

The Implementations of Cross Border Para–Diplomacy in Sijori Collaboration

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ABSTRACT: Purpose: This article aims at critically analyzing implementations of cross-border Para-diplomacy in micro-regional co-operations SIJORI (Singapore Johor Riau Island) with case regional inequality. Design / Method: This article uses a qualitative method and case study approach for the three micro-regional collaborations each member countries. Finding: This article founded that effective cross-border diplomacy combines a sound institutional space within regional organism top-down processes and structural capacities of local governments and role other actors to implement bottom-up strategies. The involvement and role of other actors as a new phenomenon of international relations study in the context of “Para-diplomacy” as conceptual finding that has been carried out by European and American countries. Originality: There is no study on the role and implementations of Para-diplomacy under the framework of micro-regional co-operations. This article represents contribution of research which focus of border area directly, about international status and its external affairs. It also investigates the contribution of Para-diplomacy to strengthening the endogenous capacity of border authorities

KEYWORDS: Para-diplomacy, Cross Border, SIJORI, Regional Inequality

I. INTRODUCTION

The role theory in the study of international relations was pioneered by KJ Holsti in 1970, in his book entitled *The Concept of the National Role in the Study of Foreign Policy*. This book explaining that the principles and ideology of a country can be used as a source of the role of a country in its international environment. Professor Holsti illustrates how role concepts can be used in explaining the order in relations between a government which is the basic analytical unit of the international system. Just as the social structure of a group can be described separately from the unique personality of the actors who are temporary participants in the system, so relations between countries can be described in patterns of interaction that persist beyond the term of office of those who make decisions, position in the system. In the study of international relations, research on the border and micro-regional cooperation do not only discuss topics related to a country's foreign political interests or security and defense strategies, but also further discuss population issues such as immigration and emigration, tourism, the Olympics, and cross-culture (Perwita AA & Yani.M.Y, 2005).

In this arena, Para-diplomacy and cross-border cooperation are gaining support. The development and diffusion of cross-border cooperation-understood as the strategic alliance between players and contiguous territories to reinforce the regional integration processes have become a highly relevant challenge in SIJORI collaborations. Order area as a territorial unit consists of two or more sub-countries has become the main gate for a country with other countries to work together (Perkmann, 2003). Cross Borders Para-diplomacy will be

mutually beneficial, emphasizing equality and complementarity between the state and civil community, individuals and other social interests (Hale, 2009). The strength of regional integration in economic is important for countries in the border region to face challenges and exploitation of natural resources from countries outside the region. Each country can take advantage of broad market opportunities and gain access to other countries through the development of new regionalism concepts in Southeast Asian countries integrated through the exchange of goods and the movement of human resources, to strengthen economic integration. In dynamic foreign policy, Indonesia as a developing country with a strategic geopolitical position has a great opportunity to become a regional leader that an active role in building regional cooperation with countries in Asia such as ASEAN, AFTA, APEC, and others. Micro-regional cooperation is part of regional cooperation that plays an important role in the economic development and economic competitiveness in the international market of each member country in the border area (Ambarwati & Wijatmadja, 2016).

Policy instruments in international relations use the role of sub-state actors in the border area who pursue their interests on the international stage. As using a micro-regional approach, the process proposes a strategy of institutional strengthening for cross-border cooperation entities. This article recognizes the value of cross-border cooperation to enhance regional integration in Riau Island provinces and the role of Para-diplomacy as a very important tool to support cross-border cooperation. Para-diplomacy in Cross Border: International Local Activity Agenda A literature review of cross border Para-diplomacy in micro-regional approach has not been done much, especially in Indonesia. In the 1990s has been the emergence of regional cooperation and cross border collaborations in Asia divided in many growth triangle area. This concept is important to provide new insights as well as solutions for the development of disadvantaged areas in the border region. Transfer of technology and manufacturing between nations has allowed them to develop sequentially. Information technology has improved linkages between economies and put remote regions in contact with the world. The private sector provides capital for investment; the public sector provides infrastructure, fiscal incentives, and the administrative framework to attract industry. Regional cooperation is now considered the means of enhancing economic development and providing economic security within the regions. In the context of regional integration in Southeast Asia, paradigm that can build new thinking of a country or region maintaining its area so that it is equal to developing countries or developed countries. The paradigmatic pattern by sub-national actors such as local government is the relationship between institutions and other countries is implemented and therefore does not conflict with foreign policy in Indonesia.

A few years ago, scholar Oddone (2015, 2018) has studied the issue of cross-border Cooperation as strategic policy in the Latin American Agenda. A review cross-border cooperation issues are currently becoming more sophisticated and nuanced, due to a growing number of policies and instruments that aim at enhancing it in Latin America. This articles emphasize need to solve issues territorial asymmetries existing in the region contrast with other regions that are absolutely close or disconnected. Cross-border cooperation issues are currently becoming more sophisticated and nuanced, due to a growing number of policies and instruments that aim at enhancing it in Latin America. In Latin America, there are different reasons for encouraging more cross-border cooperation. In North America, governments are mostly concerned with security issues, whereas South-American governments are more concerned with economic development and infrastructure; these are not two mutually exclusive issues, but priorities fixed in each agenda show a different concern. However, this phenomenon illustrate argument that cross borders in Central America commonly face problems with arms and human trafficking, drug dealing, and terrorism which instability and insecurity is heightened caused poverty and the high percentage of gun ownership to keep the wars.

Research on the concept of Para-diplomacy in border areas such as Mercosur (South America) with its members Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela outlines the strategy of increasing development between countries by local actors in the border region. The role of Para-diplomacy is an important tool to support cooperation in the border region and to increase regional international affairs that occur in Latin America (Oddone & Vázquez, 2015). The strategies that have been produced are still in conflict with the border community but are still carried out as a guide to maintaining the border area. These strategies include validating collaborative projects related to border governance, creating opportunities for integrated development of public policies for traditional communities and descendants in border areas, activating the integration of border

working groups, and supporting the development of border legislation and supporting its implementation (Oddone& Souza, 2018).

Para-diplomacy research in the border regions of Brazil and Uruguay aims to explore the potential of paradigm by increasing the interaction of sub-state actors with other countries. The border regions of Brazil and Uruguay also experience restraint problems and the weak political space of sub-state actors. In addition, the lack of regulations to address the issues of border areas has led to differences in the inter-country regulatory framework, so that the success of para-diplomacy in the region has not been reached to its full potential(de Souza, 2017).The debate about the application of this concept is part of a strategy to respond to the pressures of economic globalization, global environmental concerns and changes in relations between the central government and sub-state units to evaluate whether economic integration supports political integration(Nadalutti, 2017). Important diplomacy is realized for countries that want to enhance the role of active local government actors as international actors to collaborate internationally with other countries, especially in border areas(Royles, 2017).

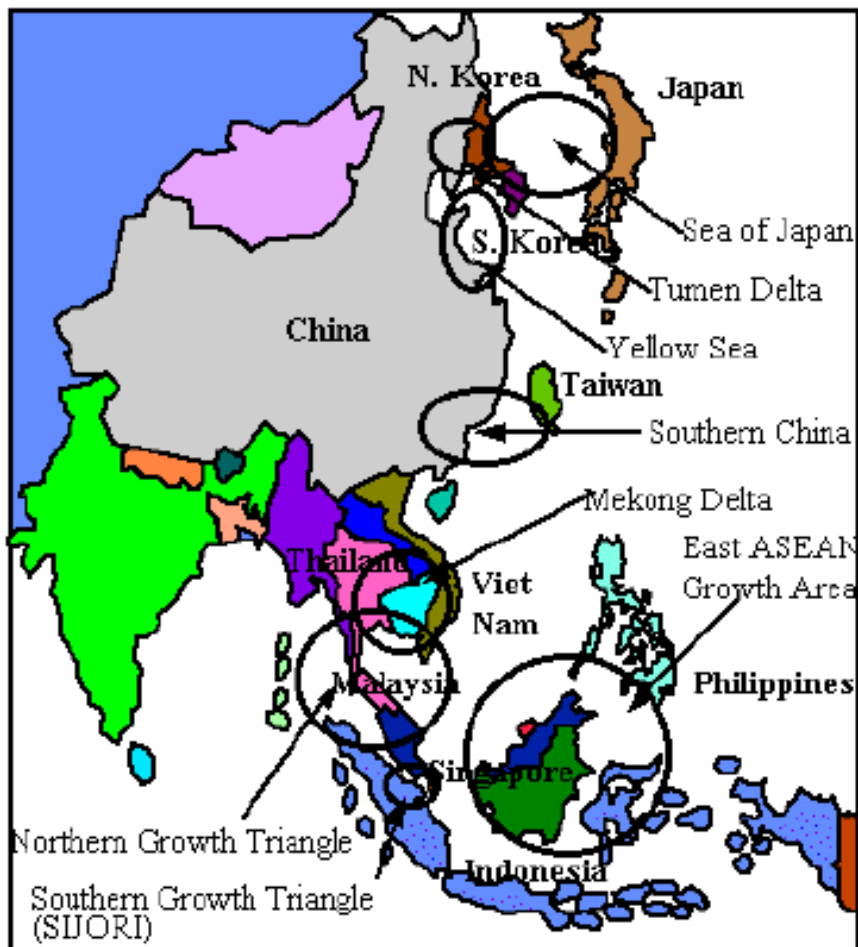
The implementations Para-diplomacy that occurred in the Riau Islands cross border such as opening up investments from Singapore and Johor countries has not been able to lift maximum civil society equality and decreased poverty. This is evident with the state of Johor more sparkling than the areas in the Riau Islands, resulting in gaps from the impact of cooperation in the border region. In transnational actors actions, the concept of "Para-diplomacy" becomes a study that leads to build the role and quality of sub-national actors and carry out foreign relations activities to achieve their self- interests. Local government actions can bridge the gap between foreign and domestic policies for the development of a country with play the concept of Para-diplomacy.

The involvement of local government actors (Sub-countries) in border region gets support and is justified in a country and becomes an important actor to be able to connect directly with the community in his area (Meadowcroft, 1999).This means that local governments as a main actor can improve and build cooperation with neighbouring countries and do not violate the provisions described in the Act. Therefore, important local diplomacy is carried out by local government actors aimed at providing input and new breakthroughs in international cooperation to overcome delays in regional development in context border area.

Scholars Soldatos (1984) and Duchacek (1988, 1990) were the main pioneers who introduced the concept of Para-diplomacy or micro diplomacy to support a country's foreign policy(Duchacek, 1984). This means that local governments can improve and build cooperation with neighbouring countries and do not violate the provisions described in the Act. Therefore, important local diplomacy is carried out by local government actors aimed at providing input and new breakthroughs in international cooperation to overcome delays in regional development.

The Riau Islands are included in the Growth Triangle partnership. Sub-regional economic cooperation IMS-GT (Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore-GT) is an economic collaboration that aims to enhance economic development that has similar characteristics in terms of geography, culture, connectivity. For more than 25 years, it collaborations has been developing regional development, however, it can't balance especially in the Riau Islands region. Therefore, the previous strategy of diplomatic relations can change direction by involving local government actors for diplomacy and taking policies that do not conflict with foreign policy. This collaboration is included in regional organizations that provide an efficient economic unit compared to one country, and can compete in the global market (Bennet, 1991). This collaboration is located at one point in the Southeast Asia region that was established since 1989 with continue a few Asia's growth triangles others (fig 1).

Figure 1. Asia's Growth Triangles



Mostly collaboration in Asia's growth triangles is still fully the authority of the central government, and the regional government used to have limited legal capacity and strength. The existence and strategic role of local government actors using the concept of Para-diplomacy in the globalizations context and international cooperation is supported and recognized by the international community and the United Nations (Aguirre, 1999). This paradigm shift in international relations cannot be denied. Globalization and liberalization support have influenced the role of local government actors in practice can take quick steps to advance their own regions (PerttiJoenniemi and Alexander Sergunin, 2014). Various effects of globalization on the dynamics of the city are a consequence of this phenomenon for residents, businesses, governments, and other agents operating in urban environments (Brasileira, 2017). These challenges and opportunities serve as a solution for a more responsive foreign policy as a regional agenda for socio-economic development.

Research related to local government actors using the concept of Para-diplomacy mostly has been develop and carried out in many European, American and a few Asian countries. The purposes to find a several models and dimension of Para-diplomacy, especially in areas directly border to developed countries or who want to adopt development from other countries (Lecours, 2008).

A review research Para-diplomacy in Indonesia between the United States of America and Makassar has produced a positive impression on the community. This is because, there has been a shift in the orientation of diplomacy in the digital era, which seems to answer the challenges in the era of globalization and modernization. By applying para-diplomacy to establishing smart cities to create good governance that is characterized by integrity, accountability and transparency(Fathun, 2016). This meant, international negotiations

are clearly not limited to the exclusive jurisdiction of the central government covering several areas of government activity, but also including matters under the jurisdiction of sub-state or non-central and state (federal) government (Lequesne & Paquin, 2017). This smart city program can provide appreciation and answer the expectations of the community involved with the advancement of the world through information technology. The experience of para-diplomacy is also applied in the city of Bandung with one of the cities in Yingkou and Liuzhou, the People's Republic of China in the form of sister international cooperation –City for the implementation of E-Government (Rino Adibowo, 2017). A few Para-diplomacy research in Indonesia in different contexts, for economic interests, improvement of local modalities, culture (Fakhira, 2017), cultural festival assistance (Etha Pasan, 2017), natural disaster relief (Amytia & Dwiyanti, 2018), railway infrastructure, investment in regional infrastructure in the energy sector and local handicraft production (Rusandi, 2017).

The introduction of the paper should explain the nature of the problem, previous work, purpose, and the contribution of the paper. The contents of each section may be provided to understand easily about the paper.

II. SIJORI OVERVIEW

For the cross border para diplomacy in Riau Islands in principle, this collaboration is a first-level country relationship, namely Singapore with 2 Sub-countries (Provinces), namely Johor and Riau Islands, in the field of goods flow, investment capital, and tourists (Fig 2). This collaboration has provided space and opportunities for countries to promote and increase the capacity of their regions for investment and reduce trade barriers to connect to global markets. Karns and Mingst outline two factors in encouraging regional cooperation, namely political factors. This factor consists of the dynamics of power by the role of the actor, emphasizes the identity and ideology of the state to unite the views as a state in one region, protects the threat of internal and external threats, similarities in government structures, and forms regional leadership. Economic factors that focus on togetherness between countries are drivers of trade and investment dependence by expanding the market (Karns, Margaret P., 2010).

Figure 2 Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore Growth Triangles Collaborations



Micro-regional cooperation approach is the demand and need of each country in the region to traditionally implement foreign policy as the domain of the central government that represents the State (Isnaeni, 2012). This micro-regional collaborations level develop with involve local (sub-national) actors, such as the private sector, NGOs, academic and individuals to interact with neighboring countries, especially in the context of advancing border areas. A few decades before, the development of border areas in the Riau Islands in this collaborations as one of the models of economic growth based on the characteristics of the border region, namely ethnicity, language, culture, social, and history was common (Bjorn, 2005).

In the early 1990s, the rapid development in this collaboration or commonly called the growth triangle cooperation occurred within the framework of promoting industrial development in the border region. Cooperation has manifested a natural economic region dynamically and across national boundaries related to the global economy, and inherently more feasible than nation-states. Therefore, the development of this collaboration has linked cross-national growth zones and sub-regional economic zones that can refer to various existing phenomena. This collaboration has succeeded in increasing the status of countries and less developed regions and helping to develop competitive advantages in the border region. The patterns of micro-regional collaboration is driven by national economic interests and developed to be part of regional economic integration

in Southeast Asia. Indonesia's national interests for this collaboration are focused on several regions in the Riau Islands, namely Batam, Bintan, and Karimun. Improving the quality is important to ensure the development of other regions in Riau Islands in order to strengthen Indonesia's position with other countries. Term of reconstructions this collaboration, it is very important to do to ensure sustainable development and guarantee the economic life of civil communities in the periphery area of Riau Islands (Zulkifli, 2014). Many obstacles and challenge to accelerate regional development as a border area developed countries have to focus on the quality of human resources which are the main criteria for modern economic development. The modern economy is a system of connections that are created and function properly to support relations between local actors such as the bureaucracy (local government) and business people from other regions. Economics is present to emphasize various development problems (regional inequality) by collaborating at global, regional, national and local levels, and showing that the activities of local actors can use this concept to achieve millennium development goals(Mempel-Sniezyk, 2014).

Capacity Building in Human Resources : A Key Element in the Phenomenon of Cross-border Cooperation

The Indonesian state (Riau islands) and Singapore through the MOU signed in 2006 aim to encourage investment and enhance international competitiveness (Fig 3). The development of this collaboration also began to increase between sub-countries, namely between the states of Johor Bahru and Karimun district in the form of an MOU in 2014, in the field of transportation and received support from both governments. In addition, the state of Johor Bahru and the city of Batam in the form of a Joint Committee in the field of tourism in 2015. In 2017 there were 14.4 million foreign tourists entering Johor, of which 1.3 million were Indonesian citizens.

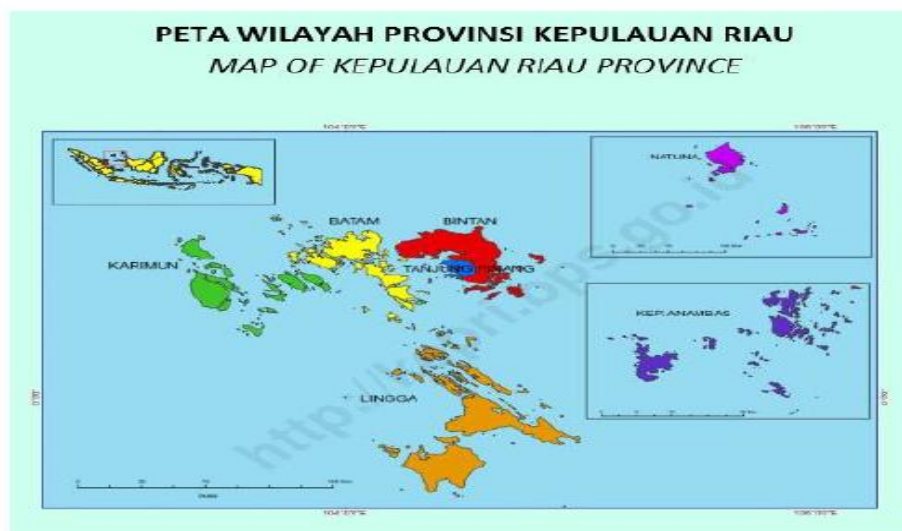


Figure 3 Map of Riau Islands
Source: BPS 2017

This confirms that the developing national economic interests are an important part of the goals of regional economic integration in Southeast Asia. However, the development of this collaborations have to support by human resources capability building experienced changes, especially in era information technology and industrial 4.0 for prepare future Riau Islands province. The analysis of this collaboration can be seen from each country, where the Malaysian government (Johor Bahru) and Indonesia (Riau islands) have initiative do not involve the role of the state to move their economic sector. But, in Indonesia, state decentralization reforms increase the amount of power and autonomy of sub-state governments (Provinces/ municipalities/districts) which are less stable, thus complicating the business context for international companies (Francis E. Hutchinson & Terence Chong, 2016).

It caused the value of investment starts to decrease with indications that some companies are starting to close so that development issues regional inequalities emerge. This gap has become the opposite of the initial goal of this collaboration to improve the economic sector between countries in the border region. The general picture of regional disparities such as those in ASEAN countries occurs at the point of difference in per capita income and economic growth between one country and another which will hinder the formation of its society (Apresian, 2015). One of the phenomena that will be highlighted in this articles is the level of regional inequality that occurred in the Riau Islands as a member of this collaborations. Although this phenomenon naturally occurs between developed and underdeveloped countries but the opportunity to reduce inequality still becomes the focus of the regional and central government agenda (J.S. Uppal and Budiono Sri Handoko, 1986). The different levels of regional inequality between developed and underdeveloped people in the world depend on their socio-economic structure and the spatial distribution of supporting factors in a region involving the strength of the central and regional governments. In general, the level of inequality is more marked in less developed countries because of the vulnerability of socio-economic factors and immobility, so the importance of developing underdeveloped regions in recognition of problems from uneven regional development.

III. RESULTS

Data on several cities and districts in the Riau Islands are at a due to several things, namely the inconsistency of regulation, authority, and process. In addition, the benchmark for regional disparity depends on the development of the structure of economic sectors and the regional structure of each country. The development of socio-economic facilities and infrastructure through investment is needed to strengthen the basis of a balanced human development, such as facilities and quality of education, health, housing, transportation, sanitation, and others.

IV. This article argue that the phenomenon of regional inequality is one of the issues ever in this cooperation seen from the fact of the development of other periphery regions in the Riau Islands. Research on regional inequality in the Riau Islands in the context of this collaboration also emphasizes the differences in the district inequality between Batam City with other region. The high value of investment in an area can reduce unemployment which is dragged into poverty and inequality so that the government's burden can be reduced. However, this remains a concern and intervention by both regional and central governments in collaborating to overcome inequalities by focusing investment on less developed regions more effectively. This city is a representative in the IMS-GT cooperation, by contributing 79.52% of the total Riau Islands Province GRDP (Zulrizal, 2012). The allocation of the Riau Islands 2018 APBN funds of Rp. 13.9 trillion with an allocation of capital expenditure of Rp. 2.24 trillion as chance to encourage better economic growth in the Riau Islands in order to increase human resources and reduce inequality. Social scientists see that various gaps emerge as a result and the consequences of uneven development therefore which are often debated between local and central governments (Tieben, Hofäcker, & Biedinger, 2013). Based on the Riau Islands population data in 2016, we explained that the population of Batam City was more than other regions because it had become an industrial center since the IMS-GT collaboration began in the 1990s (Table 1). Residents living in Batam City are increasing, especially immigrants to look for promising employment opportunities at that time. The difference in population, which is increasing every year, causes uneven distribution of population and several problems arise in development (unemployment, poverty, and marginalization).

Table 1 Total Population

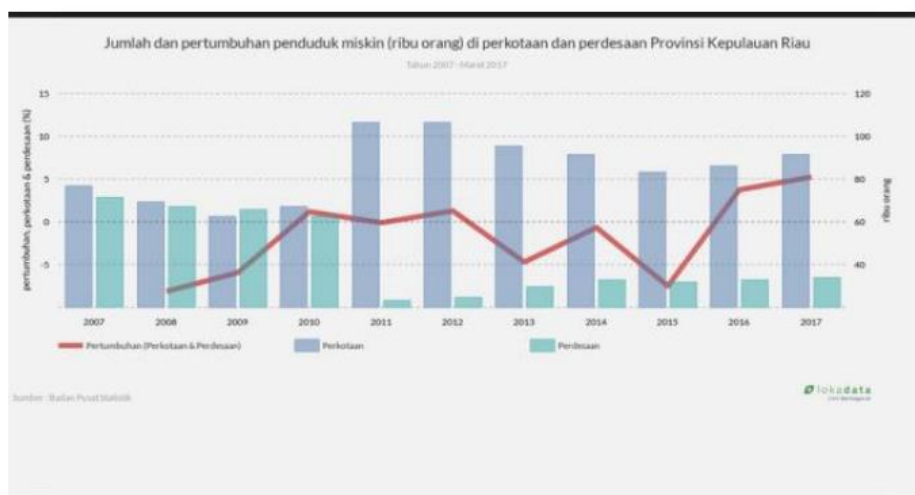
JUMLAH PENDUDUK						
No	Kab/Kota	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
1	Karimun	216.146	218.475	220.882	223.117	225.298
2	Bintan	145.057	147.212	149.120	151.123	153.020
3	Natuna	70.423	71.454	72.527	73.470	74.520
4	Lingga	87.026	87.482	87.867	88.274	88.591
5	Kepulauan Anambas	38.210	38.833	39.374	39.892	40.414
6	Kota Batam	1.000.661	1.047.534	1.094.623	1.141.816	1.188.985
7	Kota Tanjungpinang	191.287	194.099	196.980	199.723	202.215
	Prov. Kepulauan Riau	1.748.810	1.805.089	1.861.373	1.917.415	1.973.043

Sumber : Kepulauan Riau Dalam Angka 2016

Source: BPS 2017

Poverty is one of the benchmarks for the success of development in a country or region with considerable concern if the population living below the poverty line reaches more than 10% of the population (Table 2). It explains the condition of the percentage of poverty occurring in Riau Islands, which experienced a significant increase from 2015-2017. This is due to more population distribution in the city of Batam as a wheel of economic movement in the Riau Islands with support as a center for industry, trade, tourism and transfer of ships.

Table 2 Amount of Growth of Poor Population in Urban and Rural Area in Riau Islands 2007-2017

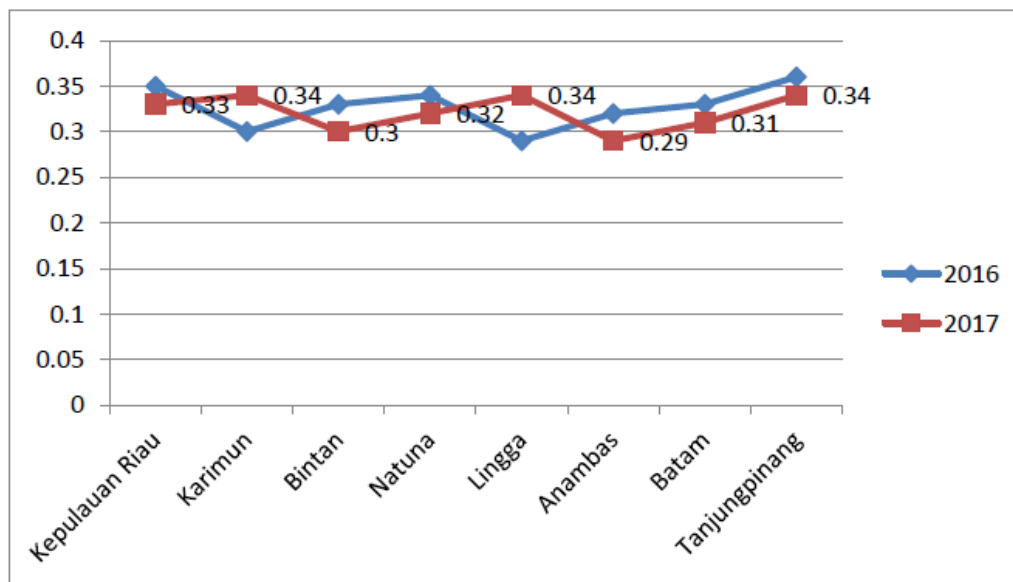


Source: BPS 2017

Based on table 3, data on several cities and districts in the Riau Islands are at a level of inequality that is beginning to rise each year. This is also due to several things, namely the inconsistency of regulation,

authority, and process. In addition, the benchmark for regional disparity depends on the development of the structure of economic sectors and the regional structure of each country. The development of socio-economic facilities and infrastructure through investment is needed to strengthen the basis of a balanced human development, such as facilities and quality of education, health, housing, transportation, sanitation, and others.

Table 3 GINI RATIO in the Riau Islands



Source : BPS 2018

CONCLUSION

Regional integration and cross-border governance enhance the role of Para-diplomacy. Specialists resort to the term Para-diplomacy when they need to analyze, theorize, and explain the new phenomenon of international participation of local authorities and other sub-state entities. The reason Para-diplomacy can be understood as a kind of democratization of foreign policy because it identifies the needs and interests at different levels within nation-states and to introduce countries to another. On level of Para-diplomacy occurs when the representatives of the states meet to negotiate, and takes place when the representatives of each state promote tangible measures in their territories, whether the measures or to generate credibility, a characteristic that blurs when the subjects involved—government and nongovernment agents—can establish strategies of management such domestic issues (Cornago, 2010). Therefore, issues inequality for un developed countries can be solve by increase capacity building of human resources and can create collaborations for own interest. One of the basic assumptions of neoliberal thinking in institutionalism is the achievement of profits by collaboration border region between countries. Behind obstacles in cooperation, neoliberal institutionalism emphasizes that the existence of institutions is important because it can distinguish the behavior of international states and politics. These various approaches in neoliberal institutions affect of role actors at the level of individual, state and international systems of analysis (Joseph S,Nye, 2012).

The form of collaboration that dominates the idea of institutional neoliberalism is economic based action. Economic-based cooperation is an important component that must be done because interaction in the form of collaboration will create interdependence between countries. Relations between communities between countries currently use various networks, including informal ties between government elites and non-governmental organizations as well as transnational organizations. the paradigm concept has strengthened inter-community relations with categories between countries, between governments, and transnational relations. Besides that, the nation-state is not able to carry out international responsibilities in making decisions

independently. Strategies and efforts that can be made in para-diplomacy are increasing diplomacy between countries and sub-states, renewing economic and commercial agreements, involving local government actors of each member, cooperation based on local policies, and advancing social economic systems and political. Thus this transnational and interdependent relationship opposes realism thinking because the dynamics of relations can grow from the interaction of the various roles of non-state actors (sub-countries) involved. The agenda of international relations is moving rapidly besides non-military issues such as welfare, environment and others. The channel of interaction between sub-state actors are increasing with the number of interconnections of international relations actors, especially in border areas.

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