

The Dynamics of Community in A State Border of Indonesia-Timor Leste: Cultural Adaptation Strategies of Indigenous Community in Nusa Tenggara Timur and Timor Leste Towards Modernization of Bureaucracy and Development of Facilities and Infrastructure in State Border

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Abstract – This research focused on a cultural adaptation of Indonesia-Timor Leste border communities to the modernization of bureaucracy and infrastructure. The direct observation method was used by applying in-depth interview technique using the cultural adaptation strategy theory by Kaplan. The modernization of bureaucracy and the development of infrastructure and facilities in Indonesian border have an impact on how the way people respond and adapt to the new environment. Indigenous people combine both active and passive adaptations. They have contribution by inserting traditional values into border management. They change the administrative behavior in the state borders from traditional administrations into international standard bureaucracy and governance.

Key word: cultural adaptation, modernization, indigenous people, Indonesia-Timor Leste borders area.

I. INTRODUCTION

The alteration in government's policy direction to locate the border area using welfare approach has a very huge impact on the development and management of state border area. The government positions the border area of the country by creating an image as the front representation of Indonesia. The government seriously pays attention by making physical improvements and also building up and preparing its human resources at the border area in order to create citizens who have provision and ability to be the vanguard of the State.

In 2000, The National Cross Borders at Wini-Oecusse district was established as the border area between Indonesian and Timor Leste. (BPPD TTU: 2012,16). This decision was followed by the implementation of rules for goods and people's mobility that are entering and leaving between the two countries. Communities who want to pass the Oecusse's border area from Indonesia or vice versa must follow the bureaucratic procedures at the state border which previously the procedures had not been found in traditional values when they entered and left the Wini-Oecusse area.

The Oecusse and Wini communities in the North Insana sub-district are indigenous people who have emotional bond on the basis of similar socio-cultural relations. A traditional bond that has grown forms a communal bond regarding the traditional values of indigenous people. The communal bond of indigenous people had begun to change when there was a political disintegration in Timor territory which was separated into two countries. The Oecusse district becomes the enclave of Democratic Republic of Timor Leste while the North Insana sub-district becomes a part of Indonesian territory with Wini as the boundary.

The government's efforts to reform and manage the border area have continued to change the security approach strategy, which began from the establishment of the border area, into a welfare approach strategy. This policy is created based on the security needs at the state border area which has just established and also based on the consideration that the communities of Indonesia and Timor Leste have strong socio-cultural bond. This policy implements bureaucratic procedures at the state crossing gate and forms a legal traditional bureaucracy.

In 2015 the government implemented a bureaucracy reform at the national cross-border which refers to the modern bureaucracy standards at the state crossing gate of Wini-Oecusse. The governance in Wini-Oecusse border area has implemented an international standard bureaucracy and has used modern infrastructure. It is managed by both National and Regional State Border Management Agency which collaborates with immigration service, Customs and Excise, Quarantine and TNI-POLRI.

The alteration from legal traditional bureaucracy into formal legal bureaucracy and the use of modern infrastructure have encouraged the form of adaptations for indigenous people towards the changes in their environment. The adaptation includes in both personal and traditional institution adaptation. On the other hand, the government has also actively made several efforts to approach indigenous people. The government facilitates indigenous people to take part and actively involved in the development and management of border areas including Wino-Oecusse district.

The development's acceleration of state border infrastructures and the use of modern technology in the middle of indigenous people who are assumed as low-level communities in the border area of Nusa Tenggara Timur-East Timor may cause some complex social problems. The government's efforts to make major changes by building facilities and infrastructure based on modern technology has a huge impact on the ineffectiveness of their utilizations and its usefulness to the communities. It also requires the indigenous people to make a high adaptation to their presence.

Inequality in the process of modernization at a certain stage may lead to a cultural lag and potentially evoke a social conflict in the community. This condition can be a problem and requires serious handling from the government and the community itself. The adaptation strategies are selected based on the level of community ability and also the existing achievements. The ability of the government and society in developing adaptive strategies can address the gap and achieve the target of acceleration and modernization.

Regarding the alteration in the governance from legal traditional bureaucracy to legal formal bureaucracy and the presence of modern infrastructures, this research focuses on how the indigenous people adapt to these changes.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The border area between Indonesia and Timor Leste and its dynamics is very interesting to study. The socio-cultural studies about kinship bonds between Dawan tribe, the indigenous people in Wini-Indonesia district and Oecusse-Timor Leste district form a kinship pattern that shifts and forms to a new kinship behavior in the Dawan tribe with an orientation to the state equality (Eni Sugiarti: 2013)

A study about socio-economical condition at Wini-Ocusse border area concluded that Wini district has potential for economic development. This is due to the economic supply dependence of Wini district for the Oecusse district. Therefore, the existence of border markets in the practice of cross-border markets becomes very important. (Eni Sugiarti: 2016)

The conflicts emerged around the border area occurs by several factors such as from the internal factors of the border communities of Indonesia-Timor Leste who are still connected by social bonds as the same social and cultural root as fellow tribes. (Eni Sugiarti, 2014, 40). In addition, human resources in the border area have a low level of life as a result of limitations in outermost region of a country. This causes lags in the development of their level of life (Regional Border Management Agency, 2015)

Another factor from external is the sluggish development in the border area which includes poor coordination either from the bureaucracy within related institutions or the overlapping authority from the institutions that handle border issues (BPPD, 2015). The poor coordination from institutions dealing with border issues is aggravated by the lack of facilities and infrastructures in the border area. It results in difficulty of accessing human and good's mobility and causes slow development at the border area (Eni Sugiarti, 2016).

III. METHODS

This study was a cultural research about how a traditional community behaved, responded and developed a cultural strategies to adapt with the changes in their environment. According to Kaplan and Maner, emic and etic approach is can be used in a cultural research (Kaplan: 2002) by using participant observation techniques (Jurgensen, 1989), through an observation and in depth interviews.

An adaptation according to Haviland has definition as a process of interaction between the changes caused by organisms to the environment and the changes caused by the environment to the organism. This two-way adjustment is necessary so that all living things can survive including humans (Haviland 1993: 3).

The process of cultural adaptation cannot be separated by cultural ecology (Kaplan, 2002). It is characterized by the attention to adaptation in several levels: first, the way in which the cultural systems adapt to the total environment. Second, as the systematic consequences of how institutions adapt to one another. Stewards explains there are 3 cultural and ecological adaptation procedures namely (1) the relationship between technology and the cultural environment on how the extent of the effectiveness of technology is able to have power. (2) Patterns of behavior related to technology on how members in a cultural society can survive. (3) The relationship between behavior patterns and the other elements on the new cultural system.

IV. DISCUSSION

The implementation of formal bureaucratic procedures in the state border since the beginning in 2000 until now has invited various public responses and forms of behavior of the border crossers by following the developments that occur in the bureaucratic governance at the border state. For the border communities, the existence of the new bureaucracy forms new habits of the crossers who follow the bureaucratic procedures with the use of PLBN letters and also illegal crossers who pass through traditional routes and compass cutting line or commonly called as "jalan tikus" or "rat path" (Eni Sugiarti: 2014, 79). There are several reasons causing the presence of illegal border crossers such as: (1) the border gate is so far that takes longer time to reach it, (2) the limited access roads and means of transportation to the border gate (3) the costs of PLBN letter administration, (4) the habit of using traditional routes.

In order to overcome the different perceptions about the state crossing gate on indigenous people, the government adopted a socio-cultural approach by such as giving permission to conduct rituals in the state border area performed by two different citizens. In some urgent conditions such as death and traditional ceremonies, the government gives concessions to the community with a certain time limit. The tolerance practices that are more humanitarian indirectly form non-legal behavior in the border communities.

In 2015, the government made a major recast in the border area based on the implementation of Nawa Cita Program. One of the part of a national speech on regional development policies stated that the alignment of Eastern Indonesia which is shown through the economic growth acceleration and modernization outside Java, followed by increasing welfare in underdeveloped regions, rural and border areas are the efforts to avoid regional disparities. (2015-2016 RPJM National Speech on Framework Policy) p. 2- 9.

The management of the border area in East Nusa Tenggara is clearly stated in the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia no. 179 in 2014 concerning on the spatial management of the state border area in East Nusa Tenggara Province saying that the community as one of the elements in the state border's management. The government seriously encourages the community to be actively involved in the development and management of the border area. The regulation states that the community as one of the elements in the state border's management. The community in this case includes individuals, groups of people including customary law communities, corporations and / or other non-government stakeholders in organizing spatial planning (Dewan.go.id Secretariat)

This regulation clearly states that the management of border area involves indigenous /local communities. The active participation of the communities in the process of developing and managing border area helps to accelerate the adaptation of society towards the changes that has been occurred. There are two adaptation targets of indigenous people:

1. Adaptation to the modern bureaucratic procedures
2. Adaptation to the use of modern facilities and infrastructure

An adaptation to the application of modern bureaucracy is based on the completeness of the state crosser's documents. PLBN Card, Passport, Deposit and a reference letter from the authorities are required for them so that they are able to mobilize goods and people. According to this, it is necessary for indigenous people to adjust themselves with the order administrations and official documents. If they are unfamiliar with letters and the use of official documents, it will be an obstacle to pass the state border. Based on data obtained in the field, indigenous people commonly assume that the documents required to cross the state border make them more difficult to cross the country and most of them are reluctant to process the documents. Since they grow up in an oral tradition, processing some administrative stuffs is a new culture.

Another administrative procedure that must be followed by the indigenous people is the obligation to be checked at the gate by several insurances such as immigration, customs and excise, quarantine and TNI checkpoint. Although it is held in one area, the number of procedures that must be followed turns out to be an obstacle that must be faced by the passersby. Previously, many people especially illegal passers crossed on the state border gate without any firm and discipline inspection procedures. However, the new regulation with modern bureaucracy procedures obligates the community to follow some procedures that often take time.

Responding to this, the government made an approach to the indigenous people and the customary leader in the border area. The cooperation built by including the customary leader was considered as the most effective way to be implemented for the indigenous people who still have strong paternalistic character. The government programs and policies at the state crossing area have been socialized to the indigenous people through their customary leader (BNPP Head Interview).

Indigenous people's habits when crossing into the Oecusse district have several purposes such as for their family events, traditional needs as well as for their economic interests. In order to fulfill their necessity, there is an implementation of administrative order that more or less shifts their customary practices such as a habit to visit their relatives. When they visited their relatives or performed traditional rituals, some of the customary attributes such as food, animals, alcoholic drinks (sopi) and betel nut are usually brought by them. However, bringing customary goods are considered as the violation. Therefore, the quarantine checker often confiscates them when entering the state border gate. This matter finally has an impact on the implementation of traditional rituals. The use of meeting rooms that are mostly carried out at the border area is decreased. For

instance, the rivers which usually become public spaces for indigenous people, but later on they are not allowed to use it because it is considered as a violation according to the rules on state border.

Indigenous people must also adapt to the establishment of modern infrastructure facilities in border area. The construction of magnificent buildings equipped with sophisticated facilities such as CCTV, door with detector, escalators and the presence of money changers by banks, electricity and the construction of telecommunication networks bring very large and fast changes in the border area. Wini, which originally was only a remote area has turned into a modern area with modern facilities. The vast road and the emergence of economic center with the development of the modern border market have changed the gloomy face of border state into very beautiful place. This development has attracted many migrants to visit Insana sub-district. In 2015 it was recorded that the number of people who had entered Insana sub-district has increased from 388 to 495 9 people (North Insana in Figures for 2016-2017)

A rapid change by the indigenous people in Wini is likened as a magic game. They are not infrequently being in an unfamiliar situation. The use of community land for broadening and developing border areas are often taking over some places which considered as sacred places such as traditional houses and family tombs. Some cases that occurred in Wini were many people did not want to hand over their land for border area's development because of some customary reasons.

The availability of electricity, road access that facilitates mobility, and telecommunications networks are assumed by the indigenous people as a threat to the sustainability of their customary values. For instance, the emergence of telecommunications network has shifted the indigenous people's habit to visit and meet each other. The influence from the outside is very easy to come in the border area due to the existence of internet access. The customary leader in Wini district stated that the presence of western lifestyles are potentially imitated by the Wini's people which can transform the society's lifestyle into a modern style and get them away from traditional customs.

There are several efforts made by the government to solve the problems that have arisen in indigenous communities, such as:

1. Recruiting indigenous / local communities become the employees through selection and prioritizing them as the qualified employees and contract workers, especially for cleaning staff.
2. Giving priority to the community to develop their economy by providing 60% quota for the community as the border market players.
3. Building cooperation with BNPP and the customary leaders to make planning of the regional development based on the empowerment and welfare of indigenous people.

V. CONCLUSION

The inclusion of formal bureaucracy for goods and people crossing between countries at Wini-Oecusse border gate has an impact on the shifting behavior of the bureaucracy in indigenous people which was originally as legal traditional to legal formal. For the indigenous people, the implementation of this bureaucracy forms a particular administrative behavior by some adaptation stages of indigenous people as the old practice.

The adaptations carried out by the community can be classified in two models. The first one is passive adaptation where indigenous people inevitably have to follow the changes. The second one is active adaptation where indigenous people have the value of *tawqar* by bargaining to be able to participate in the process of managing the border area.

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