

Development And Democratization In Papua

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to analyze 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 dissatisfaction amongst the people of Papua due to the economic and social inequality as well as cultural disharmony which have resulted from uneven development in the region. The dissatisfaction can only then be resolved through development as to where the people of Papua will acquire justice and prosperity. Regardless, 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 mutual ground and agreement between the conflicting parties in order to create political stability and security.

Keywords: conflict, sustainable development, Papua, Diplomacy, democratization

Introduction

Indonesia is an actual representation of the word 'Unity in Diversity'. As a country of pluralistic society which is graced with a variety of customs and cultures that also adheres to six official religions, makes the unity in the existing diversity indispensable in the life of the nation and state. Thus, creating a balanced social environment of which is painted by harmonious life amongst fellow citizens in order to improve the quality of life in Indonesia in accordance towards the spirit of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.¹

One of the ways to further improve the quality of life in Indonesia is to carry out the sustainable development goals. As a member of the United Nations, Indonesia has implemented a sustainable development system known as the Millennium Sustainable Development (MDGs) in 2000 - 2015. Seeing the overall good execution of the MDGs', World leaders across the world whose country is considered to be a member of the United Nations then adopted the goal of

sustainable developments, or the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), for the period of 2016- 2030 as a continuation program of the MDGs.² Academically, experts have formulated the concept of the development itself. One of the leading scientists whom initiated its formula, was known as Robert Malthus, and the formula itself being found at the end of the 18th century, whilst Malthus was speaking about the dangers of a rapid population explosion occurring, without being matched by the ability to further produce nourishments. Yet, the term "Sustainability" has only began to be known, a few decades ago.

Millenium Sustainable Development alluded to three main components of human existence, of which are economic, ecological and human. The first component is considered one of the fundamental in the sense that the objective of social and economic activity is to meet human needs or desires, resulting in three dimensions of human existence: biological (as a member of some social group), social (as a member of some

social group), and rational (caused by internal traits, specific to one human being). As the approach to economic growth is not confined to the sustainable development goals as the relationship between economic growth and environmental protection is an essential problem in the framework of Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP). That being said, the human component in sustainable development plays a significant role as the idea of equality constitutes different forms of manifestation in terms of the sustainable growth of the human society. (Duran et al., 2015). The problems of development and democracy in developing countries has become a concern for the former President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, that of which he said "I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter, I have made missteps along the way, but have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, 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 that 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 has not ended."³ Meanwhile, the former of US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice has emphasized the need to limit and balance the existing government institutions in fairness, to ensure and guarantee the proper implementation of the rights and obligations of each institution, accompanied by the proper functioning of democracy to determine the person who will be elected and run the institution itself.⁴

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Research conducted by Wisnu Utama (2019) have shown that the success of a nation in achieving its national goals is largely influenced by authentic leadership as practiced by Jokowi. Which then constitutes of a good correlation between its leadership and the development process. Indonesia's development program is set as a breakthrough by President Jokowi to overcome inequality or the realization of a balance between the West and East regions, Java, and outside Java as this is considered important

to encourage the progress of rural and under-developed areas.

The strategy that was adopted by the Joko Widodo administration in both the first and second periods (2019-2024) in order to manage the great potential of Indonesia as a nation; which is vast and filled with abundance of natural resources, is expected to be of export quality. The focus of the development, being aimed to areas outside Java, such as Kalimantan, Papua, Nusa Tenggara, Sulawesi, South Sumatra, North Sumatra, Aceh, and so on. The focus of the government's attention however, is the efforts to then encourage a much fair development that is based on the sustainable development goals in Papua. The development approach that is based on equitable development is thus a step that is automatically in accordance with Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution, which then emphasizes the importance of economic democract and social justice, for all Indonesian Citizen.⁵

Development Problems in Papua

The development in both Papua and West Papua Provinces mainly focuses on how to encourage utmost efforts in promoting regional democratization. The strategies, commitments, and efforts to implement SDGs is attainable through a good governance approach and the rule of law, including a certain power approach in achieving Papua's regional development targets.

A number of critical concerns in Papua's development are as follows: First, sustainable development emphasizes the importance of economic, environmental, and human factors. These characteristics are also an important part or component of the development efforts carried out by the government and the people in Papua. As a result, the three subjects intersect as so that they have become relevant to further be discussed. and become relevant to be explored. Second, up until to date, the conflict in Papua has not yet been fully resolved and that in recent times, the situation has gotten worsen, be it from a note of security, social or political aspects. The differences in perceptions of Papua's history

within the context of the NKRI has remain to be the main issues that is raised in the struggle to separate Papua from the Republic of Indonesia. This is compounded by various security dynamics that has raised various issues of human rights violations that have not yet been resolved, to date. Third, one of the triggers for the conflicts in Papua is the economic, social, and cultural disharmony in Papua, dut to the uneven development programs that have not yet been successful. The gap that is experienced by the people in Papua has eventually grown the seeds of separatism which has then promptly led to the emergence of political and security instability. Whereas political stability and security, on the other hand, are an absolute prerequisites or has serve as the foundation for the implementation of sustainable development programs.

The Sustainable development efforts has been carried out by the government, hand in hand and together with the people of Papua. In order for the discussion to be more focused, it is then pointed to the direction on how to encourage conflict resolution based on development, justice and sustainable development approaches.

The LIPI research team, for instance, have used a descriptive-qualitative approach with a research that is focused on historical, political and human rights, (Widjojo et al., 2010), economic, social, and cultural aspects. As mentioned in the previous section, this research finds a number of problems and offers solutions in the said aspects to then resolve the conflict problems in Papua. According to the findings of the LIPI research team, there are at least four sources of fundamental problems that caused conflict in Papua. First, the differences in the constructions regarding history and the political identity are understood by the indigenous people of Papua and the government elites in Jakarta. Second, the residue of incidents of political and human rights violence that befell the people in Papua in the past as a follow-up to the handling of security problems in the region by state officials. Third, the government has not succeeded in social development, especially in the education and health sector, as well as economic empowerment in Papua, both for the indigenous people in Papua and the Papua region as a whole. Fourth, the marginalization of indigenous people in Papua as a result of political conflicts, and the large-scale

influx of outsiders into Papua since the 1970s. (Widjojo et al., 2010).

Several other empirical studies that was conducted previously, although given to be looking at the Papua problem partially, has also implied the same conclusion that the conflict problem in Papua is very complex and multidimensional. For example, the research on conflict in Papua is linked to differences in perceptions and policies of Jakarta's political elite in dealing with conflict in Papua (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004), handling the Papua problem is then associated towards Indonesia's correlation with Australia (Fernandes, 2006), conflict in Papua is associated with plurality of society as a result of 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 people of Papua to natural resources in the Otsus program.

Tryatmoko(Tryatmoko, 2016) , has conducted research on the conflict in Papua, especially regarding the politics of the Special Autonomy Fund (Otsus) Policy. The study found that although the Special Autonomous Funds increased every year, it had not succeeded in significantly improving the welfare of the People of Papua. The lack of outcomes from the Special Autonomy Fund program is considered to be related to the local government's inadequate capacity. Furthermore, the Special Autonomy Fund initiative has been accompanied by a lack of political will on the part of the central government.

The allocation of the Special Autonomy Funds (Otsus) for the people of Papua has 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 the 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 people in Papua who do not have access to proper health serviced 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 people of Papua to support their movement.

Rahmadiyahsyah and Shafira (Rahmadiyahsyah & Shafira, 2019) examined the conflict in Papua in relation to the economic development in the area. The study analyzes theoretically the causes of the emergence of demands from some people in Papua for the independence and thus, separation from The Republic of Indonesia. They used Fukuyama's concept of the types of identities, namely megathymia and isothymia as the lens of analysis. The study concluded that the desire to be recognized is always has always been of importance to every human being, and the people of Papua also inherently demand to be seen and treated as equal. According to the study, the desire to be acknowledged is at the heart of every human being, and Papuans instinctively seek to be noticed and treated as equals. Not only trying to seek understanding from the people of Papua's perspective, this study also analyzes the relationship between this phenomenon and the post-Soeharto regime's implementation of Indonesia's economic policies in Papua. Their research found that the people in Papua not only need economic development to feel something in common with the fellow Indonesians, but they are also in need of character building.

Druce (2020) research on the conflict in Papua analyzes the development program in Papua through Special Autonomy Funds in relation to political efforts to further resolve the conflict. According to him, there is currently a political stalemate due to the ineffectiveness of the Special Autonomy Funds program which have then created a negative impact on the economic development in Papua. Due to a lack of political will in Jakarta, the Special Autonomy Program in Papua has been deemed to be less successful. This condition then makes the conflict in Papua in a stalemate. Jokowi's welfare and development approach to managing conflict seems to have won the "hearts and minds" of

some people of Papua. Strengthening Otsus is believed to be the most proper and right step, but a much wider dialogue is then needed to accommodate the perspective of all parties that is affected to the conflict. The concept of the Papua Road Map initiated by LIPI is seen as the best framework currently, for the implementation of the dialogue itself. However, the implementation of the idea will inevitably face opposition from influential forces in Indonesia whom continue to have the capacity to undermine good governance. (Jubba et al., 2019). Researching the conflict in Papua from the perspective of the struggle for political and religious identity, especially among the Muslim Dani Tribe. According to this study, potential conflicts due to the differences in beliefs are not only experienced by immigrant communities, but also the indigenous people of Papua, namely the Dani Tribe whom are Muslim, have also experienced the situation. Although they are native people of Papua, due to the fact that they are of Muslim religions, they are considered to be of minority. Hence, marginalized in social, economic and political life in Papua, whereas the majority of the population is Christian.

Closing

The issue originates from several elements of life, including economic, social, and cultural differences, particularly between immigrant communities and native people of Papua. Furthermore, recent research on Papua's conflict generally indicates the observation of facets of life such as economic, social, political, cultural, legal, and ethnic and religious identities. Economic imbalance, social inequality, and cultural incompatibility are three major reasons of conflict in Papua. The people of Papua have always faced significant economic disparities when compared to their kin in other parts of Indonesia. Despite its wealth in natural resources, Papua's poverty rate remains high, far greater compared to places outside the country. According to the Indonesian Central Statistics Agency, Papua and West Papua had the greatest percentage of poverty in 2019, with 26.55 percent and 21.55 percent, respectively (Central Statistics Agency, 2020). Factors contributing to Papua's high degree of poverty include a lack of education

and skills, a lack of infrastructure, and a great number of rural and unapproachable locations.

The high poverty rate undoubtedly has an impact on people's ability to purchase goods and services to meet their daily necessities. In 2019, the monthly per capita income of the people of Papua is 1,214,718 rupiahs. They spend around 54.77 percent (665,291 rupiah) on food and the remaining 45.23 percent (549,427 rupiah) on non-food essentials. Housing accounts for most of the non-food expenditure, accounting for 62.10 percent of total non-food expenditure. The Gini Ratio, a World Bank index used as a reference to assess the extent of disparity in public spending in a specific area, also exhibit economic inequality among the people of Papua. According to BPS Papua data, the population's Gini Ratio in 2019 was 0.391. Meanwhile, the proportion of expenditure from 40% of the individuals in Papua with the lowest expenditure was 15.74. This signify a moderate amount of disparity among the inhabitants in the region with the lowest spending (Papua Central Statistics Agency, 2020).

These conditions greatly affect the welfare of the people of Papua. Moreover the price of goods in Papua is more expensive than in Java due to high-priced logistics transportation costs. Overpriced logistics transportation cost is due to the requirement of utilizing planes to distribute goods to remote areas. As a result, the people of Papua, as the adage goes, have also plummeted down the ladder. They must pay higher rates for daily necessities since they have a lower average per capita income than their relatives in Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Sumatra, and Java.

The underdeveloped people of Papua also experience a lack of development in the social sector such as access to education and health services. The development of the education sector in Papua is still far behind other regions, especially in the central and western parts of Indonesia. Compared to other regions in Indonesia, the lack of sophisticated education sector in Papua is due to the moderate number and quality of education infrastructure and teachers. This situation has improved due to the enactment of the Special Autonomy Law which prioritize education as one of the development programs from both 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 people of Papua also experience the lack of development in the health sector. The access to health services is still quite difficult which exhibits a fairly large gap in the access to health facilities by the people of Papua 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 to the point of being included in the category of Extraordinary Events (KLB (Hitokdana et al., 2018)).

Cultural dispute, particularly in relation to demographic, theological, and customary factors, has also aided the cause of war in Papua. In terms of demographics, the people of Papua is quite diversified made up of native groups and other ethnic groups from all around Indonesia. When the government began moving transmigrants from heavily populated places, particularly Java and Madura, to Papua, ethnic variety increased dramatically. In 1959, the immigrant population was still insignificant, accounting for only around 2% of the total. In 1971, that figure had risen to 4%, and by 2000, it had risen to 35%. The migrant community is becoming more diverse, with 41 percent in 2005 and 53.5 percent in 2011. Based on this pattern, it is expected that the migrant community will outnumber the native people of Papua. Aside from outnumbering the quantity of native people of Papua, the immigrant group also outnumbers them in terms of quality. Migrant populations tend to be more skilled in agriculture and trade. They are more productive and capable of competing in both fields, pushing native people of Papua to the margins. This situation causes them to collectively believe that their survival as the original proprietors of Papua is threatened by immigration. (Sugandi, 2008; Taum, 2015).

The people of Papua possess their own unique culture, customs, and traditions like other people in Indonesia. The characteristics of culture, customs and traditions are reflected in various aspects of people's life such as the form of house building, ways of living in society, socio-religious activities, kinship relations, inter-tribal relations and others. 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. It is not only in Papua but also in other parts of Indonesia and even other countries in the world. In the context of Papua, these differences in culture, customs, and traditions sometimes also cause friction and even conflict in society, both among native people of Papua themselves and between the people of Papua and migrants.

The government has made many efforts to deal with the three sources of conflict through various development programs in various sectors. One of the Government flagship programs is the acknowledgement of the 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 people of Papua and the government. As a result, the conflict in Papua continues to occur with no sign of a resolution. There are still people who are dissatisfied with the economic, social, cultural, political and security conditions in the region, creating an intention to separate themselves from Indonesia.

Development in Papua

The description shows that in this context, although the Government has implemented the development programs in Papua, both in the economic, political, security and socio-cultural fields, some of the people of Papua feel that the development cannot meet their expectations and at the same time, development is also a source of conflict. When the people of Papua can't notice the results of the development carried out by the Government, some people will feel disappointed which will then be followed by the potential of separatism because the expected outcomes are still far from expectations. Especially when compared to the development enjoyed by the Indonesian people in other regions, especially in the central and western parts of Indonesia.

Therefore, in order to support the successful development in Papua, sustainable development efforts are needed along with security conditions and good political stability. These two aspects are the foundation and are prerequisites in such a way 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.

Finally, the goal of Papua's future plenary development is to ensure political stability and security, as well as cultural peace with the intention of implementing long-term development initiatives to bring prosperity and justice to the people of Papua. Assuming that prosperity and justice are established, security and peace will emerge because the seeds of separatism that germinate will be gradually undermined and eventually vanish.

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