Implications of the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, for territorial resilience

Hendri Susilo\textsuperscript{a} | R. Rijanta\textsuperscript{b} | Ahmad Zubaidi\textsuperscript{c}

\textsuperscript{a}Doctoral Student of National Resilience Science Program, Graduate School of Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
\textsuperscript{b}Faculty of Geography, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
\textsuperscript{c}Faculty of Philosophy, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Abstract A state border constitutes proof of state sovereignty and, accordingly, is considered imperative as it affirms sovereignty boundaries and represents the international interest of a country. A border is an important and strategic area. It is strategic because, geographically speaking, a border area is blessed with natural resource potencies and market chances by virtue of its adjacency to neighboring countries. It is important in that it is in relation to the aspects of state sovereignty, defense and security, nationalism, society, economy, and culture. The research is aimed at analyzing the implications of the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, for territorial resilience. A qualitative method with a case study approach was used. Results demonstrated that the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land border areas of Indonesia-Timor Leste, attenuated border area resilience.

Keywords: implication, unresolved segment, border, Indonesia-Timor Leste, territorial resilience

1. Introduction

A state border attests to state sovereignty, and it is not a mere line stretching on the Earth’s surface as it also differentiates a certain area from another (Starke, 1972). Besides, it refers to a spatial phenomenon which determines political jurisdiction boundaries, e.g., the government and the state (Zarghani, 2007). A state border is, hence, indispensable to a country since it confirms sovereignty boundaries and represents the international interests of a country. A border area is important and strategic. It is strategic due to its natural resource potencies and market opportunities because of its closeness in the distance to neighboring countries. Meanwhile, it is important because, politically speaking, a border area pertains to state sovereignty, defense, security, nationalism, and social, economic, and cultural aspects (Lahnisafitra, 2005). Indonesia and Timor Leste decide their land borders by applying the legal principle of \textit{Uti Possidetis Juris}, which requires border determination to refer to an agreement the Dutch and Portuguese agreed upon. According to Samalewaly (2018), land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste inherit the borders mentioned in agreements between the Dutch and Portuguese, as follows:

a. Convention for the Demarcation of Portuguese and Dutch Dominions on the Island of Timor, signed in the Hague on October 1\textsuperscript{st}, 1904, in which ratifications were exchanged on August 29\textsuperscript{th}, 1908 (the 1904 Treaty).

b. Permanent Court of Arbitration, Boundaries in the Island of Timor, Netherlands vs. Portugal, The Hague, June 25\textsuperscript{th}, 1914 (PCA 1914).

Basically, issues are wrought by the unsuitability between substances mentioned in the legal bases (the 1904 Treaty and PCA 1914) and field evidence or the community’s current understandings (Sutisna & Widodo, 2010). Attempts to settle the issues, including the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, have been made by Indonesia and Timor Leste through diplomacy at three levels, i.e., Joint Ministerial Commission (JMC), Joint Border Committee (JBC), and Technical Sub-Committee on Border Demarcation and Regulation (TSC-BDR) levels (Anggita, 2014).

JMC was established to resolve residual problems which arose after Timor Leste’s independence. At the JMC level, the Indonesia-Timor Leste border diplomacy discusses land border determination issues and endeavors to solve problems in all dimensions of life in the Indonesia-Timor Leste borders. JBC is responsible for resolving issues in border areas, such as issues pertinent to cross borders, security, order, river management in borders, delimitation, and demarcation of land border lines. TSC-BDR is part of JBC and manages technical matters regarding delimitation, delineation, and demarcation.

The unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana is included in the administrative area of Amfoang Timur, Kupang, which borders directly with Oecussi, East Timor, and the disputed area is in Naktuka, an area in the Noel Besi River delta. On account of its location in the delta, the 1,069 Ha area is fertile and suitable for agriculture, augmenting the lucrative
economic value for the community dwelling there. However, the border area’s conditions differ from other areas as the first comes with a multitude of constraints, especially in Indonesia, whose border areas are challenged by issues regarding territorial border uncertainties, either physical or juridical (Simamora, 2013). Activities in the Indonesia-Timor Leste borders are growing, but border-related problems remain complex, and therefore, if the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana persists, the community inhabiting the border areas will encounter continuous disruptions, adversely affecting territorial resilience conditions.

Jones (1945) argues that clear land borders must be achieved to ascertain state sovereignty because fixed state sovereignty is the cornerstone of manifesting territorial resilience with clear borders. Clear borders are the requirements for border management to run the development process well and develop aspects of national life (astagatra) in border areas. It will elevate border area resilience.

The current research on the implication of the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, for territorial resilience, offers a different feature from the previous ones. Some previous research addresses Indonesia-Timor Leste border problems in general, while this research delivers a specific discussion of the implication of the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana for territorial resilience.

Based on the background, this research aims to examine the implications of the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, for territorial resilience. In other words, it complements and enriches the previous research by proposing the implications of Indonesia-Timor Leste state borders for territorial resilience.

2. Materials and Methods

This qualitative research implemented a case study approach with a single case to investigate research problems and questions grounded on natural (empirical) phenomena, eliminating any manipulation possibility (Yin, 2009). Primary and secondary data were collected using three techniques, namely interviews (in-depth interviews), observation, and documentation. Sampling was conducted using the purposive sampling technique. Informants were engaged directly in unresolved segment disputes in Noel Besi-Citrana. Data analysis in the case study method comprised testing, categorizing, tabulating, and combining empirical evidence (Yin, 2014).

National resilience or territorial resilience constituted a model of living conditions of a state or territory during a particular period and was dynamic in nature. All aspects of life were mapped into several aspects to allow efficient observation and understanding of their interactions. The Mahan model was made up of six aspects, the Cline model had five aspects, the model of National Resilience Constitute of the Republic of Indonesia (Lemhannas RI) maintained eight aspects, and the Morgenthau model came with nine aspects, whereas the Brzezinski model had four. All aspects should be seen as a whole, reflecting a dynamic condition of life order. They could be segregated in the analytic theory but could not be separated because of their relation to each other. Table 1 compares the aspects of each national resilience model.

Table 1 Comparison of the Aspects of National Resilience Models.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Strong national morale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Social and cultural aspects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Danasaputo (1983) and Sunardi (1997), processed by authors.

This research used the Lemhannas RI model as the yardstick of territorial resilience of Indonesia-Timor Leste border areas, especially Noel Besi-Citrana, which was included in the area of Amfoang Timur. The model was used because, compared to others, it was the most complete and fit to be implemented in the context of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Textually, several aspects were not included in the Lemhannas RI model, but substantively, all important aspects had been included. Some aspects remained excluded in that they were very contextual on the grounds of particular conditions or from where they were generated.
3. Results and Discussion

Territorial border problems in a country, including the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, were the dynamics in national and state lives and should be resolved immediately to prevent unwanted incidents. Empirical facts defined territorial border issues as one of the leading causes of war. Conflicts and crises in this context could escalate traditional threats unless dispute management was performed aptly (Kemhan, 2015).

The territorial resilience model in this research was Astagatra by Lemhanas RI. The implication of the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, for territorial resilience directly impacted all national resilience elements in terms of either Trigatra elements (natural aspects) or Pancagatra ones (social aspects). Territorial resilience in Amfoang Timur, where the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana occurred, could be attained if each aspect of life in the national resilience elements included in Astagatra ran well. Trigatra (natural aspects) were composed of geographical, demographical, and natural resource aspects, whereas Pancagatra (social aspects) comprised ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, and defense and security aspects.

The unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana influenced the sustainability of an area in the land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste. Clear territorial borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste would furnish both countries with state freedom in undertaking a variety of activities congruent with their interest as long as it did not violate international laws applicable to borders. In addition, clear territorial borders were pivotal capital to create a harmonious relationship with neighboring countries, negating territorial issue burdens which could invite conflicts. Here, we answered the research problems in regard to the implication of the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, for the territorial resilience of Amfoang Timur, Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara.

3.1. Implication for the Geographical Aspect

Geographical aspects were with respect to the space or living place of creatures which lived there and were affected by climate and weather. Global climate changes impacted the human living environment. As regards their geographical positions, Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, where the unresolved segment happened, were included in Amfoang Timur, which bordered directly with Oecussi, Timor Leste. Both countries considered these positions very strategic, but unsettled border problems there engendered unclear administrative boundaries, inducing disrupted management of state border areas.

Both countries had made efforts to resolve the border problems and avoid conflicts owing to disputed borders between Indonesia-Timor Leste, specifically the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana. Resolving state borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, especially the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana in Amfoang Timur, aimed to realize clear state borders to maintain sovereignty and integrity and achieve national resilience.

Land border issues of Indonesia and Timor Leste in Amfoang Timur (the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana) drove border community members to fight over agricultural land, as narrated by the key informant AT as follows:

“Unclear land borders between Indonesia-Timor Leste, especially in Amfoang Timur, lead the community to fight over agricultural land. More Oecussi/Timor Leste people use the disputed area of Naktuka as agricultural land. It has long been like that since the independence status of Timor Leste.” (An interview with the key informant AT, October 6th, 2022).

The key informant AO delivered the same information about the Naktuka dispute or the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana as follows:

“With the Naktuka dispute remaining, border community members, who are actually brothers and sisters, often fight over agricultural land. Agriculture is the main sector for the livelihood of the border communities here, and the Amfoang Timur community, in general, therefore, anchors their life on agricultural land. If the Naktuka dispute is not solved immediately, it will pose a broader conflict.” (An interview with the key informant AO, October 3rd, 2022).

Uncertain borders would compromise on state territorial sovereignty. The unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana in Amfoang Timur produced unclear geographical borders between Indonesia and Timor Leste. It negatively influenced the border community in managing agricultural land, which was their primary livelihood in Amfoang Timur. Mutual claims between community members over the Naktuka area, which was in status quo, were inevitable as a result of unclear borders.

The empirical evidence written above emphasized the crucial importance of the immediate resolution of the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana between Indonesia and Timor Leste. It would avoid border conflicts and result in efficient border territorial management. In terms of geographical aspects, unclear borders bred legal and sovereignty uncertainties. Fights over agricultural land and hampered development indicated that the territorial resilience of Amfoang Timur was affected adversely.

3.2. Implication for the Demographic Aspect

Demographic aspects were associated with the population populating an area. Population growth occurred because of changes by virtue of natural and need fulfillment processes. Changes in the population size due to natural processes were
encouraged by natality and mortality, while those due to the need fulfillment process were fostered by migration or residence change processes.

The unresolved segment of land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste in Noel Besi-Citrana had implications for the population in border areas. The unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana directly affected the aspect of citizenship certainty. The disputed area was currently resided by those holding Timor Leste ID cards, but in the development, some Timor Leste citizens dwelling in the disputed area wanted to be Indonesians again, considering their farms and families in Amfoang Timur. Nevertheless, changing citizenship took work, and even their unclear citizenship status persisted to date.

The relatively difficult life in Naktuka encouraged several Timor Leste citizens inhabiting the disputed area of Naktuka to be Indonesian citizens again. The key informant AS stated:

“We desire to be Amfoang Timur or Indonesian citizens because we live in adversity here (Naktuka). We have no choice except to return to Netemnanu Utara in that we still have fields our parents once gave here (Netemnanu Utara, Amfoang Timur).” (An interview with the key informant AS, October 12th, 2022).

Predicated on our observation, the citizenship status of those who moved to Amfoang Timor remained unclear, which implied that the immigration process of changing their citizenship was ineligible for any follow-up. It impeded border area management, as recounted by the key informant AT as follows:

“Naktuka people who have moved to Amfoang Timur and aree itching to be Indonesian citizens again receive no follow-up from the immigration office on the grounds that changing citizenship is exacting.” (An interview with the key informant AT, October 6th, 2022).

The facts described that the mobility of those in border areas, specifically in Noel Besi-Citrana, was situation traditional, or ethnic mobility, as in tribal similarities between Amfoang Timur and Oecussi people, who belonged to the Dawan tribe. They maintained their traditional relationship until today through family visits, farming, and marriage.

3.3. Implication for the Natural Resource Aspect

Natural resources were all nature-generated resources and potencies on land, sea, and air in a territory. Each territory had distinctive natural resources due to the effects of geographical location. Nonetheless, natural resource potencies and kinds did not reflect the state prosperity, calling for exploitation to increase people’s welfare. Natural resources would determine many different types of livelihood and levels of welfare, economy, education, and socio-culture of those living in the related area. Two territorial resilience indicators of Amfoang Timur in terms of the natural resource aspect were agricultural and animal farming commodities. Natural potencies in Amfoang Timor were germane to agriculture, animal farming, and marine ecosystems.

Rice cultivation was the livelihood of the majority of Amfoang Timur residents, who worked as either employed laborers or farmers who cultivated their fields. Their fields were rain-fed. Irrigation was very limited in Amfoang Timur, bringing on barren fields during the dry season. Farmed animals in Amfoang Timor had no cages and were left to wander in nature, requiring owners to mark them. It could cause issues between Amfoang Timor residents because their cattle might enter and blight other residents’ farms. Furthermore, cattle might also cross state borders or enter the disputed areas of Noel Besi-Citrana. The incident would persist if the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana remained. The key informant AT related:

“Cattle here live freely. People give a stamp/mark on their bodies as a sign of ownership. However, cattle which wander freely often damage agricultural land or people’s farms and even enter the conflicted area of Naktuka. Cattle entering Naktuka commonly do not make any return, triggering conflicts between people in the border areas of Noel Besi-Citrana several times. Thus, we hope the Naktuka conflict is solved forthwith, engendering clear borderlines.” (An interview with the key informant AT, October 6th, 2022).

The resolution of the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, would give clarity in natural resource management in border areas and remove any land disputes due to unclear state borders. People’s welfare levels were dependent upon their competence in using natural resources. Field and corn agriculture/farming and animal farming contributed as natural resources, which sustained most of the economy of Amfoang Timur residents. Poor marine resource utilization and reliant food production in Amfoang Timur were two indicators of low territorial resilience in Amfoang Timur in terms of natural resources.

3.4. Implication for the Ideological Aspect

An ideology constituted a set of guiding principles to hold, organize, and develop the life of a nation (Armawi, 2011). Kodiran (2006) defined ideology as a means to justify a specific social order which had existed and been preserved and built certain beliefs in human selves and served as their life guidance on a daily basis. Ideology, by the above definitions, was also a device to yield a common life perspective for a nation and made it a reference to act and behave in a country.

Good territorial resilience would contribute to the generation of national resilience. Building and developing the ideology of the community dwelling in an area were a must to bolster national resilience. Pancasila, the ideology of the
Indonesian people, was a means of drawing all Indonesian people, with their diverse ethnicity, together. An ideology was the shared agreement between people belonging to the same country. It put together determination and spirit to maintain the sustainability of national and state lives and achieve national aspirations.

The unresolved segment resolution in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste in Amfoang Timur, was expected to have a significant effect on amping up the community ideology, which could impact the condition of territorial ideology resilience. However, the expectation remained unattained as the Noel Besi-Citrana segment remained unsettled. Negotiation between the governments of Indonesia and Timor Leste continued, but no consensus was achieved.

The border community in Amfoang Timur still perceived Pancasila as an ideology which suited their national and state lives in Indonesia. The following statement was delivered by the key informant AT.

“The community here has no issue with the ideology, and they strictly adhere to Pancasila. The problem is how to augment the nationalism of those dwelling here.” (An interview with the key informant AT, October 6th, 2022).

The sense of being an Indonesian would develop and grow in strength if the border area acquired more attention from the government through development and increase in infrastructures and the border community welfare. The key informant AO stated:

“Although there remains a border issue related to the Naktuka area in Amfoang Timur, especially Netenmanu Utara, the ideology of the community here is Pancasila. We believe that community welfare is a critical factor in bolstering the ideology and nationalism of the border community. Pancasila as the ideology will grow stronger with regional development and elevated welfare of the border community, notably in Amfoang Timur.” (An interview with the key informant AO, October 3rd, 2022).

Appreciating and practicing Pancasila in border areas of Indonesia-Timor Leste, particularly in Amfoang Timur, left no issue as the community maintained their loyalty to Pancasila and NKRI. The following excerpt was spoken by the key informant DS.

“The community remains loyal to Pancasila and NKRI despite their hard living in border areas. The influence from Timor Leste can infiltrate if the border condition remains like this. That is, the community here still suffers from minimum welfare, calling for serious efforts to enhance the standard of living of the border community, principally in Amfoang Timur.” (An interview with the key informant DS, October 10th, 2022).

Predicated on our observation, there was no problem with understanding Pancasila as the national ideology in border areas of Indonesia-Timor Leste, specifically in areas around the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana. In spite of minimum border conditions, Pancasila is perceived as the only ideology held in state life. The government was expected to perceive border areas as the country front porches which should be built and ensured for their welfare, otherwise, the influence of the neighboring country Timor Leste would destabilize the ideology of the border community in Amfoang Timur.

Territorial resilience indicators demonstrated that the ideology aspect in Amfoang Timur was formidable, as the field evidence exhibited that the community in Amfoang Timur understood and accepted Pancasila as the only ideology in their national and state lives. Still, border conditions with minimum basic facilities and border conflicts, especially the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, rendered Amfoang Timur prone to the influence of Timor Leste ideologies. Another indicator showed no other ideology with either right or left radicality which could threaten the national integrity to be found.

### 3.5. Implication for the Political Aspect

Political resilience was related to the dynamic condition of the political life of a nation which was tenacious, tough, and capable of developing national power in confronting and coping with challenges, threats, barriers, and disruptions emanating from outside or inside the country directly or indirectly to ensure the sustainability of the political life of the nation and the state of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Lemhannas, 1997). Implications in the political aspect referred to steps to realize a dynamic condition in a political system, implying that the area could present a healthy political condition regardless of abnormal situations.

The land border problem between Indonesia-Timor Leste in Amfoang Timur, namely the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, indicated no clear borders in the area, affecting legal certainties and clarity of the administrative territorial boundaries of the government and legal order application. The key informant AT conveyed:

“Unclear territorial borders, the results of the Naktuka border dispute, impact legal certainties and legal order application. Territorial violations committed by the Naktuka community are difficult or cannot be followed up on because of unclear borders. The administrative border between Amfoang Timur and Oecussi is also unclear by virtue of Naktuta issues.” (An interview with the key informant AT, October 6th, 2022).

Clarity of statutory regulation implementation in Indonesia was also challenged, as described by the key informant IA as follows:

“Due to problematic borders, jurisdiction clarity and implementation are not optimum. For instance, those who go outside or inside the disputed area are only required to go to the Satgas Pamtais RI-RDTL Post or the Oepoli Policy Station when there must be an immigration process there.” (An interview with the key informant IA, September 28th, 2022).
Among the issues which frequently appeared every political year were voter lists. As disclosed by intelligent reports, some Naktuka people had double citizenship identities, affording them Indonesian and Timor Leste ID cards. Those with double IDs could partake in the general election in Amfoang Timur. Based on our observation, finding physical evidence attesting to double IDs the people held was intractable because they covered it strictly, as proposed by the informant AS as follows:

“Within (the disputed area of Naktuka/the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana), many own Indonesian ID cards, which they keep secretly. My adoptive father there still owns one. He showed me once.” (An interview with the key informant AS, October 12th, 2022).

Grounded on our observation and the facts mentioned above, settling the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, was an attempt to realize clear state borders. It was recommended from either juridical or physical aspects in the field to retain the unity and territorial integrity of NKRI. Political stability would deliver a safe, orderly, and controlled atmosphere, allowing territorial stability achievement. Development would be effective with a stable political life, furnishing the community and the government with opportunities to carry out their roles. Territorial stability at the outset would enable territorial resilience to be thoroughly realized and national resilience to be attained.

Territorial resilience indicators in the political aspect in Amfoang Timur were noticeable based on law enforcement and community participation in democracy implementation. Predicated on our observation, territorial resilience in the political aspect in Amfoang Timur was poor in that the area was very susceptible to conflicts in light of unclear territorial boundaries.

3.6. Implication for the Economic Aspect

The economic aspect was crucial in the national development process and was expected to cultivate formidable power to combat disruptions and intrusive threats. Economic issues in the national resilience framework were associated directly with the national resilience power levels of a country, and accordingly, a stable regional economic life would create regional economic independence. Meanwhile, an unstable economic life would disturb national stability on account of low economic resilience at a local level.

The implication of the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, in Amfoang Timur for territorial resilience in the economic aspect could be investigated using two indicators. The first indicator was changes in income levels, and the second was job opportunities. Both indicators delineated territorial resilience levels as the implication of the endless unresolved segment in land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, Noel Besi-Citrana, Amfoang Timur.

On the grounds of uncertain state borders, investors were unwilling to open up businesses in border areas, and hence, no companies, either agricultural or industrial, existed in Amfoang Timur. Owing to no established companies, the Amfoang Timur community suffered from a lack of job fields, making them reliant on agricultural and animal farming sectors. The following statement was posited by the informant AT.

“There is no company which can recruit many laborers in Amfoang Timur, leaving the agricultural sector as the main sector as the livelihood of the community here. Agricultural land is also constrained.” (An interview with the key informant AT, October 6th, 2022).

Besides, as regards the industrial sector entering the border area of Amfoang Timur, the key informant TK remarked:

“Here, we work in the agricultural sector the most. Here, there is no irrigation, generating limited harvest. We eat some of the harvest and sell the rest to meet other life needs.” (An interview with the key informant TK, October 7th, 2022).

The unresolved segment in land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste in Noel Besi-Citrana induced illegal economic activities in border areas, notably in Amfoang Timur-Oecussi, a result of no cross-border post (PLBN) in Amfoang Timur. The key informant DS reported:

“Economic cooperation between those in Amfoang Timur and those in Oecussi, Timor Leste, is mostly conducted illegally using border rat trails. PLBN is essential and should be built immediately to connect Amfoang Timur with Oecussi, Timor Leste.” (An interview with the key informant DS, October 10th, 2022).

The unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste in Amfoang Timur, influenced territorial resilience in the economic aspect. The unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana had a negative implication for territorial resilience in the economic aspect. Territorial resilience indicators in the economic aspect, namely income levels and job opportunities, suggested a poor level, leading us to infer that territorial resilience in the economic aspect in Amfoang Timur was weak. Solving the Naktuka conflict, or the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, in Amfoang Timur, was the primary requirement to rectify the economy of the area.

3.7. Implication for the Socio-Cultural Aspect

Purwanegara (2006) stated that the socio-cultural aspect was also imperative to realize the national resilience of Indonesia as it emphasized the subject or actor, which was human beings, existing within it. Disturbances in the socio-cultural aspect would significantly influence nation and state lives.
Indicators of the implication of determining land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste in Amfoang Timur in the socio-cultural aspect were education levels, community health, and culture. Commonly, the Indonesia-Timor Leste border community, particularly in Amfoang Timur and Kupang, came with an elementary school education level. The average education length of the Kupang community in 2022 was 7.41 years (BPS Kab. Kupang, 2022), as suggested by the key informant AT as follows:

"The education level of the Amfoang Timur border community is low, and most of them are elementary school graduates. Even many of them are illiterate, and the awareness of education importance is still low." (An interview with the key informant AT, October 6th, 2022).

One of the indicators invoked to study education levels was literacy rate, which demonstrated the ability to read and write Latin letters or others at a better level. The literacy rate in Amfoang Timur, the border of Indonesia-Timor Leste, was low, as stated by the key informant TK, as follows:

"Illiteracy here is still very high, and those who can read and write are only 57%, exhibiting that the quality of human resources in the border community, especially in Amfoang Timur, is still very low." (An interview with the key informant TK, October 7th, 2022).

Low human resources would have an adverse effect on the productivity and unemployment rate of the border community in Amfoang Timur. Facilities and infrastructures for education in Amfoang Timur were also still limited, and even Satgas Pamtas RI-RDTL members often contributed as educators in border schools. The key informant AT suggested:

"Facilities or infrastructures for education in Amfoang Timur come in a limited number, notably educators, and accordingly, Satgas Pamtas RI-RDTL members, who are on duty, often help teach at schools." (An interview with the key informant AT, October 6th, 2022).

The specific challenge faced by individuals in accessing education in the Amfoang Timur region is the lack of public understanding of the importance of education. Education has not been made a priority for community members to escape the trap of poverty and backwardness. The key informant AT suggested:

"People here don’t care about the importance of education. So many school-age children do not go to school. They choose gardening, farming, or raising livestock" (An Interview with key informant AT, October 6th, 2022).

Health levels of the Indonesia-Timor Leste border community, particularly those in Amfoang Timur, were still low, which was a result of health facility and worker constraints. Even in Amfoang Timur, we could only find one doctor, as argued by the key informant AT, as follows:

"As regards health, the border community in Amfoang Timur has a low level. Health facilities here are very limited, with only one community health center and limited medical workers. There is only one doctor. This number is not ideal for one sub-district." (An interview with the key informant AT, October 6th, 2022).

Under the condition, many of the Indonesia-Timor Leste border community members in Amfoang Timur foraged for medicine to Satgas Pamtas RI-RDTL, as indicated in Figure 1 and the following assertion from the key informant DS.

"Many of the community members capitalize on health facilities in the Oepoli Satgas Pamtas Post. According to those looking for medicine at Satgas Pamtas, access is easier, and the medicine available is complete. Satgas Pamtas feel happy if they can do good and help the border community because it is one of our goals to be here." (An interview with the key informant DS, October 10th, 2022).

Figure 1 Community Members Acquiring Treatments at the Satgas Pamtas RI-RDTL Post. Sources: Field documentation, 2022.

In the health sector, the challenge lies in government policy to provide health facilities for border residents, including Amfoang Timur. Residents need medical personnel and adequate health facilities. Currently, adequate health facilities are located in the district center which is very far away, making it difficult for border residents to reach it.

After the independence of Timor Leste, border determination between Indonesia-Timor Leste brought on border issues, one of which was the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana in Amfoang Timur. However, border uncertainties did
The social relationship between the Amfoang Timur border community and the border community from Oecussi, particularly Naktuka, is well established to date; they even visit or marry each other. Nevertheless, border disputes in Naktuka also create a social conflict, which is fighting over agricultural land.” (An interview with the key informant AT, October 6th, 2022).

The implications of unresolved segments on cultural aspects, among other things, can cause the culture of border communities, which are still of the same tribe, to be lost. For example, the culture of “kawin mawin” (marrying each other) will disappear due to boundary disputes. Indicators in the socio-cultural aspect showed that territorial resilience in Amfoang Timur was impacted by land border disputes of Indonesia-Timor Leste in Amfoang Timur, and hence, border clarity was very indispensable to reinforce the social relationship of the border community in Amfoang Timur.

3.8. Implication for Defense and Security Aspects

These aspects were momentous in ensuring the Indonesian people and country in achieving aims, interests, and national goals. Defense and security were complementary, with the first more to foreign disruptions and the latter emphasizing domestic ones. The process of developing defense and security had to be carried out sustainably and by considering environmental and Indonesian insights. State defense development was conducted as a response to a variety of threat possibilities and actual problems by adjusting it to geographical conditions and strategic environmental dynamics (Kemhan, 2015).

Defense and security development was not limited to physical aspects only, but it paid attention to other aspects, which were not physically observed yet had an extraordinary influence: ideology, social aspects, economy, and culture. Prosperity was one of the benchmarks for successful defense and security development because it was the main objective of developing defense and security. Defense and security were integral perceptions of a national life associated with stability, security, and prosperity, in which stability acted as the point of departure, security acted as the stability wall, and prosperity was the primary purpose (Yasin, 2007).

The quality and quantity of TNI and Polri and the TNI Border Security Post position were indicators of territorial resilience in defense and security aspects in border areas. The Polri unit title in the border area of Amfoang Timur was Polsek Amfoang Timur, with 40 members, and a border police post, with four members. The TNI unit title there was Koramil, with 20 members, a territorial task force post, with four members, and three Satgas Pamtas RI posts, each with 20 members. The key informant AT conveyed:

"The number of TNI and Polri personnel in Amfoang Timur is still lacking. There is a Polsek here, with 40 members, and a border police post, with four personnel. There are three Satgas Pamtas RI-RDTL posts; each has 20 personnel. At this moment, the number is adequate to maintain the security and order conditions of the Amfoang Timur community. Still, to retain defense to maintain state sovereignty, notably here, where the dispute exists, TNI personnel, particularly Satgas Pamtas, have to be added in terms of quantity." (An interview with the key informant AT, October 6th, 2022).

Criminality levels and illegal activities in Amfoang Timur were influenced by border area disputes, specifically the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste in Amfoang Timur, which interfered with the community security. The dispute posed more frequent illegal activities in the border area of Amfoang Timur, as proposed by the key informant DS, as follows:

"Several people draw upon conflicts because of this border dispute to search for advantages, such as selling oil fuels through rat trails by moving frequently to avoid Satgas Pamtas supervision. They usually have a link with the Timor Leste community, which dwells in the disputed area of Naktuka. It is very profitable by virtue of a high selling price in Naktuka but compromises on oil fuels in Amfoang Timur." (An interview with the key informant DS, October 10th, 2022).

The murder of one Naktuka resident, Vincen Fallo, happened at the beginning of February 2013, yet the murderer was unidentified. Figure 2 demonstrates the grave of the late Vincen Fallo. The key informant AO remarked:

“Here, Sir, a murder of a Naktuka Timor Leste resident, the late Vincen Fallo, who was reportedly a riot provocateur, occurred in 2013, yet the murderer is still unidentified today. The incident caused tension in this area, but the security apparatus could control it.” (An interview with the key informant AO, October 3rd, 2022).

Border unclarity, the result of the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, was also disruptive for border management. Timor Leste once built an immigration office, but Satgas Pamtas TNI terminated the activity as it was carried out in the disputed area. Figure 3 exhibits the immigration office of Timor Leste built in the disputed area of Naktuka in 2008. Indonesia and Timor Leste were not allowed to build an immigration office there until this date, retarding cross-border cooperation in Amfoang Timur and Oecussi.

The quality and quantity of TNI/Polri and the placement of the Pamtas TNI post as territorial resilience indicators in defense and security aspects in Amfoang Timur were poor, as showed by continuous illegal activities remaining unobserved...
by security apparatuses in the border area of Amfoang Timur. The facts and conditions should be anticipated by settling the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana in Amfoang Timur and prioritizing the effort to immediately minimize border issues which compromised state security and defense. Security disruption and criminality levels in Amfoang Timur were categorized as low regardless of constant illegal activities. It was the yardstick to determine that the area was safe, but unclear borders drove conflicts there, e.g., the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste in Amfoang Tmur, destabilizing the defense aspect, which was in a strong connection with sovereignty.

To improve border management, one strategy is needed: improving infrastructure in the form of roads connecting villages with the district center. This way, access to economic activities is wide open, while transportation access is an obstacle to improving border management. The unresolved segment in Noel Besi – Citrana problem with a long negotiation process requires policy navigation steps, namely a special mechanism in the resolution process. Meanwhile, policy mitigation is carried out by optimizing every negotiation process. Currently, what can be done to maintain and improve security is by optimizing the RI – RDTL civil service task force and the security forces in the border areas.

Based on our analysis with building explanation, geographical, socio-cultural, defense, and security aspects were mostly afflicted by the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana. In relation to the geographical aspect, border disputes induced jurisdiction uncertainties when a certain one was of crucial importance for a country. The sea borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste could be determined once the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana was resolved. Meanwhile, in terms of the socio-cultural aspect, the impact of border disputes was dominant here, in which the border community members, who came from one ethnicity, had a disrupted socio-cultural relationship. It was detrimental and disturbed those with a family relationship. In addition, unclear borderlines and the absence of immigration processes also interfered with community mobility. Defense and security aspects were affected as border unclarity led to vulnerabilities in border areas, which, if persisting, would menace the safety of the border community and state sovereignty.
4. Conclusions

The unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana was posed by different interpretations between Indonesia and Timor Leste pertaining to the 1904 Treaty, and therefore, the Noel Besi River and its estuary, as mentioned in the 1904 Treaty, were still debatable for both countries. Indonesia was keen to stipulate the state borderline to be the east of the delta (the large river), whereas Timor Leste wanted it to be to the west of the delta (the small ditch). The 1904 Treaty contained several errors in defining an object using two definitions, namely geometric and toponymic, which excited debates.

The unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste in Amfoang Timur, had an implication, which was destabilized or attenuated territorial resilience in border areas, especially in Amfoang Timur. The implications of the unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana, land borders of Indonesia-Timor Leste, for territorial resilience, were:

a. In the geographical aspect, unclear borders resulted in fighting over land between border community members and bred jurisdiction uncertainties. The unresolved segment in Noel Besi-Citrana disrupted territorial resilience.

b. In the demographic aspect, border unclarity brought on uncertainty to citizenship and residency status.

c. In the natural resource aspect, border disputes caused unclear land management and fighting over natural resources as a result of unclear borders.

d. In the ideological aspect, Pancasila remained the only ideology to date. We found no other ideology development, either right or left radical, which threatened national integrity.

e. In the political aspect, unclear territorial borders affected legal certainties and the implementation of legal order.

f. In the economic aspect, agriculture and animal farming were two economic power sources, notably for the border community in Amfoang Timur. Economic cooperation in border areas was disturbed because of unclear borders.

g. In the socio-cultural aspect, the education and health levels of the border community, particularly in Amfoang Timur, were low. Those inhabiting border areas came from one ethnicity, but the socio-cultural relationship was hindered by virtue of border disputes.

h. In defense and security aspects, the quality and quantity of TNI and Polri institutions in the border area of Amfoang Timur were poor. Border uncertainties created vulnerabilities in border areas.

Acknowledgment

The authors would like to express their appreciation to the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia for supporting this research and all the people who cooperated with us in writing and editing this research.

Ethical considerations


Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

Funding

The author would like to thank the support provided by the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, for the financial support provided in completing this research.

References


