

# Pembangunan dan Demokratisasi Papua

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## *Abstract*

*The purpose of this article is to discuss conflict resolution in Papua in order to promote the government's sustainable development objectives. One of the roots of the conflict in Papua is the disappointment amongst the Papuan due to economic and social discrepancies as well as cultural disharmony which resulted from uneven development in the region. The disappointment can only be resolved through accelerated development as to where the Papuans are able to enjoy justice and prosperity. However, it is impossible to execute a sustainable development program in the absence of political stability and security. Therefore, it is imperative to reorient the resolution of conflicts in Papua through diplomacy, both internationally and domestically, to gain a common ground and agreement between the conflicting parties in order to create political stability and security.*

**Keywords:** *conflict, sustainable development, Papua*

## **Introduction**

Indonesia is a concrete embodiment of the word 'unity in diversity'. Indonesia as a country that has a pluralistic society, has a variety of customs and cultures, and adheres to 6 official religions that also reflect the diversity of the Indonesian people. Therefore, unity in the existing diversity is indispensable in the life of the nation and state, to create a balanced social environment, colored by harmonious life among fellow citizens in order to improve the quality of life in Indonesia in accordance with the spirit of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. [1] One way to improve the quality of life in Indonesia is to carry out sustainable development. As a member of the United Nations, Indonesia implemented a sustainable development system known as the Millennium Sustainable Development (MDGs), in 2000 - 2015. Seeing the overall satisfactory implementation of the MDGs, world leaders who are members of the United Nations adopted sustainable development goals or the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for the period 2016 - 2030, as a continuation program of the MDGs.

Hilary & Sidratahta, Study on Efforts to Fulfill Human Development Targets in National Development Based on the SDGs Program, national scientific paper competition paper, 2018. Academically, experts have long formulated the concept of development. One of the leading scientists who initiated it was Robert Malthus at the end of the 18th century when he said about the dangers of a rapid population explosion without being matched by the ability to produce food. But the term sustainability (sustainability) itself only began to be known a few decades ago.

Sustainable community development refers to the three main components of human existence, namely economic, ecological and human. The first component is essential, in the sense that the purpose of social and economic activity is to fulfill human needs or desires, thereby producing three dimensions of human existence: biological (present in interaction with the physical, natural environment), social (as a member of some social group), rational (caused by internal traits, specific to one human being). The relationship between economic growth and environmental protection is an important issue in the context of sustainable development because the approach to economic growth is not limited to Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The human component in sustainable development has a major role, because the concept of equity includes several forms of manifestation in terms of the sustainable evolution of human society (Duran et al., 2015). The problems of development and democracy in developing countries are a concern for Nelson Mandela, former president of South Africa. “I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to faller, I have made missteps along the way. but have discovered the secret that after climbing a great huill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista to surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can only rest for a moment, for with freedom comes responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not ended.”[Mandela,1994] Meanwhile, former US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rise emphasized that stressing the need to limit and balance the existing government institutions in a balanced way to maintain and guarantee the right implementation of the rights and obligations of each institution, accompanied by the correct operation of democracy in order to determine the person who will run the institution.[Rice, 2017]

## **Development and Justice in Papua**

Wisnu Utama's study, (2019), shows that the success of a nation in achieving its national goals is largely influenced by authentic leadership as practiced by Jokowi. Leadership and the development process have a very close relationship. Indonesia's development program is strictly as President Jokowi's breakthrough to overcome inequality or the realization of balance between the West and East regions and Java and outside Java. This is important in order to encourage the progress of rural areas, underdeveloped areas.

The strategy adopted by the Joko Widodo administration in both the first and second periods (2019-2024) in order to manage the great potential of the Indonesian nation, which is vast and with abundant natural resources potential, is expected to be of export quality and the focus of development is further developed outside Java such as Kalimantan, Papua, Nusa Tenggara, Sulawesi, South Sumatra, North Sumatra, Aceh and so on. The focus of the government's attention is efforts to encourage more equitable and sustainable development-based development in Papua. The development approach based on equitable development is thus a step that is automatically in accordance with Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution, which emphasizes the importance of economic democracy and social justice for all Indonesian people.[1945 Constitution]

## **Development Problems in Papua**

The focus of development in Papua is how to encourage maximum efforts in promoting regional democratization in both Papua and West Papua Provinces. Through the governance approach, rule of law and including the sort power approach in achieving the Papua regional development targets, as part of the implementation of strategies, commitments and efforts to implement the SDGs.

A number of crucial issues in Papua's development are: First, sustainable development emphasizes the importance of economic, ecological and human aspects. These aspects are also an important part or element of the development carried out by the Government and the people in Papua. Therefore, the three topics intersect so that they become relevant to be discussed. Second, until now the conflict in Papua has not been fully resolved and that in recent times the situation has tended to worsen, both from security, social and political aspects. Differences in the perception of Papua's history within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia are still the main

issues raised in the struggle to separate themselves from the Republic of Indonesia. This is coupled with various security dynamics that have raised various issues of human rights violations that have not been resolved to date. Third, one of the triggers of the conflict in Papua is the economic, social, and cultural disharmony in Papua due to uneven development programs that have not been successful. The gap experienced by the Papuan people has grown the seeds of separatism and eventually led to the emergence of political and security instability. Whereas political stability and security are absolute prerequisites or become the foundation for the implementation of sustainable development programs.

Sustainable development efforts carried out by the government together with the Papuan people. In order for the discussion to be more focused, the discussion focused on how to encourage conflict resolution based on development, justice and sustainable development approaches.

The LIPI research team, for example, used a descriptive-qualitative approach with a research focus on historical, political and human rights (Widjojo et al., 2010), economic and social and cultural aspects. As mentioned in the previous section, this research finds a number of problems and offers solutions in these aspects to resolve the conflict problem in Papua. The results of the LIPI research, for example, state that there are at least four sources of fundamental problems that cause conflict in Papua. First, the different constructions regarding history and political identity are understood by the indigenous Papuans and the government elites in Jakarta. Second, the residue of incidents of political and human rights violence that befell Papuans in the past as a follow-up impact of handling security problems in the region by state officials. Third, the government has not been successful in the development of the social sector, especially education and health, as well as economic empowerment in Papua, both for the indigenous people of Papua and the Papua region as a whole. Fourth, the marginalization of indigenous Papuans as a result of political conflicts, uneven economic development, and the large-scale influx of people from outside into Papua since the 1970s (Widjojo et al., 2010).

Several other empirical studies conducted previously, although looking at the problem of Papua partially, also imply the same conclusion that the conflict problem in Papua is very complex and multidimensional. The research, for example, on conflict in Papua is related to differences in perceptions and policies of the political elite in Jakarta in handling conflict in Papua (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004), handling the Papua problem is associated with Indonesia's relationship with Australia (Fernandes, 2006), conflict in Papua is associated with plurality of society due to migration and economic change (McGibbon, 2004), development of the education sector for conflict resolution in West Papua, as well as

opportunities and legal challenges in protecting and empowering the rights of indigenous Papuans to natural resources in the Otsus program.

Tryatmoko (2016) conducted research on conflict in Papua, especially regarding the politics of the Special Autonomy Fund (Otsus) policy. The study found that although the Special Autonomy funds increased every year, it had not succeeded in significantly improving the welfare of the Papuan people. The Special Autonomy Fund program, which has not yet produced the expected results, is suspected to be due to the inadequate capacity of the local government. In addition, the Special Autonomy Fund program has not been accompanied by strong political will from the central government.

The allocation of Otsus funds for the Papuan people also attracted other researchers, for example Hitokdana et al. (2018). They conducted research with a focus on the use of Special Autonomy funds for health development. The research was conducted using a descriptive method by analyzing the legal aspects empirically. Sources of research data used are primary data and secondary data. Based on the results of the study, it can be concluded that the amount of Special Autonomy funds plus health funds has not been allocated properly and tends to be corrupted by policy implementers in several regions. As a result, there are still many Papuans who do not have access to proper health services and face serious health problems such as cases of hunger and disease outbreaks. The poor condition of health services is considered to be one of the important issues brought up by separatist organizations to form negative opinions about the government and influence the Papuan people to support their movement.

Rahmadiyahsyah and Shafira (Rahmadiyahsyah & Shafira, 2019) examine the conflict in Papua in relation to economic development in the area. The study analyzes theoretically the causes of the emergence of demands from some Papuans for independence and separation from Indonesia. They used Fukuyama's concept of the types of identities, namely megathymia and isothymia as the lens of analysis. The research concludes that the desire to be recognized is always at the bottom of every human being, and Papuans also inherently demand to be seen and treated as equals. Not only trying to seek understanding from the Papuan perspective, this study also analyzes the relationship between this phenomenon and the implementation of Indonesia's economic policies in Papua by the post-Soeharto regime. Their research found that Papuans not only need economic development to share feelings with Indonesians in other areas, but they also need character building.

Druce's (2020) research on conflict in Papua analyzes development programs in Papua through Special Autonomy (Otsus) in relation to political efforts to resolve the conflict. According to him, there is currently a political stalemate due to the lack of

success of the Otsus program which has a negative effect on economic development in Papua. The Special Autonomy Program in Papua has been found to be less successful due to the lack of political will in Jakarta. This condition makes the conflict in Papua seem to be at a stalemate. Jokowi's welfare and development approach to managing conflict seems to have won the "hearts and minds" of some Papuans. Strengthening Otsus is believed to be the right step, but a wider dialogue is needed that accommodates the views of all parties to the conflict. The concept of the Papua Road Map initiated by LIPI is seen as the best existing framework for the implementation of dialogue. However, implementation of the idea will inevitably face opposition from influential forces in Indonesia who continue to have the capacity to undermine good governance. (Jubba et al., 2019) Researching the conflict in Papua from the perspective of political and religious identity struggles, especially among the Muslim Dani Tribe. According to this study, potential conflicts due to differences in beliefs are not only experienced by immigrant communities. The indigenous Papuan people, namely the Dani tribe who are Muslim, also experience this situation. Even though they are native Papuans, because they are Muslim, they are a minority so that they are marginalized in social, economic and political life in Papua, where the majority of the population is Christian.

### **Closing**

The root of the problem comes from various aspects of life such as economic, social and cultural, especially in the form of economic-social disparities and cultural disharmony between immigrant communities and indigenous Papuans. In addition, the existing studies on the Papuan conflict show that in general they analyze aspects of life such as economic, social, political, cultural, legal, as well as ethnic and religious identity. Three sources of conflict in Papua that stand out are economic inequality, social inequality and cultural disharmony. In the economic field, until now the Papuan people experience a fairly large economic inequality compared to their relatives in other regions in Indonesia. Even though it is rich in natural resources, the poverty rate of the people in Papua is still high, much higher than other communities outside Papua. The Indonesian Central Statistics Agency noted that in 2019, Papua and West Papua had the highest percentage of the population below the poverty line in Indonesia, namely 26.55% and 21.55 (Central Statistics Agency, 2020). Factors contributing to the high level of poverty in Papua may be due to low levels of education and skills, lack of infrastructure, and the number of remote areas that are difficult to reach.

The high poverty rate certainly also affects the people's purchasing power of goods and services to meet their daily needs. The per capita income of the Papuan people is 1,214,718 rupiahs per month in 2019. They spend around 54.77 percent (665,291 rupiah) on food consumption and the remaining 45.23 percent (549,427 rupiah) to meet other non-food

needs. Most of the expenditure for needs other than food is for housing, which is 62.10 percent of the total non-food expenditure. The economic inequality of the Papuan people is also shown by the Gini Ratio, which is an index from the World Bank which is used as a reference to measure the amount of inequality in public spending in a particular area. BPS Papua data states that the Gini Ratio of the Papuan population was 0.391 in 2019. Meanwhile, the percentage of expenditure from the 40 percent of the population with the lowest expenditure in Papua was 15.74. This means that there is a moderate level of inequality between the people with the lowest expenditures in the region (Papua Central Statistics Agency, 2020).

This condition is certainly very influential on their welfare. Moreover, the price of goods in Papua is generally more expensive than in Java. The price of basic goods in Papua is expensive because of the expensive logistics transportation costs. This is because to distribute goods to remote areas, you have to use planes, so that it imposes expensive logistics costs. So the Papuan people, as the saying goes, have fallen down the ladder as well. With a lower average per capita income than their relatives in Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Sumatra and Java, they also have to pay higher prices for daily necessities.

The backwardness of the Papuan people also occurs in the social sector such as access to education and health services. The development of the education sector in Papua is still lagging far behind other regions, especially in the central and western parts of Indonesia. The lag behind the education sector in the Papua region compared to other regions in Indonesia is partly due to the low number and quality of education infrastructure and teachers. The situation has improved since the implementation of the Special Autonomy Law because education is one of the sectors that gets priority in development programs, both from the central and regional governments. However, until now the condition of the education sector in Papua is still not as expected (Ariyanda & Arifyani, 2020).

The Papuan people are also lagging behind in the health sector. Access to health services is still quite difficult so that there is a fairly large gap in terms of access to health facilities by the Papuan people compared to other regional communities in Indonesia (Laksono et al., 2019). Therefore, it is not surprising that the incidence of malnutrition and the spread of infectious diseases have also occurred several times, even in the category of Extraordinary Events (KLB (Hitokdana et al., 2018)).

Cultural disharmony, especially related to demographic, religious and customary conditions has also contributed to the cause of conflict in Papua. From the demographic aspect, currently the composition of the Papuan people is very diverse. Consists of



indigenous Papuans and various other ethnic groups from all over Indonesia. This ethnic diversity began to take place drastically when the government began sending transmigrants from densely populated areas, especially Java and Madura, to Papua. In 1959 the composition of the immigrant community was still very small, around 2 percent. In 1971 the figure had increased to 4 percent and in 2000 it had jumped to 35 percent. The composition of the migrant community is increasing, reaching 41 percent in 2005 and 53.5 percent in 2011. Based on this trend, it is predicted that the migrant community will have a larger composition than the indigenous Papuans. In addition to being dominant in terms of quantity, in general, the immigrant community is also superior in quality to the indigenous Papuans. Migrant communities generally have better skills in agriculture and trade. They are more productive and able to compete in both fields, thus marginalizing indigenous Papuans. This condition makes indigenous Papuans have a collective feeling that their existence as the original owners of Papuan land is threatened by migrants (Sugandi, 2008; Taum, 2015).

The Papuan people also have their own unique culture, customs, and traditions like other communities in Indonesia. These cultural characteristics, customs and traditions are reflected in various aspects of people's lives such as the form of building houses, ways of living in society, socio-religious activities, kinship relations, inter-tribal relations and so on. Cultural diversity and customs are a necessity that cannot be avoided and become a cultural wealth for the Indonesian people. However, the differences that exist in society, including Papua, sometimes become a source of conflict. This is not the case specifically in Papua but also in other parts of Indonesia and even other countries in the world. In the context of Papua, differences in culture, customs, and traditions sometimes also cause friction and even conflict in society, both among indigenous Papuans themselves and between Papuans and migrants.

The government has made many efforts to deal with these three sources of conflict through various development programs in various sectors. One of the Government's flagship programs is the granting of Special Autonomy status and the distribution of Special Autonomy Funds to the people and local government of Papua. However, the results have not been as expected by the Papuan people and the government. As a result, the conflict in Papua is still ongoing and there is no sign of a resolution. There are still some Papuans who are dissatisfied with the economic, social, cultural, political and security conditions in the region, so they intend to separate themselves from the Indonesian state.

## **Development in Papua**



The description shows that in this context, although the Government has implemented development programs in Papua, both in the economic, political, security and socio-cultural fields, some elements of the Papuan community feel that the development that has been implemented has not been able to meet their expectations. This indicates that on the one hand, development becomes a source of conflict. When the Papuan people feel they have not been able to feel the results of the development carried out by the Government, some people feel disappointed and the seeds of separatism arise. This is because the expected development outcomes, such as an increase in living standards and income as well as increasing access to health and education services, are still far from expectations. Especially when compared to the results of development enjoyed by the people of Indonesia in other regions, especially in the central and western parts of Indonesia.

Therefore, in order to support the implementation of development in Papua to be successful as has happened in other regions in Indonesia, sustainable development efforts are needed. In addition, in order for the development program to be implemented, it is necessary to have conducive security conditions and good political stability. So these two aspects are the foundation and are prerequisites so that development activities can be carried out. In this case, the author argues that a reorientation of conflict resolution in Papua is needed, namely through diplomatic efforts to create political stability and conducive security conditions to provide the foundation for carrying out development activities.

In the end, the goal of Papua's plenary development in the future is to create political stability and security as well as cultural harmony in Papua so that sustainable development programs can run in order to provide prosperity and justice for all Papuan people. When prosperity and justice are created, security and peace will present themselves because the seeds of separatism that grow will slowly be eroded and eventually disappear.

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