



HUMAN SECURITY: BORDER STATE MANAGEMENT STRATEGY DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC

A Study Conducted at Motaain and Motamasin Cross-Border Posts, East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia
(Border Area of the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste)

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Abstract- Indonesia became a country affected by the global Covid-19 pandemic after the government announced that the two Indonesian citizens in Depok, West Java, were confirmed to be infected. As of October 28, 2020, Indonesia has reported 400,483 positive cases, ranking the second in Southeast Asia. It even reaches the province of East Nusa Tenggara, which is located on the state's border area. At least 59 countries have restricted entry of Indonesian citizens over concerns of the high number of Covid-19 positive cases in the archipelago, as of Monday, September 7, 2020. A solution model is required both during a pandemic and even for anticipation measures for the future if a pandemic occurs at a higher and more massive level. The theories used were border management theory, security, and human security, and theories related to the Covid-19 as well. The methodological approach used was qualitative, with research results that were expected to provide solutions for dealing with Covid-19 in the context of border state management. Moreover, a multidisciplinary approach was employed in this study.

Keywords: Border Management, Human Security, Covid-19 Pandemic

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the countries affected by the global Covid-19 pandemic, along with hundreds of countries in the world. The total number of confirmed cases of Covid-19 as of October 28, 2020, was 43,540,739 cases by 1,160,650 deaths (CFR 2.7%). There are 217 countries affected and 179 countries with local transmission according to data from the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemenkes RI). This figure continues to increase, and its distribution even reaches various parts of the country, including the border state areas. East Nusa Tenggara is a border area where the land borders with RDTL and the sea borders with Australia, was also affected despite the different response from the community to the Covid-19 pandemic.

Covid-19 is a pandemic that is confirmed exists by the community, but Dengue Hemorrhagic Fever (DHF) is more feared by the public (CNN Indonesia, March 19, 2020). It was also confirmed during the author's visit to the research location on October 13-16, 2020. It is due to the DHF rate is much higher than Covid-19. In the news on Kompas.com (24 May 2020), there were 5,267 dengue patients in NTT. Of that number, 53 people died. Meanwhile, the number of patients who are confirmed positive in NTT was 82 people. Of the 82 cases, there was 1 death case, and 7 people were reported recovered. However, the management strategy of NTT, which is a border state area, certainly needs to be discussed, since Covid-19 is not only related to a health issue but also other issues, such as defense and security, economy, food, and education.

Border security management during the Covid-19 pandemic, viewed from a human security perspective, is interesting to elaborate on. In his study, security has redefined the meaning of traditional security to non-traditional security (Barry Buzan, et al., 1998: 21-22), including human security, which is now present in various academic works and new research projects in various departments and universities. Relevant to the border management strategy, which currently focuses not only on a state-centric approach (state security) but also on human-centric (human security). Border management and security do not always focus on the political and military domains but also non-military, namely individual security which includes human security (Johanes Sanak, 2012: 23, Roland Paris, 2001: 87).

Based on the above statements, the research questions were formulated as follows: 1) How significant is it to strengthen human security at the borders in the Covid-19 pandemic, 2) is the Human Security approach feasible to use as a border management strategy in the Covid-19 pandemic? From these two questions, the writer tries to elaborate on one main research question, how the human security approach to be used as a strategy for managing state borders during the global Covid-19 pandemic.

II. METHODOLOGY

The research site is the borderland area between the Republic of Indonesia (RI) and the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste (DRTL), particularly in the working areas of the Motaain and Motamasin Cross-border Post (CBP) in Belu District and Malacca District, East Nusa Tenggara Province. The research design used was a case study and a qualitative approach, in which the case study used was the Instrumental Case Study. The author wants to show something unique and different based on the explanations obtained from other objects. In this paper, there are 2 (two) data collection techniques used: 1) interviews with key informants who are deemed to have sufficient access to information (primary data), 2) Documentation, and literature studies (secondary).

III. TERMINOLOGY AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In general, Johaness Sanak (2012) argues that state borders can be perceived as territorial boundaries that separate the territory of one country from another and simultaneously declaring the boundaries of a country's sovereignty. The border area has a very decisive role in state security. Stephen B. Jones (1945) on Boundary Making Theory in his book *A Handbook for Statesmen, Treaty Editors, and Boundary Commissioners*, formulated the theory of border management. Jones separates the scope of management into four parts. They are allocation, delimitation, demarcation, and administration. According to Pratt (2006), the fourth scope (administration), in its development, has shifted towards border management.

The good management of border area based on the theory of Boundary-Making, administration/border area development management can be overlapping with demarcation. It is based on considerations that are often found obstacles and problems in the economic, social, cultural, and political aspects. Within the scope of administration and management of development, the volume of work in dealing with borders is the most, because it involves multi-sector and requires integrated planning. Almost all aspects of development from political, economic, social, cultural, the law on infrastructure, environment, defense, and security aspects, will be at this level.

In line with the terminology of human security coined by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in the Human Development Report (Roland Paris, 2001: 89), which stated that the welfare issue is important in discussion related to state security. The meaning of security has broadened from focusing on state security (state/territorial security) to humans and/or individuals' security. Conceptually, Roland Paris (2001) proposes 7 (seven) important components in the discussion of human security, namely: 1) economic security, 2) food security, 3) health security, 4) environmental security, 5) personal security, 6) community security, and 7) political security.

Cornelis Lay (2009) suggests 6 (six) types of human rights regarding the threats to human security: 1) Fundamental individual rights, including the right to life, equality before the law, protection against discrimination on race, religion, ethnicity, or gender, 2) Legal rights, including access to legal protection and the right to legal proceedings, 3) Civil liberties, including freedom of thought, expression, and practice of worship/belief, 4) Rights to basic needs, including the access to food, basic health insurance, and the fulfillment of the basic minimum needs, 5) Economic rights, including the right to work, the right to recreation and the right to social security, 6) Political rights, including the right to vote and to be elected for public office and the right to participate in public affairs.

In simple terms, the authors observe the components of human security to discuss their correlation with border management during the Covid-19 pandemic, particularly the RI-DRTL border, focused more on the welfare of border communities in terms of health, education, economy, water, and political rights. Yohannes Sanak conducted a study on human security at the state borders by looking at 3 (three) important components, namely economy, education, and health, with the research site is both the border of Indonesia and Timor Leste and Indonesia with Malaysia. The study also employed a qualitative approach, but it was not elaborated in the conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic.

In line with his research on the Indonesian-Timor Leste border, Ganewati Wuryandari (2009) also elaborates his research entitled *Security at the Indonesia-Timor Leste Border, Sources of Threats and Management Policies*. Wuryandari, with a qualitative approach, explained that security issues between

Indonesia and Timor Leste also has the potential to arise as a result of neglecting human security in border areas. The discussion emphasized comprehensive security on the state defense and security aspects, security and public order, economic empowerment, social relations, culture, and public awareness. Although some parts of Wuryandari's ideas engage the components in human security, she did not specifically elaborate on human security, and so did border management during the global coronavirus pandemic.

Coronavirus is an RNA virus with a particle size of 120-160 nm. This virus mainly infects animals, including bats and camels. Before the Covid-19 outbreak, there were 6 types of coronavirus that could infect humans: alphacoronavirus 229E, alphacoronavirus NL63, betacoronavirus OC43, betacoronavirus HKU1, Severe Acute Respiratory Illness Coronavirus (SARS-CoV), and the Middle East Respiratory Syndrome Coronavirus (MERS-CoV)) (Riedel S, et al., 2019: 612). According to Zhu N, et al (2020), the coronavirus, which is the etiology of COVID-19 is included in the genus betacoronavirus. The results of the phylogenetic analysis showed that this virus was included in the same subgenus as the coronavirus that caused the Severe Acute Respiratory Illness (SARS) outbreak in 2002-2004, Sarbecovirus. According to Gorbalenya AE (2020), on this basis, the International Committee on Taxonomy of Viruses proposed the name SARS-CoV-2.

IV. DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH RESULT

A pandemic is an epidemic that is contagious internationally and out of control. In the most classic sense, when an epidemic spreads to several countries or regions of the world, it is considered a pandemic (Djoyonegoro, 2020: 3). Based on data from the WHO (World Health Organization), the first case of Covid-19 was confirmed in China on December 8, 2019, and was first announced in Indonesia on March 2, 2020. According to Djoyonegoro (2020), the matter of the virus is not new in world history. History tells of the Athens plague (430 BC), the Antonine Plague (180 AD), the Tho'un (648 AD), the Justinian (541 BC), the Black Death (1347), the Great London (1665), the Smallpox (1600s), Marseille (1720), Cholera (mid-19th century), Spanish flu (1918), and the plague of Ebola (2013). For centuries, border closures and restrictions on foreign travelers have been the most persistent and pervasive means by which states have responded to global health crises. (Michael R. Kenwick and Beth A. Simmons, 2020). Territorial security orientation is the primary option in managing borders during a pandemic or endemic.

Regardless of whether the Covid-19 pandemic was engineered or naturally appeared, the whole world is certainly affected in various sectors. Michael Greger (2020) explains that super sophisticated, super modern countries that are planning excursions to planets in the solar system, to countries stricken with poverty, are rushing to face the threat of death from the invisible virus. Therefore, in the global war against Covid-19, the approach must involve science, medical, political policy, human solidarity, and spirituality (Djoyonegoro, 2020: 28). On the border issues, the war on Covid-19 requires a comprehensive approach based on multidisciplinary studies and does not focus on conventional security approaches. Also, to not only concerned with sectoral health issues but also multisectoral issues of people's right to life, such as education and the economy. A series of issues that certainly need to be addressed by the human security approach.

Border state management during the Covid-19 pandemic also brings adjustment of a number of border area policies since the border areas, the front yards of the country, are the crossing points for people, who are also affected by the spread of Covid-19. The paradigm shift in understanding security issue also affects the security implementation at the state's border that not only use traditional security approaches but also non-traditional. In the border state management during the pandemic, the human security approach shows its urgency. Military forces at the border during the pandemic were present to provide security at every crossing point, especially those indicated as illegal crossing routes. In regard to what TNI-Polri officers were doing, the Head of the Motamasin National Border Post (PLBN), Reynold Uran thus said:

"There were no additional TNI-Polri officers during the pandemic ... When the Timor Leste Government implemented an emergency state policy by closing borders, we automatically followed the same policy. TNI-Polri officers focus on the boundary line where there is no Cross-Border Post or PLBN and the potential for illegal traffic of goods because the PLBN is officially closed. So, because our people in Motamasin have many traditional events while PLBN is only open every Wednesday and Friday so that if they have customary needs

on Monday or Tuesday, especially if there is a funeral, they probably cross through unofficial routes. That is what makes our colleagues of the Pamtas or the Border Security Force of the TNI and Police Mobile Brigade Corps focus on the points that are suspected to be illegal traffic. Since Covid until last August, we deported almost every month. "

On the other hand, the customs that bind the people make them dare to oppose the rules and policies during the pandemic to exercise their right to hold traditional ceremonies that are considered to have existed long before the state's borders existed. During this pandemic, the Timor Leste government is implementing a very-strict protocol. Of course, as 2 (two) countries that are bound by cooperation through the establishment of the RI-RDTL Joint Border Committee, all matters related to borders have been communicated, both problems that arise in the regulation of cross-border of people and goods, security guard, quarantine, customs, immigration, economic cooperation, and et cetera. However, there is still a border context since the kingdom era, which is still being carried out today even though it collides with regulations. During the pandemic, the RI-RDTL borders tended to use a hard border regime approach (tight border control) and not a soft border regime (not too tight).

Sanak (2012) explains that the context of borders in the kingdom era is interpreted as a cultural issue. The border is more likely to be seen as a meeting point between one royal society and another. Communities around the border jointly cultivate existing land, use the grasslands, forests and jointly practice traditional rituals, especially those related to farming ritual, livestock, and border control rites. Thus, land ownership around the border is mostly communal as the area is ulayat land, which is customarily controlled by both parties. This togetherness is based on the philosophy of "*tah hun naka mese, tiun oemata mese*" (meaning: eating from the same land and drinking from the same water spring).

The border becomes a space and area of encounter that unites and strengthens the ties of friendship, kinship, and kinship between people from two directly adjacent kingdoms. This cultural context also affects border management to date, even in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic. Thus, the human security approach is comprehensively relevant in managing the border of Indonesia and Timor Leste. It means that security is not solely a concern but also health, education, economy, and other sectors. Personally, TNI-Polri officers must be present properly and professionally as a form of presence of the state within a society that is full of culture and context. Regarding the presence of the TNI-Polri to get closer to the people at the border, the Head of PLBN Motamasin thus said:

"Thus far, the police have not, but the Pamtas Task Force has many activities. They collaborate with us for mass circumcision activities, blood donation, medical treatment. They are very active and usually ask us to facilitate them both in terms of infrastructure and facilities. We have carried out more or less 3 to 4 activities with them. The community response to each Pamtas Task Force assignment varies, depending on how their attitude and behavior. "

On the other hand, the health conditions in dealing with Covid-19 at the RI-RDTL border are different from other regions. The number of Covid-19 is insignificant compared to DHF. It makes the community and local governments pay more attention to deal with dengue rather than Covid-19. Regent of Belu, East Nusa Tenggara, Willy Lay said, Dengue Hemorrhagic Fever (DHF) is more dangerous than the coronavirus. According to Willy, the number of patients who have died of dengue fever in NTT is 38. Meanwhile, those treated from January to mid-March 2020 have reached 3,222 people. The cases are spread across 21 districts and one municipality in NTT (Kompas.com, 13 March 2020). Following this explanation, the Head of PLBN Motaain, Engelbert Klau, and the Head of PLBN Motamasin, Reynold Uran also stated that what is more feared is DBD than Covid-19, but health protocols remain a necessity. Likewise, health workers and health facilities that are still provided by the government. The head of PLBN Motaain who was interviewed thus stated:

"In October, there was only one was confirmed positive in Belu District. A few days ago, it was two cases confirmed. We are still in the green zone thus far. As we are in Indonesia, we take it easy because of the instruction from the Governor. We don't need to be afraid of Covid. As he told us that what we are afraid of dengue fever because it has taken many lives in NTT, while for Covid, there was only one died yesterday. So, in principle, for people who cross our borders, we apply health protocols. "

Although the health sector was not too affected during the Covid-19 pandemic, other sectors related to human security components were still affected. As in other regions in Indonesia, the education sector faces several issues, especially with the implementation of an online system, which must be supported by

devices and paid-connections. Likewise, the economic sector was also affected. On the other hand, there has been an increase in export figures in both PLBN Motaain of Belu District and PLBN Motamasin of Malacca District. The export figures show that PLBN Motaain is the busiest PLBN in NTT. In February, before the pandemic in Indonesia, the foreign exchange generated from export to Timor Leste was USD 1,191,884, while from August to September was 1,514,187 USD, 2,108,781 USD and 1,312,289 USD respectively. The interesting part about the Cross-Border Trade in Belu District was that it was mostly dominated not by local residents but by migrants.

At the same time, the impact of Covid-19 with the limitation of activities in the PLBN has made local people who used to work and sell around the PLBN have to find other sources of income. The presence of PLBN helps the absorption of the workforce of the local community. There are security operations support staff or TPO, technicians, and cleaning services, who are given very-good salaries. The provincial minimum wage or UMR is Rp1,900,000, and the district UMR is Rp1,500,000, but TPO in PLBN is paid Rp3,000,000. PLBN Motaain itself employs 110 TPOs and PLBN Motamasin 87 TPOs. Today, the workers whose sources of income are from activities in PLBN other than TPO, such as selling, porters, vehicle services, and more, have switched to become supporting team for regional head election, some return to farming land for those who own land, and some are unemployed. Government assistance, as an effort to improve the welfare of the community during the pandemic is given in various ways, such as providing tractor vehicles and seeds, village cash assistance funds, and assistance from the President, and related ministries.

From BNPP and PLBN, according to the President's instruction, the use of existing markets in the PLBN includes all costs of water and electricity in business activities in the PLBN market, but the limited crossing conditions make the public unable to carry out trading activities on the PLBN market. Some other problems during pandemic are pre-existing problems such as frequent blackouts which have an impact on businesses and other activities. Likewise with the cellular network which is only Telkomsel so that the blackout has an impact on the cellular network becoming roaming to RDTL. Moreover, most of the border areas find it very difficult to get clean water, especially in highlands. From a human security perspective, it is certainly not far from the people's right to life and social welfare. Clean water is also an interesting thing because it involves the right to life and welfare, even water has become a local political commodity in the border areas of the country.

The implementation of human security at state borders during the Covid-19 pandemic is needed not only for the health sector but also for the pandemic impacts on other sectors. Security and its implementation at state borders have expanded the meaning from focusing on state security to human security, with the security of the right to life and welfare. DHF is more significant than Covid-19 by the comparison of confirmed cases. However, there is a multiplier effect from Covid-19. A conventional security approach is still required to secure state borders. However, the human security approach is an essential formula for securing borders from diverse pandemic impacts to comprehensive security in responding to various developments that cannot be handled by orthodox/conventional security studies.

V. CONCLUSION

Discussing and addressing human security in the context of border state management strategies during the Covid-19 pandemic certainly does not leave the direction of discussion on access to the right to life and welfare of the community. It is in line with the understanding of the meaning of security, which has undergone well redefinition by observing the change from state-centric to human-centric, with the terminology of traditional and non-traditional security, conventional and non-conventional security, and even human security itself. The Covid-19 pandemic has not had too much impact on the health sector on the border of Indonesia with Timor Leste since the local government and the community are hitherto more afraid of the endemic of dengue fever than Covid-19, which is considered insignificant. However, health protocols remain a concern that is applied in activities specifically bordered to regulate crossing.

It is also supported by neighboring countries (RDTL) that imposes an emergency state with strict health protocols. However, other sectors, such as education and the economy were also affected due to restrictions on activities at the border. On the other hand, during the pandemic, there was an increase in the number of RI-RDTL exports, which simultaneously became a national gain but local residents have not significantly benefited from the increase in cross-border export activities. Apart from health,

education, and economic issues, several issues existed before the pandemic, namely electricity, cellular networks, and clean water. Even interestingly, clean water is often a local political commodity.

The government has made various efforts to fulfill the right to life and welfare of border communities in the midst of a pandemic, but these policies must be carried out consistently, holistically, and integratively. The Benefits from the presence of a border state must also be directed at the interests of the border community itself. Apart from that, the magnificence of government agency buildings must also be followed by equitable access to sources of welfare for the community, of course, to be balanced with non-physical development, which continues to be a concern. The community is expected not only to become the object but also to the subject of the policy itself. Border security must be viewed from individual security and/or human security as a vital indicator.

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