

Political Participation of Communities in the Border Areas - Efforts to Realise National Security through Elections (Case Study in Natuna Regency)

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This research discusses Natuna's Political Participation in the Election and National Security. This study was conducted because of the current perspective of the national security sector is associated with the development of the security and defence sector as a program or responsibility of the central government. The research method used in this study is a case study method that is part of qualitative research. Data collection techniques are carried out by retrieving data from primary and secondary sources. Primary data in the form of words, speeches and actions or behaviour of informants, and secondary data obtained from various documents, journals, scientific papers, etc. The results of this research showed that the political participation that has been carried out by the people of Natuna Regency in the Presidential Election is also related to their efforts to find a leader who is able to encourage the birth of policies which is oriented to manifest in the welfare and development in the border areas of the country. However, efforts that have been made by the community have not yet fully produced results, because the policies taken by the government have not been entirely able to improve the condition of the people in the border areas. This condition could eventually change the public perception of the election, which they consider have not been able to give a change to people's lives on the border, and on the other hand, also increase the potential threat to national security.

Key words: *Political participation, defense, government.*

Introduction

Natuna Regency is one of the districts that has different characteristics from other districts in the Kepulauan Riau Province, Republic of Indonesia. These different characteristics are mostly caused by the potential threats and disturbances caused as a consequence of being bordered with other countries, in this case bordering on Malaysia and Singapore. Another thing that distinguishes it from other regions is the high level of community political participation in both the 2014 and 2019 general election (Natunapos, 2019, Saahar, Sualman, Hashim & Mohamed, 2017) but also the low quality of development and the lagging behind physical and non-physical development in Natuna Regency. Another thing that distinguishes Natuna from other regions is the high level of political participation of the people, but unfortunately, the quality of physical and non-physical development in Natuna Regency is classified as low and lagging. In addition, based on data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the level of the poor population in Natuna is increasing, from previously in 2016 there were only 3,250 people who were below the poverty line, then in 2017, the number increased to 3,530 people (Batampos, 2017, Prasad, 2017). This condition is inversely proportional to the natural condition of Natuna, which is rich in natural oil and gas resources (Azhar, 2015; Batamnews, 2017).

The high level of public political participation in the election and the abundant natural resources in Natuna is a positive value that should be considered by the government, but when the poverty level of the population in Natuna continues to increase it has the potential to undermine the level of public trust in the government. This problem may also lead to various forms of threats to national security, such as the smuggling and trade of illegal goods entering from Malaysia and the use of Malaysian Ringgit in community trade transactions in several islands in Natuna Regency.

The various constraints mentioned above and the emergence of other problems in the border area of Natuna Regency with the condition of the community being left behind have increased the potential for security threats. Efforts to maintain the high level of political participation of the public, both in elections and in other state life, require a strategic and concrete step from the government. The development efforts that not only have an acceleration to catch up, but also must be comprehensive in all aspects of its development, because this area generally has limited facilities and infrastructure.

Related with the problems above, it can be said that Natuna Regency can take advantage of the Presidential Election events in 2019 to improve the quality of development in various aspects of life, where all these aspects must more focus on improving the quality of welfare and security for the community. For this reason, the political participation of the people in the

presidential election must be increased and carried out more seriously, to be able to improve the quality of development in all fields such as ideology, politics, economy and defence.

The reason of that the author focuses on political research participation in the development policy of the field of defence security is to change the perception that the development of the defence security sector (especially in border regions between countries) is only the domain and absolute authority of the government (the Central). It is time for that perspective to be changed. The change in perception is following the explanation of Law No. 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense which stated that the defence issues were very complex, so that the solution was not only dependent on the ministry that handles defence and security, but also the responsibility of all relevant agencies, both government and public. The community can support the policy through political participation in the Presidential Election activities.

Literature Review

Political Participation

Political participation and voter behaviour are part of the election. Political participation is the participation of citizens in influencing the process of making and implementing political decisions. Political participation conveys the relationship between political awareness and trust in government. Meanwhile, voter behaviour is the participation of citizens in the election as a series of decision making. The behaviour of voters can answer whether citizens use their suffrage or not and which political party they choose in elections (Kim, 2016, Prihatmoko 2008: 46).

Political participation can be categorized as one form of social behaviour or social action, especially relating to political life. Political participation is the action of individuals and groups in carrying out political actions which are the result of incorporation structural factors and a comprehensive political process (Nashir 2000: 25, Nair, 2017).

Political participation is not independent, but it is related to the political system. In the political system there are four factors: (1) power; (2) importance; (3) policies; and (4) political culture, which is the subjective orientation of individuals towards the political system, (Budiardjo 1994: 49).

According to Surbakti (1999: 132) to study about political participation we can choose three possible units of analysis, that are: (1) individual political actors; (2) political aggregation; and (3) typology of political personality. Furthermore, Surbakti (1999) described that individual political actors including political leaders (political actors), political activists, and

ordinary citizens, aggregation is individual political actors collectively, such as interest groups, bureaucracies, political parties, government institutions, and nations.

Smith as cited by Surbakti (1999: 132) factors that will influence the political participation, are:

1. Indirect socio-political environment, such as political systems, economic systems, cultural systems, and mass media;
2. A direct socio-political environment that influences and establish the personality of actors, such as family, religion, school, and social groups;
3. Personality structure reflected in individual attitudes;
4. The direct socio-political environment, in the form of a situation, is a situation that affects the actors directly when they want to do an activity, such as weather, condition of the family, conditions of the place, the presence of others, group atmosphere, and threats in all forms.

Regarding the direct socio-political environment (the second factor), political actors will have socialisation and internalisation of community values and norms, including political values and norms.

Policy Implementation

In simple terms, policy implementation can be interpreted as a good way to implement policies in order to solve the problems well, in order to achieve goals that have been formulated and set beforehand. Jones (1984: 165) says that: "Implementation of policy is a dynamic concept that involves continuously various efforts to find everything that can be done in regulating activities so that it leads to the placement of a program that becomes a goal".

In essence, policy is a decision or choice of actions that directly regulates the behalf of the public or citizens. Policy is the result of synergy, compromise or even competition between various ideas, theories, ideologies, and interests that represent the political system of an organization, as a forum for cooperation to establish policies—implementing and evaluating policies, whether it concerns the internal interests of the organization itself or the importance of providing services to the community that will only achieve effective and efficient results when paying attention to matters that are the determinants of success. According to Cheema and Rondinelli (1983: 26-30) There are 4 (four) factors or dimensions: "*environmental condition, interorganizational relationships, resources for policy program implementation, and characteristics of implementing agencies*".

Concept of Border Areas

Stephen B. Jones (1945), in his book *A Handbook for Statesmen, Treatments for Editors and Boundary Commissioners*, formulates a theory related to the management of border areas. In his theory, Jones divides the scope of management into four parts, that are *Allocation, Delimitation, Demarcation and Administration*. The four spheres are interrelated with each other. Regarding the allocation aspect, it is a historical aspect that cannot be contested, and the aspects of delimitation and demarcation are the authority of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then Jones' theory above when accommodated in research related to government disciplines is only related to administrative or management aspects. Jones (1945) argues that within the scope of administration and development management is the largest volume of work in dealing with borders because it involves multisector and integrated planning is needed.

Bappenas (2016) defines the border area as a geographical area adjacent to a neighbouring country. Residents living in these areas are united through socio-economic and socio-cultural relations with the coverage of certain administrative areas after an agreement between bordering countries. It also can be said that the Border Area is a Province, Regency, City, or District area whose geographical area directly intersects with borders between countries on land, sea, and or air.

Research Method

The research method used in this study is a case study method that is part of qualitative research. Data collection techniques are carried out by retrieving data from primary and secondary sources. Primary data in the form of words, speeches and actions or behaviour of informants, and secondary data obtained from various documents, journals, scientific papers, etc. The data validity test is done by triangulation technique. In this study, triangulation is done to a data source, as well as using various supporting references to prove the data that researchers have found is valid.

Discussion

Political Participation of the Natuna's in the Presidential Election

In the 2014 and 2019 Presidential Election activities, Natuna Regency Community had carried out conventional political participation activities. As stated by Gabriel Almond (1974) about participation activities which follow traditional customs or habits that are common to use. This also can be said as a normal form because of following the accepted method in general is an agreement that has been made by a number of people who participated. Whether

in an organisation, an area or a country, this conventional participation can be said as participation that follows what has been agreed in general or follows the applicable constitution.

During the general election, all Natuna communities have the same rights and votes to determine the candidates for President and Vice President to be elected. The process and steps of the presidential election are common and routine, they are done every 5 years during the presidential election.

In the Presidential Election activities in 2019, the community in Natuna had voting rights to elect the President were 55,019 people consist of 27,952 men and 27,067 women. However, those who used voting rights were only 43,991 people consisting of 23,007 men and 22,412 women. In this presidential election, Joko Widodo as candidate number 1 was absolute won defeating his rival Prabowo Subianto (candidate number 2). The votes for candidate number 1 Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin got 27,924 votes (63.48%), while candidate number 2 Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno got 16,067 votes (36.52%). More details about the information is listed in the table below.

Table 1: The Results of Presidential Election in 2019 in Natuna Regency

No	Region	Jokowi – Ma'ruf Amin	Prabowo – Sandiaga Uno
1	Bunguran Barat	2.881	1.506
2	Bunguran Batubi	1.725	558
3	Bunguran Selatan	1.355	493
4	Bunguran Tengah	1.602	542
5	Bunguran Timur	7.941	5.551
6	Bunguran Timur Laut	2.019	1.086
7	Bunguran Utara	1.732	896
8	Midai	1.023	932
9	Pulau Laut	1.057	281
10	Pulau Tiga	1.513	560
11	Pulau Tiga Barat	815	410
12	Serasan	1.637	1.314
13	Serasan Timur	1.058	782
14	Suak Midai	456	532
15	Subi	1.110	624
Total		27.924	16.067

Source: KPU Natuna Regency, 2019.

The presidential election in Natuna was unique, the number of valid votes used by the public was only 43,991, in other words, there were 1,428 invalid votes. The large number of voting

rights that were not used (55,019 (people who have the voting rights) - 45,419 (people who use the voting rights) = 9.600) can be caused by several things, one of which is the emergence of dissatisfaction with government performance, so there is a belief that the presidential election will not be able to fully realise public expectations. Jokowi's victory in the 2014 presidential election did not significantly encourage change, community welfare and development in the Natuna islands. Another variable was related to the perspective of the Natuna community towards figure of leaders. In Natuna, there is local wisdom that requires a leader to be firm, friendly, disciplined and responsible in character. When the character was seen in two figures in the 2019 presidential election, the choice of a small portion of the Natuna people fell to Prabowo, who had a military background.

Although there are some residents of Natuna who consider that there has been no meaningful development yet, on the other hand, Jokowi's victory in the two periods of the Presidential Election in Natuna seems to undermine that assumption. Public figures assume that Jokowi's victory at Natuna was also caused by physical development policies in the Jokowi's era, which were more visible, although it was still limited to physical development. In addition, Jokowi often came to Natuna and even to the remote and outermost islands that border directly with Malaysia and the South China Sea, which is an area that is always recognised as belonging to China. Jokowi conducts direct monitoring carried out by himself up to the remote and outermost islands. He also made many populist policies felt by some of Natuna people, which subsequently made the Natuna people fall in love with the candidate number 1 (Jokowi).

Political Discussion in the Campaign Activities

For politicians, political discussion is not something new for them. This is certainly a routine that they do to advance their politics within the country. Political discussions must be carried out under the auspices of the constitution and do not violate established rules and must be generally accepted. For the people in Natuna, even though their area is still underdeveloped, efforts to advance the region continue to be pursued, where one of the efforts they make is to have an audience and discuss with their representatives in the Regional Representative Council (DPRD) and the local government. Even at the highest level, they are also going to their representatives who sat in the House of Representatives (DPR) as well as to the successful team of the president-vice president and the presidential and vice-presidential. At present, the results of the hearings can be seen from the results, such as the movement of the economy and development in Natuna. Related to this, political communication by the Parliament in the interests of the security sector to be essential (Djuyandi, Putra, and Faozan, 2018).

Campaign activities are also a very common thing when a presidential election is to be held. Procurement of the campaign is regulated through regulations and laws that regulate it so that the campaign must be in accordance with the rules and norms that apply to an area or country, and must obey the constitutional rules. In the campaign process, residents of the Natuna Islands pay close attention to the promises made by the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. They pay attention through the media channels or by attending open campaigns directly, what is then considered is how the draft policies of the candidates for president and vice president regarding the concept of development in the border region, especially from what they feel at the moment is the lack of development focus in the border region.

Form and Join Interest Groups

The other example of conventional participation is the people who participate in forming and joining certain interest groups. In this case, the intended interest may be the interests of politics or other interests which bring a positive side or benefit for him and for its members. With the intermediaries of these interest groups the people in Natuna Regency then tried to fight for their interests. Things that are advocated are about the level of population welfare, equitable distribution of infrastructure development to support economic progress of the population. Advocacy through these interest groups is carried out by conveying what has become a public complaint, both to the regional government, the Regional People's Representative Council, as well as the presidential and vice-presidential candidates directly or indirectly (through the success team).

The Existence of Individual Communication with Administrative Politics Officials

This activity is carried out to provide advice or input related to the administration of the country, where procedures, powers or obligations already exist or not in law writing. This activity is a form of activity of citizens in participating in determining the policy and election of government officials in the life of the nation and state for the common interest or proposing a policy, submitting suggestions and criticism about a particular policy, and participating in political parties.

Security Policy and Political Participation

The number of voters who used their right to vote rose from 2014 to 2019 by 13,095. There are many immigrant communities that deserve to be monitored because they are worried about disturbing security in Natuna.

The population growth in Natuna is currently increasing because migration flows support it. Nowadays, many people enter Natuna because there is sufficient sea and air transportation, which facilitates the mobility of the population.

At least two factors cause this rapid population growth, these are: a factor of natality and migration factors from various regions with the aim of Natuna. However, the migration factor is indicated to be more instrumental in spurring the growth of the Natuna population. The increasing migration is a concern of the government in order to protect the stability of security in Natuna due to the large presence of migrants coming to Natuna without expertise and skills so that they become unemployed who can be indicated to commit criminal acts or illegal acts. One form of an illegal act is disrupting the activities of holding the Presidential Election.

Some political participation activities which are indicated as a disruption in the implementation of the Presidential Election are acts of violence, according to Huntington and Nelson, namely as follows:

1. By demonstration,
2. By confrontation,
3. By strike,
4. Acts of political violence against property, destruction, and burning,
5. Political violence against humans such as kidnapping or murder,
6. By revolution or treason.

The regional government, TNI (army) and Polri (police) have sought to carry out socialisation to the community to support the smooth running of the Presidential Election through polite and responsible political participation.

Thus, the various political participation of citizens in the Presidential Election activities is one indicator of ensuring democratic life. Guarantees of freedom of association, assembly and opinion can be channelled through political activities. However, the political activities carried out must be adapted to the noble values and ideology of the Pancasila. The political culture carried out by the Indonesian people must have the noble values of Pancasila.

Conclusion

The implementation of the political participation of the Natuna Regency community was following the defence security policy in order to make the Presidential Election activities in 2019 can be carried out safely and orderly, without any interference or threat that can hamper the presidential election's activities. Some activities of political participation carried out by

the community include voting, political discussion, campaign activities, forming and joining interest groups, as well as the existence of individual communication with administrative, political officials.

Although the political participation activity of the Natuna Regency community had been going well, as a border area, Natuna Regency shows that it still has weaknesses that can disrupt the border area stability caused by massive migration from within the country and the entry of foreign citizens that can disrupt the development of political life and government. So, it becomes a threat to the failure of the development policy of the defence and security sector in Natuna Regency which has a distinctive character as a region located in the border region between countries which is full of various problems and further destroys national stability. Settlement of problems in the border area requires immediate handling, which can only be resolved if there is coordination in a synergy between the local government and the TNI (soldier) and Polri (police).

Based on the explanation above, it can be said that the model of policy implementation proposed by Cheema and Rondinelli has been implemented through political participation by the community and the government of Natuna Regency. However, the implementation model is not appropriate when applied in border areas because the model does not prioritise coordination aspects. The researcher believes that the implementation model of Cheema and Rondinelli can be more optimally realized if it is equipped with aspects of coordination. This aspect of coordination is important considering that the administration of government and the political participation of the community can run optimally in Natuna Regency due to the many competent institutions in making political development successful through the defence and security sector development policies.

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