

Stakeholders' Perspectives on Border Region Development: West Southeast Maluku, Indonesia

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Abstract

Border regions are geographically presented with potential economic benefits. However, some of them have not been able to take advantage of their strategic geographic locality. Such conditions are evident in Indonesia where 23 out of 43 border regions are categorized as underdeveloped and poor. There is a spectrum of perceptions of stakeholders on how border regions should be developed in the context of an international border. This study sought to capture the perspectives of Indonesian stakeholders on border region development, and to what extent do these perspectives affect the policy of border areas development, with a case study in West Southeast Maluku. The research was conducted using qualitative method with in-depth interview as a primary collecting data technique. The results show that despite some perceptions of stakeholders who view West Southeast Maluku as an area of insecurity, they also see the opportunity for the region to be developed as a gateway, an area of opportunity, zone of contacts and zone of cooperation. However, such perspectives have not entirely represented by corresponding strategy and policy on the development of border areas due to unsynchronized perceptions and sectoral ego among stakeholders on various levels.

Keywords: *border impacts; border region development policy; political borders.*

Introduction

The development of border areas is not an easy task to carry out as it involves complex issues (Capello, Caragliu, & Fratesi, 2018; Geenhuizen & Rietveld, 2002; Novak, 2016). Geenhuizen and Rietveld (2002) state that, like two sides of a coin, borders could either be perceived as a barrier to border interactions, or as an opportunity for a strategic development in the respected areas, particularly in economic aspects. Moreover, Blatter (2001) illustrates that impacts of a border are even more intricate in regards to the relationship between levels of government (regions/municipalities, provinces and central government), the

borders economic dynamic, and relationships with the bordering state.

Such interactions may be impeded by hostility or disaccord between bordered states, or by distance from a central region (Arieli, 2012; Carter & Goemans, 2018; Havranek & Irsova, 2017). Moreover, borders are often viewed as the outer part of an economy with low innovative production, low financial resources, environmentally hazardous activities, and limit the development of international markets (Geenhuizen & Rietveld, 2002; Silva, 2017; Capello, Caragliu, & Fratesi, 2018). However, there are studies that show positive impacts of borders (Mirwaldt, 2010; Fullerton Jr., Monzon, & Walke, 2013;

Studzinska & Domaniewski, 2016; Massa, 2018). Mirwaldt (2010), for example, asserts that integrated borderland prompt economic interdependence, peaceful interchange and other cross border activities. Fullerton Jr., Monzon, and Walke (2013) demonstrate that some border areas have become more advanced than other areas. Border areas of the U.S. and Mexico, El Paso, for instance, experience greater economic advantages in comparison to other cities in the US partially due to the export-import activities between the two countries.

However, there are border areas that have not benefited from their geographical locality. Some of them can be found in Indonesia. As an archipelagic country with over 17,000 islands, Indonesia is bordered with 10 different countries. The government of Indonesia has been putting a great deal of effort to develop its border areas in order to be equally advanced with border areas in the adjacent countries. Unfortunately, despite such effort, data from *Bappenas* shows that, in 2015, 23 out of 43 border regencies are underdeveloped areas.

Apart from the growing concern on border area development, Indonesia is still facing problems of unsynchronized development trajectory as a result of different perceptions, and misconceptions among stakeholders. Jacobs (2016) contends that cross-border regions and domestic planning requires an inclusion of political, legal and also cultural aspects, which bear on the stakeholders. Moreover, according to Todaro and Smith (2012), "... a coordination failure is a state of affairs in which agents' inability to coordinate their behavior (choices) leads to an outcome (equilibrium)

that leaves all agents worse off than in an alternative situation that is also an equilibrium" (p.156).

In practice, however, the central and local governments hold different perspectives towards the issue of border areas. The following is an illustration of such condition. The government of West Southeast Maluku Regency sees the opportunity to increase the welfare of its community with direct connection to Australia as the closest neighbor. Such view benchmarks the success of Batam City as a developed border region due to its direct access to Singapore. Reflecting on the success of the city of Batam, the government of West Southeast Maluku delivered a proposal to Central Government in 2014 to establish an exit-entry point to Australia in this region. However, even though the proposal had already been submitted since 2014, to date, the central government policy on the development of border areas in West Southeast Maluku has not addressed the proposed initiative.

Moreover, in accordance to national interest, Arieli (2012) argues that the policy of the development of border areas has to be in line with national objectives in controlling border activities. Nonetheless, taking into consideration the actual underdeveloped and remote condition of border areas, we must question whether or not the existing development policies accommodate spectrum of stakeholders' perspectives across all levels, and whether or not they suit the needs for development of the community at border areas between Indonesia and Australia in West Southeast Maluku Regency.

There have been many studies which found that border areas are impacted by the existence of borders themselves (Anderson &

Theoretical Framework

O'Dowd, 1999; Geenhuizen & Rietveld, 2002). Such impact then triggers issues such as economic development, health, security and defense and natural resource management (Diener & Hagen, 2012; Köck et al., 2018). While issue of economic development becomes essential in border areas as oppose to those closer to the centre of activities (Arieli, 2012; Muta'ali 2014), security and defense is perceived to be a more significant issue at border areas as frontiers of sovereign states (Côté-Boucher, Infantino, & Salter, 2014; Gravelle, 2018; Williams, 2016). Additionally, natural resources management has emerged as an essential issue due to the possibility of conflict with neighbouring regions or countries (Diener & Hagen, 2012; Gerlak & Mukhtarov, 2016; Ghosh, et.al, 2017; Silva, 2017);

Subject to the above condition, therefore, border areas are distinct from other areas due to their unique characteristics. Thus, their development policy requires specific measurements (Gravelle, 2018; Wu, 2001). Furthermore, Geenhuizen and Rietveld (2002) demonstrate that the way border areas are defined, together with emerging issues subject to the impact of borders, frame development policy which may be different from non-border areas. In addition, their study reveals that the dichotomy of political border: as barriers or gateways, areas of opportunity or insecurity, zones of contact or conflict, and zone of cooperation or competition, would likely affects the development policies of border areas.

Since stakeholders may contribute to a more comprehensive development policy (Duarte Alonso & Nyanjom, 2017; Komppula, 2016; Orr, 2014), their perspective on border area development must be taken into account by the government as it

has become an important factor in distinguishing the development trajectory of border areas.

Against backgrounds of border areas in Indonesia, and previous studies which reveal the dichotomies of the political border, issues of border impacts, and the growing spectrum of perspectives of stakeholders into consideration, the objectives of this research are to describe how stakeholders perceive the border region of Indonesia and Australia, and to discover the extent the influence of such perceptions on the development policy of border regions.

Method

This research employs qualitative research to better understand the perspectives of stakeholders on the development of Indonesian-Australian border in West Southeast Maluku Regency. The research was divided into two stages. The first stage of the field research was conducted from June to August 2017, in two districts in West Southeast Maluku Regency, South Tanimbar and North Tanimbar. The research resumed from February to April 2018 in three different locations, Jakarta (central government/state level stakeholders), Ambon¹ (provincial government/local level stakeholder) and Saumlaki (local government/local level stakeholders). Purposive sampling selection was utilized in this research using typical sample. Such technique provides the researcher with list of stakeholders based on their influence on the development sphere of border areas. This research limited stakeholders to government institutions and private actors that have interest on the development of border areas in West Southeast Maluku.

¹ Ambon is the capital city of Maluku Province.

Table 1.
List of State Level Stakeholders

No.	Stakeholders	Interviewees	Role
<i>Central Government</i>			
1.	Ministry of National Development Planning (<i>Bappenas</i>)	Arief Wiroyudo, S.Kom, MMSI, MT, MPP	Deputy Director for Transmigration and Bordered Area Development Directorate of Disadvantage Region, Transmigration and Rural Development Ministry of National Development Planning
2.	Ministry of Home Affairs	Dr. Tumpak Haposan Simanjuntak, MA	Director of Toponymy and Regional Boundary Directorate General of Regional Administration Ministry of Home Affairs
3.	National Border Management Agency (<i>BNPP</i>)	Ir. Rahman Ibrahim, M.Sc	Assistant Deputy for Sea and Air Borders Management of National Borders Management Agency
4.	Ministry of Defense	Kolonel Laut Haryono, SH, M.Sc	Deputy Director of Sea and Air Boundaries Directorate Defense Areas Ministry of Defense
5.	Ministry of Tourism	Hari Ristanto, BBA, M.Sc	Head of Rural Tourism Sub Division Rural and Urban Tourism Deputy of Industry and Institutional Ministry of Tourism
6.	Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries	Ir. M. Eko Rudianto, MBUS. IT	Director of Marine Resources Surveillance Directorate General Marine and Fisheries Surveillance Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries
<i>Central Government Agency in Local Area:</i>			
7.	Indonesian Army	Letkol Inf. Ryan Heryawan	Commander of Indonesian Army in the West Southeast Maluku Regency
8.	Indonesian Navy	Kapten Laut Bernard Iskandar	Chief Operating Military Officer of Indonesian Navy in the West Southeast Maluku Regency
9.	Indonesian State Police	Thomas Siahaya, S.Sos	Head of Planning Division Indonesian State Police in the West Southeast Maluku Regency

10.	Fishery Inspector	Fajar Surya Pratama, S.Pi	Coordinator of Fishery Inspector of the West Southeast Maluku Regency Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries
<i>Private</i>			
11.	Inpex Corporation for Masela Block operation	Farchad Husein Mahfud	Manager – Gov Relations and Advocacy Communication and Relations Department INPEX MASELA, LTD

Source: Author's identification, 2018

Table 2.
List of Local Level Stakeholders

No.	Stakeholders	Interviewees	Role
<i>Provincial Government</i>			
1.	Regional Development Planning Agency of Maluku Province	Dr. Djalaludin Salampessy, S.Pi, M.Si	Head of Research and Regional Development Regional Development Planning Agency of Maluku Province
<i>Regency Government</i>			
2.	Region Secretary of West Southeast Maluku Region	Piterson Rangkoratat, SH	Region Secretary of the West Southeast Maluku Regency
3.	Regional Development Planning Agency of West Southeast Maluku Region	Ir. Alowesius Batkorbawa	Head of Regional Development Planning Agency of the West Southeast Maluku Regency
<i>Private</i>			
4.	Travel agency owner	Engelbertus Kelyombar	Lidia Toha Travel owner/manager
5.	Hotel owner	Ricky Jauwerissa	Incla Hotel owner/manager
6.	Local fishermen	Onisimus Minanlarat	Ex-Head of Matakus Village (a fishermen village)

Source: Author's identification, 2018

The identification of these stakeholders was based on issues of border impact which discussed in this research. For the state level,

six stakeholders were selected due to their influence on the development policy of West Southeast Maluku as a border region. First,

the Ministry of Home Affairs as an institution which is responsible to administer the management of regional governance including border regions (*Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri No. 43*, 2015). Second, the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas as an agency with the authority to coordinate planning process in state to regional level (*Peraturan Menteri Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional/Kepala Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional No. 6*, 2017). Third, the Ministry of Tourism which was chosen in accordance with the stipulation of West Southeast Maluku as a National Tourism Development Area through Government Act No. 50 of 2011 on the Masterplan of National Tourism Development along with 222 other areas. Fourth, the Ministry of Defense as it coordinates security and defense (*Peraturan Menteri Pertahanan No. 2*, 2017). Fifth, the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries which has the task to develop fisheries as the primary sector in West Southeast Maluku (*Peraturan Menteri Kelautan dan Perikanan No. 6/PERMEN-KP/2017*, 2017). And sixth, the National Border Management Agency/BNPP which has the main objective and duty to administer the management of border areas in Indonesia (*Peraturan Presiden No. 12*, 2010). Furthermore, Inpex Corporation for Masela Block Operation was chosen to represent the private sector on state level, due to its capacity to influence the policy of the central government on the development of border areas in the location of study. Stakeholders at state level also include those who are situated as branches of central government institutions in the local region. They are, Indonesian State Police, Indonesian Navy, Indonesian Army and Fishery Inspectors. Regardless, of their related chain of command to institutions at state levels, their role is essential for this

study to acquire the latest and specific information about the location of study.

On the local level, chosen stakeholders comprises of provincial government, local government, and local private sector. To represent provincial government, the Regional Development Planning Agency/Bappeda was chosen due to its parallel functions with the Ministry of National Development Planning. On local government level, the secretary of the region as the highest ranked officer in the regency, and the Regional Development Planning Agency/Bappeda of West Southeast Maluku were selected as a stakeholder, while stakeholders from the private sector were represented by a travel agency owner, a hotel owner, and a local fisherman.

These stakeholders were selected in accordance to article 361 of Law 23/2014 on Local Government which authorize the management of border areas to the central government. The Central government thus obligated to develop border areas, with the help of local government, to equalize the level of development of border areas with neighbouring countries.

Result and Discussion

Issues on West Southeast Maluku as a Border Region

1. Economic Development

According to *RPJMN 2015-2019* and President Act No. 131/2005 on the Stipulation of Underdeveloped Area 2015-2019, the West Southeast Maluku Regency stood among underdeveloped regions as it meets four of six criteria of an underdeveloped region, particularly economic and accessibility aspects, with the underdeveloped index of 0.25 and 0.20 respectively (A. Wirayudo, personal communication, February 27, 2018), which

put it among the bottom three of developed regions in Maluku Province.

In general, the development performance of this regency has relatively improved over time. High productivity of agriculture, forestry, and fishery has become the second biggest contributor towards regional revenue (Indonesian Statistic Bureau, 2017, p. 280). Dried sea weed production in 2015 reached 10,714 tons worth 96 billion rupiahs, while capture fisheries reached 9,702 tons worth 151 billion rupiahs by 2016 (A. Wirayudo, personal communication, February 27, 2018). However, neither fisheries nor agricultural production are supported by proper production management, which eventually lead to the absence of “added value” to the community, and become primary contributor to the high level of poverty rate. According to the data of the West Southeast Maluku in Figures, the percentage of poor people varied between 28 to 29 percent across 2012 to 2016, equal to over a quarter of 111,083 population in 2016, while poor families stood just over 31.5 thousand (Indonesian Statistic Bureau, 2017, p. 129).

Additionally, in terms of human resources, statistics shows that the mean number of years of schooling in 2016 was 8.99 years, which was way below the UNDP standard of 18 years (Indonesian Statistic Bureau, 2017, p. 21). This means that the average people of West Southeast Maluku attend school up to junior high school only, and implies a low quality of human resources which in turn affects the economic development of the region.

2. Security and Defense

The issue of security and defense in border areas has always been critical (Diener &

Hagen, 2012). Master Plan of Border Area Management 2015-2019 and *RPJMN* 2015-2019 articulate that maritime border between Indonesia and Australia is a crossing point which is prone to border violations, such as human trafficking, illegal migration, illegal fishing, and illegal trading. Such violations persist due to difficulties to supervise vast area of sea border which lies over three provinces, East Nusa Tenggara, Maluku and Papua. However, interviews and field observations show that, such illegal activities have not become a problem in West Southeast Maluku. Issues of illegal activities and other types violation exist in the Timor Strait which is a maritime border between Indonesia and East Timor/Australia.

The issue of security and defense become prominent in West Southeast Maluku Regency due to the policy of central government that stipulated the regency as a national strategic area with security and defense to maintain national sovereignty as the main purpose (*Peraturan Presiden No. 33*, 2015). Indonesian central government also planned *PKSN* Saumlaki² as a centre of state's security and defense activities. Such policies are elaborated in the growing number and level of the development of defense utilities in the regency since 2011.

3. Natural Resources Management

An issue regarding natural resources that draws most attention in West Southeast Maluku recently is the operation of the Abadi LNG Project, Masela Block, which is located 150 kilometers offshore from Saumlaki (Inpex Corporation, 2018). The development of this project, operated by Inpex Corporation the largest exploration and production company in Japan, in cooperation with Shell,

² *PKSN: Pusat Kegiatan Strategis Nasional*. Saumlaki is the capital city of West Southeast Maluku Regency.

a Dutch based oil and gas company, began in 1998 (Inpex Corporation, 2017).

Referring to the location of Abadi LNG Project as seen in the Figure 1, Masela Block might turned into a dispute with Australia. There is growing concern, as a member of the Indonesian Regional Representative Council (DPD RI) once stated, on the possible claim by Australia over Masela Block (*Kawasan*

Blok Masela Rawan Diklaim Australia, 2017). Similarly, a former chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces, Gatot Nurmantyo, eloquently said that Australia wants to take the Masela Block (Indonesia Restores Military Ties With Australia After Latest Neighbourly Dispute, 2019).

Fig.1. Location of the Abadi LNG Project



Source: Inpex to Commence Pre-FEED for Abadi LNG Project, the Masela Block, Indonesia, 2018

State Level Stakeholders' Perspectives

State level stakeholders perspectives are summarized as follows: First, stakeholders which are responsible for security and defense, which comprises of the Ministry of Defense, Indonesian Army, Indonesian Navy, and Indonesian State Police, claim that border areas in West Southeast Maluku are relatively secure from transnational crimes and illegal activities. Those stakeholders have a similar statement:

Sejauh ini, belum ada pelanggaran di wilayah MTB. Cuma di wilayah NTT, pada beberapa tahun lalu dijadikan exit point

untuk mendudukkan imigran-imigran yang dari eksodus Timur Tengah, dari Asia Selatan. Itu diselundupkan dari bagian wilayah kita, yaitu di wilayah Nusa Tenggara Timur. Di MTB tidak ada. (B. Iskandar, personal communication, April 2, 2018).

However, they asserted that West Southeast Maluku has been a priority location for security and defense reinforcement in land, sea, and air territories. One of them stated that:

[...] Ke depannya, ada minimal essential force, program TNI sampai 2050, akan mengacu kesitu. MTB sudah menjadi

sorotan untuk memperkuat pertahanan disini, baik aspek darat, laut maupun udara. Lanal akan dikembangkan, udara rencananya akan membangun lanud, darat akan diperkuat dengan batalyon komposit. Batalyon komposit adalah batalyon yang diperkuat dengan unsur-unsur bantuan seperti rudal, armed, penerbad. Jadi bisa bertempur dengan berdiri sendiri tanpa ada bantuan, karena sudah ada unsur-unsurnya. (R. Heryawan, personal communication, March 28, 2018).

Therefore, they implicitly put West Southeast Maluku as a zone of insecurity. These policies indirectly imply that security reinforcement is related to the development of the Masela Block which could become a dispute between Indonesia and Australia.

However, in regards to the insecure nature of BNPP sees border areas as an area of insecurity. It also sees them as zone of cooperation in securing boundary line of both countries through joint military operation. BNPP said

[...] Semakin banyak exit entry point, perlu data base yang besar juga. Karena kemungkinan bisa juga dimanfaatkan kelemahan suatu pelabuhan internasional untuk ilegal-ilegal atau transnasional crime melalui tempat-tempat disana karena pengawasan yang belum ketat. [...] Masalah keamanan cukup baik, koordinasi Indonesia dan Australia untuk wilayah perbatasan yang dekat dengan Maluku Tenggara Barat. Ada kerjasama Indonesia dan Australia patroli terkoordinasi antara kedua belah pihak. Ada seminar-seminar masalah pengamanan Indonesia Australia (Coordinating Patrol Command). Kami juga tidak banyak mendengar aktivitas ilegal di kawasan perbatasan Indonesia-Australia. (R.

Ibrahim, personal communication, February 21, 2018).

Second, in contrast to the idea of border as an area of insecurity, Bappenas, BNPP, and Ministry of Home Affairs view West Southeast Maluku as an area of opportunity for the escalation the prosperity of local communities. Therefore, a range of programs to accelerate economic development are being conducted in West Southeast Maluku. In the absence of detailed regional data and information, as admitted by state level stakeholders, they support the intention of local government to utilise the opportunity for mutual cross border cooperation, as far as the local government employs comprehensive research in advance. Ministry of Home Affairs stated

[...] Maluku Tenggara Barat punya potensi untuk melakukan cross-border interaction dengan Australia, tapi mungkin Indonesia belum mengeksplor apa saja kebutuhan australia yang bisa disupply dari Indonesia, dari Maluku Tenggara Barat misalnya. [...] Intinya supply and demand theory Indonesia-Australia belum dieksplor oleh pemerintah Indonesia. Oleh sebab itu, local government harus punya rencana bagaimana mengeksplor potensi MTB yang bisa memenuhi kebutuhan Australia, namun tetap harus diketahui oleh Pemerintah Pusat. (T. H. Simanjuntak, personal communication, February 20, 2018).

Third, the Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, Fisheries Inspector view West Southeast Maluku as an area of opportunity and as a gateway through their sectoral development policy. Additionally Inpex Corporation would provide support if Saumlaki-Darwin direct connection was to be established. These views concurrently imply their perception

towards the region as a zone of contact. Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries said [...] *Di Saumlaki itu salah satu program sentra kelautan dan perikanan terpadu. Cita-citanya sih kita lengkapi infrastruktur perikanan, pengolahan dengan harapan nanti dia bisa ekspor langsung ke Darwin. Program sejak tahun 2016 sampai 18 masih ada. [...] termasuk membagi kapal untuk menangkap. Jadi maksudnya mereka dibekali dengan kapal trus nanti produknya diolah disitu, setelah ada added valuenya trus nanti dieskpor. Trus kan masalahnya itu produk perikanan itu semakin segar semakin mahal. Kita nyediain ice flat, cold storage, pengadaan kapal, pembangunan pelabuhan disitu dengan harapan bisa jadi titik ekspor langsung ke Darwin.* (E. Rudianto, personal communication, February 20, 2018).

Local Level Stakeholders' Perspectives

Based on the result of interviews conducted on local level stakeholders, it is apparent that, due to West Southeast Maluku's existence as a state-border region, the economic development of the area is their priority. Bappeda of Maluku, Regency Secretary of West Southeast Maluku, Bappeda of West Southeast Maluku, Lidia Toha Travel, Incla Hotel, and local fisherman view West Southeast Maluku as an area of opportunity and a zone of contact which can be developed to be a gateway to the adjacent country. They believe that such gateway will be able to contribute to the acceleration of the development of border areas, especially by engaging in cooperations with the adjacent country. Bappeda of West Southeast Maluku said

Kabupaten MTB ada pada perbatasan langsung dengan Australia, dan kalau

dari sisi geografis kita lebih dekat dengan Australia Utara, yaitu northern territory yang ibukotanya di Darwin. Kita melihat bahwa dengan kita sebagai perbatasan, namun di sisi lain kita menyadari bahwa kita sebagai daerah perbatasan masih banyak hal yang perlu kita benahi, terutama soal pembangunan. Kita sadari bahwa kalau kita bandingkan dengan Darwin begitu timpang sekali kita dengan Darwin itu. (A. Batkormbawa, personal communication, March 31, 2018).

However, in relationship to the management of natural resources in the Masela Block, Bappeda of West Southeast Maluku also perceive the regency as an area of insecurity, as it is located on the border line of Indonesia and Australia. Therefore, Bappeda asserted that security and defense is an important issue to be addressed by the government of West Southeast Maluku Regency. It stated

[...] kita menyadari bahwa disana sini masih perlu dibenahi bagaimana soal pengawasan laut territorial kita. Kita sadari bahwa bukan Australia yang melanggar tapi banyak itu adalah bahwa negara lain memanfaatkan untuk terjadi pelanggaran-pelanggaran soal pencurian ikan di laut dan sebagainya. Dan titik yang paling agak sedikit bebas itu titik di daerah kita, karena soal pengawasan. Dibandingkan dengan Australia, Australia begitu ketat dalam pengawasan daerah lautnya, tetapi kita di Indonesia terutama di Maluku Tenggara Barat. Kalau hanya mengandalkan kemampuan Pemda, tentunya ini sesuatu yang non sense lah atau tidak mungkin kita lakukan. Kita harus berkoordinasi dengan pihak-pihak lain, stakeholder lain, terutama pihak TNI, terutama lebih khusus adalah TNI

Angkatan Laut. Kita harap dengan bekerjasama dengan mereka kita tentunya kita bisa megawasi daerah teritori kita. Tetapi juga matra lain kita tidak mengabaikan. Misalnya kita dengan Angkatan Udara, kita dengan TNI Angkatan Darat. Yang tentunya mereka selaku penjaga teritori ini kita harus bekerjasama, dan syukur bahwa kerjasama ini sudah mulai terlihat sekarang. (A. Batkormbawa, personal communication, March 31, 2018).

Policy and Strategy of State Level Stakeholders on Border Region Development in West Southeast Maluku

The region of West Southeast Maluku is experiencing the impact of being located at state border. Distant from economic activities has seen this region far from prosperous, an image that does not correspond to its natural resources' endowment. Against such artefact, stakeholders have formulated policies and strategies to increase the welfare of local people in West Southeast Maluku. *Bappenas* and *BNPP* for example, through the 2015-2019 *RPJMN* and the 2015-2019 Master Plan of State Borders and Border Area Management have started to promote border areas as the front yard of a sovereign and developed country by developing National Strategic Activities Centre (*PKSN*) Saumlaki, and accelerating the development of the seven priority districts in West Southeast Maluku. However, according to the result of this research, such policy and strategy have not resulted in the expected outcome.

The policies formulated by *Bappenas* and *BNPP* are seemingly supported by several stakeholders at the state level such as the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries. By establishing West Southeast Maluku as a national tourism development area, the Ministry of Tourism

seeks to improve the economic growth of border areas (H. Ristanto, personal communication, February 21, 2018; *Peraturan Pemerintah No. 50, 2011*). Nonetheless, such policy has not been materialized as the Ministry of Tourism expects the government of West Southeast Maluku to contribute to the development of its tourism sector by providing sufficient budget. In the same manner, the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries envision West Southeast Maluku as a gate for marine and fisheries export activities through the Integrated Marine and Fisheries Centre program (*Sentra Kegiatan Perikanan Terpadu/SKPT*). Through *SKPT*, there will be new location-based industries in the outermost islands which are placed close to the export markets. (E. Rudianto, personal communication, February 20, 2018; *Keputusan Menteri Kelautan dan Perikanan No. 51/KEPMEN-KP/2016, 2016*). The policy of establishing *SKPT* has been delivered by the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries since 2016. However, the dissemination of this policy has been running in a quite slow phase. To add to the policy of the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, fisheries inspector as its representative in West Southeast Maluku is currently conducting surveillance on all activities related to the use of fisheries resources including capturing, farming, production, marketing, sea pollution, endangered fish, physical destruction of seas, and management of small islands (F. S. Pratama, personal communication, March 26, 2018). Furthermore, to support the economic development of West Southeast Maluku, the Ministry of Home Affairs had also contributed by building government facilities in several areas since 2011. Additionally, policy and strategy of Inpex Corporation as a stakeholder from private sector is contingent

to the policy of Indonesian central government. It will depend and fully supportive on the policy of border areas development by the central government as the operation of Masela Block is within central government's authority (F. H. Mahfud, personal communication, February 23, 2018).

From the state security and defense aspects, development in West Southeast Maluku is arranged by the Ministry of Defense through the decrees of the Minister of Defense on the 2017 and 2018 Policy of National Defense. These decrees stated that, among others, a policy of national defense should be enforced by managing the strategic small and outermost islands, and armed forces development in Saumlaki/Selaru³ as a priority location along with Natuna Islands, Merauke, Biak dan Morotai. Along similar lines, representatives of state level stakeholders in security and defense sector in West Southeast Maluku have also formulate and implement several policies and strategies. The Indonesian State Police in West Southeast Maluku is currently increasing both land and sea patrol, and deploying police personnel in the villages at border areas to maintain the security stability of the region (T. Siahaya, personal communication, April 2, 2018). At the same token, and arguably the most important unit of state defense at sea border in West Southeast Maluku, the Indonesian Navy is currently increasing the capacity of naval base in Saumlaki according to the masterplan of the development of the power of Indonesian Army (B. Iskandar, personal communication, April 2, 2018). Moreover, in support to the effort of preserving the sovereignty of Indonesia, the Indonesian Army is increasing its battalion base into a Composite Battalion

to meet the Indonesian Army Minimal Essential Force (R. Heryawan, personal communication, March 28, 2018). Additionally, strengthening security and defense utilities is associated with the natural resource management which draws the attention of the government. The regency endows large preservation of gas which is located very close to the boundary line of Indonesia and Australia. Due to its strategic value to the development of the national economy and its close proximity to the border of Indonesia and Australia, the Masela Block is an important issue of national security. At an occasion, 0803/Madiun District Military Commander Mr. Rachman Fikri, demonstrated that the existence of foreign troops in Darwin which is only 90 km away from Masela Block is threatening Indonesia (*Puspen TNI*, 2017).

Policy and Strategy of Local Level Stakeholders on Border Region Development in West Southeast Maluku

At the local level, the planning documents of the Province of Maluku and the Regency of West Southeast Maluku scarcely mentioned the development of border areas, due to the limitation of their authority according to Article 361 of Law 23/2014 on Local Government. The policy and strategy of local government are mainly designed as a support for the main policy of central government. However, stakeholders at local level have several policies and strategies on the development of border areas.

As a strategy of the government of Maluku Province, Regional Development Planning Agency of the province of Maluku has proposed a direct flight between Saumlaki and Darwin to Garuda Indonesia (an Indonesian national airline), and the Central

³ Selaru is an outermost island in West Southeast Maluku.

Government (D. Salampessy, personal communication, February 23, 2018). However, it is difficult to materialize such proposal as the airport of Saumlaki is not an international airport (Sony Pongoh, ex. GM GA Ambon-Sorong, personal communication, November 2018).

In the third period of its five-year development plan (*RPJMD 2017-2022*), West Southeast Maluku stipulated four Strategic Area Plans. One of the plans is the Strategic Area Plan for Security and Defense of the State which comprises of border areas and outermost islands (*Bappeda*, 2017, pp. IV35-IV38). Furthermore, it also stipulated that Selaru, which is an outermost island, must be developed as a gateway equipped with supporting offices such as immigration, quarantine, and customs (*Bappeda*, 2017, pp. IV35-IV36). In line with the arrangements in *RPJMN*, it is stated that the government's current policy of border area development is directed toward the security of the state with the objective to protect its society and the sovereignty of Indonesia (*Bappeda*, 2017, p. IV36). This signifies that the regency of West Southeast Maluku counts security as the prominent aspect in the management of border areas. Nevertheless, such policy is constrained by the limitation of security and defense authority which lies on the central government.

From local private sectors, Incla Hotel expressed its willingness to be involved in the development processes in West Southeast Maluku. It seems that the planning process of development is excluding local private sectors. Therefore, it is currently running for local legislative member in order to be able to directly influence the development trajectory of the region (R. Jauwerissa, personal communication, April 1, 2018). Another local private company, Lidia Toha Travel sees an opportunity for the

development of tourism in West Southeast Maluku. Therefore, it is currently engaging in a cooperation with investors from Germany and Egypt to explore the possibility of developing a beach in South Tanimbar to be a tourism resort (E. Kelyombar, personal communication, March 27, 2018).

The Implications of Stakeholders' Perspectives on Border Region Development in the Regency West Southeast Maluku

From the analysis on previous sections it is evident that stakeholders hold various perspectives towards the development of border areas of Indonesia and Australia in West Southeast Maluku. Stakeholders at the state level perceptions correspond to their role and function. For example, stakeholders which are responsible for the security and defense view West Southeast Maluku as an area of insecurity despite the absence of external threats in this area. Their strategies and policies clearly reflect their perspectives. On the other side, local level stakeholders' perspectives are based on their vision of an ideal condition of border areas in the future. Such perspective is most evident in the eye of private sectors. From their field of business, it is clear that there are several strategies to commence such dreams. However, strategies and policies of other local level stakeholders as a representation of local government i.e. the Region Secretary and the Regional Development Planning Agency of West Southeast Maluku, do not correspond to the way they perceive the development of their region as a state border.

Furthermore, this study revealed that strategies and policies of stakeholders at state level have not been disseminate as one would expect. Such shortcoming is due to the weak coordination, and misconception of perceptions among stakeholders. The

development policies of border areas in West Southeast Maluku seem to be segregated by institution, resulted in the failure to accomplish the outputs and outcomes for each projects of state level stakeholders.

BNPP as the coordinator of the development of border areas has not been able to integrate different perspective and sectoral policies of stakeholders into a proper policy formula which accentuate on the unique characteristics of each border area. There are several reasons behind such failure. Among else, there is a lack of synchronization between *BNPP* and *Bappenas* as leading institutions on the development of border areas. Apart from this, *BNPP* and *Bappenas* lack actual and accurate information on border areas. Such conditions show that beside the lack of effective horizontal coordination, vertical coordination between levels is also lacking effectiveness. Such coordination failure is an actual evidence of the term “where-to-meet dilemma” coined by Todaro and Smith (2012, p. 159).

In the absence of a master formulation on the development of border areas, *BNPP* tend to compile programs of ministries and national institutions, and accommodate project proposal from local government at the expense of synchronization between programs. Hence, sectoral ego between stakeholders are evident in the effort of developing border areas, including in West Southeast Maluku.

Meanwhile, the government of West Southeast Maluku as one of the local stakeholders is expected to be more responsive towards the issue of border impact which occur in the region. Its security minded development policy cannot be implemented as it is beyond their authority. To address this issue, other local stakeholders, including private sectors, should be involved in the

formulation of the development policy of border areas in West Southeast Maluku to ensure that their input may contribute to unbiased policies in regards to the need of local community.

From the analysis of the effect of stakeholders’ perspective on the development policy of border areas, researcher groups such relationships based on two indicators. First, the correlation between stakeholders’ perspectives and their policies or strategies. Second, the result of triangulation on the implementation of stakeholders’ policy and strategy which is under planning or construction by stakeholders. Groups of relationship consists of:

1. Stakeholders with policy and strategy represent their perspectives and have been implemented

This group consists of seven state level stakeholders and three local level stakeholders, namely: Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, Indonesian State Police in West Southeast Maluku, Indonesian Navy in West Southeast Maluku, Indonesian Army in West Southeast Maluku, Fishery Inspectors in West Southeast Maluku, Regional Development Planning Agency of Maluku Province, Lidia Toha Travel, Incla Hotel.

2. Stakeholders with policy and strategy represent their perspectives, but have not been implemented.

This group consist of three state level stakeholders: *Bappenas*, Ministry of Tourism, *BNPP*.

3. Stakeholders with policy and strategy do not represent their perspectives.

There are two stakeholders in this group: Region Secretary of West Southeast Maluku Regency and

Regional Development Planning Agency of West Southeast Maluku Regency.

4. Stakeholder with no policy and strategy
This group consists of one state level stakeholder and one local level stakeholder: Inpex Corporation for Masela Block, Local Fisherman.

Conclusions

There are several concluding points that can be drawn from the case of border region development in West Southeast Maluku. First, stakeholders from government institutions border region development in various ways. While state level stakeholders' perceptions are shaped by their roles and functions, perceptions of local level stakeholders are framed within their visions toward the future of border region. Second, both horizontal and vertical coordination between stakeholders are constrained by sectoral ego and the lack of basic trajectory for the development of border areas. Such condition, in turn, negatively affect the formulation and implementation of the development policy and strategy in border region. Finally, arguably the most important takeaway of this study is that the difference in stakeholders' concern, sectoral ego, and misconceptions of the development border areas lead to the failure of development policies in addressing the actual needs of local community.

Recommendations

Recognizing the existing issues and problems of the development of border areas, state level stakeholders should, first, provide sufficient opportunities for the stakeholders at local levels to participate in the formulation of the development of border

regions. Second, maximising the role of *BNPP* in synchronising the policy on the development of border area, and lessen the sectoral ego of ministries and other government institutions. Third, re-evaluate the standard operating system which is within the authority of the central government, to simplify the process of establishing exit-entry points in border regions, and when possible, involve as many local resources in the processes.

Due to the absence of proper policy from the state level stakeholders on cross border cooperation, stakeholders at local level should initiate such interactions by studying the prospects of engaging in cooperation with Darwin, and provide the results to the central government as an input for the formulation of the development of border areas. Furthermore, the Region Secretary and Regional Development Planning Agency of West Southeast Maluku should evaluate their development trajectory as stipulated in 2017-2022 *RPJMD* to emphasize more on the economic development of West Southeast Maluku.

Additionally, Regional Development Planning Agency of Maluku Province and West Southeast Maluku should include non-governmental stakeholders in the processes of regional development. Such involvement might provide insights beyond traditional planning process and may lead to a more comprehensive development approach.

For future studies, researcher recommends a snowball sampling method to interview key persons, and involve more stakeholders to obtain reliable information and data. Moreover, it is recommended that future research should also seek how people in Darwin and other parts of Australia perceive West Southeast Maluku as a state border region. Additionally, local community of West Southeast Maluku should also be

involved as stakeholders to better capture and understand the needs of local people. Finally, as this study did not assess the possible effect of the development of border area on the

sustainability of the natural environment, future studies might want to investigate environmental preservation if border areas were to be rapidly developed.

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