

## Political and Cultural Boundaries in South China Sea Disputes between China and Indonesia

**Khoirur Rizal Lutfi**

*Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta, Indonesia*

*E-mail: Irul.Rizal@upnvj.ac.id*

*Submitted: June 08, 2023; Reviewed: July 04, 2023; Accepted: Oct 30, 2023*

Article Info	Abstract
<p><b>Keywords:</b>                      Political, Cultural, Boundaries, South China Sea</p> <p><b>DOI:</b> 10.25041/lajil.v5i2.3054</p>	<p><i>China's assertion of sovereignty over the South China Sea through its nine-dash line, encompassing areas traditionally utilized for fishing, has precipitated territorial disputes with neighboring countries. Indonesia, for instance, refers to the overlapping zone as part of the North Natuna Sea, grounding its claim on the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). This divergence in territorial claims has notably strained relations between China and Indonesia. This paper presents the stance of international law on establishing political and cultural boundaries as the foundation for territorial claims to propose a dispute resolution framework for the South China Sea conflict that seeks a win-win outcome for all parties involved. The findings of the analysis indicate that political and cultural boundaries can be legitimized under international law. Political boundaries are reinforced by a state's ability to convert agreements into international treaties through bilateral, regional, or global mechanisms. On the other hand, cultural boundaries necessitate a thorough compilation of evidence to support China's historical claims, a process that a recognized decision-making body must adjudicate. Notwithstanding, the efficacy of any legal adjudication may be undermined without a comprehensive cultural reconciliation effort. Crucially, the resolution of the South China Sea dispute hinges on the adherence of states to international agreements, the rulings of dispute resolution bodies, and the implementation of settlement measures that incorporate a cultural dimension.</i></p>

### A. Introduction

Border disputes related to Indonesia's maritime boundaries with neighboring countries still occur. The South China Sea dispute involves many nations, including Indonesia, as the borders of both countries are part of the nine-dash line referred to China as a traditional fishing ground. China grounds its historical claims on territories that overlap with other nations by anchoring its assertions in normative provisions, despite the Philippines having sought resolution for these

disputes through the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA).<sup>1</sup> These unresolved conflicts undoubtedly disrupt the countries' political conduciveness and relations. Therefore, an ideal format for resolving disputes in the South China Sea is essential.

Currently, dispute resolution research in border areas navigates between two distinct viewpoints. First, there is an approach from the perspective of states, which views these disputes primarily as issues of sovereignty that demand political assertion and protection<sup>2</sup>, and studies that focus on a normative perspective.<sup>3</sup> Disputes are legal issues measured based on the norms of the appropriate State boundaries by national legislation and international law. Existing studies ignore cultural principles that have become the fundamental precedent for several dispute resolution institutions when resolving similar problems.

This research was performed to add to the body of knowledge related to the possibility of justification and legitimacy of border dispute resolution through a cultural approach and analyze its normative aspects. Further research is needed to provide more comprehensive perspectives on conflict resolution using this approach.

It is believed that no single legal theory solves all kinds of territorial and border disputes. A country will not relinquish its national interests to adhere to international laws. In this context, legal disputes are a matter of political boundaries which affect the cultural boundaries in border areas. Therefore, conflict resolution should be carefully designed to solve border disputes. However, every state will seek legal justification and legitimacy to strengthen its claims to territories during border conflicts.<sup>4</sup>

The South China Sea conflict that involves Indonesia and China grows to be a global issue that affects Indonesia's domestic socio-political situation. This case also reflects a latent issue concerning territorial sovereignty in Indonesia. The settlement of disputes between regions in the South China Sea case can be a model for resolving similar conflicts that may occur in Indonesia since Indonesia is adjacent to ten other countries.

This legal research used secondary qualitative data, including primary and secondary legal materials. Primary legal materials were international conventions, while secondary legal materials included expert opinions from several literature sources. Even though it is legal research, this paper also refers to authorities in other relevant science fields to provide a more diverse and objective approach to a problem. The case examined in this research involves multiple countries with different political, cultural, and legal characteristics. Eliav Lieblich

<sup>1</sup> See further Permanent Court of Arbitration, PCA Case No 2013-19 In The Matter of The South China Sea Arbitration Before An Arbitral Tribunal Constituted Under Annex VII to The 1982 United Nations Convention on The Law of The Sea Between The Republic of The Philippines and The People's Republic of C (2016).

<sup>2</sup> Muthia Septarina, "Sengketa-Sengketa Perbatasan Di Wilayah Darat Indonesia," *Jurnal Al' Adl* VI, no. 11 (2014): 1-8, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.31602/al-adl.v6i11.195>; Hendra Maujana Saragih, "Diplomasi Pertahan Indonesia Dalam Konflik Laut China Selatan," *Jurnal Ilmu Politik Dan Komunikasi* 8, no. 1 (2018): 48-63, <https://doi.org/10.34010/jipsi.v8i1.880>; Danar Widiyanta, "Upaya Mempertahankan Kedaulatan Dan Memberdayakan Pulau-Pulau Terluar Indonesia Pasca Lepasnya Sipadan Dan Ligitan (2002-2007)," *Mozaik: Kajian Ilmu Sejarah* 10, no. 2 (2019): 1-13, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21831/moz.v10i2.32465>; Djalal Hasjim, "Dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia on the Sovereignty over Sipadan and Ligitan Islands," *Opinio Juris* 12 (2013): 8-25.

<sup>3</sup> Aziz Ikhsan Bakhtiar, "Penyelesaian Sengketa Antara Indonesia Dan Malaysia Di Wilayah Ambalat Menurut Hukum Laut Internasional," *Jurnal Mahasiswa Fakultas Hukum Universitas Brawijaya*, no. Magister Ilmu Hukum dan Kenotariatan (2015), <http://hukum.studentjournal.ub.ac.id/index.php/hukum/article/view/1297>; Muhar Junef, "Sengketa Wilayah Maritim Di Laut Tiongkok Selatan," *Jurnal Penelitian Hukum De Jure* 18, no. 2 (2018): 219, <https://doi.org/10.30641/dejure.2018.v18.219-240>; Ayub Torry Satriyo Kusumo and Handoyo Leksono, "Alternatif Penyelesaian Sengketa Wilayah Laut Indonesia-Malaysia," *Jurnal Hukum Internasional* 2, no. 1 (2013): 103-110, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20961/yustisia.v2i1.11080>; Steel Rometius, "The Legal Status of Sovereignty-Disputed Islands in Maritime Delimitation - The Case of the Diaoyu Islands," *Frontiers of Law in China* 9, no. 1 (2014): 65-81, <https://doi.org/10.3868/s050-003-014-0004-1>; Zhao Hong, "The South China Sea Dispute And China-ASEAN Relations," *Asian Affairs* 44, no. 1 (2013): 27-43, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2012.760785>; Irina Buga, "Territorial Sovereignty Issues in Maritime Disputes: A Jurisdictional Dilemma for Law of the Sea Tribunals," *International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law* 27, no. 1 (2012): 59-95, <https://doi.org/10.1163/157180812X615113>.

<sup>4</sup> M. Cherif Bassiouni, "International Recognition of Victims' Rights," *Human Rights Law Review* 6, no. 2 (2006): 203-79, <https://doi.org/10.1093/hrlr/ngl009>.

states that external parameters are needed to assess the law. A theory offers a conceptual understanding of the ideal scenario, guiding conclusions on what the law should be.<sup>5</sup> This is similar to various fields of science that often necessitate a grasp of legal theories, including contract law and the intricacies of legal disputes,<sup>6</sup> particularly within the social sciences.<sup>7</sup>

This paper offers a perspective on resolving border disputes by answering three questions. Firstly, it explores the divergent perceptions of states from a cultural versus a political standpoint. Secondly, it assesses the standing of claims rooted in conventions alongside those based on cultural assertions. Lastly, it investigates the guiding principles of dispute resolution in the context of these conflicts. The three issues present the perspective on the position of the conflict and the basis for the claim. In addition, this paper is also directed at discussing the possibility of conflict resolution based on Article 2 (3) of the Charter of the United Nations, which emphasizes that peaceful methods must pursue dispute resolution.

## B. Analysis And Discussion

Cultural claims have been used by countries involved in border disputes to "justify" the legality/legitimacy of sovereignty over a region, even when the claims are against international conventions. The South China Sea conflict resolution is challenging due to differences in perceptions and legal action involving political and cultural dimensions. Examining diverse perspectives within international law aligns with the need for a paradigm shift to prevent the dominance of specific values, interests, and politics in international legal practice.<sup>8</sup> In addition, cooperation in various sectors in the area should be enhanced.<sup>9</sup> There are three important factors in solving problems between countries regarding the existence of the South China Sea: different perceptions about cultural and political boundaries, justification of claims based on Conventions and Cultural Claims, and the principle of dispute resolution in conflicting claims. These factors are further explained in the following section.

### 1. Different perceptions about political and cultural boundaries

Boundaries can be interpreted in two ways: as a boundary line and as boundaries. The concept of a border as a line encompasses two distinctions. Firstly, it represents an official boundary that separates two countries, regions, or lands, delineating one side from another across a nation's limits. Secondly, borders are perceived as an area's outer edges or limits.<sup>10</sup> The border area is an essential barrier to territorial security and a portal to other countries.<sup>11</sup> The border area is a contact zone between the two countries where problems can occur related to accessibility and cross-border market activities.<sup>12</sup> The border area's vitality concerns the

---

<sup>5</sup> Eliav Lieblich, "How to Do Research in International Law? A Basic Guide for Beginners," *Harvard International Law Journal Online* 62 (2021): 1–26, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3704776>.

<sup>6</sup> Ian Hurd, "Legal Research," in *International Organizations and Research Methods: An Introduction*, ed. Fanny Badache, Leah R. Kimber, and Lucile Maertens (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2023), 116–23, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.11685289.30>.

<sup>7</sup> K. N. Llewellyn, "The Normative, the Legal, and the Law-Jobs: The Problem of Juristic Method," *The Yale Law Journal* 49, no. 8 (1940): 1355–1400, <https://doi.org/10.2307/792545>.

<sup>8</sup> Atip Latipulhayat, "New Face of International Law From Western to Global Construct," *Padjajaran Journal of Law* 7, no. 1 (2020): 43–63, <https://doi.org/10.22304/pjih.v7n1.a3>.

<sup>9</sup> Pizaro Gozali Idrus, "Indonesia Dorong Kerja Sama Selesaikan Konflik Laut China Selatan," 2017, <https://www.aa.com.tr/id/headline-hari/indonesia-dorong-kerja-sama-selesaikan-konflik-laut-china-selatan-/966695>.

<sup>10</sup> Eduardo Medeiros, "Delimiting Cross-Border Areas for Policy Implementation: A Multi-Factor Proposal," *European Planning Studies*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2019.1687654>.

<sup>11</sup> Tao Song et al., "Spatial Difference and Mechanisms of Influence of Geo-Economy in the Border Areas of China," *Journal of Geographical Sciences* 27, no. 12 (2017): 1463–80, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11442-017-1447-8>.

<sup>12</sup> Liang Wang, Jinyan Yu, and Weidong Liu, "Regional Structure, Governance and the Development of Border Area: A Survey of Horgos Border Zone in Xinjiang, China," in *2011 International Conference on Electrical and Control Engineering, ICECE 2011 - Proceedings*, 2011, 3578–82, <https://doi.org/10.1109/ICECENG.2011.6058173>.

political, economic, socio-cultural, and historical factors.<sup>13</sup> The border area is a crucial gateway for inward openness and is pivotal in fostering a relatively prosperous society and refining the national urban spatial planning patterns.<sup>14</sup> Given its strategic importance in preserving the country's territorial integrity, exceptional management strategies are essential for addressing the unique challenges of border areas.<sup>15</sup> This perspective aligns with Afrakhteh and Karimi's view that the distinctive characteristics of border areas necessitate more specialized planning efforts to resolve their specific issues effectively.<sup>16</sup>

In Indonesia, the border regions are mostly outskirt areas, where the community meets their daily needs from markets in neighboring countries.<sup>17</sup> Border areas are the key to maintaining the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. Unfortunately, the poverty rates in border areas are high, with inadequate socio-economic development.<sup>18</sup> Traditionally, borders and border areas are prone to war, political instability, regional conflicts, social and economic conflicts, and psychological and administrative issues.<sup>19</sup> The border area requires an expansion of income opportunities due to its reliance on informal businesses, primarily trade, and illegal activities. Furthermore, there is a pressing need to enhance security in these regions.<sup>20</sup> Indonesia has set a program to develop outskirts regions<sup>21</sup> based on three categories: frontier areas, remote areas, and disadvantaged areas.<sup>22</sup>

Within the framework of international law, some provisions aim at resolving border conflicts; however, some nations still prioritize cultural and historical narratives for defining both land and maritime boundaries. A notable example is the ongoing land border dispute between Indonesia and Timor Leste over areas such as Noel Besi, Bidjael Sunan, and Subina, which also implicates the rights of indigenous populations.<sup>23</sup> To address this issue, a Joint Border Committee (JBC) was initiated to fast-track the negotiation process.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, in maritime disputes, China's assertion of the nine-dash line in the South China Sea, based on historical claims of traditional fishing grounds, despite having ratified the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) on May 15, 1996, highlights the complex interplay between cultural-historical claims and established international legal standards in the resolution of border disputes.

<sup>13</sup> Prima Gusti Yanti, Nini Ibrahim, and Fauzi Rahman, "Nationalism Research of Primary Students in the Border Area of West Kalimantan-Indonesia and Malaysia," *International Journal of Scientific and Technology Research* 8, no. 12 (2019): 682–86, <https://www.ijstr.org/final-print/dec2019/Nationalism-Study-Of-Primary-Students-In-The-Border-Area-Of-West-Kalimantan-indonesia-And-Malaysia.pdf>.

<sup>14</sup> Yansui Liu, Jilai Liu, and Yang Zhou, "Spatio-Temporal Patterns of Rural Poverty in China and Targeted Poverty Alleviation Strategies," *Journal of Rural Studies* 52 (2017): 66–75, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.04.002>.

<sup>15</sup> Endah Rantau Itasari, "Border Management Between Indonesia And Malaysia In Increasing The Economy In Both Border Areas," *Jurnal Komunikasi Hukum (JKH)* 6, no. 1 (2020): 219–27, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.23887/jkh.v6i1.23473>.

<sup>16</sup> Hasan Afrakhteh and Khadijeh Karimi, "Potentialities and Threats of Border Area Development: Case of Aras Areas of Iran," *Asia-Pacific Journal of Rural Development* 25, no. 2 (2015): 99–110, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1018529120150206>.

<sup>17</sup> Yanti, Ibrahim, and Rahman, "Nationalism Research of Primary Students in the Border Area of West Kalimantan-Indonesia and Malaysia."

<sup>18</sup> Sarinah Joyce Margaret Rafael et al., "Strategy to Accelerate The Development of Indonesia's National Border Village in Belu, East Nusa Tenggara Province," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Tourism, Economics, Accounting, Management, and Social Science (TEAMS 2018)*, ed. Ferry Jie et al., vol. 69 (Bali: Atlantis Press, 2018), 286–91, <https://doi.org/https://dx.doi.org/10.2991/teams-18.2019.50>.

<sup>19</sup> Jillian M Rickly-boyd, "Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment Existential Authenticity: Place Matters," *Tourism Geographies*, no. July 2014 (2013): 37–41.

<sup>20</sup> Afrakhteh and Karimi, "Potentialities and Threats of Border Area Development: Case of Aras Areas of Iran."

<sup>21</sup> Wang, Yu, and Liu, "Regional Structure, Governance and the Development of Border Area: A Survey of Horgos Border Zone in Xinjiang, China."

<sup>22</sup> Rafael et al., "Strategy to Accelerate The Development of Indonesia's National Border Village in Belu, East Nusa Tenggara Province."

<sup>23</sup> Dominikus Rato, "Legal Conflicts in the Border Dispute between Indonesia and Timor Leste," *Lentera Hukum* 6, no. 3 (2019): 353–74, <https://doi.org/10.19184/ejhl.v6i3.14185>.

<sup>24</sup> Dewa Gede Sudika Mangku, "Implementasi Joint Border Committee (Jbc) Untuk Penyelesaian Sengketa Perbatasan Darat Antara Indonesia-Timor Leste," *Jurnal Yuridis* 5, no. 1 (2018): 43, <https://doi.org/10.35586/v5i1.316>.

These contacts between Indonesia and China in the South China Sea were also reflected in several events. In 2016, there was an unsuccessful attempt to confiscate the KM Kway Fey 10078 ship. An obstruction was carried out by the Chinese Coast Guard when Indonesia wanted to enforce its laws against Chinese fishers who were deemed to have violated the Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone. Chinese anglers claim that they have been fishing in that area for a long time,<sup>25</sup> while Indonesia finds them threatening the sovereignty in the territorial sea.<sup>26</sup> Many similar problems have occurred, such as the entry of Chinese Coast Guard vessels into areas claimed by Indonesia as EEZs.<sup>27</sup>

In making claims, Indonesia uses the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, while China uses a historical approach. Hence, it isn't easy to reach a consensus. Table 1 presents the differences in the basis of claims between Indonesia and China:

**Table 1: Basic Differences in Claims of Indonesia and China to the South China Sea**

No	Differences	Indonesia	China
1	UNCLOS 1982	Ratification 1985	Ratification 1996
2	Territory Name Claims	North Natuna Sea	South China Sea
3	Zoning Claims	Exclusive economic zone	Nine Dash-Line /Traditional Fishing Ground
4	Sovereignty Claims	Sovereign Rights	Sovereignty / Sovereign Rights
5	Jurisdiction Claims	Exclusive Jurisdiction	Territorial Jurisdiction / Exclusive Jurisdiction

*Source: Analyzed from several sources*

<sup>25</sup> Mohammad Hazyar Arumbinang, Yordan Gunawan, and Rizaldy Anggriawan, "The Fishing Rights Conflict in the South China Sea between Vietnam and China," *Sriwijaya Law Review* 5, no. 2 (2021): 205–17, <https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.Vol5.Iss2>.

<sup>26</sup> Antaranews, "Menkopolkam Ingin Tingkatkan Kekuatan TNI AL Di Natuna," 2016, <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/551439/menkopolkam-ingin-tingkatkan-kekuatan-tni-al-di-natuna>.

<sup>27</sup> Tempo, "6 Fakta Kapal Coast Guard Cina Yang Masuk Ke Natuna Lagi," 2020, <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/1388799/6-fakta-kapal-coast-guard-cina-yang-masuk-ke-natuna-lagi/full&view=ok>.

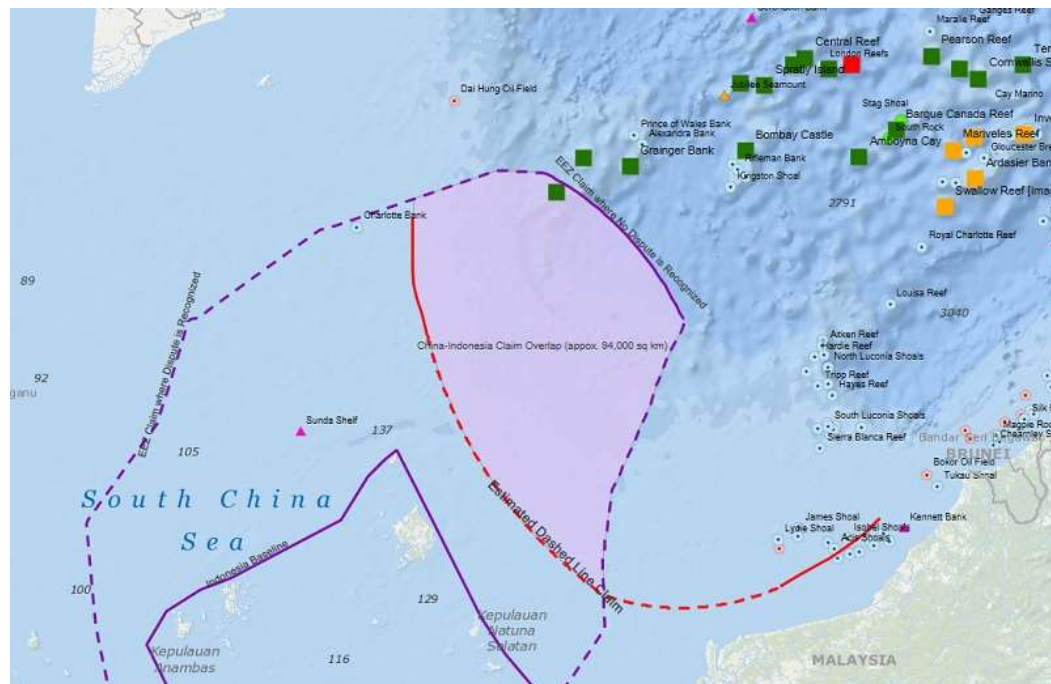


Figure 1. Image of the location of overlapping claims between Indonesia and China in the South China Sea. Source: <https://map.nbr.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/TFNew4adj.jpg>

To find common ground, several parties have intervened in the resolution and suggested that Indonesia align its claims to the historical approach.<sup>28</sup> If both nations agree to delve into and appreciate the cultural aspects present and seek mutual understanding, it is possible that border conflicts in the region could be amicably resolved.

## 2. Justification of Convention and Cultural Claims in International Law

Cultural boundaries are produced and reproduced through intentions and actions to make meaning out of human culture itself.<sup>29</sup> Goldberg et al.<sup>30</sup> posited that meaning is constructed through the deployment of various symbols and practices in the creation of regulations, leading to responses from cultural actors that manifest in two primary reactions: social tension or the establishment of order via norms and laws.

Cultural boundaries are regulated by a control mechanism that can create intercultural tension to create subordination and authority between communities.<sup>31</sup> Abdullah emphasizes that cultural boundaries can result in subordination and society's domination.<sup>32</sup> The creation of subordination and tension is influenced by several primary factors, such as 1) the perception of existing values as shared values that continue to prevail in the community and 2) the mixing of cultures in various categories into one, such as gender and class resulting in cultural boundaries

<sup>28</sup> CNN Indonesia, "Kisruh Natuna, Indonesia Dinilai Bisa Gunakan Klaim Sejarah," 2020, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200117211923-20-466449/kisruh-natuna-indonesia-dinilai-bisa-gunakan-klaim-sejarah>.

<sup>29</sup> Carola Lentz, "Culture: The Making, Unmaking and Remaking of an Anthropological Concept," *Zeitschrift Für Ethnologie*, 2017, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26607020>.

<sup>30</sup> Amir Goldberg, Michael T. Hannan, and Balázs Kovács, "What Does It Mean to Span Cultural Boundaries? Variety and Atypicality in Cultural Consumption," *American Sociological Review* 81, no. 2 (2016): 215–41, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416632787>.

<sup>31</sup> Lentz, "Culture: The Making, Unmaking and Remaking of an Anthropological Concept"; Zaenuddin Hudi Prasoj, "Indigenous Community, Customary Law And Multiculturalisme in Indonesia," *Al-Albab* 2, no. 1 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v2i1.26>.

<sup>32</sup> Irwan Abdullah, "Dari Bounded System Ke Borderless Society: Krisis Metode Antropologi Dalam Memahami Masyarakat Masa Kini," *Antropologi Indonesia* 30, no. 2 (2014): 185–92, <https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v30i2.3563>.

that allow subordination in the reform of society. These boundaries have driven cultural spaces into distinct group identities, leading to resistance and conflict in interpreting identity.<sup>33</sup>

Many claimant and non-claimant countries have formally objected to China's claim to the nine-dash line area.<sup>34</sup> The Philippines officially made its statement on March 6, 2020, and Vietnam on March 30, 2020. The United States on June 1, 2020. Indonesia on June 12, 2020. Australia on July 23, 2020. Malaysia on July 29, 2020. And Germany, France, and the United Kingdom on September 16, 2020.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, Indonesia, which asserts its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) in regions overlapping with the nine-dash line, has yet to face outright rejection of its claims through a normative approach grounded in international conventions. This stance is bolstered by various regulatory regimes concerning maritime zones, underpinned by conventions that the State has ratified.

It is often argued that China's territorial claims, predicated on cultural grounds, lack a foundation in international law. The claims made by China are even considered a violation of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which is international law.

Historical claims are also commonly applied to resolve border disputes, as seen in several international legal instruments. For instance, in the case that occurred in Oecussi Enclave, disputes were resolved through the *Uti Possidetis Juris* principle, where the border was determined based on the 1904 treaty between the Netherlands and the Portuguese and the 1914 Permanent Court of Arbitration decision, which state that the Netherlands controlled the Maucator area and the Portuguese controlled the Enclave Oecussi region.<sup>36</sup> In the case of the Sipadan and Ligitan Islands dispute, although the emphasis is on the principle of effective occupation, the effective occupation is meant to lead to action by the predecessor's State. Hence, there is a possibility that historical claims can be made based on international law.

### 3. The principle of dispute resolution in case of conflicting claims

International law serves as both an expression of international relations and a consequence thereof, representing a unique mode of international communication. It reflects the essential need for order, stability, and predictability within international interactions.<sup>37</sup> When disputes between countries occur, international law offers a way to resolve them. However, interpretations of international law can differ according to the values and interests of actors in the global system.<sup>38</sup>

International law influences international relations -international trade, environmental protection, human rights, international criminal justice- so that international law is prescriptive. Meanwhile, international relations' primary concern is the cause and effect of international cooperation (international legalization).<sup>39</sup> International relations manifest within the framework of international law, as exemplified by the dispute resolution efforts concerning the sovereignty over Dokdo Island (also known as Takeshima) between Japan and South Korea. In this case,

<sup>33</sup> Abdullah; Syafwan Rozi, "Konstruksi Identitas Agama Dan Budaya Etnis Minangkabau Di Daerah Perbatasan: Perubahan Identitas Dalam Interaksi Antaretnis Di Rao Kabupaten Pasaman Sumatera Barat," *Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia* 39, no. 1 (2013): 215–45, <http://jmi.ipisk.lipi.go.id/index.php/jmiipisk/article/view/317/188>.

<sup>34</sup> Rusmuliadi, "Non-Claimant States Perspectives On The South China Sea Dispute," *Lampung Journal of International Law (LaJIL)* 5, no. 1 (2023): 1–14, <https://doi.org/110.25041/lajil.v5i1.2717>.

<sup>35</sup> Tempo, "6 Fakta Kapal Coast Guard Cina Yang Masuk Ke Natuna Lagi."

<sup>36</sup> Mangku, "Implementasi Joint Border Committee (Jbc) Untuk Penyelesaian Sengketa Perbatasan Darat Antara Indonesia-Timor Leste."

<sup>37</sup> Zhiyun Liu, "Interdisciplinary Research on International Relations Theory and International Law in China over the Past 10 Years," *Frontiers of Law in China* 6, no. 3 (2011): 496–523, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11463-011-0141-5>.

<sup>38</sup> Armando Gallo Yahn Filho, "Understanding the Synchronisms and Anachronisms of the Columbia River Treaty in Relation to the Principles of International Water Law," *Environmental Quality Management* 27, no. 3 (2018): 61–71, <https://doi.org/10.1002/tqem.21541>.

<sup>39</sup> Mark Klamburg, *Power and Law in International Society: International Relations as the Sociology of International Law*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315752099>.



the two countries mutually claimed the ownership of Dokdo Island with evidence. This dispute was resolved peacefully through mediation, joint development agreements, and mandatory procedures through conciliation, arbitration, and the International Court for Law of the Sea (ITLOS).<sup>40</sup>

The UNCLOS 1982 is the primary reference for international law of the sea. This convention decides that each State Party participating in the convention must resolve a dispute regarding the interpretation and application of the convention through peaceful means under the provisions of Article 2 Paragraph 3 of the Charter of the United Nations.<sup>41</sup> Indonesia has solidified its commitment to international maritime law by ratifying the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) with Law Number 17 of 1985. It further developed its maritime legal framework with Law Number 32 of 2014 concerning Maritime Affairs. This acknowledges UNCLOS's establishment of a dispute resolution system, compelling participating countries to adhere to resolutions from institutions such as the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, General Arbitration, or Special Arbitration.

This convention specifically mandates the establishment of an International Court of Law of the Sea as a standing tribunal and General Arbitration and Special Arbitration as an ad hoc tribunal. Any dispute regarding the interpretation and application of the convention may be submitted for resolution by one of the four types of dispute resolution institutions except for disputes regarding the interpretation and application of Chapter XI of the Convention on International Seabed Areas and the annexes of the convention relating to the problem of the International Seabed Area, which is absolute jurisdiction of the space for the Seabed Disputes. This convention can also be a reference for China because China also ratified the 1982 UNCLOS in 1996. However, China prefers to base its claims on the 1954 map made long before the 1982 UNCLOS.

It is assumed that the claim between Indonesia and China will never reach a consensus due to cultural obstacles in implementing UNCLOS 1982 in the South China Sea. This further reinforces Duong's<sup>42</sup> Opinion that no legal theory can resolve State border disputes. Thus, a cultural perspective is necessary to describe the issue of claims based on China's historical experience in ownership and determination of unclear maritime boundaries.

#### 4. What next?

This research was performed to identify the root of the problem and efforts to resolve border conflicts. The results showed that focusing solely on conflict resolution using the convention approach alone is difficult. The border areas of existing countries are formed over political and cultural boundaries (territorial) (historical and customs), which cannot be ignored in dispute resolution. The resolution requires both parties to set a common ground regardless of their cultural differences. Whereas culture determines how one thinks, behaves, and acts.<sup>43</sup>

In this context, border conflicts grounded purely in normative provisions are unlikely to find resolution without completing a cultural process. It suggests an avenue for Indonesia to consider that China's cultural claims should be met with equivalent counterclaims, thereby allowing the

<sup>40</sup> Novi Setiawati, Dewa Gede Sudika Mangku, and Ni Putu Rai Yuliantini, "Penyelesaian Sengketa Kepulauan Dalam Perspektif Hukum Internasional (Studi Kasus Sengketa Perebutan Pulau Dokdo Antara Jepang - Korea Selatan)," *Journal Komunitas Yustisia Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha* 2, no. 3 (2019): 168–80, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.23887/jatayu.v2i3.28782>.

<sup>41</sup> See Article 279 United Nations, "United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)" (1982), [https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention\\_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos\\_e.pdf](https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf).

<sup>42</sup> WN Duong, "Following the Path of Oil: The Law of the Sea or Realpolitik-What Good Does Law Do in the South China Sea Territorial Conflicts," *Fordham Int'l LJ* 30, no. 4 (2006): 1098–1208, <https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2064&context=ilj>.

<sup>43</sup> Cahyo Pamungkas, "Nationalism Of Border Society: Case Research Of Sangir People, Sangihe Regency," *Komunitas: International Journal Of Indonesian Society And Culture*, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.15294/komunitas.v8i1.3669>.



cultural process to come to fruition. Border area disputes often stem from unmet sovereignty requirements, marking the start of complex inter-country relations, especially in border regions. For instance, sovereignty claims based on China's cultural assertions can only be deemed comprehensive if supported by tangible proof, such as documentary evidence.

Another explanation that emphasizes why the border conflict in the South China Sea is complex to end can also be seen in the escalation of conflicts involving defense tools between countries.<sup>44</sup> The dispute has always directed the State to defense issues using an aggressive approach. In this case, John T. Rourke identifies that military actions carried out by a state are a form of knowledge of several things, one of which is an effort to show power in a relationship between countries, including territorial control.<sup>45</sup> William E. Scheurman views the State's military action as an effort to establish its hegemony<sup>46</sup>, which Roy finds reasonable concerning national interest<sup>47</sup>. Simultaneously, the sea holds significant economic potential due to its wealth of natural resources from an economic standpoint. However, any actions taken must still adhere to the principle of peaceful resolution.<sup>48</sup>

Existing research on the South China Sea conflict predominantly focuses on resolutions through a juridical approach, relying strictly on conventions. While some studies have ventured to scrutinize the legal status of the traditional fishing ground claims, their methodology remains anchored in examining these claims from the normative perspective of conventions. This situation underscores the need for research considering historical justifications, such as those underpinning China's claims. The use of historical claims in resolving similar disputes has been employed by dispute resolution bodies on multiple occasions, thereby reinforcing Kuntowijoyo's viewpoint that history, as a discipline, should serve to provide insights, allowing historical facts to be leveraged in fact-finding processes, provided various criteria are met. This approach aligns with Brian Taylor Sumner's assertion that theories of border claims in international law can and should incorporate elements of culture and history.<sup>49</sup>

A multifaceted approach is essential to make meaningful use of the findings from existing studies on the South China Sea conflict. First, there should be a concerted effort to explore the region's history, gaining a comprehensive understanding of the cultural roots of the dispute. This historical insight is crucial for bridging the gaps between the states, each grounded in distinct historical perspectives. Second, it is imperative to engage in cultural diplomacy, considering the unique cultural characteristics of the nations involved, to forge a solution that both parties can accept, thereby circumventing physical conflict. Third, the foundation of juridical claims must be examined to achieve international legal resolutions, extending beyond the mere application of conventions. In this context, international law should be seen not only as a universal framework but also as one that can be tailored to bilateral specifics—especially in terms of managing the economic potential of natural resources cooperatively.

### C. Conclusion

This research has illuminated the mechanisms of dispute resolution over border areas, particularly through the lens of the South China Sea conflict, highlighting a predominance of normative and political perspectives. A significant gap identified is the exclusion of the public from these discussions despite the profound implications these disputes have on their lives. The

---

<sup>44</sup> Henry Curtis, "Constructing Cooperation: Chinese Ontological Security Seeking in the South China Sea Dispute," *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 31, no. 4 (2016): 537–49, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2015.1066698>.

<sup>45</sup> John T. Rourke, *International Politics On The World Stage* (McGraw-Hill: United States of America, 2001), p. 329.

<sup>46</sup> Jawahir Thontowi, "Ambalat Bukan Milik Malaysia – Ambalat Milik Indonesia," 2009, <http://jawahirthontowi.wordpress.com/2009/09/14/ambalat-bukan-wilayah-malaysia/>.

<sup>47</sup> S.L. Roy, *Diplomasi*, ed. Harwanto and Mirsawati (PT. Raja Grafindo Persada: Jakarta, 1995), p.5.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Brian Taylor Sumner, "Territorial Disputes at the International Court of Justice," *Duke Law Journal* 53, no. 6 (2004): 1779–1812, <https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/dlj/vol53/iss6/3/>.

notion that state territories cannot confine societal connections, such as kinship and tribal relationships that transcend cultural boundaries, forms the crux of China's claim. These cultural areas or boundaries, shaped by lines of kinship and inherited territorial control, are often overlooked by the imposition of political boundaries, leading to a loss of cultural identity among affected populations.

Suppose resolutions to these disputes strictly adhere to normative provisions. In that case, community-level issues remain unaddressed, underscoring the need for a cultural approach to understanding the complexities of statehood and sovereignty from a human-centric perspective. Therefore, integrating cultural insights into the settlement process is vital for resolving border conflicts between nations like Indonesia and China. This paper advocates for a nuanced understanding of cultural and political boundaries, urging further exploration into the societal foundations underpinning these disputes.

Despite its contributions, this research acknowledges limitations in its legal analysis, particularly in addressing the nuanced claims between Indonesia and China in the South China Sea. Future research is essential, expanding the scope to include other countries embroiled in boundary disputes to embrace a cultural perspective in conflict resolution efforts. Consequently, this research underscores the importance of incorporating cultural viewpoints in dissecting boundaries-related legal phenomena, advocating for a more holistic approach to understanding and resolving border disputes.

## REFERENCES

- Abdullah, Irwan. "Dari Bounded System Ke Borderless Society: Krisis Metode Antropologi Dalam Memahami Masyarakat Masa Kini." *Antropologi Indonesia* 30, no. 2 (2014): 185–92. <https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v30i2.3563>.
- Afrakhteh, Hasan, and Khadijeh Karimi. "Potentialities and Threats of Border Area Development: Case of Aras Areas of Iran." *Asia-Pacific Journal of Rural Development* 25, no. 2 (2015): 99–110. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1018529120150206>.
- Antaranews. "Menkopolhukam Ingin Tingkatkan Kekuatan TNI AL Di Natuna," 2016. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/551439/menkopolhukam-ingin-tingkatkan-kekuatan-tni-al-di-natuna>.
- Arumbinang, Mohammad Hazyar, Yordan Gunawan, and Rizaldy Anggriawan. "The Fishing Rights Conflict in the South China Sea between Vietnam and China." *Sriwijaya Law Review* 5, no. 2 (2021): 205–17. <https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.Vol5.Iss2>.
- Bakhtiar, Aziz Ikhsan. "Penyelesaian Sengketa Antara Indonesia Dan Malaysia Di Wilayah Ambalat Menurut Hukum Laut Internasional." *Jurnal Mahasiswa Fakultas Hukum Universitas Brawijaya*, no. Magister Ilmu Hukum dan Kenotariatan (2015). <http://hukum.studentjournal.ub.ac.id/index.php/hukum/article/view/1297>.
- Bassiouni, M. Cherif. "International Recognition of Victims' Rights." *Human Rights Law Review* 6, no. 2 (2006): 203–79. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hrlr/ngl009>.
- Buga, Irina. "Territorial Sovereignty Issues in Maritime Disputes: A Jurisdictional Dilemma for Law of the Sea Tribunals." *International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law* 27, no. 1 (2012): 59–95. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157180812X615113>.
- Curtis, Henry. "Constructing Cooperation: Chinese Ontological Security Seeking in the South China Sea Dispute." *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 31, no. 4 (2016): 537–49. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2015.1066698>.

- Duong, WN. "Following the Path of Oil: The Law of the Sea or Realpolitik-What Good Does Law Do in the South China Sea Territorial Conflicts." *Fordham Int'l LJ* 30, no. 4 (2006): 1098–1208. <https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2064&context=ilj>.
- Filho, Armando Gallo Yahn. "Understanding the Synchronisms and Anachronisms of the Columbia River Treaty in Relation to the Principles of International Water Law." *Environmental Quality Management* 27, no. 3 (2018): 61–71. <https://doi.org/10.1002/tqem.21541>.
- Goldberg, Amir, Michael T. Hannan, and Balázs Kovács. "What Does It Mean to Span Cultural Boundaries? Variety and Atypicality in Cultural Consumption." *American Sociological Review* 81, no. 2 (2016): 215–41. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416632787>.
- Hasjim, Djalal. "Dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia on the Sovereignty over Sipadan and Ligitan Islands." *Opinio Juris* 12 (2013): 8–25.
- Hong, Zhao. "The South China Sea Dispute And China-ASEAN Relations." *Asian Affairs* 44, no. 1 (2013): 27–43. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2012.760785>.
- Hurd, Ian. "Legal Research." In *International Organizations and Research Methods: An Introduction*, edited by Fanny Badache, Leah R. Kimber, and Lucile Maertens, 116–23. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2023. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.11685289.30>.
- Idrus, Pizaro Gozali. "Indonesia Dorong Kerja Sama Selesaikan Konflik Laut China Selatan," 2017. <https://www.aa.com.tr/id/headline-hari/indonesia-dorong-kerja-sama-selesaikan-konflik-laut-china-selatan-/966695>.
- Indonesia, CNN. "Kisruh Natuna, Indonesia Dinilai Bisa Gunakan Klaim Sejarah," 2020. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200117211923-20-466449/kisruh-natuna-indonesia-dinilai-bisa-gunakan-klaim-sejarah>.
- Itasari, Endah Rantau. "Border Management Between Indonesia And Malaysia in Increasing The Economy in Both Border Areas." *Jurnal Komunikasi Hukum (JKH)* 6, no. 1 (2020): 219–27. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.23887/jkh.v6i1.23473>.
- Junef, Muhar. "Sengketa Wilayah Maritim Di Laut Tiongkok Selatan." *Jurnal Penelitian Hukum De Jure* 18, no. 2 (2018): 219. <https://doi.org/10.30641/dejure.2018.v18.219-240>.
- Klamberg, Mark. *Power and Law in International Society: International Relations as the Sociology of International Law*, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315752099>.
- Kompas. "Sejarah Sebagai Ilmu," 2020. <https://www.kompas.com/skola/read/2020/10/05/123003569/sejarah-sebagai-ilmu?page=all>.
- Kusumo, Ayub Torry Satriyo, and Handojo Leksono. "Alternatif Penyelesaian Sengketa Wilayah Laut Indonesia-Malaysia." *Jurnal Hukum Internasional* 2, no. 1 (2013): 103–10. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20961/yustisia.v2i1.11080>.
- Latipulhayat, Atip. "New Face of International Law From Western to Global Construct." *Padjajaran Journal of Law* 7, no. 1 (2020): 43–63. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22304/pjih.v7n1.a3>.
- Lentz, Carola. "Culture: The Making, Unmaking and Remaking of an Anthropological Concept." *Zeitschrift Für Ethnologie*, 2017. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26607020>.
- Lieblich, Eliav. "How to Do Research in International Law? A Basic Guide for Beginners." *Harvard International Law Journal Online* 62 (2021): 1–26.

- <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3704776>.
- Liu, Yansui, Jilai Liu, and Yang Zhou. "Spatio-Temporal Patterns of Rural Poverty in China and Targeted Poverty Alleviation Strategies." *Journal of Rural Studies* 52 (2017): 66–75. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.04.002>.
- Liu, Zhiyun. "Interdisciplinary Research on International Relations Theory and International Law in China over the Past 10 Years." *Frontiers of Law in China* 6, no. 3 (2011): 496–523. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11463-011-0141-5>.
- Llewellyn, K. N. "The Normative, the Legal, and the Law-Jobs: The Problem of Juristic Method." *The Yale Law Journal* 49, no. 8 (1940): 1355–1400. <https://doi.org/10.2307/792545>.
- Mangku, Dewa Gede Sudika. "Implementasi Joint Border Committee (Jbc) Untuk Penyelesaian Sengketa Perbatasan Darat Antara Indonesia-Timor Leste." *Jurnal Yuridis* 5, no. 1 (2018): 43. <https://doi.org/10.35586/v5i1.316>.
- Medeiros, Eduardo. "Delimiting Cross-Border Areas for Policy Implementation: A Multi-Factor Proposal." *European Planning Studies*, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2019.1687654>.
- Pamungkas, Cahyo. "Nationalism of Border Society: Case Research of Sangir People, Sangihe Regency." *KOMUNITAS: International Journal of Indonesian Society And Culture* 8, no. 1 (2016): 59–72. <https://doi.org/10.15294/komunitas.v8i1.3669>.
- Permanent Court of Arbitration. PCA Case No 2013-19 In The Matter of The South China Sea Arbitration Before An Arbitral Tribunal Constituted Under Annex VII to The 1982 United Nations Convention on The Law of The Sea Between The Republic of The Philippines and The People's Republic of C (2016).
- Prasojo, Zaenuddin Hudi. "Indigenous Community, Customary Law And Multiculturalisme in Indonesia." *Al-Albab* 2, no. 1 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v2i1.26>.
- Rafael, Sarinah Joyce Margaret, Linda Lomi Ga, Tarsisius Timuneno, and Khalid Moenardy. "Strategy to Accelerate The Development of Indonesia's National Border Village in Belu, East Nusa Tenggara Province." In *Proceedings of the International Conference on Tourism, Economics, Accounting, Management, and Social Science (TEAMS 2018)*, edited by Ferry Jie, Gede Adi Yuniarta, I Wayan Widian, and I Gusti Ngurah Agung Suryaputra, 69:286–91. Bali: Atlantis Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/https://dx.doi.org/10.2991/teams-18.2019.50>.
- Rato, Dominikus. "Legal Conflicts in the Border Dispute between Indonesia and Timor Leste." *Lentera Hukum* 6, no. 3 (2019): 353–74. <https://doi.org/10.19184/ejhl.v6i3.14185>.
- Rickly-boyd, Jillian M. "Tourism Geographies : An International Journal of Tourism Space , Place and Environment Existential Authenticity : Place Matters." *Tourism Geographies*, no. July 2014 (2013): 37–41.
- Rometius, Steel. "The Legal Status of Sovereignty-Disputed Islands in Maritime Delimitation - The Case of the Diaoyu Islands." *Frontiers of Law in China* 9, no. 1 (2014): 65–81. <https://doi.org/10.3868/s050-003-014-0004-1>.
- Rourke, John T. *International Politics On The World Stage*. McGraw-Hill: United States of America, 2001.
- Roy, S.L. *Diplomasi*. Edited by Harwanto and Mirsawati. PT. Raja Grafindo Persada: Jakarta, 1995.
- Rozi, Syafwan. "Konstruksi Identitas Agama Dan Budaya Etnis Minangkabau Di Daerah

- Perbatasan: Perubahan Identitas Dalam Interaksi Antaretnis Di Rao Kabupaten Pasaman Sumatera Barat.” *Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia* 39, no. 1 (2013): 215–45. <http://jmi.ipsk.lipi.go.id/index.php/jmiipks/article/view/317/188>.
- Rusmuliadi. “Non-Claimant States Perspectives On The South China Sea Dispute.” *Lampung Journal of International Law (LaJIL)* 5, no. 1 (2023): 1–14. <https://doi.org/110.25041/lajil.v5i1.2717>.
- Saragih, Hendra Maujana. “Diplomasi Pertahan Indonesia Dalam Konflik Laut China Selatan.” *Jurnal Ilmu Politik Dan Komunikasi* 8, no. 1 (2018): 48–63. <https://doi.org/10.34010/jipsi.v8i1.880>.
- Septarina, Muthia. “Sengketa-Sengketa Perbatasan Di Wilayah Darat Indonesia.” *Jurnal Al’ Adl* VI, no. 11 (2014): 1–8. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.31602/al-adl.v6i11.195>.
- Setiawati, Novi, Dewa Gede Sudika Mangku, and Ni Putu Rai Yulianti. “Penyelesaian Sengketa Kepulauan Dalam Perspektif Hukum Internasional (Studi Kasus Sengketa Perebutan Pulau Dokdo Antara Jepang - Korea Selatan).” *Journal Komunitas Yustisia Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha* 2, no. 3 (2019): 168–80. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.23887/jatayu.v2i3.28782>.
- Song, Tao, Yi Cheng, Weidong Liu, and Hui Liu. “Spatial Difference and Mechanisms of Influence of Geo-Economy in the Border Areas of China.” *Journal of Geographical Sciences* 27, no. 12 (2017): 1463–80. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11442-017-1447-8>.
- Sumner, Brian Taylor. “Territorial Disputes at the International Court of Justice.” *Duke Law Journal* 53, no. 6 (2004): 1779–1812. <https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/dlj/vol53/iss6/3/>.
- Tempo. “6 Fakta Kapal Coast Guard Cina Yang Masuk Ke Natuna Lagi,” 2020. <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/1388799/6-fakta-kapal-coast-guard-cina-yang-masuk-ke-natuna-lagi/full&view=ok>.
- Thontowi, Jawahir. “Ambalat Bukan Milik Malaysia – Ambalat Milik Indonesia,” 2009. <http://jawahirthontowi.wordpress.com/2009/09/14/ambalat-bukan-wilayah-malaysia/>.
- United Nations. United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) (1982). [https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention\\_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos\\_e.pdf](https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf).
- Wang, Liang, Jinyan Yu, and Weidong Liu. “Regional Structure, Governance and the Development of Border Area: A Survey of Horgos Border Zone in Xinjiang, China.” In *2011 International Conference on Electrical and Control Engineering, ICECE 2011 - Proceedings*, 3578–82, 2011. <https://doi.org/10.1109/ICECENG.2011.6058173>.
- Widiyanta, Danar. “Upaya Mempertahankan Kedaulatan Dan Memberdayakan Pulau-Pulau Terluar Indonesia Pasca Lepasnya Sipadan Dan Ligitan (2002-2007).” *Mozaik: Kajian Ilmu Sejarah* 10, no. 2 (2019): 1–13. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21831/moz.v10i2.32465>.
- Yanti, Prima Gusti, Nini Ibrahim, and Fauzi Rahman. “Nationalism Research of Primary Students in the Border Area of West Kalimantan-Indonesia and Malaysia.” *International Journal of Scientific and Technology Research* 8, no. 12 (2019): 682–86. <https://www.ijstr.org/final-print/dec2019/Nationalism-Study-Of-Primary-Students-In-The-Border-Area-Of-West-Kalimantan-indonesia-And-Malaysia.pdf>.

