conventional (Dhosa *et al*., 2020).

These two things aroused citizen discontent and allowed citizens to do at least two things that were never imagined before the introduction of cross-border cards. First, there were illegal cross-border practices and illegal smuggling of goods. Not all villages and border residents get PLB cards, so this condition smoothened and opened up space for residents to travel to Timor Leste and Indonesia by 'rat' or illegal routes. Second, the neglect of illegal crossers by the state apparatus breeds citizen apathy, where they did not want to take care of cross-border cards. Field conditions showed that many residents did not get PLB cards. This, as mentioned above, opened up opportunities for illegal border crossers. The problem arose when this group was not arrested and tried in a normative legal manner. To the extent that these citizens were able to pay fines to the officers on duty, and even to the extent that they have good social relations with the civil apparatus, then these illegally traveling parties would be allowed (Tjiptabudi; Igon, 2018).

c) Smuggling and illegal trade

Smuggling of goods and illegal trade still happens almost every day in this area. Due to economic demands, the need for necessities and other goods from the Oekusi community is high enough to encourage the people of NCT to organize smuggling and illegal trade. These illegal practices promise greater profits because the selling price of traded goods can double.

Smuggling cases could not be handled optimally because the economy of the Timor Leste border area was very dependent on East Nusa Tenggara Province (Dhosa *et al*., 2020). Some smuggling cases were thwarted, but many were successful because they were carried out through the "rat road" or with the help of unscrupulous officers.

Two types of goods smuggling were rife, namely first, administrative smuggling, where the goods entered had documents, but the

documents were not by the actual situation in terms of quality and quantity. Second, physical smuggling, namely pure smuggling, which was entering imported goods / removing exports from the Indonesian customs area without being protected by documents at all, both through ports and other places outside the port area (Pusvitasary, 2017).

Here are some smuggling cases that North Central Timor region officers successfully thwarted (Table 3).

Table 3 – Thwarted Goods Smuggling Case

Year	Smuggling Cases
2018	1 unit of Avanza Car 1 unit of Pick-up Car
2019	2,861 sacks of used clothes
2020	Fuel Smuggling (395liter Diesel and 130liter Premium)
2021	Smuggling 5 liters of fuel
2022	Smuggling 3 containers of cooking oil

Source: Customs Office, 2022

According to Tores (2019), smuggling occurs due to 1) the failure of the customs system, 2) the presence of corrupt officials, and 3) government policies that lead to the creation of price differences for domestic and foreign goods.

d) Thievery

Thievery of vehicles and livestock, such as cattle and pigs, is common in the troubled segments. The motive is revenge due to unresolved border issues.

Specifically for livestock, the loss of community livestock was supported by farming methods around the border which still used traditional methods, namely cattle are left free without ropes to find their food in the pastures. When cattle belonging to the TTU people crossed the border, the Oekusi people immediately caught them and made them their private property, and vice versa. This pattern was very beneficial for those who wanted to take advantage of cases of loss of community property for their political interests because livestock that roamed were easy to be herded across the border (Tores, 2019).

e) Limited accessibility and infrastructure

The availability of basic infrastructure and facilities, both social and public facilities, including transportation, was still very limited. Almost all border areas still suffer from difficulties in accessing transportation, communication networks, and other basic infrastructure. There was very severe road damage in the Mutis sub-district as far as 40 km. In the Bikomi Nilulat sub-district, road conditions and electricity facilities are very limited. Meanwhile, in Naibenu and North Insana Sub-districts (except Wini), the electricity and communication networks are in short supply, even completely absent in some places.

Data Badan Pusat Statistik (2022) showed that, in general, the conditions of the border roads were in four categories, namely the good

category (215.27 km), the moderate category (149.56 km), the damaged category (10.13 km), and the heavily damaged category (473.89 km). The sub-district with heavily damaged road conditions was the Mutis sub-district, which was 45.59 km. Even the paved roads in this district were only 2.45 km away. The damage to roads in Timor Tengah Utara district as a whole was affected by the mobilization of goods transport vehicles which often loaded goods over the specified tonnage.

In Bikomi Nilulat District, road conditions and electricity facilities were very limited. Meanwhile in Naibenu and Insana Utara Districts (except Wini), electricity and communication networks were still limited, and in some places none at all. This was due to the geographical conditions of some areas, which were located between hills, mountain slopes, and valleys.

f) Poverty, ignorance, and the low level of public health

The border areas have a high poverty level, accompanied by low education and public health levels. Many people still live in traditional houses that are no longer fit for habitation, are uneducated, and have no access to health care because of limited health personnel and the expensive cost of treatment.

The number of poor people in TTU Regency in 2021 was 22.62 percent or as many as 58.33 thousand people with a poverty line of Rp. 394,818 per capita per month.

Research by Listyawati e Ayal (2018) confirmed that the education level of the majority of people was low, namely, elementary school and not even graduating. Low education assumed that they had no choice of work, and the work that was occupied as the livelihood of most of the population was limited-income laborers. To maintain their lives, the local community utilized local natural resources, the results of which were also limited due to relatively dry natural conditions, so the community's hopes for welfare have so far not been reached.

4.4 Targets and Policies for the Management of the Indonesia-Timor Leste Border Area in NCT Regency

Border management policies experience dynamics over time and implement the economic welfare approach in managing borders. The policy for managing the Indonesia-Timor Leste border area follows.

4.4.1 The Long-Term Development Plan of NCT Regency for 2005–2025

The long-term regional development vision is directed at strengthening districts as front representatives of the Republic of Indonesia that are independent, prosperous, democratic, and equitable. From 2005 to 2025, the NCT local government tried to increase the economy, education, health, social politics, facilities, and infrastructure to show a manifestation of the national interest of the Republic of Indonesia in the border zone (Hasyim; Subagiyo, 2017).

This vision was born due to problems in the region, namely the undeveloped strategic area of the region, namely the City of Kefamenanu

as Ume Naek Ume Mese and PKSN, the border area, and the North Coast area. For this reason, the determining factors for success were the Development of Kefamenanu City as ume naek ume mese and PKSN, Border Areas, and the North Coast in an integrated and multi-sectoral manner (BPPD, 2018).

This vision was then translated into several missions: to develop regional strategic areas to accelerate regional development and independence. These strategic areas included the arrangement of Kefamenanu City as the center of government and community services and the development of the North Coast area.

4.4.2 Establishment of the National Border Management Agency

Law Number 43 of 2008 concerning the state's territory regulates the formation of the National Border Management Agency (BNPP). BPPD is expected to address border handling issues that are not optimal, are less integrated, and have many conflicts of interest (Pemerintah Kabupaten Rembang, 2016). Not limited to coordinating, facilitating, evaluating, and monitoring, BPPD also acts as executor of the development in frontier zones 9 (Handrian; Hendry; Azmi, 2020).

In NCT Regency, the establishment and structural officials of the National Border Management Agency were further regulated in Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2012 concerning the Organization and Work Procedure of the National Border Management Agency (BPPD) of NCT Regency. Since its formation, many activities have been executed by and under the supervision of the National Border Management Agency. This happened because the BPPD was equipped with various authorities, tasks, and functions. The BPPD's powers included: implementing government policies and establishing other policies in the framework of maintaining regional autonomy and co-administration; maintaining boundary markers; coordinating the implementation of development tasks in border areas and carrying out regional development between regional governments or with third parties.

These activities include:

a) Health service development in five priority sub-districts: North Bikomi Sub-district, Kefamenanu City, Mutis District, Naibenu District, and Central Bikomi District. Also, the improvement of health centers in Eban Public Health Center, Tasinifu Health Center, Nunpene Health Center, Bitefa Health Center, Oeolo Health Center, and Wini Health Center. Health services must be developed because it is part of the government's responsibility as mandated in the constitution. The development of health services was carried out by adding or improving health facilities, both nursing health centers, non-nursing health centers, and supporting health centers as well as health workers. Data Badan Pusat Statistik (2022) showed an increase in the quality of health facilities every year.

Table 4 – An increase in the quality of health facilities every year

Health Facilities					
Nursing Health Center		Non-nursing Health Center		Auxiliary Health Center	
2017	2021	2017	2021	2017	2021
7	16	19	10	42	33

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (2022)

Table 4 above shows that the number of health facilities since 2017 has increased in terms of status and improvement of existing infrastructure.

b) National Village Community Empowerment Program (PNPM) allocates Rp. 1,000,000,000 per sub-district every year for the development of border areas. PNPM was part of the central government's efforts to overcome poverty in an integrated and sustainable manner. The technical implementation was regulated in the Regent Regulation. For North Central Timor Regency, the village community empowerment program was carried out through the farmer love independent village program (Sari tani). The Sari Tani Program was a poverty alleviation program with a rural development approach directed at increasing community independence through the development of various superior products according to the availability of potential resources to achieve an increase in income. In general, the purpose of the Sari Tani program at TTU Regency was to improve rural communities' welfare by creating job opportunities that focus on developing productive economic businesses. Specifically, the purpose of the Sari Tani program was to reduce rural poverty and increase business opportunities for rural communities, especially those with low incomes (Bekun; Tiza, 2017);
c) Policy intervention from The Ministry of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions, and Transmigration of Indonesia through the Deputy Assistant for the development of infrastructure, clean water, roads, etc. This form of intervention was carried out through the Indonesian Home Area Development (PKBI) program by making the border the homepage of a sovereign, competitive, and safe State;
d) The provision of co-administration and Special Allocation Funds through other agencies for 2012, with a total fund of around Rp. 15,000,000,000. The funds were used to build roads and bridges and procure border water surveillance vessels;
e) Policy on the construction of an international bus terminal in Kefamenanu City;
f) The construction of the bus terminal was carried out on an area of 4,100 square meters and was intended to connect the flow of vehicles to and from Timor Leste and Kupang. This location was chosen because of its strategic location to facilitate access to Dili (the capital of Timor Leste) and Oekussi.

4.4.3 Border Area Spatial Planning Policies

The Border Area Spatial Plan in the Province of East Nusa Tenggara was regulated in Presidential Decree No. 179 of 2014. There are ten sub-districts in the border area, divided into three priority locations:

a) Priority Location 1: North Insana District, North Bikomi and Bikomi Nilulat Districts;
b) Priority Location 2: Kefamenanu City;
c) Priority Location 3: Central Bikomi District, West Miomaffo, Mutis, Musi, and Naibenu.

Kefamenanu City became the Center for National Strategic Areas (PKSN), functioning as the service center for customs, immigration, quarantine, security, defense, trade, processing industries, promotion of tourism and superior commodities, and education. Meanwhile, the activities performed include:

a) Built the type A passenger terminal;
b) Built freight terminals;
c) Built a collecting port in Wini, a port for fishing activities at the Fish Landing Base (PPI Ponu in Biboki Anleu District and PPI Wini/Temkuna in North Insana District);
d) Built an electric power transmission network with substations at Kefamenanu;
e) Built terrestrial communication networks in Kefamenanu, Wini, Napan, and Haumeni Ana;
f) Built a satellite network at Kefamenanu City;
g) Built the Tantori Dam in Ponu;
h) Built drainage network systems and wastewater disposal systems.

4.4.4 Acceleration of the Development of Cross-Border Post and Supporting Facilities in Wini

In 2015, the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, issued Instruction No. 6 of 2015 concerning the construction of the Cross-Border Post (CBP), which includes in Wini area (NCT). The existence of the CBP should remove the negative stigma of marginalized and isolated border areas and become the new center of economic growth for the people of the NCT Regency.

Several studies indicated a positive impact of the existence of CBP on community welfare. For example, the Motaain CBP in Belu Regency has an impact on 1) the cheaper cost of trade, 2) the intensity of trade increases, 3) increased per capita income, and 4) vast economic growth in micro, mezzo, and macro scales (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2022). These effects will continue to run optimally if CBP is managed professionally.

The CBP in Wini, built and inaugurated by the President in 2018, has facilities divided into core and support zones. The core zone consists of the main building, checkpoints, pedestrian corridors, car washes, weighbridges, buildings and substations for immigration checks and customs services, integrated checking buildings for private cars, a mild and heavy confiscation warehouse, and a parking lot. Meanwhile, the

supporting zones include a parking lot for officers and guests and cross--border monuments.

In addition, social and public facilities, such as markets, were also built around the main building of the CBP. The development of the CBP should be the entry gate and improve economic growth in the border areas to build Indonesia from the periphery by strengthening regions and villages.

Adequate infrastructure in CBP must be followed by professional management to bring maximum results. Research conducted by Tefa and Thaal (2019) found the performance of the Integrated CBP in Wini has not been optimal. This is influenced by limited personnel resources, limited facilities, and infrastructure, weak coordination between elements of Custom, Immigration, and Quarantine, difficulties in licensing trade documents, and lack of public understanding.

However, in terms of tourism, the existence of PLBN Wini was now used as a new tourist destination for the community. Tourists who visited were not only local tourists but also from Timor Leste. This should be an opportunity to be able to build economic centers so that they can support the sustainability of the new tourist object. So, in addition to functioning as a cross-border post for citizens of the two countries, PLBN Wini could also be used as one of the new tourist destinations in the TTU Regency.

4.4.5 Medium-Term Development Plan of NCT Regency in 2016–2021

In this Development Plan, the Regional Government has a special priority to develop Kefamenanu City as an "ume naek ume mese" and a center for national strategic activities (PKSN). As Ume Naek Ume Mese, NCT Regency should become a big home for its residents of various ethnicities, religions, and races. Meanwhile, as the center of a national strategic area, NCT is expected to be the center for state defense, security activities, customs, immigration, quarantine, and security services. The development would be through coordination and cooperation in structuring and developing regional strategic areas.

The structuring and development of Kefamenanu City were carried out through the following activities:

a) Construction of livable houses: since 2016, it has been planned to build 30,038 habitable houses for poor families. However, based on the results of the evaluation at the end of 2021, the implementation of the plan was not on target. This happened because of the low self-help capacity of the beneficiary community, lack of monitoring, late supply of building materials, and also political intervention;
b) Provision of clean water;
c) Allocation and maintenance of public spaces for the community;
d) Construction and repair of facilities and infrastructure for the drainage system and culverts;
e) Environmental road construction and repair;
f) Maintenance of environmental conditions and waste management;

g) Construction of a prayer garden (Construction of the statue of Jesus Christ);
h) Organizing arts and cultural festivals;
i)Organizing sports competitions;
j)Increasing security, peace, and public order;
k) Preparation of the Detailed Spatial Plan for Kefamenanu City;

Furthermore, the development of the North Coast area was acted through the construction of the Wini port, a review of the grand design of the independent and integrated city of Ponu, and the empowerment of fishermen and coastal communities. Meanwhile, the development of border areas was implemented by accelerating the development of road and bridge infrastructure and preparing a master plan for the development of border areas.

4.4.6. Medium-Term Development Plan of NCT Regency in 2021–2026

Through this plan, the Regional Government tried to organize the development of Kefamenanu City as a Healthy, Safe, Shady, and Beautiful City as well as a National Strategic Activity Center (PKSN), advancing the North Coast area, maximizing the development, and coordinating with the Provincial Government of East Nusa Tenggara and the Central Government. The programs include:

a) Repairment of district roads, bridges, neighborhood roads, and lighting;
b) Waste management;
c) Allocation of green open space;
d) Increasing fishery productivity on the North Coast;
e) The development of the Independent and Integrated City of Ponu;
f) Increasing tourist visits;

5 IMPLICATIONS

All the descriptions above should be evidence of the commitment and seriousness of the Regional Government in managing the border. However, until today, the problem of poverty in the NCT Regency, especially in border areas, persists. Even the Medium-Term Development Plan of NCT Regency in 2021–2026, which should be the last period in border development that started in 2005, still stated that weak access in border areas is a serious problem. There are still villages that have very limited infrastructure and are isolated. As a result, black market activities continue to grow to meet daily needs and get bigger profits than trading their products to other places in the country (Pemerintah Kabupaten Timor Tengah Utara, 2021).

These findings contradict the various policies and infrastructure development directed at border areas. The term "border area" seems to be used as an object of sale by local governments to get attention from the central government to get funds. However, this condition is not followed by the seriousness and political will of the Regional Government to manage the border appropriately.

The impact of the National Border Management Agency establishment is imperfect due to several factors. First, the weak mechanism and implementation of coordination, integration, synchronization, and synergy of National Border Management programs at the central and regional levels. Second, is the ineffectiveness of institutional management efforts between countries in supporting cross-border activities and integrating border area management with neighboring countries. Third, limited resources, supporting infrastructure, and a lack of human resources for border management agencies (Kennedy *et al*., 2019b).

Therefore, border area development still requires a sustainable process, political will, and local government commitment to achieving community welfare. The development of the border areas in the NCT Regency should be more directed at empowering the communities and maximizing all the potential of the existing area. Thus, the NCT community is not only a spectator but also an actor in managing the border area itself.

6 CONCLUSION

As the front porch of a state, integrated border area management by prospecting community welfare is important to strengthen the territorial sovereignty of a country. Management of the NCT border area is very important to minimize the occurrence of many problems. The problems include border delimitation and demarcation, illegal border crossings, smuggling, illegal trade, low accessibility and lack of facilities and infrastructure, high poverty rates, ignorance, and poor health quality.

Border area management policies, both at the national and regional levels, have been continuously implemented since 2004 until now. These policies are in the Long-Term Development Plan of NCT Regional in 2005–2025, the establishment of the National Border Management Agency in 2012, the Spatial Planning for the Border Areas of East Nusa Tenggara Province in 2014, the Acceleration of the Development of CBP and Supporting Facilities in Wini 2015, the Medium-Term Development Plan of NCT Regency in 2016–2021, and the Medium-Term Development Plan of NCT Regency in 2021–2026.

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