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| **Nationalism and Territorial Awareness:**  **Case Study of the Camar Bulan Hamlet** |
| Iva Rachmawati dan Machya Astuti Dewi  Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Yogyakarta  [iva.rachma@gmail.com](mailto:iva.rachma@gmail.com), [machya@upnyk.ac.id](mailto:machya@upnyk.ac.id)  **ABSTRACT**  **Abstract**  The low level of nationalism is one of the issues that often occur in the border region including the Indonesian border in Kalimantan. This issue arises because border areas tend to be underdeveloped areas, not touched by development and lack of facilities. The lack of state attention to border communities is a claim for people's disloyalty towards the state. National border violations and illegal trade then become an indicator of the low nationalism of border communities. This research was conducted to see how the border communities in Camar Bulan built their attachment to their living environment to reinterpret the nationalism of border communities. In doing so, this study uses a descriptive-qualitative approach. Data was collected from document tracking and interviews with local district/village officer, BPPD officer, border military guard and several local residents in Camar Bulan. The finding indicated that bonding and emotional experience encourages citizens to remain committed to being Indonesian citizens even though neighboring countries have better levels of development and prosperity. On the contrary, nationalism encourages a stronger territorial awareness which then encourages the pro border welfare policies.  **Keywords:** Nationalism, Borders, Place Attachments, Emotional Bonding, Territorial Awareness. |

# INTRODUCTION

The issue of nationalism is a common issue in border issues in Indonesia, especially on the Kalimantan border. The issue of the lack of the border community nationalism also pushes the vulnerability of the Indonesia-Malaysia border conflict. Referring to Hertz in Taniredja (2013:199), nationalism as an ideology plays three functions namely binding on all classes of citizens, uniting the mentality of the citizens of the nation, and strengthening the influence of citizens towards policies taken by the state. Nationalism is an adhesive tool for social cohesion to maintain the existence of the state and nation. Thus, the issue of nationalism becomes crucial in the border region.

The issue of the lack of border community nationalism is indicated by the high cases of illegal trade, violations of national borders and the emergence of issues of dual-citizenship. A number of studies have shown that the backwardness and the lack of state’s pro-border welfare policy are the main causes of this problems. Rizki and Merdekawati (2016) firmly stated that the condition of the lack of public facilities and road access could injure morality and destroy border nationalism. While the research of M. Safitri (2013) with a sample of the Badau community, shows the emergence of a "new identity" which is quite alarming for the existence of Indonesianness and the nationality of the Badau community. The weak role and dysfunctional of the state and the high dependence of the community on neighboring countries has led to the emergence of new norms that are more "practical" and relevant in residents daily lives. This has an impact on the reduction of the identity of Badau residents as Indonesians. In their daily lives, according to these records, the Badau people not only tend to underestimate the rules of the game set by the state, but also do not really care about their nationality and do not even show pride as part of Indonesia.

This situation is also explained by Abdullah and Sari (2014) through Construction of Identity which is used interchangeably according to their needs. The huge dependence on Malaysia and the lack of development has encouraged the Badau community to be pragmatic. Although finding nationalism that is still considered both in terms of politics and ideology, Mansyah's (2017) research is also concerned about the fading of Sanggau's nationalism if the government does not immediately present through policy at the border to foster awareness of nationalism.

According to Anderson (2001: 214-215), the lack of nationalism is caused by the lower of sense belonging and togetherness as nation. And this could be traced from the lack of pro-border community policy and development of public fascility which is commonly found in Indonesia’s border. In general, border areas in Indonesia are still underdeveloped and far from government policies. The security approach that was once implemented has limited the state's perspective in managing border areas.

However, Skeldon (1999) argues that border conditions have different characteristics and it is important to understand local border strategies through the level of ethnic and cultural similarities among people at the border. For border residents, interactions such as cross-border trade, smuggling, labor migration, socializing, and visiting friends and relatives on the opposite side are the main characteristics of their daily transnational life. And this not related to the loyalty to the nation. That’s how they live their daily life.

The high dependence on Malaysia and the low level of development also experienced by Camar Bulan Hamlet in Temajok Village, West Kalimantan. The isolation and inequality with the neighboring village in Malaysia tends Camar Bulan residents often suspected of not having strong nationalism towards Indonesia. The annexation issue of Camar Bulan in 2011 proved that Indonesia lacks concern for the borders. The issue that was questioned by members of the House of Representatives (Tribunews.com, 2011) and the governor of West Kalimantan (Antaranews.com, 2011) showed that there was not good coordination within the government in managing border areas.

But interestingly, this actually reverses the situation in which the state gives better attention through the development of road infrastructure and communication. While this problem also succeeded in bringing a number of NGOs to come to help manage border areas better through tourism development.

This artices aims to find out the ties between the Camar Bulan residents to their place and how it can be a driving factor to capture the attention of the government.

**METHOD**

To understand the tie between resident to their licing place in Camar Bulan this study used a qualitative approach. Data was collected from the results of field observations in some conflict area and interview with local officer in Camar Bulan Hamlet, local officer in Temajok Village and also local officer in Paloh District who understand the situation on the conflict area, Camar Bulan enclave. Interviews were also conducted to several local resident in Camar Bulan who did the illegal trade and illegal farming in the conflict area. The reason of these residents is important to understand how the interpret their citizenship. Data also collected from secondary resources, such as annual reports and relevant journals. All data being categorized according to the relevant topics. The results of the study were then analyzed descriptively.

**RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

**Camar Bulan Hamlet**

Camar Bulan is a small hamlet located in Temajuk Village, Paloh District, Sambas Regency, West Kalimantan Province. Together with the other two hamlets namely Maludin and Sempadan, Camar Bulan is an isolated area because of the lack of public facilities such as roads, electricity, transportation and communication. The isolated condition has made the residents of Camar Bulan Hamlet have to count if they want to go to Paloh Subdistrict or Sambas Regency to get their needs or to trade. Road access that is not feasible makes it difficult for them to reach other areas. To get to the district area, residents need 3 hours if the weather is not raining and the road is dry.

The difficulties of the residents in obtaining basic needs and selling their produce such as rubber and pepper, encouraged residents to obtain a number of basic commodities such as rice, sugar, oil and flour, as well as gas and pulses from Malaysia. Not only basic needs, social facilities were also obtained by border residents from Malaysia such as health and education services. It is not uncommon for Indonesians to find work in Malaysia such as farmers and carpenters. This happens because conditions in Malaysia are far better than border areas in Indonesia. In fact, this is a common situation at the borders of Indonesia Malaysia, including Temajuk.

Camar Bulan is directly adjacent to Telok Melano Village in Sarawak, Malaysia. The condition of the village is actually almost the same, isolated. The residents must go by sea if they want to leave the village. Residents even need up to 8 hours from the Sematan Pier in Lundu to reach Telok Melano Village. However, in 2015, through the Sarawak Pan Borneo Highway Project, excellent road access was built from Lundu in Sarawak to Telok Melano Village. The residents do not have to go by sea. In fact, Telok Melano Village has become a tourist destination that is crowded with Malaysians because the road access from Sarawak to Telok Melano Village has been well built

Temajuk village became the definitive village based on Regent Decree Number 186 dated June 5, 2002. There are many natural potentials that can be sought to be explored for the welfare of the community. The existing forest land reaches an area of ​​approximately 1,550 ha, currently producing honey bees is quite adequate. Dry land reaches an area of ​​1,000 ha. On this land, residents planted it with rubber, coconut, taro, peanuts, fruits (bananas, watermelons, durians, etc.). The coastal land in the Temajuk village is approximately 26 km long which produces fish, lobster shrimp, jellyfish and turtles (Huruswati et al., 2012). Temajuk village is inhabited by 557 households spread in Camar Bulan hamlet with 252 families (45.2 percent), in Maludin hamlet there are 158 families (28.4 percent) and 147 families in Sempadan hamlet or 26.4 percent (Temajuk village office 2015). Most (85.65%) of the population work as farmers (especially pepper farmers) and a small number become fishermen (Temajuk Village Office 2015).

Unfortunately, this potential has not been followed by adequate infrastructure. The electricity supply has not been able to serve all residents in Temajuk including the Camar Bulan Hamlet. Electricity only lights up from 18:00 p.m. until 6:00 a.m. (Yunando and Sutriyatna, 2018). In the recent year, residents have started to get electricity from 16.00 pm (Herlin, local officer, in depth interviewed, March 2019). Thus, village services which are usually held at night can be started earlier. Likewise, the road as the main access for residents to carry out economic activities has not been well developed.

In 2012, a 47 km road facility with 8 meters width was built to connect Temajok Village with Paloh District. But until April 2019, the road has not been completed. It is dusty during the dry season and becomes muddy until it is difficult to pass in the rainy season. However, the unfinished road contributes positively for Temajuk residents because they don’t need to cross the coast and wait for the tides to reach Paloh District. But still, the residents usually do not dare to go to Paloh District in rainy season. If the situation forced them to go, residents must prepare 300-400 thousand rupiah to anticipate if the motorcycle breaks down or gets other obstacles such as overnight on the beach (news.detik.com, 2012). Until the research was carried out, the road had not been finished yet. However, this condition was better than before because residents of Temajuk Village had to wait for the tide to recede to reach the coast to reach Paloh District.

There is conflict area between Indonesia and Malaysia at Camar Bulan which consisting of 1499 ha. The area mentioned was bordered by hooks number A.88 – A.156 and known as enclave Camar Bulan. The point of the borderline was in fact had been made in 1976 and was profoundly studied for 2 years by Indonesia and was agreed in the MoU of year 1978. The MoU is then brought into issue when watershade method which was used to determine the borderline demarcation could not be found. This is the reason why Indonesia claimed that the MoU of borderline of 1976 is false and there has to be a review on the agreement in order that it could be cancellation due to a fundamental of circumstance reason that referred to article 62 verse 1of VCLT 1969.

The agreement of borderline area (special for enclave Camar Bulan) was administered again in 2011 by a team that consist of the Domestic Affair Ministry, Foreign Affair Ministry, Mabes TNI (the Headquarter of Indonesian Arm Force), and Geospatial Information Board. The meeting made a discussion about the problem of determining the territorial demarcation, in Tanjung Datu (Camar Bulan A.88 – A.156). Besides, they also hold a coordination meeting on the level of minister in the Ministry of Coordinator of Politic, Law, and Security led by Minister of Coordinator of Politics, Law, and Security on October 20th, 2011. This meeting specially talked about the problem that happen in Tanjung Datu. The conclusion of the meeting is the process of demarcation based on borderline determined using watershade that was managed by joint survey in 1976 and was repeated in 1978 indicate an identical result. Therefore, MoU 1978 could not be cancelled by one side (Indonesia).

The result of 2011 negosiation caused the issue of Malaysia’s annexation of the territory of Indonesia and proves the low coordination between central and local government. In the other side, the local resident disappointed because their residential area become narrower. The distance between the outer border hook of Camar Bulan Enclve and the coastal line is only 700 m. The coastal abrasion that was not immediately tackled by the government continued to erode the land. The country's indifference was responded to the resident of Camar bulang by illegal farming known as group 31.

**Place Attachment and Nationalism.**

In order to understand how territorial nationalism among the local resident, this research uses the place attachment concept that explains the bonds between citizens and the place where they live. The concept also explain how the attachment could stimulate the territorial awareness which drive the better development. Place attachment is mentioned to the emotional impact of one place that people are attracted to by emotional and cultural bonds. In fact place attachment is a symbolic relationship with the place which is formed by giving the emotional meanings and common sense to a particular place and that explains how people perceive places and how they relate to them (Altman and Low, 1992: Stedman , 2003).

The emotional bond that grows between people and their place of residence according to Hashemnezhad et. all (2012) are also encouraged because the place is meaningful and significant to people. In this regard, the place has a unique identity and character to the users via its beloved symbols. Identifying with the place goals: in this level, people are integrated with the place; moreover the goals of the place are recognizable by the people. The users are also very satisfied with these goals; hence they have a deep attachment to the places. Involvement in a place: in this level people have an active role in the place. They would like to invest in their own resources such as money, time, or talent in the activities of the place. Therefore, it was mostly based on attitude, this stage is mainly through the real manners of the people.

Hashemnezhad et. all (2012) suggests that there are 5 things that encourage bonds between people and places of residence: physical, social, cultural, memory and experience, and personal factors. It could be said that physical condition does not provide sufficient access and facilities but, social factors play a more important influence. This is believed by a number of researchers because place attachment is based on people participation, social network engagement and cultural interactions. These are more importance than physical condition. Place attachment develops with people positive interaction and social compatibility in place and place attachment power has direct relationship with these communication power and rates. Whereas culture provides a strong foundation for bonds between people and shelter, where places are an important part of cultural activity. What is difficult to bargain for is the 4th factor, memory and experience. This factor makes people so bound because memory and experience build certain meaning for someone in a short time. "All people experienced being in a place, respecting it and concern about the lack of such things. Comprehensible and meaningful places are appropriate to support values, personal memories and feeling rely on them. Place identity has close relations with personal identity, that "I am here" means "I am existing" (Madanipour in Yazdanfar et.ll. 2013). Reflections of this feeling about people and places they remember because the place within place takes place every one experienced differently (Marcus, 1992).

The last one is personal factors. People select and attach places to their conscious tendencies that result from personal characteristics and factors. Individualism is more important factor in social orientation and how to develop intimacy of social communication that is known as mental identities based on initial tendencies. Place identity develops in direct experience of physical environment, therefore it's a reflection of place social and cultural aspects and play important role in growing personal character” (Walmesley, 1988). Referring to place attachment theory, physical conditions are not the only main factor that attaches people to their place of residence and is the only measure to assess people's ties to a place. There are several other factors that bind a person to the place where he lives that is able to grow the awareness he has.

Place attachment offers a view of nationalisme in a slighty different way. Nationalisme which should grow because of the exixtence of mutual ties as one nation and encourage citizen to obey national policy isn’t found easily in the Indonesia border area in Kalimantan. It doesn’t mean that they don’t have sense of belonging to the place they live and doesn’t maintain their citizenship. But they bargain for the better government policy of their collective interest. Munandar (2017) explained that historically and genealogically, border communities existed in the border area before the state was present. They live as Malay / Dayak communities and occupy areas that surpass the geopolitical boundaries of the country. When the process of state formation (Indonesia-Malaysia conflict) at the time of Sukarno, they were not involved in the incident. So that the presence of the country represented by the military at that time did not make the resident feel involved in the conflict between countries. This also happened in the following period, the Soeharto period. They were not in the interests of the state. The palm oil project and a number of other foreign investment projects have ignored the existence of this border community. Policies that are more in favor of their collective interests, such as infrastructure development, just have implemented after the reforms period.

Thus, the nationalism in Camar Bulan border area is based on the ties of local resident to their homes built by personal bonding of long experience of social, culutural and physical environment. Nationalism in the border creates territorial awareness that makes the local resident aware of the government policies.

The place attachment through personal bonding of long experience of social, culutural and physical environment could be found from the number of indepth interviewed towards several local residents and local officers. First, the physical limitations are often the reason for the low nationalism. However, the difficulty of the place of residence can actually foster attachment between the residents and the place itself. Physical limitations which caused by the difficulty of acces don’t prevent them to settle down because the natural resources offer more than they can get in other area. Muhid, a transmigrant from Mojokerto, said he was quite happy at Temajuk because for him the current conditions were far better than the conditions in Mojokerto. Even basic foods are easily obtained at affordable prices (buy from Telok Melano Village, Malaysia) (https://www.jpnn.com. October 2011). Altough the access to the other region in West Kalimantan is difficult to be reach from Temajok, access to Malaysia is very easy. They can sell their crops to Malaysia and buy their needs from Malaysia. There haven’t been strict rules regarding cross border activites in Temajok-Kampong Telok Melano. It’s only need ID card to enter the border state.

The offer of better public facilities in Malaysia is one of the main factors of suspicion or negative views on national identity. However, public facilities turned out not to be the sole consideration of the residents to release their nationalities but social factors were their consideration. There is a perception of social discomfort in the community to become Malaysian citizens.

“*Oh, belum tentu. Bibi saya udah warga negara di sana, katanya dilihat orang lebih enak kita merasakan lebih sakit tapi dia ndak mau bilang. Rupanya lebih sakit di sana, katanya. Kita ndak tau peraturannya di sana seperti apa. Tapi saya kalo pribadi saya ndak mau. Udah lama tinggal sini lah”.* (Oh, not necessarily. My aunt is already a citizen there, said she was seen better by other people but actually what she felt was more painfull but she didn't want to say. Apparently more painfull to be there. We don't know what the rules are like there. But I don't want it personally. It's been a long time here")(Herlin, indepth interviewed, March 2019).

Meanwhile, place attachment is built in line with interactions that have run positively among border communities. This can be found that the problem is quickly resolved by the village officials. This is facilitated by regular visiting conducted by local officer regularly. The former head of Paloh municipality, Usman, stated that the hospitality visit was done in order to keep the good relation between the two states:

“Maka saya untuk menghilangkan konflik-konflik ini saya muhibah dengan tumenggungnya, imigresennya, termasuk TNI nya pokoknya muhibahlah.Untuk Tanjung Datu ini saya muhibah dengan dia di Melano saya kesana dengan rombongan.Ndak masalahlah saya muhibah kesana.Kalo di Sajingan memang saya lakukan muhibah dengan rombongan dari kabupaten makanya agak aman”. (“So I, in order to diminish the conflicts, I pay a visit with the chief, immigration staff, including the army staff, for hospitality. For Tanjung Datu I pay a hospitality visit in Melano. I went there in-group. It is not a problem for me to pay a visit. For Sajingan I do a hospitality visit in-group so it was more safe”(Usman, The former Paloh District Head, In-depth interviewed, at Kampong Telok Keramat, March 2019).

Emotional bonding factors are also determined by cultural practices. The Camar Bulan or Temajuk people are widely ethnic Malays. In their daily lives, Malay culture is practiced without constraints even though a number of residents from Java live in the area. They also share the same culture which is practiced by the Kampong Telok Melano resident in Malaysia. Basicly they have the same kinship, so that cultural issues were barely found.

Personal memories and experiences are another strong bond for citizens to live in. Residents who is more than 20 years old still have memories of difficult access for the citizens of the Camar Bulan. However, difficulties are uniquely become a common bond. This could be happened because the difficulties encourage them to help each other. When the rainy season comes, they need each other's to fulfill the basic needs. In the rainy season the residents who stuck on the beach with their motorbikes could only rely on help from other residents. On the contrary, they have no sense of togetherness to several villagers who left their village to find a better condition.

“*Susah lah sekalilah waktu itu. Kalo motor bocor mana ada bengkel di pantai. Ya kita tunggulah sampai ada yang jemput. Kalo ndak ada ya digotong … sakit kita jalan di pantai, belum lewat muara sungai. Wuih luar biasa. Sampai banyak orang pindah dari Temajuk. Tapi begitu Temajuk maju orang pada balik … mana tanahku dulu? Kita sakit-sakit disini, mereka yang disana datang cari tanahnya disini”.* (It's hard at that time. If the motorbikes leak where there is a workshop on the beach. Yes, we wait until someone picks up. If there is no one carried it ... we are sore on the beach, not yet through the river mouth. It's amazing. Until many people moved from Temajuk. But as soon as Temajuk stepped forward the resident who had left Temajuk backs again ... where was my land first? We are sick here, but those who left just comeback and looking for the land they have left behind ").(Ibrahim, Indepth interviewed, March 2019).

The bond between citizens and their place is increasingly tied to personal factors, which of course differ from one another. However, this research found that the character of the border communities who were used to physical limitations and inequality development did not have a significant influence on the low level of territorial bonds and awareness. Andriana's research (2015) also confirmed this by stating that citizens and local officials deeply understood their obligation to maintain the integrity and honor of their people. This can be found in the attitude shown when the issue regarding the annexation of territory by Malaysia, they will not allow this to happen.

The disappointment over the 2011 agreemant that gave Camar Bulan enclave to Malaysia encouraged local resident and local officer showed their different opinion. The agreement hasn’t been ratified by the House of Representatives yet, but the condition of the border area which is threatened by abrasion and the lack of involvement of local officer in border issues have stimulated them to take different attitude.

Manto Saidi, former BPPD head, stated that the effort to manage the empty land in fact is a way to show that local residents have a high motivation to manage borderline area. At least this will attract the central government’s attention so that they will be more care to the farmers (Manto Saidi, indepth inverviewed, Pontianak March 2019)

In 2017, there was the case of group 31 Camar Bulan residents who did illegal farming on Camar Bulan enclave (according to 2011 Memorandum of Understanding between Indonesia and Malaysia, this area belongs to Malaysia). But it was immediately resolved by socializing and raising understanding of boundaries. Although the status of the area used for farming has not been completed (not yet ratified by Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/ House of Representatives), residents are willing to leave their plantations which are nearing the harvest period.

From interviews conducted towards several farmers in group 31 and local officers, they already knew that the ownership of the area they planted was unclear. The reason that they gave in the interviews were very simple, “It is very unfortunate if the land is not planted by the Malaysian, then we just have to do it”. In the other side, interviews with local officials stated that this was an attempt to preserve Indonesia's sovereignty. This statement could be occurred because of the lack of coordination between center and local government. But on the other side, this could be their effort to bargain with the government over their condition and attract the pro-border policy.

This situation is reminiscent of the issue of "the annexation of Indonesian territory by Malaysia" in 2011 which was used by local officers to attract the attention of the central government to encourage better development. The situasion is well understood by the government of Sambas Regency ”(Usman, The former Paloh District Head, In-depth interviewed, at Kampong Telok Keramat, March 2019). By utilizing the border issues, the attention of the central government had increased. Government began to building roads and electricity fascilities. Non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations and universities began to give their attention. WWF encouraged turtle breeding and stopped hunting eggs and tukik (turtle children). While a number of universities began to conduct some researchs and community services. Local investors have begun to develop tourism in Camar Bulan. Now, Camar Bulan becomes one of new tourist destination that offers the beauty of the West Kalimantan coast. The regional government even made the Turtle Festival as tourist attraction. Tourist destinations can be the center of development and welfare of the people while at the same time maintaining territorial awareness.

# CONCLUSSION

Nationalism shows its different face on the border. Place attachment built by personal ties delivers attitudes that are in favor of territorial awareness. That is, a resident bond with a place produces nationalism that does not merely follow central policy but rather an effort to bargain for policies that are pro border policy.

Isolation and inequality do not have a positive correlation with the low territorial bonds and territorial awareness in Camar Bulan. Social and cultural factors, memory and experience as well as personal factors give a significant contribution to territorial bonds. The dependence of local resident to Malaysia was more a pragmatic attitude that emerge from their backwardness and isolation.

On the other side, the territorial awareness which emerged from a difficult situation is demonstrated by locals through some efforts to attract central government attention to carry out better development in the border area. They have also push the government to support the tourism development in Camar Bulan because tourism can be a good strategy for sustainable development in the border area.

The territorial awareness should have been welcomed by the state positively by more involving local officers and local residents on border issues. Togetherness in overcoming border problems can improve the bond between the state and citizen. More than that, the pro-border policies will increase the respect to the State and citizen compliance.

**Acknowledgements**

Thank you to the Republic of Indonesia Ministry of Research and Higher Education for providing funding for Indonesia's Border Diplomacy in Managing Border Areas: The Tanjung Datu Case Study Research. This article is part of the research.

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