

Submitted	Review Process	Revised	Accepted	Published
03-01-2023	04-01 s/d 03-03-2023	14-06-2023	19-06-2023	30-06-2023

*Jurnal Studi Sosial dan Politik. Vol. 7, No. 1, June 30, 2023 (16-33)*

ISSN: 2597-8756

E-ISSN: 2597-8764

Jurnal Studi Sosial dan Politik Published by FISIP, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah Palembang

## **Maintaining Indonesian Citizenship: Community Nationalism in Gun Tembawang, West Kalimantan Border in 2022**

**Jumiati**

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia

Email: [jumiati91@ui.ac.id](mailto:jumiati91@ui.ac.id)

**Syahrul Hidayat**

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia

Email: [syahrul.hidayat@gmail.com](mailto:syahrul.hidayat@gmail.com)

### **Abstract**

The strength of nationalism plays a crucial role in preserving the integrity of a country, protecting it, and shaping government policies for the welfare of society. However, in Gun Tembawang Hamlet, the peripheral community struggles to comprehend and apply the concept of nationhood in their daily lives. This is evident as approximately 35 families renounced their Indonesian citizenship in favour of Malaysian citizenship, despite their historical ties to Indonesian territory. Economic inequality and the social gap between the centre and periphery contribute to these issues, leading to rebellions by marginalized communities. This raises questions about the reasons behind their decision and the inadequate development provided by Indonesia for its peripheral areas. The purpose of this study is to understand nationalism and the activities of peripheral societies, which are often in conflict with the national spirit developed by the state. Specifically, to explain and identify the reasons why the community of Gun Tembawang Hamlet maintains their Indonesian citizenship despite the country not providing adequate development to meet the development needs of the periphery areas. This study also aims to find out about the nationalism of the peripheral society and the economic conditions and situations they face against the attractiveness of Malaysia compared to that of Indonesia. Descriptive research is used as a research method using data sources from books, magazines, websites and interviews. In this study, the author uses Ernest Gellner's theory of Nationalism and Modernization. The study found that, (1) Gun Tembawang Hamlet reveals challenges to nationalistic ideals due to its location along the Indonesia-Malaysia border, economic issues, and the influence of Malaysian symbols and currency, (2) The developmental gap between the centre and the periphery creates a mismatch between expectations of absolute nationalism and the socio-economic realities faced by peripheral communities.

**Keywords:** Community, Nationalism, Government, Gun Tembawang, Indonesia-Malaysian Border

### **Abstrak**

Kekuatan nasionalisme memainkan peran penting dalam menjaga integritas sebuah negara, melindunginya, dan membentuk kebijakan pemerintah untuk kesejahteraan masyarakat. Namun, di Dusun Gun Tembawang, masyarakat periferan kesulitan memahami dan menerapkan konsep kebangsaan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Hal ini terlihat dari sekitar 35 keluarga yang mencabut kewarganegaraan Indonesia mereka dan memilih menjadi warga negara Malaysia, meskipun memiliki ikatan sejarah dengan wilayah Indonesia. Ketimpangan ekonomi dan kesenjangan sosial antara pusat dan periferi berkontribusi terhadap masalah ini, yang memicu pemberontakan oleh masyarakat terpinggirkan. Hal ini menimbulkan pertanyaan tentang alasan di balik keputusan mereka dan kurangnya pembangunan yang memadai oleh Indonesia untuk wilayah periferalnya. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk memahami nasionalisme dan aktivitas masyarakat periferan yang sering bertentangan dengan semangat nasional yang dikembangkan oleh negara. Secara khusus, untuk menjelaskan dan mengidentifikasi alasan mengapa masyarakat Dusun Gun Tembawang tetap mempertahankan kewarganegaraan Indonesia meskipun negara tersebut tidak memberikan pembangunan yang memadai untuk memenuhi kebutuhan pembangunan wilayah periferan. Penelitian ini juga bertujuan untuk mengetahui tentang nasionalisme masyarakat periferan dan kondisi ekonomi serta situasi yang mereka hadapi dibandingkan dengan daya tarik Malaysia dibandingkan dengan Indonesia. Penelitian deskriptif digunakan sebagai metode penelitian dengan menggunakan sumber data dari buku, majalah, situs web, dan wawancara. Dalam penelitian ini, penulis menggunakan teori Nasionalisme dan Modernisasi dari Ernest Gellner. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa, (1) Dusun Gun Tembawang menghadapi tantangan terhadap cita-cita nasionalisme karena lokasinya di sepanjang perbatasan Indonesia-Malaysia, masalah ekonomi, dan pengaruh simbol dan mata uang Malaysia, (2) Kesenjangan pembangunan antara pusat dan periferi menciptakan ketidakcocokan antara harapan nasionalisme mutlak dan realitas sosial-ekonomi yang dihadapi oleh masyarakat periferan.

Kata kunci: Masyarakat, Nasionalisme, Pemerintah, Gun Tembawang, Perbatasan Indonesia-Malaysia

### **INTRODUCTION**

Nationalism is a concept that revolves around a group of individuals identifying themselves as part of a society, united by shared historical, cultural, and ancestral ties (Joireman, 2003; Kellas, 1998). According to Kellas (1998), nationalism encompasses both the ideology and the behaviour of a country (Özkirimli, 2000). It manifests in people's attitudes and actions towards their nation, based on their understanding of their country's program of action (Coleman & Rosberg, 2023; Dedees, 2015). The study of nationalism becomes particularly intriguing when examining marginalized communities, such as those living in rural or border areas, often referred to as peripheral societies (Dyrness, 2021; Vaara et al., 2021). Penrose (2002) explores how nationalism in marginalized communities is expressed through attachment to family rather than the nation. This unique form of nationalism allows individuals to take pride in their country, even when it fails to acknowledge them (Soehl &

Karim, 2021). Therefore, the term "marginalized" implies being on the periphery due to factors like deprivation, conquest, or migration (Amir, 2020; Harries et al., 2020; Neill et al., 2023).

The study of nationalism in peripheral societies proves interesting due to their geographical, administrative, and economic distance from the centre. Devolution studies, such as Rodríguez-Pose & Gill (2003), shed light on the growing pressure for the centre to transfer power and resources to the regions. Additionally, the concept of nation development often neglects marginalized communities, as the central society heavily emphasizes nationalism as the primary driver of national progress (Mylonas & Tudor, 2021). Gellner (1983) presents a perspective on nationalism based on the development of modernity, suggesting that economic development, particularly through industrialization, necessitates individuals to mobilize and transcend social boundaries, such as status and class (Karlsson, 2009). However, this perspective is not fully realized, as social mobility and the spread of nationalism are not evenly distributed across all social groups. Peripheral societies exemplify the gap between the development of nationalism in the centre and communities far removed from its influence. These societies continue to experience inequalities in terms of power, economy, and general social conditions (Diaz-Briquets, 1987; Lagarda Mungaray, 1984; Mikus, 1985; Ruiz, 1990). Moreover, in developing the theory of nationalism, which includes national symbolism, functionalism, modernism, and Marxism, there exists a dichotomy between tradition and modernity (Ozkirimli, 2017; Özkirimli, 2000). The modern approach tends to focus on the development of a national ideology based on the advancement of means of production (Finlayson, 1998; Smith, 2013). However, this development is not prevalent in traditional societies, at least not yet, resulting in varying levels of understanding and acceptance of nationalism within national boundaries. The gap between the centre and the periphery is reflected in the growing divide between peripheral societies and the central government (Balibar, 2002; Flynn, 1997). Poor infrastructure acts as a barrier to connectivity between the centre and the periphery. The discrepancy is evident in terms of industrialization and higher income, which the centre enjoys due to economic activity. Consequently, peripheral societies are more inclined to align themselves with economically attractive areas rather than the centre (Castro, 1994).

Another perspective on the centre-periphery issue can be viewed through the lens of nationalism which connects capitalism particularly in the context of uneven growth (Levi, M., & Hechter, 2020; Ozkirimli, 2017). They posited that social inequality within the capitalist system facilitates the spread of nationalism, with the periphery (capitalist Western countries) differing from the centre (Brand, 2020). The exploitation of colonial territories by Western capitalists to sustain their luxurious lifestyle creates a distinction between these colonial countries and the West, fuelling a sense of nationalism that unites the colonists against imperialist forces. This association between nationalism and the uneven growth of capitalism extends beyond the relationship between nations and the repressive state (Koev, 2022). In this context, the association of nationalism with the uneven growth of capitalism is not limited to the relationship of the nation with the restrictive state. Internal colonialism Hechter (2001), is a phenomenon in which one or more regions, such as periphery areas, face a collision with central urban areas relative to other regions. Anthony D. Smith in Mallick (2011) states in his book *Nationalism and Modernism* that this phenomenon is present everywhere in Western Europe (Hechter et al., 2006). It can be seen in the monopoly of the central region over the trade and economy of the periphery. This periphery area is forced to complement the central area, making it dependent on the market. By comparing the periphery with the central region, the standard of living is higher and the quality of public services is higher. This status quo of economic dependence is defined by political, legal, and military initiatives, and national

discrimination is manifested through cultural markers such as language and religion. Smith (2022) stated that the economic gap between the periphery and the centre is due to cultural differences, not economic exploitation.

Andre Gunder Frank divides the world economy into developed (central) metropolitan countries and poor (periphery) satellite countries (Maxwell, 2020), while Samir Amin in Oliveira & Kvangraven (2023) divides the world economy into developed countries in the centre and poor countries in the periphery (Jamaluddin, 2016). Thus, the economic and social gap between the periphery and the centre are mostly due to the location of the region, which is geographically distant from the administrative centre. In fact, their location is very strategic because they are on the front lines right next to the territory of other countries, but peripheral societies often lack the opportunity to maintain a strong relationship with the centre (Rachmawati & Dewi, 2021).

Deterioration of socio-economic conditions in periphery areas has made peripheral societies dependent on neighbouring countries. Dependence on neighbouring countries, in turn, reduces nationalism in society. According to Smith (2022), nationalism is: (1) the process of the formation or development of a nation, (2) the feeling or awareness of being part of a nation, (3) the language and symbolism of a nation, (4) social movements and politics representing the nation, and (5) doctrine or ideology regarding the state, both in general and specific. In this study, nationalism is defined as having a feeling of patriotism or a feeling of love for one's country, so it is called "nationalism". According to Anderson (1983), nationalism is an imaginary political community that is portrayed as inherently limited and sovereign (Malešević, 2022). This point of view is presented by Smith (2013), who shows that nationalism is not limited to language, religion, and region, but is also influenced by history and politics. Smith (2013) states that nationalism is the result of an individual's desire to be part of a country. Nationality is also shaped by genetics, so even if a person migrates, he is still part of the country

The problem of nationalism in the peripheral societies in the Indonesian context, predominantly portrayed in Kalimantan. In this area, there are many villages immediately adjacent to Malaysia, in quite a few cases, the dependence on food and other needs is quite high because the transport costs are reasonably expensive when peripheral societies or other periphery areas go to Entikong, the largest border town in West Kalimantan province. The problem of weak nationalism in relation to the difficulty of achieving an economic link with the 'center' can be seen in Gun Tembawang Hamlet, a ward of Gun Jemak Village in 2007, located in Entikong District, Sanggau Regency, West Kalimantan (Susanto & Budiman, 2021).

In this context, this research conducted in Gun Tembawang Hamlet, based on three considerations. *Firstly*, the geographical issue of its location along the border between Indonesia and Malaysia. This area lacks essential facilities such as healthcare centres, healthcare personnel, and medical teams. The community relies entirely on traditional healers for healthcare, including traditional birthing practices. Additionally, there is a severe limitation of electricity, available only at certain hours, causing daily inconveniences for the residents. Therefore, although Gun Tembawang Hamlet is legally part of Indonesia, the tangible symbols of Indonesia's presence through developmental achievements are far behind those of the Malaysian region. Consequently, these symbols representing the Republic of Indonesia are not as prominent as the symbols representing Malaysia, which greatly influence the perception of Indonesia's presence in this hamlet. *Second*, there is an economic issue, as most economic activities in this hamlet are related to trade with Malaysia. Selling plantation produce to Malaysia generates greater profits compared to transporting them to Entikong,

where transportation costs are significantly higher (Antaranews.com, 2018). Moreover, the long-standing practice of using the Malaysian ringgit in border trade at the Indonesian border in Entikong Subdistrict, Sanggau Regency, West Kalimantan, has proven to be more efficient than using the Indonesian Rupiah (IDR) (Haryaningsih & Patriani, 2019). Similarly, the youth in Gun Tembawang Hamlet understand the value of the Indonesian Rupiah, although the Malaysian ringgit remains the preferred currency (Romadhon, 2022; Setiawan, 2021; Sulisdiani et al., 2022). As a result, the circulation of the ringgit significantly affects the economic growth and daily activities of the community. *Third*, there is an issue of time usage, where the residents of Gun Tembawang Hamlet usually refer to Malaysian Time, which is one hour ahead of Western Indonesian Time, aiming to align trade with Gun Sapit, a village in East Malaysia. Based on this, the community of Gun Tembawang Hamlet is more closely connected to East Malaysia than to the city centre, and even the economic life of the community heavily depends on their neighbouring country, Malaysia.

Considering the above aspects, this undoubtedly presents a challenge to the nationalistic abstraction of the community in Gun Tembawang Hamlet. The developmental gap between the centre and the periphery results in a mismatch between the expectation of absolute loyalty to nationalism and the socio-economic realities of meeting daily needs (Bryant and White, 1987). The proximity of the regions and economic disparities play a significant role in reshaping nationalist values in peripheral communities. Economic inequality erodes the foundations of nationalism (Gellner, 1983), who emphasized the role of economics in the emergence of nationalism. Additionally, income inequality and vulnerability to economic instability expose peripheral communities to overlapping perspectives on nationalism and daily activities (Abdullah & Sari, 2014). In line to that, as modernization theory explains that the transition from traditional development to modernity, which disrupts traditional social orders and leads to the benefits of industrial and economic growth. Similarly, when nationalism is considered in the context of economics, politics, and socio-cultural factors, its relevance can be misunderstood by the public (Giddens, 1981). Merely upholding nationalism is not enough; justice, well-being, and prosperity are crucial elements. As a result, these conditions also influence the attitudes of people in peripheral regions, where some households reject their original citizenship and seek citizenship elsewhere.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

The research at hand adopts a qualitative methodology (Creswell et al., 2007), which serves as an effective means to comprehend and scrutinize various aspects of a phenomenon, event, attitude, social activity, perception, or thinking, both at the individual and group level (Sukmadinata, 2012). By utilizing this methodology, the researcher aims to delve deep into the circumstances or events, perceiving them as objects of observation, and subsequently presenting their findings in a descriptive manner (Huberman & Miles, 2002). Specifically, this study centres around investigating the attitude of nationalism within the peripheral society of Gun Tembawang Hamlet.

To achieve the research objectives, the author employs a case study approach that entails a meticulous analysis of behaviours. The examination is conducted through the means of written and oral observations, closely observing the behaviours and actions exhibited by members of the peripheral society of Gun Tembawang Hamlet. The main objective of this analysis is to gain a comprehensive understanding of their attitudes towards nationalism and to explore how they perceive and apply the concept within their daily lives. The qualitative method proves to be an appropriate choice as it enables the researcher to obtain in-depth insights into the attitude of nationalism within the peripheral society. By adopting a case

study approach, the author collects data through direct observations, interviews, and document analysis, all focused on understanding the attitude and perception of the peripheral society towards nationalism. The gathered data will be analysed descriptively, highlighting patterns of attitudes and the peripheral community's understanding of nationalism.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Economic Underdevelopment between Regions**

One of the main challenges faced by border regions, such as Gun Tembawang Hamlet in Entikong, is the economic inequality compared to other regions in Indonesia and neighbouring countries. Gun Tembawang Hamlet, along the Indonesia-Malaysian border, experiences an alarming economic situation, primarily attributed to the lack of necessary infrastructure and supporting facilities that should have been provided by the government as part of its development policies (Rozi, 2014). These conditions are often referred to as structural poverty (Mas'oed, 1994).

At the border, the crucial issue is the scarcity of public facilities that can support the economic activities of the local population, particularly those that enhance economic productivity. For instance, Bande highlighted the absence of a chili storage facility in Gun Tembawang Hamlet, which is essential for preserving freshly harvested chilies and preventing physical or chemical changes. Storing chilies in cold temperatures helps prevent the development of microorganisms and biochemical alterations (Bande, a farmer in Gun Tembawang Hamlet, September 14, 2022).

Gatot corroborated Bande's explanation, stating that all products from Gun Tembawang Hamlet are sold to Sapit in East Malaysia due to limited marketing tools within the hamlet and the higher profit potential in Malaysia (Gatot, chief of Gun Tembawang Hamlet, September 14, 2022). For example, chilies and eggplants are sold to traders in Sapit at RM 17/kg or the equivalent of IDR 57,800/kg. Conversely, in Entikong, sales operate on a retail basis, causing sellers to bring back unsold products. Moreover, transporting agricultural products to the Entikong area requires significant expenses and a challenging journey of approximately 9 hours and 20 minutes on difficult roads. In contrast, it takes only around 5 minutes to transport products to Sapit in Malaysia by motorbike. The economic dependence of Gun Tembawang Hamlet's residents on Malaysia persists because the hamlet has not experienced substantial development (Gatot, interview, 2022).

The situation in Sapit, Malaysia, stands in stark contrast to Gun Tembawang Hamlet, as the latter possesses a vast plantation area. Consequently, Malaysian traders based in Sapit collaborate with farmers in Gun Tembawang Hamlet to maintain a continuous supply of agricultural products, fostering the economic growth of the hamlet. This positive communication and collaboration contribute to the economy of Gun Tembawang Hamlet. Moreover, the people of Gun Tembawang Hamlet also depend on Sapit for their daily necessities, including gas, gasoline, sugar, and other essential items. Consequently, several merchants in Gun Tembawang Hamlet sell Malaysian goods obtained from Kuching, Malaysia. Amonius, a contract teacher, owns a grocery store that exclusively offers Malaysian products (Amonius, interview, 2022).

The lack of infrastructure further hampers the economic development of Gun Tembawang Hamlet. According to Hamlet Chief Yulianus Gatot, the limited infrastructure makes economic activities challenging, particularly regarding distribution and marketing. This situation sharply contrasts with Sapit in Malaysia, where the Malaysian government continually promotes development in its border areas. Malaysia has constructed various facilities and infrastructure, including shopping malls, palm oil refineries, hospitals, schools,

and entertainment venues. This economic disparity seems to motivate the population on the Indonesian periphery to engage in economic activities in the neighboring country. Currently, Sapit significantly supports the economy of Gun Tembawang Hamlet. Daily necessities like milk, sweets, and Indomie are sourced from Sapit and transported through the traditional land route along the Indonesia-Malaysia border. In contrast, the residents of Gun Tembawang Hamlet live in modest conditions, supporting their families through farming, gardening, and trading. This economic gap results in Indonesia's agricultural products being absorbed by neighboring countries without adequate reciprocity (Gatot, interview, 2022).

**Table 1.2 Land Travel Route from Entikong District Hamlet to Gun Tembawang Hamlet**

Trip				Duration	Description
<b>Indonesian Route</b>					
Entikong District–Entabang Cross Border Checkpoint				1.5 Hours	Motorbike
Entabang Checkpoint–Mangkau				2.5 Hours	Motorbike
Mangkau – Pala Pasang Cross Border Checkpoint				30 Minutes	Raft boat (crossing the river)–Motorbike
Pala Pasang Cross Border Checkpoint–Suruh Tembawang Hamlet				2.5 Hours	Motorbike
Suruh Tembawang Hamlet–Gun Jamak				2 Hours	Crossing the Bridge–Motorbike
Gun Jamak –Gun Tembawang Hamlet				45 Minutes	Crossing the River–Motorbike
<b>Malaysian Route</b>					
Entikong District–Kuching City				2 Hours	Bus
Kuching City–Sapit Regency				2 Hours	Motorbike
Sapit Regency – Gun Tembawang Hamlet				1.5 Hours	On Foot
				5 Minutes	Motorbike

*Sources: Proceed by Author (2023)*

This condition has been discusses by Niebuhr (2014), how the integration effect in border regions, stating that the development of economic activities at the border depends on their market potential. However, periphery areas often present less profitable opportunities for market potential development. This observation stems from several obstacles typically encountered in border regions, where economic growth potential cannot be fully realized due to difficulties in marketing coverage.

### **Insufficient Basic Facilities and Infrastructure: Education, Health, Communication, and Connectivity.**

The level of human resources in the periphery areas of Kalimantan is still low in terms of people's education and skills. The education level and skills of the residents of the Suruh Tembawang area in general are still low, with 539 residents who do not finish their primary school and 416 working-age residents with only primary education. This low education level of the population depicts the reality in the periphery areas. The government tried to meet the educational needs by establishing schools and providing teaching staff. However, there are various existing constraints, such as insufficient transportation and population ratio with adequate educational opportunities. For example, Gun Tembawang Hamlet School only has 1 contract teacher and Gun Jamak has 6 contract teachers. This situation encourages some residents of Dusun Gun Tembawang to continue their studies in Malaysia. According to Amonius, the government could not optimally fulfill the need for adequate education, so higher quality and affordable education could be obtained in neighboring countries (Amonius, teacher in Gun Tembawang Hamlet, September 14, 2022).

In this aspect of education, Indonesia (Gun Tembawang Hamlet) is really far behind its neighboring country, Malaysia, as Amonius states that schools in Malaysia are free up to high school and students receive school supplies, school uniform, pocket money as well as dormitories for children who live far from the school. Compared to Gun Tembawang Hamlet (Indonesia), there is only one primary school (small primary school) limited to grades 1-3 which are combined into one class because there is only one contract teacher and to continue to the 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 6<sup>th</sup> grade, the children in Gun Tembawang Hamlet must travel to Gun Jamak Hamlet by the shortest possible journey which takes 45 minutes by crossing the river. When it rains, however, the water in the river rises to the knees or the thigh of an adult. At the same time, residents of Gun Tembawang Hamlet have to send their children to Entikong or Sanggau to continue their education in junior and senior high school. It is very difficult for Yuliana Keren, whose first child has to study in Entikong for junior high school, to pay tuition and boarding fees every month (Kenen, resident of Gun Tembawang Hamlet, September 14, 2022). Meanwhile, the health sector lacks hospitals, health facilities, doctors and medical personnel to serve the residents of the Suruh Tembawang periphery area; but Gun Tembawang Hamlet itself has no hospitals, health centers, medical staff, or midwives. A midwife only comes once a month when the weather is fine, because when it rains, the terrain that people must traverse to get to Gun Tembawang Hamlet becomes more difficult. According to Yuliana, if her child gets sick, medicines are only bought from the store. If they are not available from the store, then Yuliana has to go to the store in Sapit because she can get a complete supply of medicines from there. And only shaman (traditional method) usually helps mothers to give birth. People who are seriously ill are usually required to report to the Indonesian National Armed Forces at Gun Tembawang Hamlet Cross Border Checkpoint.

The absence of healthcare facilities (puskesmas) or medical personnel in Gun Tembawang Hamlet becomes one of the concerns of the community because of the case experienced by Yuliana's late husband when he was sick and kept vomiting, and when he was about to be taken to Suruh Tembawang, the only area with a village health center, the access to health facility in Suruh Tembawang was relatively difficult and the distance was  $\pm$  2 hours 45 minutes, making Yuliana Kenen's husband failed to be treated due to the absence of professional medical assistance. Under these conditions, the importance of infrastructure development in periphery areas is naturally of great concern (Mansyah, 2017).

Another problem is the need to connect infrastructure facilities, which are still few and inadequate, as seen in the following table:

**Table 4.1 Conditions of Inter-Village Connections and Types of Land Road Surfaces**

Village/Sub-district	Type of Road Surface	Can be Passed by Motorized Vehicles, 4 or More-Wheeled Vehicles
Entikong	Hardened (gravel, stone, etc.)	All year round
Pala Pasang	Hardened (gravel, stone, etc.)	All year round except for certain times (When it rains, there are tidal waves, etc.)
Suruh Tembawang	Dirt	During dry season

*Sumber: Central Bureau of Statistics of Sanggau Regency. 2022. Entikong District in Figures (2022)*

It can be seen from the table that the condition of the connection between Entikong dan Pala Pasang is hardened with gravel and stones so that it can be passed, although when it's raining, it is very risky to go through the road. As for Suruh Tembawang, the road is only paved with dirt, not gravel or stone, and it can only be taken during the dry season because when it is the rainy season, the road is very slippery, and people will most likely fall. Therefore, limited infrastructure such as education, health, connecting roads and electricity make Gun Tembawang Hamlet difficult to access and isolated from surrounding areas. The disparity in Gun Tembawang Hamlet is even more pronounced compared to Sapit (Malaysia) which already has considerable accessibility with hot mix roads (asphalt), making it easy to reach border villages, social and public facilities for the village and sub-district levels, coupled with a much better (Kristian, interview, 2022) per capita infrastructure and transportation facilities and economy. Therefore, it becomes difficult to compare Sapit with Gun Tembawang Hamlet.

### **Development and Nationalism in Gun Tembawang Hamlet**

In the context of border communities, their geographic location on the periphery often leads to neglect in terms of economic, administrative, and political attention. These areas are far from the centres of power, and the focus on borders is primarily limited to defence interests. However, even in the context of defence, border regions receive little attention due to the dominance of perceptions regarding domestic threats and the stability of power. The consequence of being far from the centre of administration is the emergence of development inequalities, which depict an ironic condition. Some regions that serve as centres of administration and political dynamics experience rapid economic development and industrialization. In contrast, many resource-rich regions suffer from underdevelopment and poverty. This inequality is evident in West Kalimantan compared to other provinces in Indonesia and the border areas in Malaysia. In 2021, West Kalimantan had a high poverty rate, with approximately 354,000 people, or 6.84% of the population, living in poverty. Income inequality in West Kalimantan also remained below the national average (Priyono, 2019).

To address the development problems and inequalities, the government has committed to a new approach through Presidential Instruction no. 1 of 2021, which recognizes borders as important gateways for the nation. This approach emphasizes not only defence and security but also integrates a welfare-based approach to border development. Borders hold strategic value in economic, social, cultural, and political aspects, as well as in defence and security policy. This increased attention to border development aims to protect

national interests from internal and external threats and involves various relevant authorities. However, despite the government's increased attention to border development, significant problems still persist.

The weaknesses in the development of Gun Tembawang Hamlet pose not only a threat to the affected region but also to national interests and sovereignty. Weak border security capabilities contribute to the prevalence of transnational crimes such as smuggling, illegal logging, and human trafficking. Moreover, insufficient development leads to a sense of ambiguity regarding citizenship in border communities. Citizenship status becomes an administrative matter that can be adjusted based on socio-economic activities and the intensity of cross-border movement. In some cases, residents of Gun Tembawang Hamlet have changed their citizenship from Indonesian to Malaysian, while others lack identity cards, birth certificates, or marriage certificates. This ambiguity in citizenship can be attributed to the fact that the people of Gun Tembawang Hamlet perceive development progress from Malaysia, despite the hamlet being part of Indonesian territory. Economic activities, trade, and services often take place with Malaysia, and the use of the Malaysian Ringgit currency is prevalent. Additionally, although Gun Tembawang Hamlet follows Western Indonesian Standard Time (WIB), the residents generally refer to Malaysian time, which is an hour ahead. Access to infrastructure is also easier on the Malaysian side of the border.

These issues highlight the problem of community nationalism resulting from past development practices in border regions. The development progress experienced by these communities has influenced their perceptions and orientations towards national life. However, the lack of tangible symbols of Indonesia's presence through development achievements creates a gap between nationalist expectations of absolute loyalty and the social reality that ties to Malaysia for everyday needs. In this context, the inability of Indonesia to meet the needs of its border citizens may trigger a crisis of nationalism. Gellner (1983) argues that nationalism is closely tied to the development of industrialization, as forms of government and culture necessitate economic growth. To maximize profits and drive the economy, nations must adapt and change their cultural structures. Gellner challenges the notion that nationalism arises solely from political coercion, instead highlighting its ability to fulfil diverse needs beyond ideology.

Applying Gellner's perspective to border communities, we can understand the challenges faced in terms of nationalism. The conditions at the border often fail to provide people with their necessities, whereas neighbouring areas under Malaysian sovereignty may offer better living conditions. Indonesia's inability to meet the needs of its citizens residing on the border could potentially lead to a crisis of nationalism. The disparity in living standards and the perceived inability of the nation to address these issues could erode the sense of national identity and loyalty among border communities. Gellner's insights shed light on the complex dynamics between nationalism, development, and the struggles faced by those living in border regions. Therefore, the issue of development is indeed a variable that has a great influence on the development of nationalism of the people in Gun Tembawang Hamlet. As such, the government has made efforts to promote development at the border, resulting in progress measured by economic indicators such as growth rates, per capita income, household consumption, and infrastructure development. However, the impact of development on people's perspectives and lifestyles regarding national identity and practices is not always significant. The progress achieved may not be perceived as comparable to what residents have experienced through their interactions with Malaysia (Saleh, 2011). As a result, border communities may encounter paradoxical and contradictory situations related to their national identity. While there may be instances of changing citizenship and cultural

transformations, nationalist sentiment emerges when conflicts arise between Indonesia and Malaysia.

The concepts of nation, national integration, and nationalism rely on civic loyalty and solidarity between citizens and their nation. Changes in citizenship and dual citizenship can be seen as forms of disobedience to the nation. However, the root of this issue lies in the unique circumstances faced by border communities. These underdeveloped areas force residents to engage in cross-border activities to fulfil their needs. Therefore, the issue of citizenship identity becomes merely a means to facilitate their everyday lives.

### **The Impact of Development on Nationalism in Gun Tembawang Hamlet Community**

The management of the population in the border area plays a crucial role in supporting the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). The government policy views the border as the front yard and the guardian of national sovereignty. In this context, strengthening the economic empowerment of border communities becomes essential as it directly influences their sense of nationalism. However, due to the limited development opportunities and inadequate provision of infrastructure, social services, and economic support in the suburban areas like Gun Tembawang Hamlet, some individuals have resorted to changing their citizenship to improve their economic situation. This phenomenon aligns with Gellner's perspective on the correlation between nationalism, economic development, and industrialization.

Despite the challenging conditions faced by the residents of Gun Tembawang Hamlet, there are those who remain loyal to their Indonesian nationality. Yuliana, a resident of the hamlet, exemplifies this sentiment. Despite the government's shortcomings in providing necessary facilities, Yuliana, who was born and raised in Gun Tembawang Hamlet, firmly believes in her Indonesian ancestry, and sees no reason to change her nationality (Kenen, (Kenen, interview, 2022). Bande, another resident, shares a similar stance. Even though Bande's children have changed their nationality and live in Malaysia, he has no intention of leaving Gun Tembawang Hamlet or altering his citizenship. These individuals demonstrate that their strong sense of kinship and pride in their country outweighs the economic difficulties they face (Bande, interview, 2022). Another resident as the only one having with a higher education degree, actively contributes to the development of education in Gun Tembawang Hamlet. She works as a contract teacher and owns a grocery store. Although she frequently travels to Malaysia for shopping, she has no interest in becoming a Malaysian citizen. She believes that, despite the limitations, she still wants to be recognized as an Indonesian citizen. She emphasizes the importance of education in nurturing nationalism among the children of the hamlet, even though they face various challenges such as impassable roads and flooded rivers during rainy seasons (Amonius, interview, 2022).

The concept of a periphery society, as described by Bhandari and Mueller (2018), suggests that marginalized communities prioritize family ties over national identity. Gun Tembawang Hamlet can be considered a marginalized community due to its isolation and limited resources. However, despite the hardships they endure, the residents of Gun Tembawang Hamlet display a strong sense of nationalism when it comes to protecting their land from external threats. They resist the desires of neighbouring communities, even those from the same ethnic background, to rent plantation land in Gun Tembawang Hamlet, showcasing their unwavering loyalty to Indonesia.

In recent years, the people of Gun Tembawang Hamlet have shown an increasing interest in Indonesian national symbols. Although many of them were not proficient in the Indonesian language before, they have started learning it by watching Indonesian TV programs. This indicates that Indonesian media, particularly television, has gained significant

influence in the area. However, access to Indonesian TV programs requires satellite dishes or cable TV subscriptions. Moreover, the dominant use of the Malaysian Ringgit instead of the Indonesian Rupiah reflects the economic ties and activities conducted by the residents in Malaysia. While some younger individuals in Gun Tembawang Hamlet understand the value of the Indonesian Rupiah currency, many parents are more familiar with the Malaysian Ringgit. Nevertheless, their knowledge of the current President of Indonesia showcases their awareness of national affairs. However, their limited knowledge of the current Vice President reveals a gap in their understanding of the national political landscape. Despite these limitations, the residents have started to grasp the positioning of the red and white flag, with the red on top and the white on the bottom. In the past, there have been instances where the flag was displayed incorrectly due to a lack of knowledge regarding national symbols. Nevertheless, the people of Gun Tembawang Hamlet actively participate in flag ceremonies on Indonesia's Independence Day, utilizing YouTube to access the national anthem.

**Figure 4.2 Raising the Red and White Flag in Gun Tembawang Hamlet**



*Sources:*

*Source: Timm.picture (2016) & Researcher (2022)*

Therefore, the economic challenges faced by the border communities of Gun Tembawang Hamlet have led some individuals to consider changing their citizenship for better economic prospects in Malaysia. However, many residents remain loyal to their Indonesian nationality due to their strong sense of kinship, ancestral connections, and pride in their country. The limited access to infrastructure, social services, and economic opportunities in the hamlet present significant obstacles. (Sudagung, 2021) Nonetheless, the residents strive to preserve their nationalism by learning Indonesian national symbols, actively participating in flag ceremonies, and staying informed about national affairs. The complex interplay between economic development, national identity, and regional disparities continues to shape the dynamics of nationalism in border communities like Gun Tembawang Hamlet.

### **Outward Looking Nationalism and Choosing Indonesian Citizenship with the Emergence of State Defense Awareness**

The emergence of the awareness of defending the country in Gun Tembawang Hamlet reflects an intriguing dynamic, particularly considering the various challenges faced by the community. It is worth noting that 55 individuals in the hamlet lack an identity card (KTP), and many do not possess birth and marriage certificates. Despite these circumstances, the

desire to protect the country arises when the people of Sapit in Malaysia express interest in utilizing lands within Gun Tembawang Hamlet. This newfound awareness of defending the country demonstrates a nationalistic perspective that strives to address perceived development inequalities in frontier communities. The potential conflict arising from these circumstances is seen as a genuine threat that necessitates clear identification of the community's position.

The response to the demands of the Sapit community is reflected in various activities undertaken by the border community. Pius Bande, a farmer in Gun Tembawang Hamlet, explained that the Sapit people intended to lease land for agricultural purposes, but despite sharing ethnicity and family ties, the Gun Tembawang Hamlet residents firmly rejected this proposal. This highlights their critical stance toward Malaysia's frequent cross-border actions, which they perceive as a tangible threat to their society. The inequalities and hardships endured by the people of Gun Tembawang Hamlet do not undermine their sense of nationalism. Researchers who directly studied the hamlet discovered that the residents' nationalism and loyalty to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia remain strong. For instance, Bande, a Gun Tembawang Hamlet resident without an identity card (KTP), adamantly opposed the idea of renting the hamlet's farmland to the people of Sapit. Similarly, Yuliana Kenen, whose first child was born in Sapit, made the conscious decision to have her child educated in Gun Tembawang Hamlet and even went to the extent of sending them to Entikong for middle school, despite the associated expenses.

Another example is Ammonius, an individual with a high level of education who could potentially secure a well-paying job in Sapit, Malaysia. However, he chooses to work as an honorary teacher in Gun Tembawang Hamlet, earning a salary of IDR 500,000 from BOS Funds. Despite the limitations, hardships, and inequalities faced by the hamlet, its residents steadfastly maintain their Indonesian citizenship due to their recognition of their nationality and a profound sense of love for their country. These individuals exemplify Kellas (1998) definition of a nation as a group of people bound by historical, cultural, and hereditary ties, with both objective (region, language, religion) and subjective (national awareness and love for the nation) characteristics. Their actions and choices align with the ideology and behavior of nationalism, wherein individuals or groups adhere to national values and act in accordance with their perceptions of their country.

### **Prospects for National Integration in Border Regions**

Border regions present a unique set of challenges and complexities that influence the process of national integration. These challenges encompass various development issues and require the state to consider the interests of its citizens in order to promote integration. Additionally, the diverse characteristics of societies and the impact of global interactions also contribute to the complexities of national integration.

Indonesia, as a Southeast Asian country, is characterized by its rich ethnic diversity. On one hand, this diversity provides unique advantages and contributes to the formation of a national identity, which is crucial for development and interactions with other countries. However, on the other hand, this diversity also poses challenges to achieving a stable domestic political situation, especially when compared to countries like Malaysia, which also have multi-ethnic populations. The instability in Indonesia can be attributed to efforts made by different ethnic groups to accommodate their respective interests and ensure their existence within society. These interests are not only concerned with the well-being of individuals but also encompass their basic, secondary, and tertiary needs.

Efforts to coordinate the diverse needs of these groups must extend beyond addressing the interests of the elite. Neglecting to address conflicting interests can lead to both horizontal and vertical conflicts within society. Although national governments strive to accommodate the diverse interests of their citizens within a broader national interest framework, including nation-building, conflicts may still arise. These conflicts, whether horizontal (between different societal groups) or vertical (between citizens and the state), pose threats to national integration. Low levels of national integration can undermine the progress made in the history of nation-states, impacting both societies and citizens who are essential for national development.

The establishment of national boundaries marked the birth of a nation. In the past, inhabitants of certain regions often belonged to the same tribe and felt no difference. However, with the formation of the state, they were separated and identified as different nationalities. According to Ricklefs (2005), the borders of present-day Indonesia were established through colonial military power, resulting in the loss of human lives, environmental degradation, strained social ties, and the erosion of human freedom. The historical context of border formation underscores the complexity and challenges associated with national integration in border regions. In addition to that, the effectiveness of integration elements plays a vital role in the implementation of national integration. The development of the communication sector and defence and security capabilities in border regions contribute to a renewed sense of self-defence within nations as autonomous political entities. This renewed sense of identity fosters a strong connection between the people of Gun Tembawang Hamlet and the political entity known as Indonesia, solidifying the border with Malaysia. Improving access to communication and information through the construction of communication link facilities alleviates the geographical isolation faced by Gun Tembawang Hamlet. Enhancing security and defence capabilities, as evidenced by budget allocation, military mobilization, and equipment in the border area, further strengthens the integration process .

Unifying institutions, such as described by Coleman & Rosberg (2023), played a crucial role in national integration. These institutions facilitate both vertical integration between the state and society and horizontal integration concerning territorial integrity. They help overcome barriers to integration, such as geographical distance, cultural differences, ethnicity, and developmental inequalities. Therefore, national integration in border regions is ultimately a political process that relies on the intensity of institutional development. While there is still progress to be made in meeting the needs of border communities, the increasing development in these regions indicates a shift towards achieving equality and catching up with other regions. Promoting equality is essential, as development disparities can create discontinuities and tensions, which may lead to divisions between countries and their citizens, as well as between different regions. Therefore, national integration in border regions is a multifaceted process influenced by various factors, including development issues, societal characteristics, and global interactions. It requires concerted efforts to address the interests of diverse groups, overcome challenges, and foster a sense of national identity. By promoting equality, improving access to communication and information, enhancing security and defence capabilities, and strengthening unifying institutions, national integration can be achieved, ensuring the cohesion and progress of the nation as a whole.

## **CONCLUSION**

the situation in Gun Tembawang Hamlet highlights the challenges and disparities faced by border regions in terms of limited basic facilities and infrastructure, including education, healthcare, connectivity, and economic opportunities. The lack of development in these areas

isolates and impoverishes the community, hindering their progress and contributing to a sense of inequality and frustration. Despite these difficulties, some residents choose to remain loyal to their Indonesian citizenship due to strong familial ties and a sense of nationalism, as evidenced by their refusal to lease their land to neighboring Malaysia. However, the allure of better economic prospects, education, and healthcare in Malaysia attracts a significant number of residents to change their citizenship. The inadequate infrastructure, difficult access, and high costs further exacerbate the challenges faced by the community, prompting them to rely on Malaysia for various needs. The disparities between Gun Tembawang Hamlet and Sapit (Malaysia) in terms of infrastructure, accessibility, and economic opportunities highlight the urgent need for development in the border region.

The current dynamics between Indonesia and Malaysia in this border area demonstrate a relatively stable relationship with economic activity flowing through legal channels. The border can be classified as an interdependent and coexistent borderland type, where both countries maintain a status quo to facilitate negotiations and diplomacy. The pace of development plays a crucial role in shaping the nationalism of border communities, and economic inequality can influence people's decisions to change nationalities. Development efforts need to be prioritized, addressing the infrastructure, socio-cultural, and economic needs of the region to strengthen community nationalism and ensure equal opportunities for the people of Gun Tembawang Hamlet. Effective coordination among various agencies is necessary to accelerate development in the border region, allowing it to catch up with other areas and neighbouring countries.

## REFERENCES

- Abdullah, Irwan & Sari, P. (2014). Politik identitas masyarakat perbatasan indonesia-malaysia: kasus badau di kapuas hulu, kalimantan barat. *Kawistawa: Jurnal Ilmiah Sosial Dan Humaniora*, 4(3), 225–330.
- Amir, H. (2020). Bravanese Migrants Habitus In The Periphery: Cultural Transformation Through Integration. *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology*, 17(9), 10185–10196.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Varso.
- Antaranews.com. (2018). *Banyak warga Desa Gun Tembawang jadi WN Malaysia*. Wwww.Antaranews.Com. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/765444/banyak-warga-desa-gun-tembawang-jadi-wn-malaysia>
- Balibar, E. (2002). World Borders, Political Borders. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 117(1), 68–78. <https://doi.org/10.1632/003081202x63519>
- Brand, J. A. (2020). Nationalism and the noncolonial periphery: a discussion of Scotland and Catalonia. In *New Nationalisms of the Developed West* (pp. 277–293). Routledge.
- Bryant and White. (1987). *Managing Development in the Third World Bahasa Indonesia/ Manajemen Pembangunan untuk Negara Berkembang*. LP3ES.
- Castro, F. I. S. (1994). Border People: Life and Society in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands:Border People: Life and Society in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands. *Latin American Anthropology Review*, 6(1), 60–61. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jlat.1994.6.1.60.2>

- Jumiati, Syahrul Hidayat. *Maintaining Indonesian Citizenship: Community Nationalism in Gun Tembawang, West Kalimantan Border in 2022*. JSSP. Vol. 7, No. 1, June 30, 2023.
- Coleman, J. S., & Rosberg, C. G. (2023). *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa*. University of California Press.
- Creswell, J. W., Hanson, W. E., Clark Plano, V. L., & Morales, A. (2007). Qualitative Research Designs: Selection and Implementation. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 35(2), 236–264. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006287390>
- Dedeas, A. R. (2015). Melayu di Atas Tiga Bendera : Konstruksi Identitas Nasionalisme Masyarakat Perbatasan di Kepulauan Batam. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 141–153.
- Diaz-Briquets, S. (1987). Political and Economic Migrants in America: Cubans and Mexicans. *Theory and Society*, 16(4), 636–640. <https://doi.org/https://www.jstor.org/stable/657598>
- Dyrness, A. (2021). Rethinking global citizenship education with / for transnational youth youth. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 0(0), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2021.1897001>
- Finlayson, A. (1998). Ideology, discourse and nationalism. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 3(1), 99–118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569319808420771>
- Flynn, D. K. (1997). “We are the border”: identity, exchange, and the state along the Bénin-Nigeria border. *American Ethnologist*, 24(2), 311–330. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1997.24.2.311>
- Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Basil Blackwell.
- Giddens, A. (1981). *A contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism. Vol.1, Power, Property and the State*. University of California Press.
- Harries, B., Byrne, B., Garratt, L., Smith, A., & Byrne, B. (2020). “ Divide and conquer ”. Anti-racist and community organizing under austerity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 43(16), 20–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2019.1682176>
- Haryaningsih, S., & Patriani, I. (2019). Rupiah currency strengthening at border area West Kalimantan Province-Gun Tembawang, Suruh Tembawang Village, Entikong District. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 2019(Special Issue), 1–6.
- Hechter, M., Kuyucu, T., & Sacks, A. (2006). Nationalism and direct rule, Handbook of Nations and Nationalism. *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*, 84–93.
- Hechter, M. (2001). *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Huberman, M., & Miles, M. B. (2002). *The qualitative researcher’s companion*. SAGE Publications.
- Jamaluddin, A. N. (2016). *Sociology Of Development*. Cv Pustaka Setia.
- Joireman, S. F. (2003). *Nationalism and Political Identity*. A&C Black.
- Karlsson, G. (2009). The Ethnicity of the Vinelanders. *Journal of the North Atlantic*, 201, 126–130. <https://doi.org/10.3721/037.002.s213>
- Kellas, J. G. (1998). *The politics of nationalism and ethnicity*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Koev, D. (2022). Ethnic minority party formation and success in Europe. *East European Politics*, 38(1), 83–100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2021.1895116>
- Lagarda, M. A. &, & Moctezuma Mungaray, P. (1984). La disputa del mercado fronterizo 1960-1983. *Estudios Fronterizos*, 3, 89–111. <https://doi.org/10.21670/ref.1984.03.a05>

- Jumiati, Syahrul Hidayat. *Maintaining Indonesian Citizenship: Community Nationalism in Gun Tembawang, West Kalimantan Border in 2022*. JSSP. Vol. 7, No. 1, June 30, 2023.
- Levi, M., & Hechter, M. (2020). A Rational Choice Approach to the Rise and Decline of Ethnoregional Political Parties. In *New Nationalisms of the Developed West* (pp. 128–146). Routledge.
- Malešević, S. (2022). Imagined communities and imaginary plots: Nationalisms, conspiracies, and pandemics in the Longue Durée. *Nationalities Papers*, 50(1), 45–60. <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2020.94>
- Mallick, S. (2011). Book Review: Nationalism: Key Concepts by Anthony D. Smith. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 32(4), 441–442.
- Mansyah, A. (2017). Nasionalisme Masyarakat Indonesia di Perbatasan dan Dampaknya Terhadap Kedaulatan Negara (Studi di Kabupaten Sanggau, Kalimantan Barat). *Peperangan Asimetris*, 3(3), 17–40.
- Mas'ood, M. (1994). *Politics, bureaucracy, and development*. Student Library.
- Maxwell, A. (2020). Primordialism for Scholars Who Ought to Know Better : Anthony D . Smith ' s Critique of Modernization Theory. *Nationalities Papers*, 48(5), 826–842. <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2019.93>
- Mikus, W. (1985). *comparaciones transculturales En este ensayo se examinan tres ejemplos de regiones fronterizas : 1 ) Baden-Alsacia ( el norte Suiza-Northern Italia ); 2 ) the border zone between Rio Grande , United States and Mexico ; and. III*, 105–127.
- Mylonas, H., & Tudor, M. (2021). Nationalism: what we know and what we still need to know. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 24, 109–132.
- Neill, E. O., Cole, H. V. S., García-lamarca, M., & Anguelovski, I. (2023). *Social Science & Medicine The right to the unhealthy deprived city : An exploration into the impacts of state-led redevelopment projects on the determinants of mental health*. 318(May 2022). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2022.115634>
- Niebuhr, A. (2014). *Integration Effects in Border Regions – A Survey of Economic Theory and. September 2002*.
- Oliveira, F. A. De, & Kvangraven, I. H. (2023). Back to Dakar: Decolonizing international political economy through dependency theory. *Review of International Political Economy*, 0(0), 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2023.2169322>
- Ozkanlı, U. (2017). *Theories of nationalism: A critical introduction*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Özkanlı, U. (2000). Theories of nationalism: a critical introduction. *Choice Reviews Online*, 37(10), 37-5937-37–5937. <https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.37-5937>
- Penrose, J. (2002). Nations, states and homelands: Territory and territoriality in nationalist thought. *Nations and Nationalism*, 8(3), 277–297. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8219.00051>
- Priyono, S. H. (2019). Re-running Eligibility on Fiscal Spending Behavior : Evidence from Indonesian Municipalities. *Jurnal Perencanaan Pembangunan: The Indonesian Journal of Development Planning*, 3(1), 143–163. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.36574/jpp.v3i1.62>
- Rachmawati, I., & Dewi, M. A. (2021). Nationalism in Border Community: Temajuk, Sambas District, West Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics*, 15(2). <https://doi.org/10.2478/jnmlp-2021-0002>

- Jumiati, Syahrul Hidayat. *Maintaining Indonesian Citizenship: Community Nationalism in Gun Tembawang, West Kalimantan Border in 2022*. JSSP. Vol. 7, No. 1, June 30, 2023.
- Ricklefs, M. . (2005). *History Of Modern Indonesia 1200-2004*. Serambi.
- Rodríguez-Pose, A., & Gill, N. (2003). The global trend towards devolution and its implications. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 21(3), 333–351. <https://doi.org/10.1068/c0235>
- Romadhon, A. (2022). the Role of Directorate General of Customs and Excise in Handling Covid-19 Pandemic As a Trade Facilitator and Industrial Assistance in Indonesia. *Marginal : Journal of Management, Accounting, General Finance and International Economic Issues*, 1(2), 53–58. <https://doi.org/10.55047/marginal.v1i2.133>
- Rozi, S. (2014). Potret Rasa Kebangsaan di Wilayah Perbatasan Indonesia-Malaysia: Kasus Desa Long Nawang Malinau dan Krayan Nunukan, Kalimantan Utara. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 11(109–130).
- Ruiz, O. (1990). Reviewed: troubled Border by Oscar J. The Border: Life on the Line by Douglas Kent Hall. *Journal of the Southwest*, 32(1), 68–74.
- Saleh, M. H. (2011). Model pemaknaan nasionalisme masyarakat pulau sebatik kalimantan timur<sup>1</sup>. *Jurnal Borneo Administrator*, 7(2), 202–221. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24258/jba.v7i2.74>
- Setiawan, I. (2021). Tata Kelola Pemerintahan Dalam Mengatasi Masalah Sosial Pada Perbatasan Negara di Kecamatan Entikong Kabupaten Sanggau Provinsi Kalimantan Barat. *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Suara Khatulistiwa*, 6(1), 21–34. <https://doi.org/10.33701/jipsk.v6i1.1719>
- Smith, A. (2022). Nation and Nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*. John Wiley & Sons, 350–363. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003050049-28>
- Smith, A. D. (2013). *Nationalism: Theory, ideology, history*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Soehl, T., & Karim, S. M. (2021). How Legacies of Geopolitical Trauma Shape Popular Nationalism Today. *American Sociological Review*, 86(3), 406–429. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00031224211011981>
- Sudagung, A. D. (2021). *Indonesia ' s Strategies in Dealing with Nationalism Problems of Border Societies at Indonesia-Malaysia Border Area ( 2009-2014 )*. 01(01), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.26418/ijeas.2021.1.01.1-11>
- Sukmadinata, N. S. (2012). *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan*. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Sulisdiani, I. (2022). The Government's Role in Handling Drug Smuggling in the Entikong Border Area. *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research*, 05(06), 2143–2148. <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v5-i6-17>
- Susanto, S., & Budiman, S. (2021). Contextualization of the Bejopai Pattern of the Kubin Dayak Tribe as a Contextual Discipleship Effort in West Kalimantan. *Evangelikal: Jurnal Teologi Injili Dan Pembinaan Warga Jemaat*, 5(2), 189–201.
- Vaara, E., Tienari, J., & Kovesnikov, A. (2021). *From Cultural Differences to Identity Politics : A Critical Discursive Approach to National Identity in Multinational Corporations*. December. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.12517>