Measuring Sustainable Livelihood in The Border Areas: The Case Study of Sangihe Island, North Sulawesi
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ABSTRACT
This paper measures sustainable livelihood through the government poverty reduction program in Indonesia's border areas. We drew on primary field data sources and secondary data, including oral histories, in-depth interviews about livelihood, ecological, and documented evidence of environmental, socioeconomic, and institutional dynamics to identify the sustainability of poverty reduction programs. We use this information to understand whether the program is resilient or vulnerable. Cross-border areas are the most strategic position in building a country's image. One of the development priorities is to develop Indonesia from the periphery by strengthening regions and villages within the framework of a unitary state, especially the outermost villages and border villages. Sangihe Islands Regency is one of the border areas located in North Sulawesi Province. This paper is an initial analysis of the development of border areas and poverty alleviation programs in the Sangihe Islands Regency. The Sustainable Livelihood Approach is used to assess poverty reduction strategies in the Sangihe Islands Regency. The research shows that poverty in the Sangihe Islands Regency has become a main priority in the development program of the Sangihe Regional Government. National and Provincial governments support this program through the implementation of poverty alleviation. This program has had positive results, but it is vulnerable because it does not focus on sustainability.

Keywords: Border area, poverty reduction, Sangihe, sustainable livelihood

INTRODUCTION
The lack of access to public facilities and services for border communities creates an opportunity for dissatisfaction with the government, affecting border communities' sense of nationalism. Tiredness and desperation in waiting for the government's attention elicited a range of responses. As seen in several border villages in Kalimantan, one of the extreme reactions of border residents is a willingness to integrate with neighboring countries.

Sovereignty in border areas has traditionally been approached from a security standpoint. The central government employs a security strategy rather than a welfare strategy to maintain sovereignty in border areas. Priorities for border-area actions include the construction of cross-border security posts, the addition of security personnel, and efforts to resolve border disputes in

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international courts. Only around 2010, when the development of border areas was included in the 2010 National Medium-Term Development Plan (NMTDP), the central government began to use a welfare strategy for border areas. Through an economic approach, we can improve people's well-being. Welfare strategies were increasingly used in border management during the presidency of President Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla.

This paper conducted a preliminary analysis of the poverty reduction process in border areas. Sangihe Islands Regency, North Sulawesi Province, was chosen as the research location.

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This research uses a qualitative research design. The selection of a qualitative approach is based on the fact that it will be able to reveal a symptom that occurs in society as a whole and more deeply follow what is happening in the field by collecting data from natural settings using the researcher as a research instrument (Sugiyono, 2008). The research method described above is a *case study* method. According to Creswel (2007), case studies are classified into three types: single instrumental case study research, multiple case study research, and in-depth case study research. Due to the in-depth analysis required of contestation events that could not be explained at the surface level, this research used an in-depth case study (*instinct case study*).

The location was chosen based on data indicating that several districts in Indonesia border neighboring countries. From Aceh Province to Papua Province, Indonesia has ten provinces that are directly adjacent to other countries. An archipelago area adjacent to another country was chosen for this study. The Sangihe Islands Regency, North Sulawesi Province, is a border area that directly faces other countries.

Primary and secondary data sources are used. The primary data were collected through semi-structured interviews about local community history, livelihoods, and ecological conditions and observed environmental, socioeconomic, and institutional dynamics. Secondary data comes from government documents, books, articles, magazines, or other sources that help with problem-solving.

**RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

**Poverty in Sangihe Islands Regency, North Sulawesi**

Sangihe Islands Regency is one of the regencies in North Sulawesi Province that borders the Philippines in the sea. The Sangihe Islands Regency is situated on an island northeast of Sulawesi Island. Sangihe Islands Regency has

Tamako District has the highest number of poor populations in Sangihe District, with a total of 6,048 people. Tabukan Tengah has the second-highest number of poverties, with 5,893 people. This figure is based on TNP2K census data from 2017. Poverty in the Sangihe Islands Regency can be seen in a variety of ways. The first is the Sangihe Islands Regency’s economic situation. The Sangihe Islands Regency’s economy is supported by two sectors: marine and plantation. Sangihe Regency, as an archipelago, has a lot of potential in the marine sector. It is not surprising that most Sangihe Regency residents make fishing one of their primary sources of income to support their families. Aside from fishing, several people in the Sangihe Islands rely on the plantation sector for a living. The people of the Sangihe Islands have developed several major commodities, including copra, cloves, and nutmeg.

The combination of two economic business sectors, small fishers and plantation owners, has contributed to the Sangihe Islands’ people overcoming poverty. It also suggests that they still have 'assets' over the means of production, in this case, plantation land, and small boats, making the people of the Sangihe Islands less vulnerable to poverty. In contrast to poverty in rural Java, where poverty alleviation efforts face significant challenges due to the issue of asset ownership (in this case, agricultural land), which is shrinking. It can be stated that the problem of poverty, as measured by the issue of access and availability of basic needs (clothing, food, and shelter), is not felt by the people of the Sangihe Regency. The people of the Sangihe Islands do not experience poverty in terms of basic needs. The quality of the house is a better indicator of poverty for people in the Sangihe Islands. Houses that have not yet been tiled or plastered and are still in the form of land are often used as poverty indicators.

The second problem is one of infrastructure. The Sangihe Islands Regency is divided into two regions: the main island area and the small island area outside of the main area. Infrastructure issues in each of these regional categories differ greatly due to location and access to the area. Furthermore, because of its border location, infrastructure problems are one of the main issues confronting the Sangihe Islands Regency government, including the problem of poverty.

Infrastructure development on the main island of the Sangihe Islands Regency is accelerating. Road construction on a national, provincial, district and
village level has accelerated. The roads connecting the district capital to villages throughout the Sangihe island area are well maintained.

Another important element of infrastructure that supports economic life in the Sangihe archipelago is the port/place of docking for fishing boats. Small ports and fish markets are required for fishing villages in the Sangihe Islands Regency to sell their catch. Some village funds allocated to fishing villages are also used to construct supporting infrastructure for fishing activities in these fishing villages. However, infrastructure on the small islands is still limited, particularly in clean water and electricity.

The third concern is the issue of capital access and business groups in the Sangihe Islands Regency. Access to capital is available in the Sangihe Islands Regency thanks to the existence of People’s Business Credit (PBC), Small Business Credit (SBC), and Food and Energy Security Credit (FESC). PBC continues to have the most capital access, with PBC managers in all sub-districts in the Sangihe Islands Regency, though the amount varies by sub-district. The total PBC in the Sangihe Islands Regency is 126, with Tamako District having the most PBC (19 units) and Marore District having the least PBC (2 units) (BPS Sangihe, 2014).

One of the challenges in increasing access to capital is the existence of PBC and SBC, which are still not evenly distributed in terms of numbers. This is especially true for sub-districts outside the main island, such as the Marore Islands District and Nusa Tabukan District, which still have a small number of PBC and SBC. The disparity in capital access between sub-districts has a significant impact on achieving equitable development in the Sangihe Islands Regency.

The absence of the Small Industry Cooperative and People’s Crafts is the most serious issue. There is no Cooperative for Small Industries and People’s Crafts in the Sangihe Islands Regency. This indicates that economic efforts in businesses that encourage the optimization of community business products into semi-finished products or finished goods are underdeveloped in all Sangihe Islands Regency sub-districts.

Access to markets is another issue that the local community faces. The market is the most beneficial source of economic growth in a community. One of the benchmarks for the people’s economy is market development. The main market for various needs in the Sangihe Islands Regency can only be found on the main island, namely in Tahuna District.

The dominant and relatively evenly distributed type of market in all sub-districts is the Stand for Agricultural Production Facilities (Saprotan), which provides seeds, fertilizers, and tools for community agricultural activities. This demonstrates that the people of the Sangihe Islands district have relatively easy
access to basic needs for their agricultural economic business because all sub-districts already have a Saprotan stand.

One of the challenges that micro and small industry players face in expanding their production market is the lack of optimal implementation of economic cooperation between Indonesia and the Philippines. Trade cooperation between the two countries in the border area has not yet included the Sangihe Islands Regency in cross-country trade routes. The implication is that industry players in Manado City and Bitung City, which have access to cross-border trade, are still extremely reliant on them.

The fourth issue is the Sangihe Islands Regency's lack of human resources. The availability of educational and health facilities demonstrates the Sangihe Islands Regency's human resource problem. The Sangihe Islands Regency still has an uneven distribution of educational facilities, with 19 High Schools and 8 Vocational High Schools. This figure is insignificant compared to the number of Elementary Schools (168 units) and Junior High Schools (59 units). There is only one educational facility in the Sangihe Islands Regency for Academy/College level education. By examining the composition of educational facilities available in the Sangihe Islands Regency, it is possible to conclude that there is still a need for an increase in educational facilities at the High School and Vocational High School levels to raise the education level of the Sangihe Islands Regency community.

Access to health insurance in the Sangihe Islands Regency is greatly helped by the availability of health assistance from the government. There are at least three types of health assistance available in the Sangihe Islands Regency: Jamkesmas Recipients, BPJS Health / JKN Participants, and Certificate of Disability Recipients. According to BPS data from the Sangihe Islands Regency, 167 residents received Jamkesmas assistance. As many as 143 and 153 residents received assistance through a Certificate of Disability for BPJS/JKN beneficiaries, respectively (BPS Sangihe, 2016).

There are 35 general practitioners, 4 dentists, 58 fields, 107 other medical personnel, and 118 traditional birth attendants, according to data from the Sangihe Regency BPS (2014). According to data on the number of medical personnel in the Sangihe Islands Regency, two significant issues remain unresolved. For starters, the number of specialist doctors is still relatively small. Second, the presence of doctors is still not evenly distributed and is concentrated in the main island's sub-districts that are close to the district.

These two issues, which are caused by an uneven number and distribution of medical personnel, have a significant impact on poverty reduction in the Sangihe Islands Regency. The community still has to pay a lot of money when it
comes to advanced health care, which is generally available in Manado. The cost of traveling to Manado City adds a significant economic burden to the community.

**Measuring Livelihood Sustainability in the Sangihe Island**

One of the primary goals of development is to address the issue of poverty. The occurrence of a significant poverty reduction is an indicator that becomes a reference point in assessing development success. The Sustainable Livelihood approach is used in this research to assess the poverty reduction program implemented by the Sangihe Island Regency Government. The Sustainable Livelihood approach was chosen because this measuring tool is quite comprehensive in providing assessment instrumentation, and the interaction between the components involved in a program (implementers, implementing subjects, and the environment) is a very important consideration when assessing a program (Saragih et al., 2007 and Sallu, et al., 2010).

In the last two decades, the terms sustainable and livelihoods have become more common in international development discourse. The emergence of these new terms demonstrates the need to question the terminology of development in the "old" context, which is thought to have originated in the "West." Instead of focusing solely on top-down development, the livelihood concept seeks to examine the development of community-owned local capabilities.

See how development programs, one of which aims to reduce poverty, are based on local strengths in the framework of sustainable livelihoods (Sustainable livelihood approach). The Sangihe Islands Regency's poverty alleviation program is less concerned with issues of local strength and sustainability. The vulnerability of the existing poverty alleviation program in the Sangihe Islands Regency will be discussed further below.

**The Vulnerability and The Poverty Alleviation Program**

The vulnerability context is seen more in terms of economic vulnerability in this research. The vulnerability in the sectors that are the main livelihoods of the people in the Sangihe Islands Regency will be seen to measure the extent to which the poverty reduction program in the Sangihe Islands Regency considers the variable of economic vulnerability, namely the marine sector for people who become fishermen as their main livelihood, and the plantation sector for people who become plantation workers.

The Sangihe Islands Regency's geographical location is very strategic in supporting the development of community economic life in the marine sector. The marine area surrounding the Sangihe Islands Regency is well known for
having a large number of fish. The fishing industry has a long history in the Sangihe Islands Regency. The existence of the Tidore village in one of the most strategic locations in Sangihe Regency, whose residents have been fishermen for a long time and generations, demonstrates this. Tidore village has become a focal point for developing the marine sector in the Sangihe Islands Regency, as evidenced by the presence of a major port in this area for the traffic of fishing boats and transport ships from Manado.

The movement of foreign fishing vessels in the Sangihe Islands Regency demonstrates the strategic position in the marine sector. Before the central government's patrolling and sinking foreign ships entering Indonesian waters, many foreign ships fished in the Sangihe Islands Regency area. The abundance of fish in the Sangihe Islands Regency area is a huge draw for fishers, who sometimes have to enter Indonesian sea areas.

It is possible to assert that there is no vulnerability faced by fishermen who rely on their economic life as fishermen in the marine sector. Indeed, the marine sector has enormous potential to help fishers in the Sangihe Islands Regency improve their livelihoods. The problem focuses on developing the advanced infrastructure required to increase fishing activity in the Sangihe Islands Regency. In general, fishers in the Sangihe Islands Regency are small-scale operators who conduct traditional fishing operations. A marine product processing industry and fish catch storage media (cool storage) are still in short supply. Other than for their consumption, the fish caught are sold to the people of the Sangihe Islands Regency or transported to Bitung City, Manado, which incurs additional transportation costs.

Private plantation results in the form of coconut, clove, and nutmeg plantations contribute to the economic sustainability of the people of the Sangihe Islands Regency. In fact, to supplement their income, some small fishermen plant coconut trees, cloves, and nutmeg in their gardens. This is very effective in increasing the income of small fishers when sea conditions make it impossible to conduct fishing activities in the sea.

In general, the plantation sector in the Sangihe Islands Regency does not yet have significant vulnerabilities that could disrupt the Sangihe Islands Regency's farmers' economy. There have been no major issues with cultivating coconut, cloves, and nutmeg in the Sangihe Islands Regency community.

What still requires more attention in the Sangihe Islands Regency is agricultural product post-production development. Plantation products are primarily sold in their most basic form. Only the coconut shell and cloves are dried, and the coconut is sold directly through Manado for further processing by Manado industries. Because of these factors, plantation products and marine
products from the Sangihe Islands Regency community cannot be increased to have added value, which can increase people's income and significantly contribute to poverty reduction. The efforts carried out by the Sangihe Islands Regency government to encourage the presence of micro and small businesses and small industries processing agricultural and plantation products have resulted in good breakthroughs that must be expanded to strengthen the community’s economic structure.

**Assets for livelihood in the Sangihe Islands Regency Community**

Livelihood assets will be seen in five main variables in this research: human assets, social assets, natural assets, financial assets, and physical assets. The skills possessed by the people of the Sangihe Islands Regency, which support their economic activities in the marine and plantation sectors, are variable human assets. Fishers in the Sangihe Islands Regency have the necessary skills to find fish in the sea. People in the Sangihe Islands Regency have no trouble finding fish in the sea thanks to skills passed down from generation to generation. Similarly, in the plantation sector, the planting of coconut trees, cloves, and nutmeg have become widely known among the people of the Sangihe Islands. However, advanced skills are primarily in post-production, which remains a challenge for the people of the Sangihe Islands. In general, advanced skills for increasing marine/garden products' added value are not yet evident. There is still a tendency for marine and plantation products to be sold directly without first being obtained to create higher added value. Furthermore, it has not been observed that the people of the Sangihe Islands have seriously developed their marketing skills. Marine products and gardens are sold directly to Bitung City, Manado, which has long been the main market for Sangihe Islands Regency products. Several training programs implemented by the Sangihe Islands Regency government have become an important basic foundation that will be continued to be implemented and developed.

The presence and activity of groups of fishermen and farmers who actively assist business development in the marine and plantation sectors in the Sangihe Islands Regency community are examples of variable social assets. The existence of cooperatives developed at the community level in this study has been seen to strengthen the solidity of groups of fishermen and plantation farmers, which, if optimized, can enhance the solidity of the productive economic activities of fishers and farmers.

Variable natural assets are seen in marine resources (fish population) and agricultural land owned by the community in the Sangihe Islands. In terms of marine resources, there hasn't been a major threat that has disrupted the level of
fish populations in the seas that fishers in the Sangihe Islands Regency use as fishing grounds. The central government's strict policy of supervising foreign ships passing through Indonesian sea areas also contributes to the abundance of fish populations in the Sangihe Islands district.

The soil quality in the Sangihe Islands Regency is suitable for developing coconut, clove, or nutmeg tree plantations in the plantation sector. This condition makes it easier for farmers to establish private plantations using skills passed down from generation to generation. The Sangihe Islands Regency has a lot of natural resources, so it has a lot of potential for development.

The money generated from fishing activities and private plantation businesses is seen as a *variable financial asset*. Because fishing and plantation businesses are carried out in simple ways and sold in raw form, the Sangihe Islands Regency's community efforts are primarily used to support their daily lives. The lack of a process for developing marine products and gardens that add value makes the results of fishing and gardening businesses less able to be optimized to accelerate the improvement of community welfare in the Sangihe Islands Regency. The Sangihe Regency community can provide an adequate living from the marine and garden sectors. The Sangihe Islands Regency government's efforts to expand access to capital are beginning to be seen through the Business Credit scheme, which goes down to the regional level. The Sangihe Islands Regency government must implement a more equitable distribution of credit schemes.

Ship ownership and plantation land ownership are examples of *variable physical assets*. Ships that can travel to the middle of the sea are required to find fish. According to the ship's ownership, not all fishermen have their boats to fish from the ocean. Some fishermen are still part of a crew of other fishermen and share the profits from the fishing process. Farmers in the Sangihe Islands Regency have not had to deal with the issue of a lack of plantation land. The average resident owns between 1-2 hectares of land that can be used for agricultural purposes.

**The Transformation of Structure and Process (TSP)**

This research's structure and process variables are used to identify *Transformation Structures and Processes* (TSP). The existence of institutions formed and carrying out functions in poverty alleviation in the Sangihe Islands Regency demonstrates the variable structure. To address the issue of poverty, the Sangihe Islands Regency has established a social service with a variety of programs aimed at addressing the issue of poverty. There is also a special section at the Bappeda level of the Sangihe Islands Regency that deals with poverty issues, primary data
collection, and data synchronization of people classified as poor in the Sangihe Islands Regency. There is also a Border Management Section, which serves as a liaison between agencies with border-related programs. Furthermore, the existence of financial flows from the central government in the form of Village Funds allocated directly to villages has significantly contributed to village economic development programs, which has a positive impact on poverty reduction efforts. The Village Fund's existence has expanded the Village workspace to carry out functions to meet village needs, including the problem of poverty at the village level.

The central government's commitment to border areas through Ministry programs aimed at border areas increases the number of government institutions concerned with border issues. Programs from the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, the Ministry of Public Works, and the Ministry of Social Affairs have all made noticeable changes in the Sangihe Islands Regency. The assistance and financial support from the government/other institutions in developing the production process, processing the products, and selling the products can be seen as variable processes. The government's assistance and assistance is quite visible, particularly in the marine sector. There have been visible interventions, primarily through the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, in developing the marine sector in the Sangihe Islands Regency.

The intensity of this intervention can also be seen in the efforts to create connectivity between Bitung and Santos, Philippines, through the presence of Ro-Ro ships, which are cross-country trade instruments in the Indonesia-Philippines border area. Fishermen from the Sangihe Islands Regency must still travel to Bitung City to sell their marine products, but this has aided the community in the Sangihe Islands Regency in selling marine products.

Intensive interventions in the plantation sector have begun to increase the surplus-value of agricultural products from the Sangihe Islands district. The Sangihe Islands district government has already started designing various training to develop micro-small businesses and small-scale industries. The training is on resource-based processing, based on the people of Sangihe Regency's tendency to process garden products simply as was done by previous generations. The results of plantation commodities that were previously sold in raw form can be optimized if the Sangihe Islands Regency government's training and assistance can encourage the growth of micro and small businesses and small industries to maximize the added value of processed resource products in the Sangihe Islands Regency. The development of market access and market access within the district and province remains a major issue. The proximity of border areas can be seen as potential markets for processed products from small, micro-
enterprises, and small industries. But it still cannot be intensively maximized by the Sangihe Islands Regency Government and North Sulawesi Provincial Government.

**Creating Community Livelihood in Border Area**

*Livelihoods strategic* are seen in this research through the variables of development strategies for the marine and plantation sectors, which are the main sources of income for the people of Sangihe Islands Regency.

In general, the Sangihe Islands Regency’s government has begun to see the emergence of innovative strategies for developing the marine and plantation sectors on its territory. The developments are part of the central government's and district governments' strategies for implementing them.

The central government has designed bilateral cooperation with the Philippines in the maritime sector to strengthen trade relations between the two countries' border areas. Cross-country trade strategy facilitated by the presence of Ro-Ro ships, which are expected to serve as a medium of economic interaction between border communities in North Sulawesi and border communities in the South Philippines. To improve the economy of the Sangihe Islands Regency, this strategy should be encouraged and optimized. Ro-Ro ships have not previously passed through the Sangihe Islands Regency from Santos to Bitung City, Manado. As a result of this circumstance, the fishing communities of the Sangihe Islands Regency are not yet directly affected by the ongoing connectivity between Indonesia and the Philippines.

Strategies for developing community plantation products to create added value are beginning to emerge in the plantation sector. The people of the Sangihe Islands Regency, who still traditionally process plantation products, have been encouraged to increase plantation productivity. Strategies for transforming plantation commodity products into higher-value products are also emerging, though no data on their positive economic implications for the Sangihe community has been obtained. Some people in the Sangihe Islands Regency continue to sell raw garden products such as cloves, copra, and nutmeg rather than finished products with higher added value.

The same thing can be seen in plantation product marketing. Plantation products are still processed simply by the community and sold as raw materials to the cities of Bitung and Manado. There has been no visible effort to introduce plantation products into new markets. The Sangihe Islands Regency's border location, close to the Southern Philippines, has not been optimized for economic interconnectivity between the two border areas of different countries. The Indonesian government and the central government initiated a trade policy
between border areas that connects Santos, the Philippines, with Bitung City, Indonesia, via Ro-Ro ship shipping. Still, neither the North Sulawesi provincial government nor the Sangihe Islands district government expanded the policy to include the Sangihe Islands Regency as part of the cross-border trade.

The Factual Condition of Community Livelihood in Sangihe

In this research, livelihood outcomes are seen from poverty reduction. Poverty in the Sangihe Islands Regency will be reduced as people's incomes rise Sangihe Islands Regency. The current trend in the Sangihe Islands Regency is that the production process of the Sangihe Islands Regency community is still progressing slowly, even though financial resources are sufficient to meet basic needs. The slow increase in productivity of the people of the Sangihe Islands Regency is due to two factors:

1) the existing infrastructure has not optimally created an increase in productivity through efforts to increase the added value of marine catch products and community plantations, and
2) policy choices made by the provincial government and districts that are less strong in encouraging productivity.

By using the five variables from the Sustainable Livelihood Approach described above, it can be seen that the Sangihe Islands Regency's poverty alleviation strategy is still not fully capable of guaranteeing the complete resolution of the poverty problem. This is because there are no longer any long-term strategies in the Sangihe Islands Regency that specifically target the root causes of poverty.

The Sangihe Islands Regency is unique in terms of its location in the border area between Indonesia and the Philippines. The current development in border areas is lacking in strengthening interconnectivity between the two countries' border areas as a strategy for development and poverty alleviation. The central government's efforts to connect Bitung City and Santos through trade cooperation were not expanded by including the Sangihe Islands Regency in the cross-country interaction.

CONCLUSION

Poverty at the border has a very unitary complexity. The geographical position, which is far from the main province, makes it a difficult challenge. The basic factor influencing the success of development and poverty alleviation in border areas is infrastructure for increasing the productive activities of the community, which is still relatively inadequate.
The application of the *Sustainable Livelihood Approach* concept concludes that the poverty alleviation strategy implemented in Sangihe Regency is still not fully capable of ensuring that poverty alleviation is implemented to reduce poverty in the long term. This is primarily due to a lack of visible programs to strengthen the economic foundation and advance development in the marine and plantation sectors. This sector is the main foundation of the Sangihe Islands' economy to carry out business development, increase the added value of marine and plantation business results, and expand market access for marine products.

According to the Sustainable Livelihood Approach, a good program can ensure that program outcomes can occur sustainably. The poverty alleviation strategy running in the Sangihe Islands Regency ensures that people who are below the poverty line can get out of their current situation. Several major economic programs stemming from the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, ODSK, and village programs arising from village funds have begun to emphasize strengthening the economic foundation, which is the primary support for the Sangihe Islands Regency community's livelihoods. However, the economic programs put in place have not been strong enough to ensure long-term economic sustainability. There is no visible economic development strategy connecting the border areas to the Philippine border areas.

The location of the border area's economic life is determined mainly by the degree of interconnectivity with the border areas of neighboring countries, both as markets for the commodities produced and as providers of resources/products that the border areas cannot fulfill independently. The future of border area development and the success of poverty reduction programs is determined by the extent to which the strategies developed can further interconnect border areas between countries.

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