

Model of Handling the Exodus of Timor Timur in East Nusa Tenggara

(Case Study in Kupang and Belu Regency)

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Abstract—The handling of the exodus of the former Timor Timur in NTT Province (East Nusa Tenggara) who wants to return to the Republic of Indonesia (the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia) has not resolved all the main problems. The purpose of this study is to analyze and find a model for handling the exodus of the former Timor Timur that is in accordance with the social conditions of the community in Kupang City and Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province. The government's efforts to overcome the obstacles in handling the exodus are carried out by building social institutions with local communities so that they have the opportunity to access resources and get support services in overcoming the problems they face. The qualitative research method with a descriptive approach is used to describe the object of research by analyzing and evaluating the implementation of the exodus subscription system for the former Timor Timur in the perspective of community empowerment. The model for handling the exodus of the former Timor Timur which is in accordance with the social conditions of the community in Kupang City and Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province, is formulated based on the history of the integration period which has caused the social capital of the former Timor Timur to experience destruction so that it is hoped that by growing positive social capital it can encourage residents former Timor Timur rose and came out of poverty and the various social problems it was experiencing. Policy recommendations for handling the reconstruction and resolution process by the government and stakeholders by considering: a) involvement of the former Timor Timur with local communities, b) encouraging learning from local communities, c) being involved in joint planning with local communities, d) encouraging participation in work the same as the local community, e) directed at starting with the capabilities of the former Timor Timur, and f) the development of the former Timor Timur built with the ownership of the local community.

Keywords—*handling model, conflict management, exodus, former Timor Timur, East Nusa Tenggara*

I. INTRODUCTION

Timor Timur was a Portuguese colony since the early 16th century. The Flower Revolution that took place in Portugal on

April 25, 1974, caused a very big change to the political policy of Portuguese colonization in Africa and Timor Timur. Indigenous political parties quickly emerged in Timor: the Timorese Democratic Union (União Democrática Timorense, UDT) was the first political association to be formally declared on 11 May 1974 following the Carnation Revolution [1]. UDT initially consisted of senior administrative leaders and plantation owners, as well as indigenous leaders. These leaders had conservative origins and showed loyalty to Portugal, but never advocated integration with Indonesia.

On 30 November 1975, the pro-integration group asked for Indonesian support to take Timor Timur from the Communist-leaning Fretilin. Indonesia answered this request by sending troops on December 7, 1975, in a military operation called Operation Seroja [2]. APODETI, UDT, TRABALHISTA, and KOTA immediately held a counter-proclamation in Balibo stating that Timor Timur was part of the Republic of Indonesia.

Data from the NTT Regional Government shows that the former Timor Timur in NTT who still need treatment are ± 24,524 households or 104,436 people [3], while the data available in the Ministry of Social Affairs states that the number of former Timor Timur in NTT is ± 55,000 households. The Ministry of Public Housing of the Republic of Indonesia in 2014 stated that the number of ex-refugees living in Belu currently numbered approximately 16,000 families or an estimated 80,000 to 100,000 people. The number of refugees is beyond the estimation of the NTT provincial government, so that it has an impact on the handling of refugees in various refugee camps [4]. In general, there are four main problems faced by displacement, namely the absence of access to basic services, housing, access to land and employment opportunities [5].

The relatively large number of ex-Timorese refugees has the potential to cause conflict, especially in the refugee camps of Belu Regency, which can occur at any time. Some of these former Timor Timur refugee communities have the initiative to move from refugee camps individually or in groups, or self-

independent resettlement, which aims to avoid conflicts with local residents.

Another problem is that many of them are unemployed and live below the poverty line, unable to access basic social services (education and health) and adequate micro-economic institutions. Chronic poverty, ignorance, low health status, acts of violence and even prostitution and child trafficking are some of the existing social problems and will increase as a result of the unavailability of the necessary resources and basic social services. The condition of the former Timor Timur in NTT, who are poor and have various potential social problems, is further exacerbated by the rejection of several local community groups towards their existence and the attitude of the Government in several regions which seems to state that handling the problems of the former Timor Timur is the matter of the Central Government.

One of the problems of the conflict between the local community and the former Timor Timur in 2000 was that there was a conflict in the form of a physical clash between residents of Tuapukan village and Timor Timur refugees. This clash occurred because the villagers of Tuapukan questioned the existence of Timor Timur refugees who had been in their village for more than three months. Comparison in terms of number, the population of Tuapukan Village is less than the refugees of the former Timor Timur, so that more victims are residents of Tuapukan Village. Often the former Timor Timur refugees thought that the local population did not provide social support by paying attention to their condition and seemed selfish. The issue of exclusion and exclusion of land access has the potential to cause social conflict between them and local residents or landowners.

As of 2017, there are still many ex-refugees who face problems of their legitimacy over their occupied resettlement land, which has an impact on their agricultural activities. In fact, some of the ex-refugees must continue to depend on the cooperation or compassion of the local population and tribes as landowners.

The customary institutions within the local tribes play an important role in enforcing the rules and protecting the lands of their respective tribes. Several problems between ex-refugees and local tribes are often encountered, due to the strong influence of customary institutions and land protection mechanisms for the benefit of tribal members. In general, customary institutions can determine which outsiders can access local tribal land, even limiting, blocking or expelling the existence of outsiders in their territory, as happened to the ex-Timor Timur refugee group on land belonging to the Matabesi tribe and Liudasik in Belu Regency.

The main problem observed was the role and process of customary institutions and local actors in exercising their legitimacy so that nothing would hinder the access of community land for the former Timor Timur refugees. In this situation, the refugees are very depressed both physically and spiritually and some of them are desperate. The rejection was partly due to the immigrants using local community land

arbitrarily and without any compensation, attitudes and behavior that did not respect the prevailing norms and were often anarchic and unfair competition in terms of livelihoods (buying and selling competition in the scope of traditional markets and cheap labor wages).

Departing from the phenomenon of handling the problems of the former Timor Timur who wanted to return to the bosom of the Republic of Indonesia since 1999 until now have not resolved all the main problems, the author would like to present the problems related to the handling of the exodus of the former Timor Timur by taking the title "MODEL OF THE EXODUS HANDLING OF TIMOR TIMUR EXODUS. IN EAST NUSA TENGGARA (Case Study in Kupang City and Belu Regency)"

The problems in this study are:

- The handling of the existence of the former Timor Timur who wanted to return to the bosom of the Republic of Indonesia since 1999 until now has not resolved all the main problems.
- The former Timor Timur in East Nusa Tenggara live in various social problems in one area and are far from local community settlements, making it difficult to carry out good social communication and new problems arising.
- There is a bad stigma from the local community and the Government towards the former Timor Timur, so that they are unable to carry out social communication in the place where they live.
- The non-development of social communication between former Timor Timur and local communities, the stigma and loss of trust towards all parties, has resulted in negative and destructive behaviors.
- Lack of attention by the central and local governments in solving the root of the problem.

The objectives to be achieved from this research are:

- Describe the obstacles faced by the Government in dealing with the exodus of the former Timor-Timor in Kupang City and Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province.
- Analyze the efforts made by the government in overcoming obstacles in handling the exodus of the former Timor Timur in accordance with the social conditions of the people in Kupang City and Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province.
- Analyze and find a model for handling the exodus of the former Timor Timur that is in accordance with the social conditions of the community in Kupang City and Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province.
- Find the form of policy recommendations in handling the exodus of the former Timor Timur that are in

accordance with the social conditions of the community in Kupang City and Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

The research method used in this research is a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. This method the authors use because it aims to describe the object of research that the author will examine.

This study aims to analyze and evaluate the implementation of the Exodus Subscription System (Timtim) in the perspective of Community Empowerment, but due to time constraints and the ability of researchers to focus only on the implementation of the Exodus Subscription System (Timtim) in the perspective of Community Empowerment, as well as in general to find out results in the exodus subscription system (Timtim) in the perspective of Community Empowerment. Therefore, this study will observe and describe the subscribers to the exodus of the former Timor Timur in East Nusa Tenggara, the conditions of the area / location, the socio-cultural conditions of the local community, the results that have been achieved, the factors that impede the implementation, the inhibiting factors for subscribing to the exodus. as well as the suitability between the realization of the implementation of existing laws and regulations so that the initial objective of implementing the Exodus Subscription is achieved properly at a later date.

III. RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. *Model of Exodus Handling for the Exodus of Timor Timur in Kupang City and Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province*

Many local people in Belu Regency tend to be indifferent, apathetic and do not pay attention to the demands of the former Timor Timur to the Government with social actions and even actions that lead to violence. A different attitude from that shown by the local community in Kupang City, which is related to the close ties between the former Timor Timur and the local people in the West Timor - East Nusa Tenggara region. Kupang City has ethnic characteristics that are much more heterogeneous than other Regency on the island of Timor. Another cause of social disparities and the absence of social institutions between former Timor Timur and local communities in East Nusa Tenggara is the jealousy of the people in East Nusa Tenggara for the various development concerns that the Government gave to former Timor Timur during the integration period even though East Nusa Tenggara was also a region whose poverty levels are still relatively the same.

The initial process of the integration process of Timor Timur into Indonesian territory, the people never came or agreed to it, even almost all important positions in the government in Timor Timur and all economic sectors were controlled by people who came from outside the island of

Timor. Therefore, it is understandable that the local people of East Nusa Tenggara consider the Timor Timur to be migrants.

One thing that may often go unnoticed even though it is actually important to examine is the social institutions and customs of the former Timor Timur themselves. Various sources state that the people of Timor Timur come from the Malay Polynesian and Papuan tribes in addition to the native Tetun tribe. There should not be too deep a gap between local residents or indigenous people on the island of Timor and former Timor Timur who still come from the same ethnic groups and ethnic groups. In fact, Timor Timur has been deprived of its cultural roots and social institutions as a result of 450 years of Portuguese colonialism and 25 years of integration with Indonesia (or to be precise the Indonesian invasion). Weak social institutions, the loss of trust in all parties including the Government (Portugal, Indonesia and RDTL) have caused the former Timor Timur in Indonesia to not know how and to whom they have to immerse themselves in a social institution so that they are even worse off in poor conditions. chronic.

The attitude that emerges (and is quite regrettable) from the side of the former Timor Timur is to assume that the International World is still paying attention to their case as 'refugees', 'debts' by the Indonesian Government due to various human rights violations that have occurred in Timor Leste (1975 - 1999) and the status of Alert V which is still being enforced by the United Nations against Indonesia (as a result of the murder of the UN envoy in Belu Regency), the former Timor Timur have made himself an 'unwelcome guest' in the area which he calls his own 'country'. This condition is getting worse because the Central Government and Regional Governments are not aware of or perhaps not willing to really try to restore public trust and build synergistic social institutions among all parties. Providing assistance of the same type and amount to former Timor Timur as well as to local residents in an instant manner does not in itself restore kinship relations that have been long lost. The special treatment for the former Timor Timur will cause the potential for jealousy and social conflict for the local population to flare up, while the discrimination by the Regional Government and the local community will instill seeds of hatred and resentment in the hearts of the former Timor Timur

The non-development of social institutions between the former Timor Timur and the local community has caused them to be isolated from various sources. When they receive assistance from the Government, they do not get support from the local community to develop this assistance. Conversely, when local people find it easy to access various basic social services, they are often not informed and even not recognized as community members in an area. The former Timor Timur themselves tended to always live in groups and did not mingle with the local community. This grouping serves as a protection force as well as resistance. This is why it is difficult for them to be accepted into existing social institutions.

To overcome problems and build and empower social institutions between former Timor Timur and local communities, an empowerment approach that uses collaborative management is needed. Collaborative management is a form of management that accommodates the interests of all stakeholders fairly and views the dignity of each stakeholder as an equal entity, in accordance with the prevailing values in order to achieve common goals. In the context of community development, collaborative management aims to:

- Providing instruments to identify stakeholders involved in community development;
- Increasing the potential for egalitarian cooperation among stakeholders by observing the principle of "as much as possible for the welfare of community members";
- Creating a community empowerment mechanism;
- Creating a dialogic learning mechanism;
- Improve community development actions through internalization mechanisms of external matters;
- Provide an 'open' management system.

The process of building social institutions between former Timor Timur and local communities must be facilitated by the Government using a directive (instructive) approach. In its implementation, the involvement of traditional leaders, community leaders and religious leaders will greatly assist and facilitate the internalization of values and norms that must be obeyed together. This also needed to be done because government officials tended to have a stigma that was not good enough for the former Timor Timur.

B. Social Capital

The accumulative loss of the trust of most of the former Timor Timur in the Government has resulted in the performance of the social-community system being very inefficient and ineffective. The view from the perspective of political economy, in the long term, also predicts trends that will worsen the socio-economic conditions of the community concerned. The loss of mutual trust between individuals or between groups and poor 'trust' in terms of "inability to carry out the mandate" both interpersonal and institutional have resulted in two important things, namely a sharp social disintegration process and a process of economic deterioration as a result of institutional inefficiency and transactions. getting serious. The explanation given by Dharmawan [6] has happened to residents of former Timor Timur. Furthermore, he said that the process of economic poverty and institutional destruction will be prolonged as a result of deficiency of social capital stock in society [6].

The destruction of the social capital of the former Timor Timur has been going on for a very long time. The colonialism which was carried out by Portugal for hundreds of years had

destroyed their social capital. It is only natural that after the Flower Revolution (Bloodless Revolution) in 1974 and elections in 1975 in Timor Leste, the losing parties (Apodeti, UDT, Kota and Trabalista) did not recognize the independence and power proclaimed by the Fretilin Party / group. The losing party elites did not want to support the proclamation, especially because Fretilin was seen as a leftist (communist) group. Many people view that the desire for integration into the Indonesian state by a combination of the 4 parties was ironically followed up by a process of "invasion" by the Indonesian government during the New Order era. Some writers have even argued to the extreme that the integration period (1975 - 1999) was a 'genocide' (extermination of certain ethnic groups) process carried out by the New Order government against the people of Timor Leste.

Most of the former Timor Timur living in East Nusa Tenggara are part of the generation or descendants of the parties that integrated into Indonesia and some are part of the 'tools' or apparatus of the New Order government in the effort to eradicate ethnicities and certain groups in Timor Leste. This led to them being labeled as "grave sinners" by the pro-independence Timor Timur. This "sin" made it difficult or impossible for them to return to their homeland. According to reliable sources in RDTL, the Timor Leste Government will accept them if they want to return to RDTL but people who have been "blacklisted" will still have to undergo court proceedings and be subject to punishment in accordance with the laws and regulations in force in RDTL. This political and social history has caused the former Timor Timur in East Nusa Tenggara to experience national dualism. On the one hand, they want to return to their homeland, but various factors and past decisions make it impossible for them to return to their home countries. These situations and conditions were constraining factors that made it difficult and complicated to rebuild positive social capital among the former Timor Timur.

Another factor that causes the social capital of the former Timor Timur to deteriorate and be eroded is in the form of 'greed' and the negative behavior of the people of East Nusa Tenggara who once lived in Timor Timur who later declared themselves refugees and demanded more attention from the Government. These Repatriation elites even tend to politicize issues of social injustice, discrimination and poverty for personal gain.

The first step that the government needs to take is to restore their "trust" in the country. This must be done by improving the performance of the apparatus, implementing transparent and accountable service programs, and providing opportunities for the community (former Timor Timur and local communities) to begin participatory planning through established social institutions. Furthermore, the principles that need to be considered in an effort to rebuild social capital are 1) social capital lag in the social structure at the micro, mezzo and macro levels and 2) the principle of synergy of social capital - physical capital and human capital in one unit that ensures efficiency. and the effectiveness of problem solving.

C. Policy Recommendations in Handling the Exodus of the Former Timor Timur in Accordance with the Social Conditions of the Community

Every conflict must be resolved immediately, so that it does not drag on because it is not only individuals who suffer losses but also society and institutions and the state. The process of community life can be disrupted and have an impact on the economy of the surrounding community. The government must be able to quickly read potential conflicts, anticipate conflicts to surface or spread, and always create the most effective steps possible.

Conflict resolution must be done as soon as possible to protect the reputation of the government, which could be tarnished because of the escalating conflict. A persuasive approach that is in accordance with the social conditions of the community is put forward very well in resolving conflicts that occur. Steps that can be taken to obtain peace from the conflict in the context of handling the exodus of the former Timor Timur can be carried out through:

- Introduction. The gap between the existing or identified state and how it should be. The only pitfall is an error in detecting (ignoring the problem or assuming there is a problem when it really doesn't exist).
- Diagnosis. Correct and tested methods of who, what, why, where and how conflict occurs. Focus on the main problems and not on the trifles.
- Agree on a solution. Gather input on possible solutions from the people involved. Filter out unworkable or unsuitable solutions. Never finish in a way that is not too good and look for the best.
- Implementation. After agreeing on a joint decision, the next step is to implement what has been mutually agreed. This is important to ensure that the resolution of a conflict can be carried out and resolved.
- Evaluation. Serves as a stage whether the resolution of the conflict that has been decided and implemented can protect all parties or not. If not, the next step is to provide additional solutions in order to access all the wishes of all members.

In line with the five fundamental characteristics of conflict resolution, in conflict management, an approach is carried out in conflict management according to the conflicts that occur, namely conflicts in intrapersonal, interpersonal, intragroup, intergroup, intraorganizational, and interorganizational conflicts. Conflict management is called constructive if in an effort to resolve the conflict, the continuity of the relationship between the conflicting parties is still maintained and interacts harmoniously [7]. In practice, a collaborative management approach can be applied at the following levels:

- As a strategy and is the best choice for the implementation of activities in the long term. Collaborative management will create optimal

conditions in terms of 'meeting the interests of all stakeholders' involved.

- As an instrument to identify and analyze problems. Aspects that can be identified and analyzed include: the existence of stakeholders, stakeholder interests, patterns of interaction between stakeholders and the types of conflicts that occur or potential conflicts that may occur.
- As a management instrument that gives intensive attention in terms of a) The collectivity of the implementation of each management stage; b) Internalization of supervision and control; and c) The intention to change to a more productive direction.
- As an instrument for identifying and resolving conflicts, namely reducing or eliminating dysfunctional conflicts and transforming functional conflicts into driving factors for achieving good performance.

A referendum held in August 1999 decided that the province of Timor Timur would formally become a sovereign state under the official name of the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste. However, behind the political tragedy there was an internal conflict in Timor Leste which forced around 280,414 people to migrate on a large scale from their original land to Indonesian territory. This has become a new chapter of problems and homework for the Indonesian government in building stability and security in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia.

The arrival of refugees from Timor Leste has immediately affected security in East Nusa Tenggara, causing economic problems, disrupting the quality of social services for the local population due to the large number of refugees, and other social problems. This is what demands the Indonesian government to implement three main policies, namely Repatriation to Timor Leste, Resettlement, and Transmigration to other parts of Indonesia. To realize this policy, the Indonesian government has collaborated with international bodies such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), IOM (International Organization for Migration), and the CIS Timor Non-Governmental Organization from East Nusa Tenggara. Through cooperation with international agencies, the Indonesian government has paid attention to the problem of refugees.

This indirectly shows the seriousness of the Indonesian government in dealing with the problem of refugees originating from Timor Leste. UNHCR as an international agency engaged in the field of refugees has assisted and provided support to the Indonesian government in various ways. UNHCR's efforts started from collecting data on refugees, assisting with the necessary facilities and infrastructure, and identifying and resolving problems that are vulnerable to occurring in refugee camps such as health, security and other social problems.

UNHCR as an important actor has also succeeded in assisting the Indonesian government in its efforts to repatriate former Timor Timur. Apart from UNHCR, the Indonesian

government also collaborates with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) or in Indonesian it is commonly referred to as the International Organization for Migration. In fact, IOM has been assisting the Indonesian government in overcoming refugees for a long time, starting with the handling of refugees originating from Vietnam in Tanjung Pinang, Riau in 1979. However, officially IOM's cooperative relationship with the Indonesian government only started in 1999, and Indonesia was officially trusted to be a country. observers on the IOM board.

In series with IOM's cooperation with the Indonesian government in dealing with refugees from Timor Leste, finally in 2000 a cooperation agreement between the two parties was signed. In general, the efforts made by IOM in dealing with former Timor Timur residing in Indonesia are not much different from those made by UNHCR, through refugee protection, social, economic surveillance, security, and repatriation efforts. This proves that IOM has succeeded in paying attention to the problems of refugees in Indonesia. Not only collaborating with the Indonesian government, through financial assistance from international and national sources, IOM also coordinates with other parties such as the Timor Leste government, UNHCR and the CIS Timor NGO, especially in the repatriation effort.

Apart from cooperating with international agencies, efforts to resolve the problem of refugees from Timor Leste were carried out in other ways. One of them is by establishing a National Coordinating Agency for Disaster Management and Refugee Management from Timor Timur or what is commonly known as (BAKORNAS-PBP). In accordance with the Presidential Decree No. 03 of 2001, this Coordination Agency is aimed at overcoming the problem of refugees in Indonesia. At the central level BAKORNAS - PBP is led by the Vice President, at the provincial level it is named SATKORLAK-PBP (Implementing Coordinating Unit) which is led by the Governor of East Nusa Tenggara, while at the Regency level it is called SATLAK-PBP (Implementing Unit) which is led by the Regent. These three agencies coordinate to solve the problem of refugees with three main policies, namely Repatriation, Resettlement and Transmigration to other regions in Indonesia.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Based on the results of the analysis and discussion presented based on the facts studied, the conclusions that can be drawn from the problem of the former Timor Timur in East Nusa Tenggara are:

- The obstacles faced by the Government in dealing with the exodus of the former Timor-Timor in Kupang City and Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province, began with social problems in the form of riots in 1999 which caused many former Timor Timur in East Nusa Tenggara to experience chronic poverty. The problem of poverty and the downturn of the former Timor Timur in East Nusa Tenggara is getting worse due to the

weakness of social institutions among themselves and their unwillingness and inability to become part of the existing local community social institutions.

- Efforts made by the government in overcoming obstacles in handling the exodus of the former Timor Timur in accordance with the social conditions of the people in Kupang City and Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province, were carried out by building social institutions between former Timor Timur and local communities so as not to be excluded from various opportunities for access resources and find support in solving their problems.
- The model for handling the exodus of the former Timor Timur which is in accordance with the social conditions of the community in Kupang City and Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province, is formulated based on the history of the integration period which has caused the social capital of the former Timor Timur to experience destruction so that it is hoped that by growing positive social capital it can encourage The former Timor Timur got up and got out of poverty and the various social problems they experienced.
- The form of policy recommendations in handling the exodus of the former Timor Timur in accordance with the social conditions of the community in Kupang City and Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province in the reconstruction and resolution process by the government involved by considering: a) the involvement of the former Timor Timur community with local communities, b) encourage former Timor Timur to learn from local communities, c) ex Timor Timur be involved in joint planning with local communities, d) encourage former Timor Timur to cooperate with local communities, e) be directed to start with the capabilities of the residents ex Timor Timur, and f) the development of the former Timor Timur built with local community ownership.

Based on the conclusions containing the findings from the results of the analysis that have been submitted, the following suggestions can be made:

- The government needs to provide a long enough time and very strong political will to build social institutions among former Timor Timur and indigenous people of East Nusa Tenggara and reconstruct their social capital in a positive direction so that they are able to increase their capabilities, have the fighting power to improve their lives and restoring his dignity and worth.
- The reconstruction and resolution process by the government and all program implementers involved need to pay attention to: a) involvement of the former Timor Timur with local communities, b) encouraging former Timor Timur to learn from local communities, c) residents of former Timor Timur are involved in planning together with the local community, d)

encouraging former Timor Timur to cooperate with local communities, e) directed to start with the capabilities of the former Timor Timur, and f) the development of the former Timor Timur built with the ownership of the local community.

- It is recommended that Central and Regional government programs be carried out by providing liberation and empowerment to former Timor Timur, especially in the City of Kupang and border areas in Belu Regency.

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